



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

NDI REPORTS

Romania Holds Local Elections *Parliament Moves to Restrict Future Role of Domestic Observers*

A 30-member international observer delegation described the February 9 local elections in Romania as a "meaningful step forward for the process of democratization," but urged the adoption of election reform measures before upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections.

The observer mission, sponsored jointly by NDI and the International Republican Institute (IRI) included parliamentarians, jurists, political party leaders and election experts from 10 countries. In addition to observing the polling in 16 regions throughout the country, the delegation members also benefitted from pre-election reports issued by the two institutes, which were present in Romania to monitor the campaign.

Although the ruling National Salvation Front won the majority of mayoral and city council races, the opposition Democratic Convention, a multiparty coalition, scored victories in major cities, including Bucharest, Brasov, Timisoara and Constanta.

The observer delegation pointed to a number of positive developments since the 1990 national elections. These included a marked decrease in violence and intimidation. At the same time, the observer group said there was a "significant imbalance" between the resources of the ruling party and the opposition, and a "disturbing degree" of state control over the distribution of information.

While the voting and counting were generally orderly, the delegation observed "widespread procedural inconsistencies" as well as isolated irregularities, such as inaccurate voter lists.

Among its recommendations for reform, the delegation advocated a more reliable distribution of newspapers, consideration of public financing for political parties, new efforts to ensure the integrity of the voter lists, and the establishment of impartial bodies to promulgate election procedures and investigate complaints.

The NDI/IRI delegation was particularly impressed by the role played by Romanian observers. Groups such

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Cedric Thornberry of the United Nations discusses the role of the U.N. in monitoring elections.

PROMOTING MULTIPARTY ELECTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Government officials, political party leaders, and representatives of civic groups from nine countries in southern Africa joined together last January to discuss ways to promote democratic elections in the region.

Held in Mt Etjo, Namibia, the NDI-sponsored conference included leaders of organizations and governments that have been adversaries for decades and, in some cases, engaged in armed struggle. They met for the first time to analyze the political transitions in the region and to discuss how they could secure a foundation for democracy through free elections. The 90 participants included representatives of the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party and Labour Party in South Africa, as well as the MPLA and UNITA in Angola.

These southern African participants were joined by a faculty of election experts and political leaders from the U. S., Europe, Latin America, other African regions, the U. N. and the Organization of African Unity.

"It is my belief that this conference, coming at the time when peoples all over the world, including those in our own region, are intensifying their demand for

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, a nonprofit organization, conducts nonpartisan international programs to help maintain and strengthen democratic institutions.



BOLIVIA

Bolivians Debate Political Reform

An international delegation, sponsored by NDI, visited Bolivia in March to conduct the first in a series of seminars on political reform.

Ten years after Bolivia's return to democracy, its leaders are reassessing the role of the country's democratic institutions. Issues being discussed include a new system of repre-

sentation that would make members of Congress more accountable to their constituencies, reform of the indirect process in which the president and vice president are elected, and democratization of political parties.

In separate consultations with the political parties, the international experts helped contribute to the Bolivian debate by sharing experiences on political reform initiatives by their respective legislatures. These consultations were followed by an all-parties roundtable discussion in which Bolivian politicians and the NDI delegation examined how constitutional reform could enhance the role of the Congress.

The NDI delegation included Art Torres, a California State Senator; Jose Joaquin Penarrubia, a parliamentarian from the Popular Party of Spain; and Gustavo Ferrari Wolferson, a senior adviser to the Radical Party of Argentina. The delegation was accompanied by NDI adviser Santiago Canton and Program Assistant Steven Griner.

The NDI delegation will publish a report in Spanish on its findings. It will be distributed to Bolivian members of Congress and other political leaders. The Institute is planning follow-on programs, which will include technical assistance to help strengthen the organizational capabilities of Bolivian parties. ●

EAGLETON ADDRESSES DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

Former Senator Thomas F. Eagleton told a conference on democracy in Latin America that adverse economic conditions are the most serious threat to democracy because citizens might erroneously associate economic failure with the democratic political system.

Representing NDI at the conference held in Santiago, Chile, Eagleton said the success of economic reform depends, in part, on the ability of elected and appointed public officials to manage government resources. "One of the important contributions that political parties can make to the democratic process today is to train its current and potential officeholders to effectively govern within such institutions as national assemblies, government ministries and public agencies," Eagleton said.

He argued that political inexperience and mismanagement, combined with declining economic standards, increase the likelihood that the military may choose to intervene in the political process.

The conference, organized by the Christian Democratic International, was attended by members of Congress from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay.

MEXICO

Mexican Groups to Monitor Elections

Responding to allegations of irregularities in past elections, Mexican civic groups are increasing their efforts to promote electoral reform and monitor the voting process.

The Council for Democracy, a nonpartisan institute based in Mexico City, organized an April seminar that attracted more than 200 election officials and members of political parties and civic associations. The historic Mexico City meeting, which was attended by representatives of the country's three major parties, focused on the compilation of registration lists, distribution of voter identification cards, the composition of election boards and campaign finance laws. All four issues have been the subject of controversy in previous elections.

