



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

NDI REPORTS

Program Supports Political Parties in Cambodia

After nearly three decades of civil war, Cambodians are hopeful that the successfully concluded UN-administered elections will help nurture the fragile democratic opening created by the 1991 Paris Peace Accords. In an effort to support the democratization process in Cambodia, NDI established a field office in Phnom Penh in early January as the first phase of a multi-year program.

During the five months preceding the May 23-28 elections, NDI's five-member field team worked with Cambodia's political parties to advise them on ways in which they could organize more effectively. Cambodian parties possess few resources and little experience with democratic politics. This intensive program, cosponsored with the International Republican Institute (IRI), included more than 50 workshops in 16 of Cambodia's 21 provinces.

The five-month program began in January when NDI and IRI cosponsored a two-day conference in Phnom Penh attended by 238 representatives from 18 political parties, the first such multipartisan gathering in more than 20 years. The conference included presentations by Federico Mekis, a member of the Chilean Congress, and Dr. Art-Ong Jumsai, a member of the Palang Dharma party in Thailand. Participants discussed specific techniques for party organization and election planning, and examined broad perspectives on how a stable democracy requires the development of broadly based and well-organized political parties.

Following the January conference, NDI's field team assessed the organizational capabilities and needs of each registered political party. Working with their IRI counterparts, the NDI field staff of Michael Marshall, David Costello, Kate Head, Carl Larkins and Robert Wood conducted a series of provincial training workshops in which members of fledgling parties learned first-hand the techniques of organization, communications and constituent contact. The work of the field staff was supported in Washington, D.C. by Senior Program Officer Karen Clark and Glenn Cowan, a senior advisor to NDI.

NDI's field representatives remained active throughout the campaign period despite an increasingly tense political atmosphere. In the final 30 days

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NDI field representative Mike Marshall leads party-building workshop in Kratie Province, Cambodia.

South Africa Looks to Elections in 1994

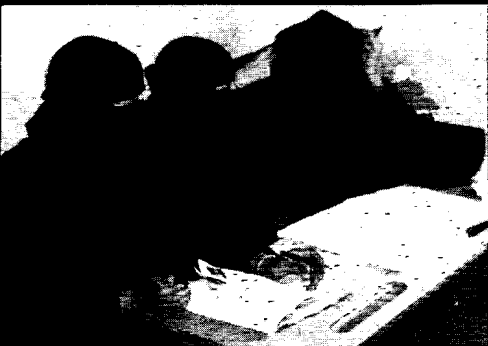
NDI and the South African-based Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Western Cape began the third year of a joint civic education project, dubbed PROJECT VOTE. With competitive, multiparty elections scheduled for April 27, 1994, PROJECT VOTE is designed to familiarize previously disenfranchised South Africans with democratic election procedures.

In order to broaden South African's exposure to international experiences in democratic transitions, NDI and CDS co-hosted three conferences last spring on developing a peaceful and democratic electoral process. The conferences were co-hosted by more than a dozen organizations from South Africa, Great Britain and the United States.

The meetings were attended by hundreds of leaders of South African political parties, nongovernmental organizations, churches, trade unions and professional associations as well as representatives of the government, the press and academia. The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth Association, all of which have violence monitoring teams in the country, also sent representatives to the conferences, which were held in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. NDI sponsored a total of 36 international specialists who

(Continued on page 10)

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



Voter registration center in Ta'iz, Yemen.

Promoting Popular Participation in Yemen

NDI undertook a series of programs to enhance popular participation in Yemen's first multiparty parliamentary elections. The April 27 contest marked the culmination of a three-year process of formal integration by two non-democratic states that had been adversaries for several decades.

Based on the recommendations of a survey mission to Yemen in January led by Irish parliamentarian John Bruton and NDI Senior Associate Thomas O. Melia, NDI conducted several projects during the run-up to the elections. These included support for Yemeni election observers, an assessment of the pre-election campaign period and the role of women in Yemeni politics, and the participation by Yemeni officials in NDI election programs in Africa.

NDI provided training and financial assistance to the National Committee for Free Elections (NCFE), a nonpartisan Yemeni organization that was founded in January to monitor the elec-

toral process and conduct voter education programs.

In March, NDI organized regional training seminars for prospective members of NCFE in six cities. The program focused on Yemen's election law, volunteer recruitment and training, and election monitoring activities.

Following the seminar, two NDI field representatives, Melissa Estok and Robert Norris, remained in Yemen to provide ongoing technical assistance to NCFE members. During this period, NCFE ranks grew to more than 4,000 men and women who volunteered to pollwatch throughout the country on election day.

In addition to assisting NCFE, NDI conducted a training seminar to assist political party pollworkers. The Institute also invited officials of the Yemeni Supreme Election Commission to participate in an NDI-sponsored observer delegation to the February presidential election in Senegal.

Independently, an NDI team of polit-

ical experts visited Yemen from March 30 to April 6 to assess women's participation in the electoral process, as well as overall preparations for the elections. Their report was distributed to international election observers to Yemen. It will also assist NDI in developing a long-term program to help enhance the role of women in Yemeni politics. ●

INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS IN NDI'S 1993 PROGRAM IN YEMEN

YESIM ARAT
Associate Professor, Bogazici University, Turkey

JOHN BRUTON
Member of Parliament, Ireland

DONA DIACONU
Pro-Democracy Association, Romania

JEAN NJERI KAMAU
Senior Counsel, International Federation of Women Lawyers, Nairobi Chapter, Kenya

CHILUFYA KAPWEPWE
Member of Parliament, Zambia

KRASSEN KRALEV
Regional Director, Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, Bulgaria

FARIDA RAHMAN
Member of Parliament, Bangladesh

PATRICIA REILLY
Former Deputy Counsel, Clinton/Gore 1992 Committee, U.S.

EMINE USAKLIGIL
Business Development Manager, Istanbul Film Agency, Turkey

A.K.M. ZAMAN
Study and Research Group on Democracy & Socio-Economic Development, Bangladesh

Strengthening Latvian Political Parties

NDI conducted its first political party training seminar in the Baltic region in the Latvian capital of Riga. The April program provided practical information to party workers and activists as they prepared for the June parliamentary elections, Latvia's first multiparty contest since gaining independence in 1991.

More than 70 participants representing 11 political parties and coalitions attended the seminar. Party leaders responded favorably to NDI's request that each party delegation include women and young people from each of Latvia's five electoral districts. The program featured workshops on party organization, message development, voter mobilization and outreach, and media relations.

The international training team included: Sverker Agren, a Christian Democratic Party organizer from Sweden; Peter Fenn and Martin Hamburger, media specialists from the U.S.; Hege Hero, a Conservative Party consultant from the U.K. whose participation was made possible by the London-based

Westminster Foundation for Democracy; and Robert Lacey, a media specialist who has worked with the Norwegian Conservative Party.

Tiit Arge of Estonia, MP for the Pro Patria coalition, and Aloyzas Sakalas of Lithuania, MP for the Social Democratic Party, made special presentations on the conduct of the campaigns held in their respective countries last fall. Gregory Minjack, NDI's field representative based in Moscow, and Kathryn Stevens, NDI's Latvia project coordinator also participated.

Annemie Neyts-Utterbroeck, a Flemish Liberal Party MP from Belgium, delivered the opening address. She acknowledged that in Latvia, like so many countries formerly under Soviet domination, the voting public tended to view politicians with skepticism. Neyts emphasized that it was essential that Latvia's fledgling political parties fight this sentiment by striving to assemble broad agreement on a program platform and encouraging public participation in political process.

The Latvian participants praised the seminar proceedings, particularly the use of videos and the trainers' efforts "to link theory with Latvia's real situation." ●

Kenneth Wollack Elected President of NDI

NDI's Board of Directors elected Kenneth D. Wollack president of the Institute at its March 3 meeting. Wollack has been NDI's Executive Vice President since 1986.

