



NDI REPORTS

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

Carter and Sobchak to Receive NDI's Harriman Award

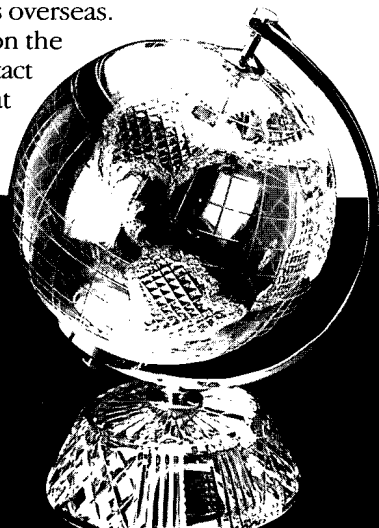
Former President Jimmy Carter and St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak will receive NDI's seventh annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award at a Washington, DC dinner on Tuesday, April 28.

Carter, who has received international acclaim for his activities as a former president, will be honored for his personal contributions to democracy overseas. He has worked tirelessly to resolve seemingly intractable conflicts. His efforts to promote free and fair elections, often in partnership with NDI, have enabled countries to initiate the transition to democratic government.

Mayor Sobchak will receive the Harriman Award for his courageous role in resisting the August coup attempt. Sobchak has worked closely with NDI in its local government reform program in the former Soviet Union.

The Harriman Award is given annually to individuals from the United States and abroad who exemplify NDI's commitment to democracy and human rights. In addition to recognizing the accomplishments of the awardees, the annual dinner enables NDI to raise private contributions in support of its democratic development programs overseas.

For more details on the dinner, please contact Karen Middleton at the NDI offices. ●



GLOBE COURTESY OF WATERFORD CRYSTAL



President Carter and Franklin Sonn (right) of South Africa review election procedures at Lusaka polling station.

NDI/CARTER CENTER MONITOR HISTORIC ZAMBIAN ELECTIONS

It was a time of instant gratification. An NDI-sponsored international delegation not only observed historic elections in Zambia, but attended the inauguration of a democratically elected president, Frederick Chiluba, leader of the opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). And it all happened within a 36-hour period.

The October 31 national elections marked the culmination of an intensive three-month monitoring program, dubbed Z-Vote, organized jointly by NDI and the Carter Center. The Z-Vote program included three pre-election missions that assessed the campaign environment and the electoral system, a continuous on-site presence, the training of Zambian election monitors, the organization of an independent vote tabulation, and a 40-member international delegation that observed the voting and counting process. The delegation, which was led by former President Jimmy Carter and NDI President J. Brian Atwood, included political leaders and election experts from 12 countries.

During 1990, Zambia's deteriorating economic sit-

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

Joyce Gould of the United Kingdom discusses political party organization at workshop in Warsaw. Also pictured: Jack Walsh (left) and Dave Van Note (center) of the U.S. and NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson (right).



Strengthening Polish Political Parties

NDI sponsored two rounds of intensive consultations this fall with Poland's emerging political parties as they prepared for the October 27 parliamentary elections. The consultations grew out of NDI's party-building seminars in Pultusk last April. Many parties participating in those seminars had requested individual follow-on assistance prior to the elections.

The September and October consultations, which were conducted for the leaders and organizers of 10 parties, focused on organization, fundraising, resource allocation, constituency identification and targeting, message development, media relations and get-out-the-vote efforts.

NDI's international training team for the September 9-13 and October 7-12 consultations included: Frederick Barton, former Democratic Party chairman of Maine, U.S.; Michael Boyd, chair of Down County Council, Northern Ireland; Celinda Lake, vice president, Greenberg-Lake, U.S.; Tibor Vidos, former executive director, Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary; Joyce Gould, director of organization, Labour Party, U.K.; Sherry Rockey, director of election services and international relations, League of Women Voters, U.S.; Dave Van Note, Barton, Gingold, Eaton and Anderson, U.S.; and Jack Walsh, president, Jack Walsh & Associates, U.S.

Many of the Polish groups participating in the NDI programs had emerged from the Solidarity movement and, therefore, had no experience with traditional political party planning and organization. More than 100 parties eventually contested the October elections, with 29 obtaining seats in the parliament. No party gained more than 15 percent of the legislative seats.