NDI sponsored the participation of international experts who discussed the administration of elections in their respective countries. They included Rafael Villegas, a member of the Costa Rican electoral council; Carlos Urruty, a Uruguayan electoral magistrate; and Michael McAdams, a U.S. attorney and electoral strategist.

These experts were joined by leaders of Mexico's ruling

Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and the opposition Democratic Revolutionary (PRD) and the National Action (PAN) parties. Civic leaders and staff from the Federal Electoral Institute also participated, as did government delegations from the states of Tlaxcala and Baja California, and electoral officials from the state of Guanajuato.

With state elections scheduled throughout Mexico this year, the debate over electoral reform has intensified. Contested gubernatorial elections in two states — Guanajuato and San Luis Potosi — last year led to the presidential appointment of interim governors until new elections could be scheduled. Earlier this year, protests organized by opposition parties resulted in the reversal of results in municipal elections in the state of Tabasco.

Last year, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to the Council for Democracy, which conducted the country's first independent vote count for the August 18 congressional and local elections in Mexico City. Both the ruling and opposition parties credited the independent count with enhancing confidence in the electoral process.

In June, NDI will support an election monitoring program that the Council is organizing in Chihuahua, where state and local elections are scheduled for July 12. The Council and other organizations have also requested NDI assistance for an independent vote count for these elections. ●

At Tirana training seminar, Miroslav Sevillevski of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFEER) leads workshop session on volunteer recruitment for leaders of the Society for Free Elections and Democratic Culture.



ALBANIA

Civic Group Organizes to Monitor Historic Elections

In the period leading up to the March 22 parliamentary elections in Albania, NDI helped organize a nationwide monitoring effort by Albanian pollwatchers.

The Institute provided material and technical assistance to the newly formed Society for Free Elections and Democratic Culture, a Tirana-based civic organization. The Society recruited and trained more than 2,000 pollwatchers and organized an independent vote tabulation that provided Albanians and the international community with the first indications of the election results.

Prior to the elections, NDI-sponsored visits to Albania by organizational experts from the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civic Rights, and the Pro Democracy Association in Romania helped the Society set up an organizational structure and develop a national network of election monitors.

The elections resulted in a decisive victory for the Democratic Party, the primary alternative to the Socialist Party, the renamed communist Party of Labor, which has ruled Albania for nearly half

a century. The Democratic Party captured 65 percent of the parliamentary seats and formed the new government.

In addition to its work with the Society, NDI organized two international delegations that monitored the campaign environment. The delegation members were: Gabriel Diaz Berbel, a member of parliament, Popular Party, Spain; Matyas Eorsi, M.P. and former election commissioner, Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary; Joao Ferreira, member of parliament, Socialist Party, Portugal; Michael Lavelle, former chairman of the election board for the state of Illinois and city of Chicago; Juraj Mihalik, 1990 campaign manager, Public Against Violence, Czechoslovakia; and NDI Program Director Thomas Melia and Program Assistant Olga Milosavljevic.

During the elections, NDI, in cooperation with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe briefed international observers and distributed a report based on the findings of NDI's pre-election delegations. ●

BULGARIA

NDI Participates in Local Government Program

In mid-February, NDI sponsored the visit to Bulgaria by two municipal experts who participated in a local government training program organized by the British Know-How Fund, a London-based democratic development institute.

Gary Hensley, city manager of Marysville, Tennessee and James Tierney, former attorney general of Maine, travelled to Lovech, Bulgaria for the two-week program that brought together 35 newly elected mayors, deputy mayors and department heads from nine Bulgarian cities. The Bulgarian participants received advice on developing strate-

gies and initiatives for effective local government. During the final week of the program, the Bulgarian officials were asked to prepare a series of action plans that could be implemented in their respective cities.

Many of the Bulgarian officials argued that meaningful municipal reform would be difficult without major personnel changes and enactment of new laws by the national legislature. In urging the local officials to assume greater responsibility, Hensley repeatedly asserted that "it is sometimes easier to ask forgiveness than it is to ask permission."

During the coming year, NDI will help organize follow-on consultations to review how action plans developed at the February program were carried out. The consultations will be organized in cooperation with the Know-How Fund. ●

EASTERN EUROPE



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Political Parties Prepare for June Elections

NDI sponsored a series of workshops and consultations to help Czechoslovakia's newly emerged political parties prepare for June national elections. The March training program, held in Prague and Bratislava, was conducted for leaders and organizers of 14 political parties, seven each from the Czech lands and Slovakia.

NDI's international training team of political and election specialists led a series of workshops that focused on planning and organization, volunteer recruitment, coalition building, voter contact and education, and communications. The workshops were followed by a series of consultations, which enabled the trainers to work individually with each of the parties. The training team included: Jill Buckley, a Democratic media specialist, FMR Group, U.S.;

Gerhardt Ettmeyer, an elections specialist from Austria; George Gorton, a Republican campaign manager, U.S.; Ruairi Quinn, Member of Parliament, Labour Party, Republic of Ireland; Jan Veldhuizen, former Member of Parliament, Democrat 66 Party, Netherlands; Maura Brueger, NDI's field representative in Romania, and Sean Carroll, NDI's special project adviser.