Wollack succeeds J. Brian Atwood who has assumed the post of administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development. Wollack served as NDI's acting president since November when Atwood took a leave of absence from the Institute to head up President-elect Clinton's transition team at the State Department.

Then-NDI Chairman Walter Mondale praised Wollack's selection. "Ken Wollack is the ideal individual to lead NDI in the 1990s. For the past seven years, he and Brian Atwood worked successfully to make NDI a leader in efforts to support the movement for democracy worldwide. Ken Wollack's election represents NDI's commitment to continuity as the Institute faces new challenges and opportunities."

Wollack said that NDI was influenced most by Brian Atwood who led the Institute for eight years. "In the years ahead, NDI will certainly pursue the humane and democratic ideals that Brian espoused during his tenure as president," Wollack said.



NDI President
Kenneth Wollack

International Leaders Voice Support for Democracy Programs

During June, the U.S. Congress debated funding for the National Endowment for Democracy. The following are among those who wrote to support the Endowment and NED-funded programs of the National Democratic Institute.

I have worked very closely with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in Panama, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Zambia and Paraguay, and consider it a vital institution in assisting the peaceful expansion of democracy through the world.

The work of the National Endowment for Democracy and its affiliates in promoting civic education and the transition to free market economics and pluralist democracies has proven to be extremely cost-effective. The money spent in promoting democracy is money saved in responding to civil conflicts.

—**Jimmy Carter**
FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Countries making the transition to a democratic system of government...face numerous obstacles which must be overcome. I have personally been involved in this struggle in Albania where the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute have been active since 1991. They were, in fact, the first democrats from outside our long isolated country to arrive to help us. They have proven to be the most reliable friends. Their activities and support have been extremely valuable in Albania's continuing emergence from communism to democratic governance.

—**Sali Berisha**
PRESIDENT OF ALBANIA

The NED and NDI have conducted and continue actively to conduct important work in the development of the democratic process in Russia. We would like to note the unique contribution NDI has made in the strengthening of democratic institutions in local government, in civil society and in the support of recently emerged political parties. We are certain that all of this important work would not have been possible without NDI.

—**Anatoly Sobchak**
MAYOR OF ST. PETERSBURG

Particularly in Argentina, the NED has fulfilled essential tasks during my government, supporting effectively civil institutions. The NDI has and is carrying on very important projects concerning the building of an effective democracy within our country and our region...

—**Raul R. Alfonsín**
FORMER PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA

The programs of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs...have been instrumental in providing vital expertise to all democratic political forces in Hungary since 1989...The alarming pictures on our TV screens of the ethnic war in the former Yugoslavia painfully illustrate that the battle for democracy is not yet over in Central-Eastern Europe... We believe that the...National Democratic Institute would still have an important role to play in Hungary and in our region for a considerable time coming.

—**Jozsef Szajer, Gabor Roszik and Matyas Eorsi**
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM HUNGARY

President Jimmy Carter
and Canadian Senator
Al Graham (center) at
Asunción polling station.



Paraguay Holds National Elections

"Yesterday, we witnessed an historic event [as] Paraguayans who went to the polls in record numbers affirmed their deep and abiding commitment to the democratic process," declared former President Jimmy Carter at a press conference in Asunción following the May 9 national elections.

Carter's statement was delivered on behalf of the 30-member international observer delegation sponsored jointly by NDI and the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. The delegation, which included members from 15 countries, was led by Carter, Canadian Senator B.A. Graham and former Costa Rican President Rodrigo Carazo.

Juan Carlos Wasmosy of the long-ruling Colorado Party won the presidential race; the opposition Authentic Radical Liberal Party and the National Encounter party scored victories in a majority of congressional seats.

The NDI/Council observers arrived in Asunción during the week of the elections and met with government officials, political and civic leaders, candidates, military officials and members of the Central Electoral Board. The day before the elections, a majority of the delegation deployed to the interior. On election day, observers visited more than 300 polling sites throughout the country.

In its post-election statement, the delegation noted that the generally festive atmosphere of election day was marred by irregularities, including the deliberate obstruction of telephone lines to the headquarters of SAKA, a consortium of nongovernmental orga-

nizations that was conducting an independent vote count. The delegation condemned these irregularities but concluded that it had "not received evidence that these were systematic or extensive enough to significantly alter the final results."

NDI had provided SAKA with technical and material support to conduct the independent vote count. SAKA means "transparency" in Guaraní, the indigenous language of Paraguay.

At about noon on election day, the state-owned telephone company cut the phone lines on which SAKA was to receive its data. President Carter called on Paraguayan President Andres Rodriguez and urged him to help SAKA reinstate the lines. They were eventually restored only to be cut again.

Using alternate means of communication, SAKA volunteers delivered the vote tallies obtained from pollwatchers around the country. Nine hours after the polls closed, SAKA's projection showed Wasmosy winning the presidential race. The projection enhanced the credibility of the official results, which were announced two weeks later.

Looking to future elections, the observer delegation asserted that "steps should be taken to increase confidence in the electoral process." These included more open and accessible electoral administration, greater political party involvement in the voter registration process and an enhanced civic education program.

The observer delegation represented the culmination of a two-month program in support of Paraguay's election process. The potential for a close election and rumors of fraud or military intervention prompted political leaders in Paraguay to request NDI assistance.

In response to these requests, NDI organized a five-member team to study the electoral process. Members of the

team, which visited Paraguay in March, included NDI board member Sally Shelton, Spanish parliamentarian Gabriel Diaz Berbel and the acting director of the Argentine National Electoral Commission, Pedro Antonio Gomez de la Fuente. NDI Program Officer Steven Griner coordinated the activities of the group and remained in Paraguay through election day. His observations and the findings of the March team formed the basis of the pre-election report distributed to the observer delegation.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION PARAGUAY NATIONAL ELECTIONS MAY 9, 1993

JIMMY CARTER
Delegation Leader
Former President of the
United States; Chairman,
Council of Freely Elected
Heads of Government

CURTIS CUTTER
President, Interworld
Consultants, Inc., U.S.

**RODRIGO
CARAZO ODIO**
Delegation Co-Leader
Former President of Costa
Rica; Member, Council of
Freely Elected Heads of
Government

FRANCISCO DIEZ
International Relations
Committee, Radical Party
Argentina

RITA DIMARTINO
Vice-Chair, Republican
Party of New
York State, U.S.

B.A. GRAHAM
Delegation Co-Leader
Senator, Canada

MARK FIEBERSTEIN
NDI Senior Program
Officer, U.S.

LOURDES ALVARDO
Professor, University of
Panama, Panama

**PEDRO ANTONIO
GOMEZ DE LA
FUENTE**
Director, National
Electoral Commission,
Argentina

ELIZABETH BAGLEY
NDI Board Member, U.S.

CEDRIC GRANT
Former Guyanese
Ambassador to the United
States, Guyana

**ENRIQUE
BERNALES**
Director, Constitution and
Society, Peru

STEVEN GRINER
NDI Program Officer, U.S.

DAVID CARROLL
Assistant Director of Latin
American/ Caribbean
Program, The Carter
Center of Emory
University, U.S.

**PIERRE
LETAMENDIA**
Deputy Mayor of Suresnes
France

SAKÃ

INICIATIVA PARA LA TRANSPARENCIA ELECTORAL

Nicaraguan Politicians Debate Role of the Military

In April, NDI also sponsored the visit to Asunción by two voter registration experts to help the Paraguayan political parties review the voter registration lists. During their trip, Lourdes Alvarado and Julio Rovi, both of Panama, investigated the complaints against the voter lists and helped the parties create a system to assist voters in locating their designated polling sites. Edgardo Mimica of Chile provided technical advice for the SAKA vote counting system. ●

NDI sponsored an historic forum that brought together Nicaragua's leading political figures to publicly discuss civilian control of the country's armed forces.