The election results have highlighted the need for electoral reform and coalition-building to prevent a fractionalized political party system that could weaken the country's nascent democracy.

NDI to Host International Visitors at Democratic Convention

NDI will serve as the official host to more than 500 foreign dignitaries visiting the Democratic National Convention in New York City on July 11-16.



Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown has asked NDI to sponsor the Convention's International Visitors Program, which will include a series of social events and working seminars designed to familiarize the foreign guests with the U.S. political process. Presidential candidates, journalists, pollsters and election experts will lead panel discussions on the primary system, convention procedures, the electoral process and media coverage of political campaigns. Members of Congress and other prominent opinion makers will address U.S. foreign policy issues.

The international visitors will include senior government officials, members of parliament and political party leaders from more than 40 countries. They will be joined by the Washington and United Nations diplomatic corps. The visitors program will also provide the participants an opportunity to examine the recent democratic transitions in Latin America, Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In cooperation with the Democratic National Committee and New York '92, the NDI-sponsored program will be headquartered at the Plaza Hotel and will be funded entirely by contributions from corporations, foundations and individuals. NDI hosted the successful International Visitors Program at the 1984 and 1988 conventions.

If you would like more information or are interested in participating in the 1992 International Visitors Program, please contact Karen Middleton at the NDI offices.

NDI Begins Year-Long Baltics Program

NDI began the design of a year-long civic education program in the Baltic states by sponsoring a technical mission to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The October mission included NDI Board Member David Aaron, Program Director Thomas Melia and Program Assistant Nadine Avdenko.

The group met with members of parliament, political party activists, government officials, journalists and civic leaders in each of the three newly independent countries.

Responding to urgent requests from the region, NDI then sent experts to Riga and Vilnius in December. The experts, Antonio Costa, Member of Parliament from Portugal and Will Robinson, former deputy campaign director of the Democratic National Committee, provided organizational advice to Sajudis, the democratic umbrella movement of Lithuania, and the Latvian Popular Front.

In early spring, NDI in cooperation with *Diena* newspaper, will sponsor a seminar in Riga on building democratic institutions. Participants will include civic and political leaders from the Baltic region. Shortly thereafter, the Institute will sponsor the visit to Riga by a municipal expert who will participate in an international seminar on the "Organization of Self-Government in Major Cities." The seminar is being sponsored by the Latvian Supreme Council and the Riga City Council.

NDI Chairman Walter Mondale and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Shokhin.



COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES

Linking Political and Economic Reform

NDI held the third in an ongoing series of seminars designed to assist the process of democratic transition in the former Soviet Union. The December seminar in Moscow was organized by NDI at the request of leading Russian politicians who are attempting to build democratic institutions, but are under increasing pressure to suspend political reforms during a period of severe economic dislocation.

Entitled "Democratic Governance in a Time of Crisis," the seminar addressed practical experiences on how democratic government can be sustained while economic reforms are being undertaken. "We hope to show that democracy is not an inefficient luxury to be neglected when the times get tough," said NDI Chairman Walter Mondale in his opening remarks at the seminar. "If democracy was only for summer days of warmth and sun, it would hardly be worth the struggle."

Mondale led an international delegation of political and economic experts from the Chile, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Poland, United Kingdom and United States. The delegation conducted workshop sessions, which were attended by approximately 100 Russian politicians from more than 20 cities. Participants included national and regional leaders of 12 political parties and movements, chairs of committees of the Russian parliament, and representatives of President Yeltsin's executive staff. In addition, participants heard presentations by Deputy Prime Minister Alexander Shokhin, St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak, Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the constitutional commission of the Russian federation legislature, and Vladimir Bokser, a leading organizer of the Democratic Russia movement.

Workshop sessions examined the most crucial political issues facing the democrats in Russia today, including: the relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government; the role of an independent judiciary as a mediating institution; political strategies for addressing economic crises; the role of parties and movements during the political transition; and the division of powers among levels of government.