With parliamentary elections scheduled in June, the training sessions were particularly timely in providing organizational assistance that would promote the development of political parties. The program also provided a neutral setting that allowed parties, which would soon compete against each other, to discuss areas of common interest. ●

Jill Buckley (third from right) delivers remarks to political party organizers at closing plenary session in Prague. Also pictured (l to r), Gerhardt Ettmeyer, Maura Brueger, Sean Carroll, Ruairi Quinn, Buckley, George Gorton and Jan Veldhuizen.



Maura Brueger discusses voter education and contact at Bratislava workshop.

NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson (second from right) speaks at opening plenary session in Addis Ababa. Also pictured (l to r) Frederick Barton from the U.S., Abdoul Mubammed, chairman of the Inter-Africa Group, Mubammed Abdurabaman, chairman of Ethiopia's Election Commission, Johnson, and Jean Jolin from Canada.



FRANCOPHONE AFRICA

Civic Groups Emerge to Monitor Elections in Francophone Africa

NDI organized the second in a series of training programs to assist the development of domestic civic groups that will monitor upcoming elections in francophone Africa. The March program, held in Congo, Cote d'Ivoire and Niger, was co-sponsored by the Group for Research on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES), a Benin-based regional democratic development institute.

Leaders of successful election monitoring organizations from Benin, Chile, Cote d'Ivoire and Romania led a series of workshop sessions in each of the three countries. GERDDES experts from Cote d'Ivoire included Sadiko Alao, legal counsel, African Development Bank; Tessa Bakary, professor of political science, University of Laval (Canada); Honore Guie, professor of law, University of Abidjan; and Hubert Oulaye, professor of law, University of Abidjan. Also representing GERDDES was Taofiki Aminou, professor of chemistry, University of Cotonou from Benin. Ileana Pirlea, a teacher from Romania and Jorge Precht, a legal adviser from Chile, represented Pro Democracy and the Christian Democratic Party respectively.

The sessions focused on the organi-

zation of nonpartisan groups, monitoring of the campaign period and election-day pollwatching. The workshops were followed by innovative role-playing exercises in which participants were asked to set up a hypothetical civic organization and develop its plan of action for monitoring an election.

The March workshops were organized following a regional training seminar last November for more than 100 African political and civic leaders from 15 countries. During that seminar, which was held in Benin by NDI and GERDDES, participants from the region had requested more specialized assistance in their respective countries.

Beyond an enthusiastic response to the workshops by the African participants, the program has led to concrete results in each country. In Niger, a GERDDES chapter was officially founded. In Congo, a law established by the previous Marxist regime will likely be repealed or modified, thus allowing independent groups to observe the voting process. And in Cote d'Ivoire, local GERDDES members, who belong to both the ruling and opposition parties, agreed to work cooperatively in support of free and fair elections. ●

NDI Continues Election Aid Program in Ethiopia

An NDI team of election experts visited Ethiopia last January to continue assisting government plans for upcoming regional elections. This was NDI's second technical assistance project in Ethiopia. Last November, in response to a request by President Meles Zenawi, NDI election experts from the U.S. and Portugal provided advice on election procedures to the Council of Representatives, which is responsible for drafting new electoral laws.

The January mission included: Frederick Barton, former Democratic state chairman of Maine; Jean Jolin, deputy director general of elections for Quebec, Canada; and NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson, Program Assistant Peter Silverman and Intern Derrick Olsen.

The NDI team held meetings with the chairman and secretary of the Election Commission to discuss the legal framework and organization of the election process. It also co-sponsored an electoral symposium with the Election Commission and the Inter-Africa Group, a civic organization. The symposium was attended by 30 members of the Council of Representatives, which includes more than 15 political organizations, and officials from the Election Commission. During the symposium, Barton and Jolin reviewed the role of political parties in democratic elections and key election administration issues.

The New York-based African American Institute (AAI) is organizing a 50-member observer delegation for the regional elections, scheduled for June 21. An NDI group of election experts will join the delegation and remain in Ethiopia after the polling to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the electoral process. The assessment will include recommendations for the organization of national elections in 1993. ●

ZAMBIA

Zambian President visits NDI

In a February visit to NDI offices, Zambian President Frederick Chiluba commended the Institute's support for the October 1991 elections, which resulted in an overwhelming victory for his opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). "President Carter and NDI... went far beyond our expectations," said the newly elected president. "I think that their presence first of all prepared our people psychologically. The fear went out."

Chiluba made his remarks during a

speech on the role of the international community in supporting democratic transitions in Africa. Under pressure from Chiluba's MMD, Kenneth Kaunda, who had ruled Zambia since independence in 1964, agreed to the 1991 presidential and parliamentary elections, which were monitored by a joint program sponsored by NDI and the Carter Center.

In March, NDI Senior Program Officer Eric Bjornlund and Program Assistant Gina Giere returned to Zambia to develop the Institute's post-election program. They met with a wide range of political and civil leaders and discussed the design of an NDI program to help strengthen the country's political parties. ●



Zambian President Frederick Chiluba during meeting with NDI.