NDI convened the forum to present its report on civil-military relations in Nicaragua. The report, based on the visit to Nicaragua last November by a five-member international delegation, concluded that despite the polarized debate over the role of the military in Nicaragua, a consensus could emerge. The report describes the debate and relates how countries, such as Argentina and Spain, have promoted healthier civil-military relations. Delegation members included Colonel Prudencio Garcia, a military sociologist from Spain; Richard Millet, a professor of history at the University of Southern Illinois University; and Jose Manuel Ugarte, an Argentine attorney who advises the Argentine Congress on security issues.

Participants in the forum, which took place in Managua last April, included Antonio Lacayo, minister of the presidency of President Violeta Chamorro; Humberto Ortega, commander of the armed forces; Luis Humberto Guzman, leader of the United National Opposition (UNO) coalition in the National Assembly; Sergio Ramirez, leader of the Sandinistas in the National Assembly; and Francisco Mayorga, director of the Civilista Movement, an organization that promotes abolishing the military. They were joined by more than 100 legislators, political party leaders, military officers and journalists.

During the course of the forum, which was broadcast nationally on television and radio, Ortega announced that he would be willing to change the name of the military, currently called the Sandinista Popular Army. That statement was prompted by the NDI report, which suggested that resolving symbolic issues, such as the name of the army, would help signal that efforts are underway to alter the civil-military relationship. There was also agreement that a civilian-led Defense Ministry be created.

The NDI report and the April forum are the beginning of a two-year program to help promote civilian control of the armed forces. The NDI-sponsored effort will train civilian leaders in methods of oversight of the military. It will also familiarize Nicaraguan military officers with the nonpolitical role of armed forces in democratic societies. ●

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DEMOCRATA RELACIONES CIVILES-MILITARES EN NICARAGUA



Civilian control of the military is debated at forum in Managua, Nicaragua.

KENNETH MELLEY
NDI Board Member, U.S.

**BONGINKOSI
MHLANGA**
Member of Election
Commission, Pan
Africanist Congress of
Azania, South Africa

EDGARDO MIMICA
National Director, Project
Chile, Chile

BEVERLY NAGEL
Director of Latin
American Studies,
Carleton College, U.S.

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

MARTA PEREZ
Member, Convergencia,
Mexico

**JACQUELINE
PITANGUY**
President, Citizenship,
Studies, Information and
Action, Brazil

**EMMANUEL
CHINKWITA PHIRI**
Acting Chairman, Public
Affairs Committee,
Malawi

JAMES ROSENAU
Professor of Political
Science, George
Washington University, U.S.

**STEPHEN
SCHLESINGER**
Director for International
Organizations, New York
State Department of
Economic Development, U.S.

**MIKHAIL
SCHNEIDER**
Advisor to the mayor of
Moscow, Russia

TIMOTHY TOWELL
Former U.S. Ambassador
to Paraguay, United States

LEO VALLADARES
Human Rights
Ombudsman, Honduras

PATRICIA WEIR
Professional Staff
Member, Subcommittee
on Western Hemisphere
Affairs, U.S. House of
Representatives, U.S.

**KENNETH D.
WOLLACK**
NDI President, U.S.

Delegation members observe vote count at polling site in Dakar, Senegal. Standing (far left), Ahmed Charaf Al-Den and (far right) Eric Bjornlund.



NDI Monitors Senegal Election

NDI organized an international delegation to observe the February 21 presidential election in Senegal. The election occurred less than 19 months after the adoption of a new electoral law, which, for the first time, guaranteed a secret ballot and provided political parties an increased role in administering the election.

"The Senegalese people should be congratulated for an election process that by all accounts marked a significant improvement from previous efforts," concluded a report issued by NDI.

"However, widespread expectations that a new electoral law alone would eliminate most election-related problems were not met.

The most serious problem identified by the observer delegation was the misuse of special "ordi-

nances" that allowed individuals, whose name did not appear on the registration list, to vote. While the irregularities were cause for concern, the delegation received no evidence that they materially affected the election results.

The 28-member delegation included representatives from 16 countries in Africa, Europe, North America and the Middle East. For three weeks after the election, two NDI representatives remained in Senegal to analyze election complaints and to help prepare a comprehensive report on the electoral process.

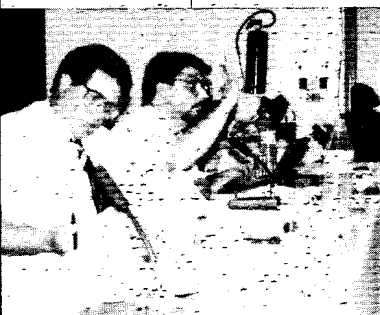
The observer delegation represented an important part of NDI's efforts to support the electoral process in Senegal. In 1990, at the invitation of President Abdou Diouf and with the concurrence of the opposition parties, a multinational delegation evaluated the Senegalese electoral system and recommended specific reforms to promote confidence in the process. Many of those recommendations were incor-

porated into the new law, which was viewed by many Senegalese as a means for avoiding many problems that plagued previous elections.

In the period immediately preceding the February election, NDI organized training seminars throughout the country to assist pollwatching efforts by the political parties. The international trainers included Taofiki Aminou, GERDES-Benin; Fernando Marques da Costa; Marianna Drenska from the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights; Antonio Nadais, a professor of law from Portugal; and Moustapha Osseni, GERDES-Benin.

A small NDI team monitored the May 9 legislative elections and witnessed similar problems to those identified by the February observer group. In July, NDI will organize a roundtable meeting for Senegalese parties to review the presidential and legislative elections, and discuss ways to improve the new electoral law.

Delegation Co-Leaders Fernando Marques da Costa (right) and Kenneth Wollack discuss deployment plan with international observers.



INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION SENEGAL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FEBRUARY 21, 1993

FERNANDO MARQUES DA COSTA
Delegation Co-Leader
Member of Parliament, Portugal

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

DR. AHMED CHARAF AL-DEN
Member, Supreme Election Commission, Yemen

TAOFIKI AMINOU
GERDES-Benin, Benin

FRANK RADOHU
African Jurists Association, Ghana

HANNAH BALDWIN
School of Area Studies, Foreign Service Institute, U.S.

ERIC BJORNLUND
NDI Director of Program Coordination, U.S.

RACHEL BROWNE
Urban Monitoring Awareness Committee, South Africa

JOHN CONNER
Member of Parliament, Ireland

JUAN MANUEL FABRA
Member of Parliament, Spain

JACQUES HERBERT
Senator, Canada

RAQIA HOMIEDAN
Member, Supreme Election Commission, Yemen

DMITRI IVANOV
Vice-Chairman, Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, Bulgaria

CHILUFYA KAPWEPWE
Member of Parliament, Zambia

YAOVI (CHRIS) LEGUEDE
GERDES-Togo, Togo

GUY MARTIN
Political Science Department, Clark Atlanta University, U.S.

LESLIE MONGWAKETSE
Ecumenical Monitoring Programme, South Africa

AZIE TAYLOR MORTON
NDI Board Member, U.S.

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

LEON ODOUODOU
GERDES-Centrafrigue, Central African Republic

MOUSTAPHA OSSANI
GERDES-Benin, Benin

JEAN OUELLET
Communications Officer, Elections Canada, Canada

OUBERT OULAYE
GERDES-Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire

JILL PILGRIM
NDI Advisor, U.S.

FABIO SERMONTI
Alcide de Gasperi Foundation for International Peace and Cooperation, Italy

STEVEN SIEGLER
NDI Advisor, U.S.

TIMOTHY TRENKLE
Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Nancy Kassebaum, U.S.

WILLIAM WECHSLER
Attorney, Bailey & Wechsler, U.S.

Burundi Sets New Standard for Elections in Region

In Central and East Africa, where elections have been marred by significant problems or repeated delays, the Burundi election process offers an historic model," concluded a 15-member international observer delegation to the June 1 presidential election.