During December, NDI also continued its technical assistance

program on local government reform. NDI municipal government experts Glenn Cowan and Stewart Palilonis visited Samara, an industrial city on the Volga River, 800 miles east of Moscow. During their week-long stay in Samara, which until several months ago was a "closed city," Cowan and Palilonis advised the mayor and city council members on economic and political reform issues. NDI's municipal program is being co-sponsored by the Union of Russian Cities, which was formed following the Institute's 1990 seminar in Moscow.

NDI plans to continue and expand its activities in the former Soviet Union in 1992, with local government consultations in Moscow, Kiev, and Ekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk), and expanded technical assistance programs for political parties and parliamentarians in Russia, Ukraine, and Central Asia.

Based on its program work in the former Soviet Union, NDI recently published a strategy paper entitled *THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES: DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT ISSUES AND OPTIONS*. Copies are available from the NDI office.

David Steel of Great Britain co-leads Moscow workshop session on executive-legislative relations. He is flanked by Mitchell Daniels (left) of the U.S. and Edgardo Boeninger (right) of Chile.



INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN A TIME OF CRISIS

EDGARDO BOENINGER
Secretary General of the Presidency, Chile

GLENN COWAN
Partner, the FMR Group; Former Mayor, Lambertville, New Jersey, U.S.

MITCHELL DANIELS
Former Assistant to President Ronald Reagan for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs, U.S.

KLAUS VON DOHNANYI
Former Governor, Hamburg, Germany

IVAN GABAL
Campaign Manager, Citizens Movement, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

BALINT MAGYAR
Member of Parliament, Hungary

STEWART PALILONIS
Manager, Planned Real Estate Development, New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, U.S.

MICHAEL REISMAN
Professor of Constitutional Law, Yale Law School, U.S.

ISABEL SAWHILL
Senior Fellow, The Urban Institute, U.S.

DAVID STEEL
Member of Parliament; President-Elect, Liberal International, U.K.

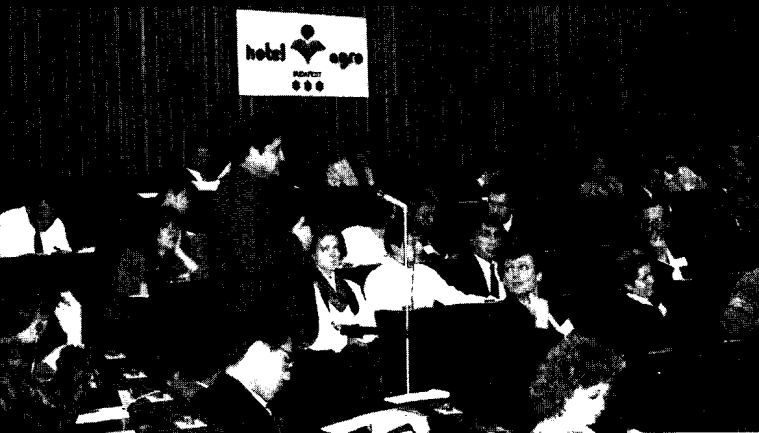
MARCIN SWIECICKI
Former Minister of Foreign Economic Relations; Co-Author, Polish Economic Stabilization Plan, Poland

PATRICIA WALD
Judge, United States Court of Appeals, U.S.

KENNETH WOLLACK
NDI Executive Vice President, U.S.

Balint Magyar of Hungary discusses the function of political parties at Moscow seminar.





Alan Chochiev of South Ossetia, Georgia addresses plenary session at DAC conference in Hungary.

Majority-Minority Rights in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

"I came here to tell everyone about the problems of South Ossetia. But, as I listened, I realized that other countries have similar problems."

ALAN CHOCHIEV
GEORGIAN PARTICIPANT

Hungary, entitled "Is Europe Big Enough for all Europeans?," was sponsored by NDI and the Budapest-based Democracy After Communism (DAC) Foundation. Financial assistance was also provided by the German Marshall Fund and the Soros Foundation.

International experts from the U.S., Belgium and Nigeria led a series of workshop sessions on discrimination, as

well as on governmental and community efforts to reduce ethnic tensions.