Liberia Develops Plans For New Elections

NDI organized a series of consultations in January to assist the newly formed Electoral Commission of Liberia as it begins to develop laws and procedures for national elections. The consultations, held in Washington, DC, examined comparative electoral systems, the role of election commissions and issues related to the administration of the election process.

Plans for the elections grew out of a peace accord negotiated by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which in 1990 dispatched a peacekeeping force to Liberia to quell the civil war. At an ECOWAS-sponsored conference in August of that year, Liberia's Interim Government of National Unity was established with Dr. Amos Sawyer serving as interim president. However, Charles Taylor, a leader of one of the warring factions, formed his own government. In the fall of 1991, an agreement was reached to

establish the five-member Election Commission with three representatives nominated by Taylor and two by Sawyer.

The week-long consultations for the Liberian election commissioners began with briefings by NDI staff members who reviewed activities of international and domestic election observers. Federal Election Commission (FEC) member Danny McDonald, FEC General Council Larry Noble and NDI adviser Emily Warner met with the commissioners to discuss the U.S. electoral system, and the role of election administrators in emerging democracies. William Kimberly, deputy director of the National Clearinghouse of Election Administration and Emmett Fremaux, executive director of Election Administration for the District of Columbia, examined voter registration issues and election-day logistics.

Matthew Frumin, a Washington, DC attorney, prepared written recommendations for strengthening the legal framework of the election process. And representatives from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems met with the Commission members to determine what material assistance would be needed to administer the elections.

At the suggestion of NDI, the Commission agreed to divide into working groups that would oversee various aspects of the elections. Before departing Washington, the Commission's new working groups prepared legal guidelines and a six-month election timetable.

NDI will shortly begin a large-scale program to support the electoral process. The Liberian-based program will include training for political parties and civic groups seeking to enhance participation and confidence in the process. ●

EAST AFRICA

Strengthening Democratic Elections

NDI delegations visited Kenya and other East Africa countries to assess the region's rapidly changing political environment and explore possible democratic development programs.

The February mission to Kenya was led by NDI President Brian Atwood and included: Billie Miller, a member of the Barbados parliament; Reverend Foston D. Sakala, chairman of the Zambian Election Monitoring Coordinating Committee; Jean Jolin, deputy director general of elections of Quebec, Canada; and NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson. The group was accompanied by NDI Program Assistant Peter Silverman and Intern Derrick Olsen.

The delegation met with government officials, and political party and civic leaders who are playing leading roles in the

country's democratic transition. It was clear during the delegation's visit that expectations for the national elections were mounting, but political violence has since threatened to derail the process of democratic reform. In its report, the delegation stated that meaningful dialogue must be initiated among the government, opposition parties and other sectors of society. The delegation urged that the dialogue focus on the rules that will govern the election process.

Following the week-long visit to Kenya, NDI staffers Johnson and Silver-

man traveled to Burundi and Tanzania to examine the transitions to multiparty democracy underway there.

Based in part on the delegation's findings, NDI will sponsor a regional training seminar, "Strengthening East Africa's Democratic Elections," in Burundi. The May program will include international election experts from Africa, the Caribbean, Europe and the U.S. They will advise political and civic leaders from nine East African countries on procedures and institutions associated with democratic elections. ●



Reverend Foston D. Sakala (second from right) from Zambia answers question about delegation findings during press conference in Nairobi. Also pictured, (l to r), Billie Miller of Barbados, NDI President Brian Atwood, Sakala, and Jean Jolin of Canada.

NDI AWARDS DINNER

DNC Chairman Ron Brown speaks with his predecessor, NDI Board member Paul Kirk.

(l to r) H.E. Paul Pondi of Cameroon and H.E. Chitmansing Jesseramsing of Mauritius with President Carter.



President Carter accepts Harriman Democracy Award from NDI Chairman Walter Mondale.

Carter and Sobchak Receive NDI's Harriman Democracy Award

At an April 28 dinner in Washington, DC, NDI presented its seventh annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to former President Jimmy Carter and St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak. The awards dinner was attended by more than 600 friends of NDI, including 70 foreign ambassadors and 60 members of Congress.

This year's dinner was chaired by former Representative Lindy Boggs and co-chaired by NDI Board members Elizabeth Bagley, Peter G. Kelly and Leon Lynch. House Speaker Thomas Foley and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell headed the Congressional Host Committee for the event.

Carter, who has received international acclaim for his activities as a former president, was honored for his personal contributions to democracy over-

We are not wise people dealing with those who are unwise. We are not superior people dealing with those who are less than we. We are dealing with equals who have dreams and hopes and some fears about the future, who share with us the desire for a better world, a more peaceful world. And as we emerge in this new era, where the Cold War is now over, I think it is incumbent upon all of us Americans, in particular, and our Soviet guests who are here with us tonight, to look at ourselves and say, 'How can we emerge from this wonderful opportunity to be a great nation?'

... I see, in the National Democratic Institute, the foremost driving force in the United States of America to bring about some of the characteristics of greatness I have mentioned — peace, human rights, a better quality of life, democracy, freedom, sharing — looking to the future to epitomize what has made our nation great.

PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

seas. Mayor Sobchak received the Harriman Award for his role in the resistance to the August coup attempt.