At the request of the government, opposition parties and civic organizations, NDI has been actively involved in Burundi's transition process since 1992. Through a series of technical assistance missions, NDI advised efforts to establish a democratic election framework. The Institute also aided political parties and civic organizations engaged in the electoral process.

In April, NDI advisor Jean Lavoie and program officer Kevin Johnson established a permanent field office in Bujumbura to examine pre-election issues in preparation for the international observer delegation sponsored by NDI. Lavoie and Johnson remained in Burundi to follow post-election activities and monitor events leading up to the June 29 parliamentary elections. These elections resulted in the designation of Sylvie Kinigi as Africa's only female prime minister.

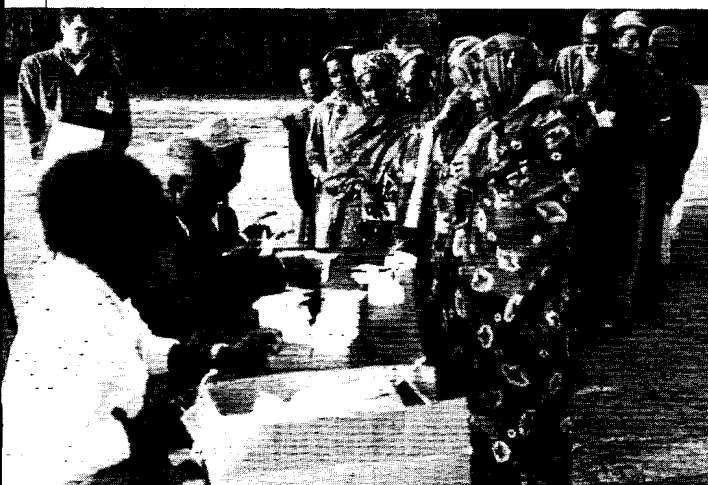
Opposition candidate Melchior Ndadaye won the presidential contest, the country's first multiparty presidential

election in 28 years. After witnessing the successfully conducted election, the international observer delegation congratulated President Pierre Buyoya "for his leadership and commitment in guiding Burundi's transition."

Following years of bloody ethnic conflict, the two elections represent the culmination of a five-year process to establish national unity and multiparty democracy. President Ndadaye, in his July 10 inaugural address, specifically thanked NDI for its contribution to "the successful completion of the electoral process."

International participants in NDI's pre-election program included: Momar Diop, director of information for the Democratic Party of Senegal; Matyas Eorsi, a member of parliament from Hungary; Hilary Fyfe, treasurer and founding member of the National Women's Lobby Group in Zambia; Adamou Kombo, president of the Supervisory Election Commission of Niger; Laszlo Rajk, a member of parliament from Hungary; and Hugo van Rompaey, a senator from Belgium.

Over the next year, NDI plans to help consolidate Burundi's new democracy. Programs will support civic organizations and the newly elected parliament.



NDI Program Officer Kevin Johnson (top left) observes voting at polling site in Ifenda, Burundi during legislative elections.

Mondale to Japan—New Board Members Installed

As we go to print, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale was nominated by President Clinton to serve as U.S. ambassador to Japan. "This Institute benefitted greatly from Vice President Mondale's leadership over the past seven years," said NDI President Kenneth Wollack. "He will be missed by our Board and staff and we wish him every success." NDI Acting Chair Rachelle Horowitz announced that a Board committee will begin a search for a successor to Mr. Mondale.

At its June meeting, the NDI Board of Directors elected eight new members to the Institute's 35-member governing body.

They are: Dante B. Fascell, former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; John S. Hendricks, founder, chairman and CEO of the Discovery and Learning cable television channels; Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza; William M. Daley [temporarily on leave], an attorney with the Chicago law firm of Mayer, Brown & Platt; William V. Alexander, former member of Congress from Arkansas; Barbara J. Easterling, Secretary-Treasurer of the Communications Workers of America; Patrick J. Griffin, former Secretary of the Democrats in the U.S. Senate; and Maxine Isaacs, a fellow at the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION BURUNDI PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, JUNE 1, 1993

MANUEL PINTO DA COSTA
Delegation Co-Leader
Former President of Sao Tome and Principe

ALAN GANOO
Attorney General and Minister of Justice, Mauritius

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Associate, U.S.

CHARLES LAPOINTE
Delegation Co-Leader
Former Minister of State for External Relations
Canada

JOSEPH H. GNONLONFON
Member of Parliament, Benin

LEILA ABOUZEID
Member, Parliamentary President's Cabinet, Morocco

BERNADETTE KOUYA KAPET
GERDES-Côte d'Ivoire, Côte d'Ivoire

NYONATO AMEGA
GERDES-Gabon, Gabon

ADAMOU KOMBO
President, Supervisory Election Commission, Niger

TESSY BAKARY
Professor of Political Science, University of Laval, Canada

DRAGICA PONORAC
Secretary General, Freedom of Speech, France

RUTH CINNIGER
Assistant Attorney General, State of Oregon, U.S.

HUGO VAN ROMPAEY
Senator, Belgium

MOMAR DIOP
Director of Information, Democratic Party, Senegal

EWALD WERMUTH
Chairman, Amsterdam Branch, Christian Democratic Party, Netherlands

FORMER SOVIET UNION

NDI field representative James Chavin (far left) at opening session of seminar on relationship between economic development and political reform in Kazakhstan.



NDI Expands Activities in the Former Soviet Union

NDI's field offices in the former Soviet Union continue to expand activities in the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan with programming aimed at local governments, political parties, parliaments and civic groups. Training and technical assistance projects support these newly independent states as they take steps to establish self-rule and build democratic institutions.

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

NDI gave concrete and timely support to the April 25 referendum in the Russian Federation. The referendum tested public confidence in President Boris Yeltsin's administration and called for early parliamentary elections. NDI was asked to help train domestic election monitors and to participate in a televised voter-education campaign.

One week before the balloting, an NDI team of election experts conducted training seminars for prospective Russian election monitors. More than 180 civic and political party representatives participated. The team also appeared on a nationally televised broadcast on election monitoring activities. According to Russian observers, the seminars and television show helped develop a monitoring effort that mobilized thousands of pollwatchers across the Russian Federation on referendum day.

In conjunction with pollwatching training, NDI also

developed a voter-education program for the referendum. Communications experts Peter Fenn and Mark Putnam produced and filmed a public-service announcement that explained balloting procedures and urged participation in the process. The announcement ran on the national networks Ostankino and Russian Television several times a day the week before the referendum. One television official reported that although a number of referendum-related programs were received from foreign sources, only NDI's voter-education piece was broadcast.

In addition to efforts supporting the referendum, NDI broadened its program to strengthen political parties in the Russian Federation. In February, NDI brought 10 international experts to Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod to conduct week-long seminars with regional representatives from the major political parties in the Russian Federation. More than 350 political party organizers participated in four intensive workshops examining strategy and management, communications, grassroots organizing and fundraising. Responding to post-seminar requests for assistance, NDI field representative Gregory Minjack provided follow-on training to political parties in regional centers, including Cheliabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Novosibirsk, Vladikavkaz and Volgograd.

In January, Joanne Adams, an expert on local government, joined NDI's Moscow staff. Since then, she has advised mayors and city council members in Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, Yekaterinburg, Voronezh, Riazan and eight other cities. Adams has also translated and distributed sample budgets, municipal charters and other training materials for municipal officials.

Michael Robinson (far right) discusses strategies for referenda at seminar for political parties in Nizhnii Novgorod. Also pictured (l to r): Andrew Ellis, Polly Agee and NDI field staff assistant Konstantin Panin.



UKRAINE

NDI continued to devote its efforts to political party training in Ukraine. A seminar entitled "Organizing for Elections" was held in the Black Sea city of Odessa. The March seminar encouraged political and legal preparations for national elections and referenda through the exchange of practical skills and techniques. An international team of eight organizational experts used an election case study to train 110 representatives from 13 parties.