These experts included: Katharine Butler, professor of law at the University of South Carolina; Richard Butler, professor of sociology at Benedict College in South Carolina; Dirk Drijboom, international secretary of the Socialist Party of Belgium; Abdulrazaq Magaji, assistant editor of the Nigerian news mag-

azine *NewsWatch*; Saul Rosenthal, regional director of community services for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; and Michael Woo, a member of the Los Angeles city council.

While the sessions highlighted differences among countries on minority issues, the Eastern European and former Soviet participants concluded that intolerance, mistrust and stereotyping have complicated governmental efforts to protect minority rights. "I came here to tell everyone about the problems of South Ossetia," said one participant. "But, as I listened, I realized that other countries have similar problems."

In discussing legislative remedies used in other developed countries, a number of participants asserted that reserving parliamentary seats for minority groups should not be a long-term solution. "This approach," declared a Greek-Albanian participant, "perpetuates the typical communist practices of manipulating minority issues for their own ends."

Although eager to learn from the experiences of traditional democracies, the conferees asserted that the three-day program had provided an important setting for building relationships and understanding among post-communist societies. "The information gap," commented one Russian, "was one of many legacies of the communist system."

The December conference was the largest program organized by the DAC Foundation, which was founded in early 1991 as a regional training center for young political leaders. NDI has provided material and technical assistance to enable the Foundation to develop a network of democratic activists. Plans are already underway for the establishment of DAC offices in other countries in the area.

H A I T I

NDI CONDEMNS MILITARY COUP

NDI Chairman Walter Mondale condemned the September 30 military coup that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the first democratically elected leader of Haiti. He called on Haitians to adhere to the 1987 Constitution, and restore Aristide to the office that he overwhelmingly won in the December 1990 elections. "In December 1990, Haiti's proud people demonstrated to the world that they were willing to risk their lives for democracy," Mondale said. "The internation-

al community must stand in solidarity with Haitian democrats and support elected government and the rule of law."

On October 4, President Aristide visited NDI, and during a briefing session with Washington opinion leaders, called for an end to the bloodshed and for the restoration of democracy. NDI was privileged to support Haiti's quest for free elections and supports international efforts to promote democratic government in Haiti.



President Aristide during visit to NDI in October.

Bulgaria Holds Second National Elections

On October 13, Bulgaria became the first former Warsaw Pact country to hold a second round of national elections. The elections for a 240-member National Assembly, mayors and local council members were the first under the new constitution adopted last July.

The National Assembly elections resulted in a narrow victory by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), with the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) obtaining 33 percent of the vote. The Movement for Rights and Freedom (MRF), an ethnic-Turkish based party, which almost was banned from participating in the elections, emerged as the only other party to obtain representation in the Assembly. Twenty-six percent of the vote was cast for parties that did not meet the 4 percent threshold.

Building upon its work in Bulgaria during the previous 18 months, NDI co-sponsored, together with the International Republican Institute (IRI), a 59-member international observer delegation. The delegation benefitted considerably from information collected by two NDI pre-election missions and from NDI's continuing relationship with the Bulgarian Association for Free and Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). BAFECR monitored the pre-election campaign, conducted an effective civic education program and, working with NDI advisers, implemented a successful independent vote tabulation.

As the delegation reported in its post-election statement, the elections were conducted in a generally fair manner,



Delegation Co-leaders deliver statement on Bulgarian elections at October 14 press conference. Left to right: B.A. Graham of Canada, IRI President Jack Buechner, NDI President Brian Atwood and Sali Barisba, chairman of the Democratic Party of Albania.

although observers noted long lines and some irregularities during their visits to more than 400 polling sites on election day. A particular problem involved faulty voter registries, which added to the delays and confusion at many polling sites.

Because of the late closing of many polling sites and the closeness of the elections, none of the seven organizations conducting parallel vote tabulations announced results until 3:45 a.m. The projections from the different parallel vote tabulations were consistent with one another and with the official results announced two days later by the Central Election Commission.

A new government was formed on November 8, with Philip Dimitrov, chairman of the UDF as prime minister. For the first time since 1944, the government does not include any Communist Party or successor party members. Following presidential elections on January 12, Bulgaria will have freely elected leaders at all levels of government.