The dinner program included introductory remarks by Boggs. She credited President Carter's human rights policy with giving hope to those living under oppressive regimes and laying the groundwork for the "firestorm of freedom" that has followed.

Boggs praised the "courageous leadership" of Mayor Sobchak who helped "turn the tide of history" in the former Soviet Union.

NDI President Brian Atwood, who served as master of ceremonies for the dinner, commented on the Institute's role in the post Cold War era. "With money for foreign assistance scarce, groups like NDI help keep the United States involved in the creation of an

international environment that is most conducive to our interests," he said. "The promotion of democracy is in 1992 the most discernable and most strongly supported foreign policy goal."

In presenting the Democracy Award to Carter, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale said the former president has "set a new standard for public service outside of public office."

Discussing the impact of the Carter Administration's human rights policy, the former vice president recalled an encounter he had during a recent NDI program in Moscow. Participants included many of Russia's new democratic leaders, some of whom had spent years in the gulag. "At the end of our conference," Mondale said, "one of them rose to speak: 'We want to thank you and President Carter for caring about us for remembering and speaking up when you could have forgotten us'."

Mondale cited Carter's work with NDI in Panama, Nicaragua, the Domini-





Mayor Sobchak presents book on St. Petersburg to President Jimmy Carter. Also pictured, NDI President Brian Atwood.



Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell presents Harriman Democracy Award to Mayor Sobchak.

I would like to speak briefly on the help that Russia is in need of now. What we need, in the economic area, is cooperation. ... Of equal importance is political assistance. I would like to emphasize that, so far, the National Democratic Institute is the world's only organization that has come to Russia to share its experience in creating political parties and political movements, and in maintaining the democratic condition.

I would like to thank the staff of NDI for the enormous amount of work they have been doing to ensure that the principles of democracy and freedom thrive, not in Russia alone, but all over the world. What NDI is doing in Russia is extremely important for my country, which over the 75 years of communist rule, completely lost its democratic tradition.

MAYOR ANATOLY SOBCHAK

Roslynn and Jimmy Carter greet NDI Board member Maurice Tempelsman.



Dinner chair Lindy Boggs with Chloe Aaron.



Mayor Sobchak with Pamela Harriman.

can Republic, Haiti and Zambia, and pointed to the former president's "awesome energy and devotion" that he has transformed into a "uniquely effective form of leadership."

In accepting the award, Carter reflected on the recent political transformations around the world. "We have seen an absolutely amazing, incredible series of events bring an end to the Cold War." Referring to his own experiences as president, Carter observed that "No matter what we tried to do as a great nation, our efforts were always handicapped by competition with the other super-power that shared with us arsenals of nuclear weapons that were so formidable that the very existence of all living creatures was put in danger." "Now," he said, "thanks to great leaders in what was the Soviet Union who stood up for courage and freedom in the face

of almost incredible difficulties, that has changed."

Senator Mitchell, who presented the award to Mayor Sobchak, recalled the drama of last summer in Russia. Mitchell said that Sobchak "stepped forward at a dangerous and difficult time to rally the people of St. Petersburg." Many ordinary people were also heroes, Mitchell noted, but "Anatoly Sobchak spoke for them all. His voice gave them resolve. His courage gave them courage." Mitchell said, "We honor him not just because he succeeded, but also because he dared to try."

In his acceptance speech, Sobchak commented that he did not view the award as a personal tribute. "Rather," he said, "it is an award to the people living in my city who proved their commitment to democracy and freedom." Sobchak said that building new political, economic and social structures will require "cooperation" and "partnership relationships" to ensure their success. "The end of the communist regimes the world over, puts humanity in the position where it has the chance of building a single human kind," he said. "I am confident that the United States and Russia will join hands to ensure that this cause succeeds."

NDI Continues Local Government Projects

Expanded 1992 Program Planned

Continuing its year-long program to assist the political and economic reform efforts of local governments in the former Soviet Union, NDI sponsored a series of consultations and training seminars for municipal officials in Ukraine and Russia in early 1992. During this period, NDI also began preparations for an expanded program to strengthen political parties, parliaments and civic groups in Russia, Ukraine and the states of Central Asia.

UKRAINE

In late February, Los Angeles Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky and Don Benninghoven, executive director of the California League of Cities, visited Ukraine to advise municipal officials from around the country. They were accompanied by NDI Program Assistant Nadine Avdenko.

Working in cooperation with the Association of Democratic Councils of Ukraine, which includes 30 member cities, Benninghoven traveled to Donetsk, an industrial center of 1.5 million people, where he led a series of workshops for 35 elected officials and administrators from district (*raion*), city and county (*oblast*) councils. Workshop sessions dealt with the division of powers between local and national governments, executive-legislative relations and constituent services.

Following the Donetsk program, Benninghoven worked with city council members from Kiev and neighboring cities, as well as with representatives of the Association of Democratic Councils. He discussed local self government issues and the structure and function of municipal leagues, emphasizing the importance of maintaining constant communication among cities.