To meet the demand for more information about democratic politics as the country moves toward elections, NDI posted a second field representative to Kiev in March. Marta Baziuk has begun developing programs to educate



Ann Lewis leads discussion on strategy and organization for political parties in Odessa, Ukraine.

voters and strengthen civic organizations. She joined Sarah Farnsworth, who has been advising political parties since last August.

NDI's Kiev office also added a local government component to its political party training program, arranging for municipal and public administration experts from the United States to travel to Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzherzhinsk and Petrovka where they advised local officials there.

CENTRAL ASIA

NDI's civic education program began in January with a series of three seminars on "Effective Organizing" in Almaty. An audience of more than 100 civic activists learned about basic concepts relating to administration, volunteer recruitment, coalition-building and message development.

As in Moscow and Kiev, NDI's field representative in Central Asia, James Chavin, has distributed resource materials on democratic institutions to political, civic and business groups.

During February and March, seminars were conducted on the relationship between economic development and political reform in Almaty, Bishkek and Tashkent—the capital cities of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. More than 400 attended, representing a wide spectrum of political parties and tendencies, civic organizations, government officials, academics and business enterprises.

An international faculty of political and economic experts addressed the challenges of instituting economic and political reform simultaneously. [Similar programs, cosponsored by the Washington, D.C.-based Center for International Private Enterprise, were held in St. Petersburg, Russia and Lviv, Ukraine in late May and early June.]

In his report on the conferences in Almaty and Bishkek, Woong Kyu Cho, director of the Center for International Education at Keimyung University in South Korea, stated that "the local participants can develop from these conferences an effective and practical mechanism to evaluate their priorities and to formulate strategies for democratic and economic development in their respective countries."

In June, NDI conducted an election law seminar in Bishkek for political parties from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. An international faculty discussed basic tenets of democratic electoral codes, and international standards for free and fair elections.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINERS NDI PROGRAMS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, JANUARY-JUNE, 1993

POLLY AGEE
President, Agee and Company, U.S.

ANNA BENNET
Partner, Bennet, Petts and Associates, U.S.

WOONG KYU CHO
Dean of Foreign Studies, Keimyung University in Taegu, South Korea

PRAN CHOPRA
Professor, Center for Policy Research, India

THOMAS E. CRONIN
Acting President and McHugh Professor of American Institutions and Leadership, Colorado College, U.S.

ABRAHAM DISKIN
Chairman, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University, Israel

DAVID DIX
President, Dix Political Communications, U.S.

ANDREW ELLIS
Former Secretary General, Liberal Party, United Kingdom

AMOS EIRAN
Histadrut Representative to North America, Israel

PETER FENN
Partner, Fenn-King-Murphy Communications, Inc., U.S.

ANGEL FLISFISCH DE FERNANDEZ
Director of Studies Division, General Secretariat of the President, Chile

MATTHEW FRUMIN
Attorney, Arnold & Porter, U.S.

GREGORY GLEASON
Associate Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, U.S.

PHILIP GOULD
President, Philip Gould Associates, United Kingdom

CHRISTO IVANOV
Member of Parliament, Bulgaria

LEVENT KOKER
Professor of Political Science; Member, Turkish Democracy Foundation, Turkey

JOHN KRAUSS
Former Deputy Mayor of Indianapolis, U.S.

MARTA LAGOS CRUZ-COKE
Public Opinion Pollster; Founder, Participa, Chile

ANN F. LEWIS
President, Politics Inc., U.S.

JEAN DE MALVINSKY
Academy for Education Development, Moscow Office, U.S.

MIGUEL MESQUITA DA CUMBA
Commission of the European Communities in Brussels, Belgium

JAN PETER PAUL
Helsinki Institute, Finland

MANFRED RAIBENEICK
Political Consultant, International Department, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Germany

IVAR RAIG
Member of Parliament and State Assembly, Estonia

MICHAEL ROBINSON
Public Affairs Consultant, Earnsclofts Strategy Group, Inc., Canada

ANDREW SCHWARTZ
Commodities Trade Consultant to the World Bank; Professor of Economics, Charles University, Czech Republic

MITCHELL SCHWARTZ
Political Affairs Consultant, U.S.

DAVID SEDDON
Professor of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, United Kingdom

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

SALLY SHELTON
NDI Board Member, U.S.

KAREN SHERMAN
Vice President, Home and Host International, U.S.

AMY R. SIMON
Vice President, November Group, Inc., U.S.

HIKMET SAMI TURK
Professor of Law, University of Ankara, Turkey

TIBOR VIDOS
Executive Director, GfW Government Relations, Ltd., Hungary

THOMAS VOLGY
Former Mayor of Tucson, Arizona; Professor of Political Science, University of Arizona, U.S.

JACK WALSH
Jack Walsh Associates, U.S.



Kevin Kayes leads a discussion on parliamentary organization at seminar for members of Namibian National Council. Also seated (l to r): Patrick Mvunga; Eric Janse de Jonge; Kandi Nebouwa, chair of the National Council; Carol Martin; Kayes; and Maurice Manning.

Namibian Lawmakers Participate in NDI Program

NDI continued its program in support of Namibia's parliament by conducting a two-day training seminar in Windhoek. The May seminar provided practical information and technical assistance on parliamentary organization to the National Council, the newly elected upper house of the legislature.

At working sessions, a panel of international experts addressed topics related to parliamentary rules and procedures. All 26 members of the National Council attended the conference, which was the second legislative training program sponsored by NDI since Namibia gained independence in 1990.

International trainers for the May seminar included Eric Janse de Jonge, a professor of law at Tilberg University in the Netherlands; Kevin Kayes, assistant parliamentarian for the U.S. Senate; Maurice Manning, a senator from Ireland; and Patrick Mvunga, a member of parliament from Zambia. NDI Senior Associate Patricia Keefe and Namibia field representative Carol Martin also participated.

Through future programs for members and staff, NDI plans to continue providing technical assistance to the country's parliament. A follow-on conference on legislative procedures is planned for July. ●

(South Africa continued from page 1)

discussed electoral techniques used in other countries. The sessions also featured presentations by leading South Africans.

The first conference addressed political, institutional and administrative issues related to the development of South Africa's first democratic elections. The second examined the election technology and strategies employed by other countries. At the final conference, participants learned about various election monitoring activities.

In a keynote address at the first conference, NDI Board member Andrew Young urged the audience to put their faith in democracy rather than violence. "Democracy not only works better than violence, it works even when you lose," Young, a former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, told the Cape Town conference. Young and Botswana diplomat Joseph Legwaila, who helped administer Namibia's first elections in 1989, warned that political rivalry could undermine South Africa's transition to democracy.

Speaking at the second conference, Frank Chikane, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, also counseled tolerance and cooperation. "Enough blood has been shed," he said. Chikane asked the participants to take the lead in making responsible choices for the good of the whole country. "It is in this light that this seminar that is focused on enhancing the capacity of political groups of this country to participate judiciously and effectively in the upcoming elections is deeply appreciated," he said.

To compensate for South Africans' lack of experience in elections, NDI is also sponsoring South Africans as participants in election observing programs in other countries. Political and civic leaders have been invited by NDI and CDS to observe elections in Angola, Cambodia, Georgia, Madagascar, Paraguay, Romania and Senegal. ●

INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS ELECTION SYSTEMS CONFERENCES SOUTH AFRICA, 1993

CHARLES ANDREAE
Consultant, International
Republican Institute, U.S.

TURID BIRKELAND
International Union of Socialist
Youth, Norway

ERIC BJORNLUND
NDI Director of Program
Coordination, U.S.

PETER BOTTOMLY
Member of Parliament, U.K.

MAURA BRUEGER
NDI Advisor, U.S.

JAN BUBENIK
Former Member of Parliament,
Czech Republic

NIGEL BUTTLER
Oxfordshire County Council, U.K.

RODGER CHONGWE
Minister of Justice, Zambia

STONEY COOKS
African-American Institute, U.S.

MARK DURKAN
Social Democratic and Labour
Party, Northern Ireland

JORGEN ELKLIT
University of Aarhus, Denmark

BRIAN FEENEY
Social Democratic and Labour
Party, Northern Ireland

ALICIA GALDAMES
Participa, Chile

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Associate, U.S.

NAHUM GORELICK
Namibian Broadcasting
Corporation, Namibia

JOYCE GOULD
Labour Party, U.K.

RONALD GOULD
Elections Canada, Canada

STANLEY GREENBERG
Greenberg Research, U.S.

FRANK GREER
Greer, Margolis, Mitchell &
Associates, U.S.

DASHA HAVEL
Civic Forum Foundation, Czech
Republic

HOPHINI HAMAFUNGU
South Western African Peoples'
Organization, Namibia

Strengthening Political Parties in Zambia

NDI continued its multi-year program to strengthen Zambian political parties by conducting a series of training seminars at the local level. The February 28-March 8 seminars were designed to assist local officials who were elected last November in Zambia's first multiparty elections for town mayors and council members.

An international faculty of political and municipal experts addressed institutional and political issues that enable local political party organizations to support and influence local government. The workshops emphasized the exchange of practical skills and information, as well as a spirit of compromise among political parties and municipal officials.

Following a day of briefings with national political party leaders in Lusaka, the faculty conducted workshops in Kitwe, Chipata and Livingstone. More than 90 political party leaders, local elected officials and civic activists attended the three workshops. Most Zambian participants had never attended a political meeting on democracy, since few such forums are held outside the capital. Afterward, participants expressed a determination to take their newly learned skills to the village level.

The international experts included Joseph Gardner, former deputy director of the Chicago Housing Authority and currently commissioner of water reclamation in Chicago; Rosina Mannathoko, former mayor of Gaborone, Botswana and currently a city council member from Francistown; and Mark Soady, international secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party in the United Kingdom. They were accompanied by NDI advisor Maura Brueger and Program Officer Rodney Washington.

In cooperation with the London-based Westminster Foundation for Democracy, a democratic development institute funded by the British parliament, NDI launched the party training program last year, holding a series of consultations and seminars for Zambian party leaders. NDI plans to continue its program this fall by placing a political party advisor in Lusaka and organizing similar training sessions in other cities.

In cooperation with the London-based Westminster Foundation for Democracy, a democratic development institute funded by the British parliament, NDI launched the party training program last year, holding a series of consultations and seminars for Zambian party leaders. NDI plans to continue its program this fall by placing a political party advisor in Lusaka and organizing similar training sessions in other cities.

●

NDI Helps Launch South African Election Support Project

NDI has joined with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the International Republican Institute (IRI) to undertake a comprehensive program of election support assistance to political organizations in South Africa.

The multiparty effort will assist democratic political organizations educate voters and compete responsibly in the elections. It is also designed to help a previously disenfranchised population gain confidence in the political institutions critical to a democratic South Africa.

NDI and IRI will organize bipartisan teams of experts to provide technical assistance in specific areas of election processes to each party through election day. The NDI training teams will include: Nancy Clack, Stanley Greenberg, Frank Greer, Peter Kelly, Celinda Lake, Ronald Lester, Ann Lewis, Michael McAdams and Wanda Williams. These political experts will advise on survey research, voter contact, communications and organization.

To complement the training program, the Joint Center plans to convene periodic roundtable discussions with representatives from all South African political organizations on topics of mutual interest such as voter registration, election security, codes of ethics and pollwatching.

Stanley Greenberg (center) and Milton Morris (to Greenberg's right) discuss survey research techniques at conference in Johannesburg, South Africa.



WALTER KAMBA
Election Supervisory Committee,
Zimbabwe

PATRICIA KEEFER
NDI Senior Associate, U.S.

ANGELA KING
Observer Mission in South Africa,
United Nations

CELINDA LAKE
Mellman, Lazarus & Lake, Inc., U.S.

L. JOSEPH LEGWAILA
Organization of African Unity

RONALD LESTER
Lester & Associates Inc., U.S.

ANDREW MATJILA
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance,
Namibia

GAY MCDUGALL
Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights
Under Law, U.S.

WOLFGANG METZ
Ministry for Urban Development,
Land Brandenburg, Potsdam,
Germany

JAYNE WANJIRU MICHUKI
International Federation of Women
Lawyers, Kenya

SWITHUN T. MOMBESHORE
Minister of State for Local
Government, Zimbabwe

MILTON MORRIS
Joint Center for Political and
Economic Studies, U.S.

ROSEMARY MULUMO
Zambian Elections Monitoring
Coordinating Committee, Zambia

ADRIAN MUUNGA
Zambian Elections Monitoring
Coordinating Committee, Zambia

SEGUN OHISOLA
International Training Program for
Peace, Nigeria

STEN OHLSSON
Swedish Socialist Party, Sweden

GEORGE SHERRELL
Leon Tempelman & Son, U.S.

ISMAT STEINER
Observer Mission in South Africa,
United Nations

FOSTER STRINGER
American Federation of Teachers, U.S.

JOHN SWEETMAN
London Metropolitan Police Force, U.K.

PATRICIO Y. TAN
National Citizens Movement for
Free Elections, Philippines

DENIS VAULTIER
National Security Force, France

LOREN WELLS
Elections Ontario, Canada

ANDREW YOUNG
Law International, Inc., U.S.

TONY ZAGOTTA
College Republicans, U.S.

Panama's Parties Confront Apathy

NDI's technical assistance program in Panama is designed to help political parties overcome growing apathy among the citizenry. The program began with a series of 14 focus groups to analyze voter attitudes toward the country's return to democracy and the nation's current political party system. The findings of the focus-group research

were presented to the political parties at an NDI-sponsored seminar in May.

During the opening session of the seminar, held in Panama City, Robert Schroth, who conducted the focus groups for NDI, presented a detailed assessment of voter sentiment to more than 130 representatives of parties, the electoral tribunal and the press. "Panamanians speak clearly and eloquently when asked to describe what democracy means to them," Schroth found in his analysis. He said that Panamanians are proud to finally have the freedom of expression, but "feel that their political leaders are disconnected from their hopes, dreams and ambitions."

The focus groups were conducted May 9 to 14 among 157 Panamanian voters. The sample represented nearly 70 percent of Panama's population and included members of all classes, races, political and

religious affiliations.

Following discussion of the focus-group findings, a panel of international experts led a series of workshops designed to promote democratization of internal party functions, and improve the organizational capabilities of parties, expand their constituency support, frame their parliamentary initiatives and communicate their positions to party members and the public at large.

The international delegation comprised Gustavo Ferrari, an advisor to the Radical Party in Argentina; Eugenio Rene Marcos Reyes, chief of staff for the Party for Democracy in Chile; Armando Ruiz, former member of the Arizona State Senate and House of Representatives, U.S.; Robert Schroth; and Dane Strother, a U.S.-based media expert.

Based on recommendations from the May seminar, NDI will conduct regional seminars in August that will provide information and advice on grassroots organization to local political party leaders and activists throughout Panama.

Bolivians Debate Political Party Legislation

In mid-February, NDI conducted a conference for Bolivian legislators as they begin to debate laws governing the country's political parties. The program, held in La Paz, was co-sponsored by the National Electoral Court (CNE) of Bolivia, the country's chief election body.

An international faculty of political experts led plenary sessions and workshops for members of the CNE, representatives of nine political parties, members of Congress and journalists. The training panel comprised Gustavo Ferrari, an Argentine political party organizer; Gerardo Galeote, a constitutional lawyer from Spain; and Patricia Reilly, a campaign finance specialist from the United States.

NDI developed the program in response to a request from the CNE, which has raised concerns that no legislative framework existed to govern Bolivian political parties. Legislative experts who had visited Bolivia on NDI's behalf during the past two years expressed similar concerns and commented on the lack of public participation in political parties.