While Benninghoven advised elected officials, Councilman Yaroslavsky conducted a series of training sessions for 20 key administrators from Kiev and cities in Western Ukraine and the Crimea. The sessions addressed the budget process, taxation, privatization and executive-legislative relations. Yaroslavsky also held meetings with leaders and organizers of Ukrainian political parties and movements to discuss the feasibility and design of an NDI-sponsored program to strengthen the country's nascent multiparty system.

RUSSIA

Following his return to Los Angeles, Yaroslavsky hosted a week-long visit by four members of the Moscow City Council. The chairman and three other members of Moscow's Budget and Finance Committee studied the workings of the city council and executive departments. The Moscow councilmen also visited Washington, DC where they participated in a seminar organized by NDI, and met with representatives of the International City Managers Association and the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority.

In mid-April, in cooperation with the Union of Russian Cities, NDI sponsored the visit to Ivanovo by James Budds, an international urban consultant from South Carolina and Frank Sturzl, executive director of the Texas Municipal League. Ivanovo,

a city of 500,000 residents, is located 180 miles northeast of Moscow. Working with the mayor, city administrators and council members, Budds and Sturzl organized a series of training seminars. They were accompanied by NDI Program Assistant Britta Bjornlund. In addition, Budds and Sturzl consulted with tax collectors from the Ivanovo *oblast* government.

Budds and Sturzl continued consultations in Moscow where they advised the Moscow City Council and its committees on Municipal Economy, Work of the Soviets and the Development of Self-Governance, and Budget and Finance. Representatives from Mayor Gavriil Popov's office also participated in the consultations. While in Moscow, Sturzl held a training session with the Union of Russian Cities, which was formed following NDI's 1990 local government seminars in Moscow. Sturzl counseled the Union, which has grown to nearly 100 member cities, on strategies for organizing itself as an effective communication and resource center.

During April, an NDI fact-finding team also visited Russia to prepare for an expanded technical assistance program in the former Soviet Union during 1992. NDI Senior Program Officer Mahnaz Ispahani and Program Assistant Bjornlund visited Moscow and St. Petersburg where they met with local government officials, political party leaders, members of the Russian parliament and President Boris Yeltsin's administration, and representatives of civic associations.

Funded by grants from the Agency for International Development (AID) and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), NDI's \$2 million program will enable the Institute to continue its local government reform work and increase training activities for political parties, parliaments and civic groups. Beginning in June, six permanent field representatives will staff NDI offices in Moscow, Kiev and Tashkent. They will help implement the 12-month program and provide ongoing organizational advice to Russian groups and institutions. ●

James Budds (center) and Frank Sturzl (right facing front) conduct local government consultations with municipal officials in Ivanovo.





NDI/IRI delegation issues its preliminary statement on February 9 local elections at Bucharest press conference.

ROMANIA

(Romania continued from front page)

as the Pro Democracy Association and the League for the Defense of Human Rights (IADO) produced and distributed explanations of the voting process, organized candidate forums throughout the country and deployed nearly 7,000 pollwatchers on election day.

Romanian political party leaders and election officials also expressed appreciation for the presence of these pollwatchers who acted impartially and who understood proper election procedures.

Following the elections, representatives of the Romanian government asked Pro Democracy to organize a roundtable meeting for political party leaders and government officials to discuss electoral-law reform. The roundtable session, held on March 7, was attended by Larry Garber, NDI's senior associate for electoral processes.

Despite the observer delegation's hope that Romania would "build on the successes of the February 9 elections," subsequent actions by the parliament have raised serious concerns. The Senate voted in April to prohibit groups such as Pro Democracy and IADO from observing the national elections. The lower House of Deputies later moved to allow certain domestic observers to be present at polling sites, but subject to onerous restrictions. Critics in the Front-dominated legislature claimed that domestic observer groups operating during the local elections were created by "foreign interests" and acted on on behalf of opposition parties.

Hoping that parliament will reconsider its actions, Pro Democracy is continuing its efforts to train more than 15,000 volunteers for the national elections.

While the parliament took swift action against domestic observers, it has been slow to address other crucial issues, such as the establishment of an election date, the formation of an election commission with real and accountable powers,

the integrity of voter registries, and the free flow of information through print and electronic media.

In a program managed by Senior Program Officer Karen Clark, NDI has provided technical and material assistance to Pro Democracy since 1990. Beginning last August, NDI field representatives Maura Brueger, Gerald Mitchell and Mike Marshall have advised the Association and other civic groups.

Periodic training seminars for Pro-Democracy were also conducted by organizational experts from Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, the Netherlands, Northern Ireland, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, Zambia and the United States. The latest seminar, which was held three weeks before the February elections, was led by Laurah Harrison of the Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC) and Velko Miloev of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). In addition, Michael Yankiev and Ivailo Partcev of BAFECR assisted Pro Democracy in organizing an independent vote count for the mayoral race in Bucharest. ●

MEMBERS OF NDI'S OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE ROMANIAN ELECTIONS *

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Town Clerk, Treasurer, Wareham, Massachusetts, U.S.

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DEBORAH SEILER
Election Administration Expert, U.S.

VINCA SHOWALTER**
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, U.S.

JACK SUMMER
Physician, U.S.

KENNETH WOLLACK
NDI Executive Vice President, U.S.

* These members were joined by delegates invited by the International Republican Institute.