In addition, recent debate over campaign financing made political legislation a high priority for the Congress. While

basic agreement exists on the need for change, the debate remains deadlocked over specific reform measures. Political leaders have stated that campaign finance will be one of the first legislative initiatives debated in the chamber when Congress convenes in July.

During the conference, the Bolivian participants agreed on the need for the regulation of political party and campaign finances to help create a more equitable system. They also concurred that party registration requirements should foster inclusiveness and openness. At the end of the panel discussions, the party representatives recorded issues on which there was agreement. NDI made the documentation of these consensus issues a centerpiece of the program since they provide the basis from which members of Congress can begin formal debate on new legislation.

After the seminar, Bolivian participants presented their recommendations at a press conference, which received extensive media coverage. NDI plans to hold similar sessions with members of Congress on specific issues, such as campaign financing, once reform legislation is formally introduced.

At Panama City training seminar, Armando Ruiz leads workshop session on fundraising for political party leaders.



Strengthening Political Parties in Hungary

In response to requests from parliamentary and political party leaders, NDI began a year-long program to assist Hungarian parties as they prepare for national elections in 1994.

The NDI program is designed not only to help strengthen the ability of parties to compete effectively in the electoral process, but also to encourage elected representatives to maintain contact with their constituents following elections. As one observer of the Hungary scene noted, "The local party organizations must learn to create the conditions that make it worth the parliamentarian's time to return to his or her village."

The upcoming elections will be the second multiparty contest since the democratic transition began in 1988 and will provide an important indicator of the parties' success in building strong, broad-based institutions that address citizens' concerns.

In February and March, NDI organized consultations with four of the political parties: the governing Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), and the National Democratic Alliance (NDSZ). Throughout the summer and early fall, similar consultations are scheduled with the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP).

The political party consultations were held in Budapest where a group of political experts divided into four teams

to work individually with the Hungarian parties. Team members included: Deanna Beach, assistant national director of organizing for the New Democratic Party in Canada; Phil Caplan, director of the Washington State Democratic Party's coordinated campaign; Steve De Micco, former director of the New Jersey Democratic Party; Ivan Doherty, secretary general of Fine Gael in Ireland; Maren Hesla, Rindy Media, U.S.; Tom Lindenfeld, the Democratic National Committee's national coordinated campaign director; Fabio Sermoniti, adviser to the Italian Foreign Affairs Committee and the Italian Christian Democratic Party; Alfons Von Dyck, director of communication for the Belgian Socialist Party (Flemish); Carl Wagner, Wagner Communications; and Paul Willems, international secretary of the Belgian People's Party.

The content of each consultation was tailored to meet the needs of each party. One major topic addressed the development of national networks of party offices and volunteers. Another topic underscored the importance of initiating constituent contact, and highlighted the role of elected officials and candidates in responding to voter concerns.

Subsequent consultations in September will focus on helping party leaders develop training programs for regional managers; and devising strategies for recruiting and training candidates and volunteers. ●

Promoting Tolerance at the Local Level

NDI and the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR) cosponsored a seminar last April to promote tolerance in multi-ethnic communities in Romania, Bulgaria and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The three-day program, held in Sofia, sought to provide participants from 11 cities and towns with the skills needed to improve the relationships among different ethnic groups in their respective communities. Participants were selected on the basis of their involvement in local government, mass media or civic organizations. Ethnic groups included Bulgarians, Hungarians, Macedonians, Romanians, Turks, and the Gypsy communities in Romania and Bulgaria.

Six international experts shared their experiences with reconciliation techniques at the local level. The international faculty comprised Gil Bachrach, organizer of the Munich candlelight vigil to combat anti-foreign sentiment; Anthony Gallagher, a conflict resolution expert from Northern Ireland; Richard Lobenthal, the Michigan director of the Anti-Defamation League; Patrick Merloe, a San Francisco human rights attorney; Josephine Moerman, a Flemish local councillor; and Marie Nahikian, a Washington D.C. community activist.

NDI targeted local communities for a number of reasons. First, ethnic intolerance is often most acute at the local level where accurate information is frequently scarce and rumors fuel deep-rooted prejudices. In addition, as the countries of East-Central Europe concentrate on national reform issues, the role of the local institutions is often ignored. Finally, it is often at the local level where people look for solutions to the most pressing problems of everyday life.

During plenary sessions, the trainers focused on strategies that had been successful in their own multi-ethnic communities. At workshops, participants played simulated roles under real-life situations, such as assuming the part of a local government representative faced with closing an ethnic-minority language school. Peter Temelkovski, an artist from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, said that the discussions helped him realize that he should not lose his passion and energy; rather, he should channel his emotions more constructively.

NDI delegation leader Walter Carrington (third from left) joins leaders of coordinated observer delegations for February 27 presidential election to announce findings at Niamey, Niger press conference.



NDI Coordinates Observers to Niger Elections

As part of a continuing effort to assist Niger's democratic transition, NDI supported an innovative program to coordinate election observers to the country's legislative and presidential elections. NDI joined the United Nations in the effort to organize, brief, train and deploy Nigerian and international election observers.

On March 27, Mahamane Ousmane, the leader of the opposition Alliance for Change (AFC) won the presidential run-off election with 54 percent of the vote. He defeated Tandja Mamadou, the candidate of the former ruling party. The election represented the culmination of Niger's transition to a multi-party system. Legislative elections and the first round of the presidential contest were held a month earlier.

Soon after receiving an invitation last October from the government of Niger to observe the elections, NDI contacted the New York-based United Nations

Electoral Assistance Unit, representatives of donor countries in Niger and other international and local non-governmental organizations to determine their plans for election monitoring.

In January, five weeks before the legislative elections, a full-time secretariat was established in Niamey. Staffed by the resident representative of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and NDI field representative Steven Dinken, the secretariat prepared an assessment report on the preparations for the elections and the campaign environment. It also trained monitors and made organizational and logistical arrangements for the coordinated observer effort. As part of the coordinated effort, Sanford Unger, dean of the School of Communications at American University and Walter Carrington, former U.S. ambassador to Senegal, led small NDI delegations to the legislative and first-round presidential election respectively. In all, more than 45 delegations and 400 observers participated in the NDI-sponsored program during the three elections. ●

Benin Parties Learn New Skills

NDI sponsored seminars in March to strengthen political parties represented in Benin's National Assembly. Although 22 parties were elected to the newly elected Assembly, most are considered "electoral clubs" organized around individuals or regions rather than party platforms.

The seminars, cosponsored by the Benin chapter of GERDES-Africa, a pan-African civic organization, focused on building political parties into responsive, policy oriented organizations that can play an important role in the country's democratization process. Specific topics examined organization and resource management, policy formulation, constituent services, communication strategies and the parties' role in governing.

An international team of political and parliamentary experts addressed organizational tools necessary to build and sustain strong political organizations. They were joined by members of the National Assembly, and representatives of political parties, civic organizations and the media. The international training team comprised Elizabeth Arnold and Fernando Marques da Costa, members of parliament from Holland and Portugal respectively; Alan Ganoo, minister of Justice from Mauritius; Laszlo Rajk, a member of parliament from Hungary; and Babacar Touré, a journalist from Senegal. ●

Alao Ayo Sadikou, president of GERDES-Africa, opens conference for political parties in Cotonou, Benin. Also pictured: NDI Program Officer Gerald Mitchell.



NDI Sponsors Seminar for West African Civic Groups

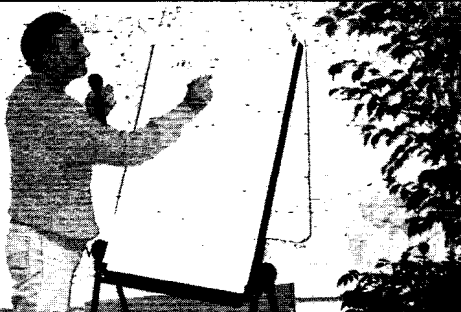
Representatives from civic groups in 12 west African countries convened in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire to plan future activities and enhance the capabilities of their respective organizations. NDI sponsored the conference as part of its broader program in support of civic education in the region.

The February conference brought together more than 60 leaders from local chapters of the Study and Research Group for Democracy and Economic and Social Development, known by its French acronym GERDES, and other civic organizations that have emerged in recent years to promote democratic political systems in the region. NDI and GERDES, which has branches in more than 20 African countries, have cooperated on election monitoring and civic education programs in seven west African countries.

A faculty of international experts discussed a range of democratic development activities, as well as technical issues relating to the administration of civic organizations. The seminar also provided a setting for interaction among representatives of different African groups who had not met previously.

The international faculty included: Jean Christophe Bas with the European Fund for Freedom of Expression in France; Meredith McGehee, a legislative representative with Common Cause in the United States; and Mariano Quesada, a founding member of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines.

The panel on organization sparked considerable discussion on whether civic groups should remain small, seeking primarily to influence policymakers, or adopt a more broad-based grassroots approach. Many of the organizations at the seminar are at a crossroads in their development as they consider evolving from small research operations comprised of like-minded individuals into larger, more activist groups.



Malcolm Rodrigues describes the organizational structure of the Electoral Assistance Bureau in Guyana at workshop for civic organizations held in Washington, D.C.

Civic Organizations Look Beyond Elections

Leaders of civic organizations from 14 countries met in Washington, D.C. last January to develop strategies that could help consolidate democratic systems in their respective countries. The civic leaders came from new democracies in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Sponsored by NDI, the week-long program addressed the role of civic groups, many of which were established as election-monitoring organizations, in supporting the development of democracy at the national and local levels after elections.

In countries making the transition to democratic government, domestic monitoring groups have successfully educated the citizenry about multiparty elections and deterred electoral fraud. NDI believes that the survival of these organizations is essential to the institutionalization of a stable democratic system because, in most cases, elections mark only the beginning of the

restoration of civil society.

During workshop sessions, the participants at the January program addressed the challenges involved in sustaining civic organizations in a non-election setting. Examples of activities undertaken by the different organizations ranged from monitoring the voting record of legislators to encouraging women's participation in politics to developing civic education programs.

The workshops enabled the organizations to share experiences about their evolution and organizational structures, fundraising efforts, and relationships with other nongovernment organizations, the media and governments.

Participants in the program not only examined the development of their respective organizations, but also discussed ways in which they could work with NDI to promote the emergence of similar civic groups in other countries.



Caroll Moudachitrou discusses programs conducted by GERDES-Benin during session for civic groups in transition societies. To Moudachitrou's left is David Cohen, co-director of the Advocacy Institute, who moderated the panel.

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS IN TRANSITION SOCIETIES

ANICETA B. ABION
National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), Philippines

EMILIO ALVAREZ ICAZA
Association of Civic Groups for Democracy (Convergencia), Mexico

CARLOS MATEO BALMELLI
Center for Democratic Studies, Paraguay

ALEJANDRA BARRA
Participa, Chile

ESTEBAN CABALLERO
Center for Democratic Studies, Paraguay

FABIEN EBOUSSI BOULAGA
Study and Research Group on Democracy, Economy and Social Development (GERDES)—Cameroon

RANDI ERENTZEN
Center for Democratic Studies, South Africa

JULIO FAESLER
Council for Democracy, Mexico

ALICIA GALDAMES
Participa, Chile

FEROZ HASSAN
Study and Research Group on Democracy and Socio-Economic Development, Bangladesh

ALINA INAYEH
Pro-Democracy Association, Romania

ROKHSANA KHONDKER
Attorney, Bangladesh

CANDIDE LEGUEDE
Study and Research Group on Democracy, Economy and Social Development (GERDES)—Togo

GUILLERMO M. LUZ
National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, Philippines

CAROLL MOUDACHIROU
Study and Research Group on Democracy, Economy and Social Development (GERDES)—Benin

CHRISTINE Y. N'GAMBI
Foundation for Democratic Process, Zambia

MAPANZA NKWILIMBA
Foundation for Democratic Process, Zambia

LEON ROCKCLIFFE
Electoral Assistance Bureau, Guyana

MALCOLM RODRIGUES
Electoral Assistance Bureau, Guyana

SOLEDAD SANTOLAYA
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Pro-Democracy Association, Romania

MARTIN TOTO
Society for Free Elections and Democratic Culture, Albania

MICHAEL YANAKIEV
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, Bulgaria

(Cambodia continued from page 1)

of the six-week electoral campaign, NDI worked with the parties to train pollwatchers, conduct voter education activities and develop mechanisms for party activists to report on the conduct of the elections during the five-day voting period.

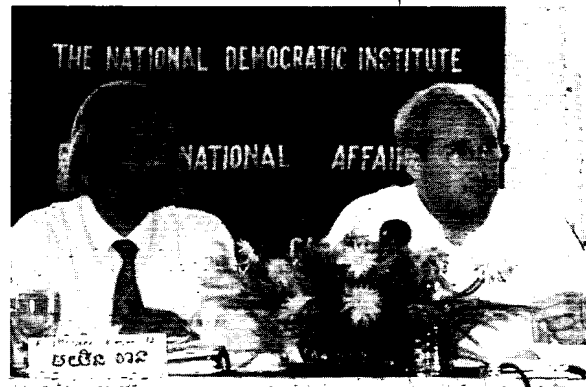
NDI's political party work supplemented the UN effort to administer and safeguard the elections, and provided opportunities for Cambodian parties to register concerns with UN authorities.

Following the May elections, NDI helped familiarize members of the newly elected Constituent Assembly with procedural and substantive issues as they attempt to write a constitution. In June, the Institute brought legislative experts Edward Feighan, a former U.S. representative from Ohio, and Dr. A. Moyeen Khan, a member of parliament from the

ruling Nationalist Party of Bangladesh, to lead workshops in Phnom Penh for 85 of the 120 members of the Assembly.

Feighan and Khan both reinforced the need to establish a constitutional framework aimed at institution-building and not the promotion of personalities; promote public accountability of the parliament; and identify the broadest common ground for creating institutions and postpone issues that prove too divisive until after a constitution is produced.

(l to r) Dr. A. Moyeen Khan and Edward Feighan at workshop in Phnom Penh for members of Constituent Assembly.



UPCOMING PROGRAMS

ALBANIA NDI will establish a field office to support civic education programs by the Tirana-based Society for Democratic Culture. The Institute will also undertake a parliamentary training project with members of the national legislature.

ARGENTINA NDI plans to convene a forum for election experts, party leaders and government officials to examine pending electoral reform proposals.

BALTIC NDI will conduct a seminar in Vilnius, Lithuania in June to examine the role of the media in a democracy. Journalists, scholars and government spokespersons from the three Baltic countries will participate.

BANGLADESH NDI and members of parliament will convene seminars to promote closer relations between parliamentarians and their constituents.

BULGARIA NDI will continue support for the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR) by providing organizational and management skills to local leaders of the civic organization.

CZECH AND SLOVAKIA REPUBLICS NDI is developing a multi-year civic education program to increase citizen participation in local, regional and national politics.

ETHIOPIA NDI will place two field representatives in Addis Ababa to implement a year-long civic education program with Ethiopian political and civic organizations.

MALAWI NDI will provide technical assistance to Malawian political groups in anticipation of the June 14 referendum on the future of one-party rule in the country. The program is designed to help Malawians monitor the historic referendum.

MOZAMBIQUE NDI will conduct a series of public opinion studies that will help design a voter education program for the 1994 national elections. The Institute will also hold a series of consultations with the government and political parties to help advance agreement on the election law.

PAKISTAN NDI will undertake a comprehensive effort to monitor the October 6 national elections. The program will include training for Pakistani political parties and civic groups.

ROMANIA NDI will organize a series of programs throughout the country to enhance communications between members of parliament and their constituents.

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