** Participated in NDI's January pre-election assessment mission, along with Joost Gielen of the Dutch Christian Democratic party, Laurah Harrison of Zambia and NDI Senior Program Officer Karen Clark.

NDI to Host International Visitors at Democratic Convention

On July 11, more than 500 foreign dignitaries will arrive in New York to participate in NDI's week-long International Visitors Program at the Democratic National Convention.

In addition to observing the convention proceedings, the international visitors will attend six NDI-sponsored seminars that will examine various aspects of the U.S. electoral process — including the role of the media and political campaigning — as well as foreign and domestic policy issues. The international delegates will also participate in roundtable discussions on the world-wide democratization movement.

NDI has invited government officials, legislators and polit-



ical party leaders from more than 100 countries and is looking forward to the participation of representatives from new democracies in Africa, Central America, Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The program will also include members of the Washington and United Nations diplomatic corps and delegations sponsored by the U.S. Information Agency and the German Marshall Fund.

The International Visitors Program will be headquartered at the Plaza Hotel where the international guests will also stay. If you would like more information or are interested in participating in the program, please contact Karen Middleton at the NDI offices. ●



Segun Olusola of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at consultation session on the OAU's emerging role in election observing.

(Southern Africa continued from front page)

democratic change and accountable governance, will offer an opportunity for shared experience and cross-fertilization of ideas concerning the electoral and democratic processes," said Namibian Foreign Minister Theo Ben Gurirab in his opening address to the conference. "This can help to entrench functions and truly representative institutions as well as a political culture of tolerance and fair play in the interest of present and future generations."

The conference was chaired by NDI board member Leon Lynch, a vice president of the United Steelworkers of America, and Bob Kandetu, permanent secretary of Namibia's Ministry of Information.

During plenary sessions, leaders of democratic transitions from Cape Verde, Chile, Namibia, Nigeria, and Portugal discussed the design of election systems in their respective countries. Cedric Thornberry of the United Nations and Segun Olusola of the OAU analyzed the role that international and regional organizations play in supporting a peaceful electoral process.

In addition to the plenary meetings, 38 workshop sessions and individual consultations focused on the legal and administrative framework of democratic elections, international and domestic monitoring efforts, and the varied roles of the media, political parties and civic groups.

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SEGUN OLUSOLA
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OMO OMORUYI
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CEDRIC THORNBERRY
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ANTONIO VITORINO
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LARRY GARBER
United States

GEORGE SHERRELL
United States

RAPPORTEUR

PADRAIG O'MALLEY
United States

At the closing session, the delegates adopted the Mt. Etjo Declaration, which reflected the spirit of cooperation that prevailed during the week-long program. The Declaration called for multiparty elections as a means to resolve political disputes and advance democracy in the region.

"The conference provided a useful arena for the different South African groups to talk productively," said Gilbert Twala of the African National Congress. "All of us, not just the ANC, including the National Party, were very serious about our involvement in this conference."

Abel Chivukuvuku of Angola's UNITA party described his participation this way: "When we arrived we did not know the extent and the importance that this gathering would have. Not only have we found explanations and understanding of our concerns, but there have been debates arising out of those concerns, the likes of which we could not have imagined before."

SOUTH AFRICA Toward Democratic Elections

With the convening of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) last December, a process was set in motion for multi-racial elections. Before all the particulars had been established for this historic conference, NDI and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in Cape Town had begun a program to familiarize disenfranchised citizens of the country with democratic election procedures.

In November, NDI and CDS sponsored a series of election workshops that attracted more than 750 members of South African political and civic organizations. Held in six regional centers throughout the country, these election "teach-ins" addressed issues ranging from election laws and procedures, to informal codes of conduct.

The program was continued in March, when a 20-member faculty from 12 countries led workshop sessions in six other regional centers. Nearly 1,000 South Africans participated. They included members of previously banned organizations, such as the African National Congress, as well as representatives of civic groups, churches and trade unions that have actively opposed the apartheid systems.

Since there has yet to be a legal framework or agreed upon procedures for future elections in South Africa, the workshops provided various models of election systems, as well as mechanisms and practices used in other countries to promote a peaceful electoral environment.

At the closing session of the East London workshop, one local political organizer echoed the sentiments expressed by other South African participants. "To the organizers of these workshops, we cannot convey in words our appreciation," he said. "You have done more than share your knowledge, your presence has said to us there is not justice in the world unless there is justice in South Africa, there is no freedom in the world until there is freedom in South Africa."

PAKISTAN

Seeking to Build Confidence in Future Elections

An NDI team visited Pakistan in mid-February to promote initiatives that could enhance confidence in future elections. The visit was an outgrowth of NDI's extensive report on the controversial National Assembly elections in 1990. That report recommended a series of election reform measures and urged that political parties and civic groups assume greater responsibility for monitoring the electoral process.

The team included NDI senior adviser Glenn Cowan, Senior Associate for Electoral Processes Larry Garber, Research Director Mahnaz Ispahani, Program Assistant Nicholas Van Slyck and adviser Josh Steiner, who represented NDI in investigating election complaints following the 1990 polling.

During its stay in Pakistan, the team conducted workshops on election monitoring for representatives of the opposition Pakistan Democratic Alliance (PDA), led by former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The group also discussed electoral and political issues with the chairman and secretary of the Election Commission, and with the chairmen of the Senate and National Assembly, who represent the ruling Islamic Democratic Alliance.

In a roundtable discussion with civic leaders and journalists from throughout Pakistan, the NDI team addressed the role that nonpartisan organizations can play in promoting free and fair elections.

PANAMA

Strengthening Political Parties

NDI organized an international delegation to Panama to gather information on the state of political parties there and to solicit ideas about potential programs to strengthen the parties.

Two years after the U.S. invasion that overthrew General Manuel Antonio Noriega and allowed for the inauguration of the elected civilian government, Panama's political parties have been unable to gain the confidence of the majority of Panamanians.

The delegation, which visited Panama from March 22-27, met with President Guillermo Endara, vice presidents Ricardo Arias Calderon and Billy Ford and other political party leaders, and civic activists. The party leaders

expressed an interest in NDI-sponsored training programs in Panama City and the interior of the country to cover such topics as grassroots organization, research and survey techniques, message development and internal and external communications.

The goal of the programs would be to help democratize the parties internally and improve their capability to build their organizations, expand their constituency support, frame their parliamentary initiatives and communicate their positions to party members and the public at large.

Most parties have yet to organize extensively at the grassroots level. In a poll conducted last year, more than half

of the respondents said they did not support any of the political parties represented in the National Assembly and more than two-thirds of the respondents agreed that the country's political climate is preventing economic development.

The members of the NDI delegation were: Juan Rafael Rodriguez, former congressman from the Social Christian Party and former mayor of San Jose, Costa Rica; Antonio Manuel dos Santos, chief of cabinet to the leader of the Socialist Party in Portugal; Daniel Ortega, a Phoenix, Arizona attorney and political organizer; and NDI Senior Program Officer Mark Feierstein and Program Assistant Nicholas Van Slyck.

NDI delegation meets with President Guillermo Endara (left) in Panama City. Pictured: Daniel Ortega of Phoenix, Arizona (center) and NDI Senior Program Officer Mark Feierstein.



EASTERN EUROPE

Ron Rutberglen from the Netherlands leads seminar on message development for Social Democrats.

icity development, media relations, message development, public opinion polling and research, and the role of the party in parliament. NDI Board member Harriet Babbitt delivered the welcoming remarks.

NDI convened the first of these training seminars last June for Liberal parties and the second in July for parties associated with the Christian Democratic movement. They were also held at the European Studies Center.

In partnership with Western European groupings of political parties — organized along Liberal, Christian Democratic and Social Democratic ideologies — the NDI programs have sought to promote cooperation between parties with similar ideologies in Central and Eastern Europe, strengthen these parties' ties with their counterparts in Western Europe, and share the organizational tools necessary to build and sustain strong political organizations.

"Political parties in the region urgently need to define themselves and appeal to values to combat cynicism," said one participant in the NDI program. "Having been swept into parliament for the most part on the tide of enthusiasm, these parties now need to confront the more mundane but crucial questions of

constituency servicing, campaigning and re-election. These seminars provide just such an opportunity."

NDI Program Supports Fledgling Political Parties

NDI sponsored the third in a series of technical assistance programs to aid the long-term development of nascent political parties in Central and Eastern Europe. The regional training program for Social Democratic parties in the region was hosted by the European Studies Center outside Prague and co-sponsored by the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community.

Political experts from Western Europe and the U.S. led a series of workshops and individual consultations for social democratic party leaders and organizers from Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia and Slovenia. The sessions addressed key areas of political party development, such as organization and planning, pol-

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UPCOMING PROGRAMS

AFRICA NDI has joined a consortium that will carry out programs to support democratic elections in Africa. The four-year program is being funded by a \$12.5 million cooperative agreement from the Agency for International Development. Other consortium members are the African American Institute and the International Republican Institute. The Carter Center will also participate in the activities of the consortium members.

ANGOLA NDI, in co-sponsorship with the International Republican Institute, will begin a five-month technical assistance program to help political parties and civic organizations prepare for their participation in the country's first national elections, scheduled for September 29-30.

BALTICS In June, NDI and the newspaper *Diena* will sponsor a regional seminar in Riga on building democratic political institutions. In September, NDI and the Center for International Private Enterprise will organize a follow-on program that will focus on economic reform during political transitions. The conference will examine alternative economic reform models and the communication skills necessary to educate the citizenry on economic issues.

CHILE NDI will provide support for a regional conference to encourage women's participation in Latin American politics. The July conference is being organized by Participa, a Santiago-based civic group.

PARAGUAY NDI and the Asunción-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) will conduct training seminars for newly elected local government officials. NDI will provide financial support for the CED program and sponsor the participation by international municipal government experts.

SLOVENIA NDI will organize a seminar in Ljubljana to assist preparations for national elections in the newly independent country. The May seminar will focus on laws and procedures that can promote confidence in the electoral process.

TOGO NDI will sponsor an international team of election experts to evaluate the country's electoral system. The team will recommend ways to help resolve potential problems for upcoming national elections.

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