The election results highlight the role of minorities in the Bulgarian political system. During 1992, NDI will be working with BAFECR to help reduce ethnic tensions and to ensure that the rights of minority groups, including their right to participate in the political process at the national and local levels, are respected. ●



Delegation members visit Bulgarian polling site on election day.

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

KATHARINE BUTLER
Professor of Law, University of South Carolina Law School, U.S.

MARGARETA FOGELBERG
Member of Parliament, Sweden

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Counsel, U.S.

LUIS XAVIER GARRIDO
Council for Democracy, Mexico

ANDREI A. GOLTSBLATT
Executive Secretary, Constitutional Commission of RSFSR, Russia

FEROZ M. HASSAN
Managing Director, Remians Business and Professional Forum, Bangladesh

STEPHEN HEINTZ
Secretary General, IEWSS European Studies Center, U.S.

PRAPHAN HUTASINGH
Former Member of Parliament, Palang Dharma Party, Thailand

BRAD JOHNSON
Director, Washington Office, State of New York, U.S.

SUSAN JOHNSON
Former Executive Director, Liberal International, United Kingdom

THOMAS KAHN
Associate Staff Member, Office of Rep. John M. Spratt, Jr., U.S.

SHAHID KARDAR
Director, Systems Limited, Pakistan

MARTA LAGOS
Center for the Study of Contemporary Realities, Chile

STANLEY MABISZELA
Deputy Director, Department of International Affairs, African National Congress, South Africa

CORNEL NISTORESCU
Director, Expres, Romania

BERNARD OWEN
General Secretary, Center for the Cooperative Study of Elections, France

KATJA PITSOONIS
Special Adviser, European Cultural Center of Delphi, Greece

TINA ROSENBERG
Journalist, U.S.

MARTIN SAMPSON
Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, U.S.

OUSMANE SANE
Attorney, Senegal

JILL SCHUKER
Senior Vice President, Hill & Knowlton, U.S.

IRVING STOLBERG
Connecticut State Representative, U.S.

JOSEPH SWEAT
Executive Director, Tennessee Municipal League, U.S.

JAMES TIERNEY
Former Majority Leader, Maine House of Representatives, U.S.

* These delegation members were joined by 29 participants invited by the International Republican Institute.

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

J. BRIAN ATWOOD
Delegation Co-Leader
NDI President, U.S.

CEZAR BAENA
Former Assistant to the Chief of Staff to the President, Venezuela

DAVID BLACKMAN
Chief, Office for Eastern Europe, European Parliament

JAN BUBENIK
Former Member of Parliament, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

PAUL BURNS
Barrister-at-Law, Ireland

Training Election Monitors

With 12 francophone African countries holding presidential and parliamentary elections during 1992, NDI sponsored a regional training seminar in Benin to assist political parties and civic organizations seeking to monitor the electoral process. More than 100 African participants from 15 countries took part in the November seminar, which was co-sponsored by GERDDES, a Benin-based institute dedicated to democratic development in the region.

The seminar included plenary sessions on recent elections in Africa and comparative democratic electoral systems. The more technically oriented workshops, which were led by GERDDES and international experts, focused on monitoring the campaign period, election-day pollwatching, voter education and the techniques used for developing an independent vote counting system.

The international participants included Louis Massicotte of Elections Canada, Marianna Drensha of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Election and Civil Rights, and Larry Garber, NDI's Senior Counsel for Election Processes.

The workshop leaders emphasized that the monitoring of elections requires a full-time effort to ensure that

the political climate—including freedom of expression, association and party organization—will create a meaningful electoral process.

Following the three-day program, NDI has received requests for specialized assistance from many of the countries represented at the seminar. As democratization in Africa continues to accelerate, there is growing recognition that free and fair election processes are a precursor to legitimate government and the consolidation of democratic institutions.

NDI and GERDDES plan to move quickly to build on the success of the recent program. Several national GERDDES organizations have already been formed as a result of the seminar, and NDI plans to organize country-specific programs to enhance the election monitoring capabilities of civic groups. NDI and GERDDES also plan to organize a similar regional training program for countries in East Africa.

Francesca Farmer leads a discussion on voter registration at regional "teach-in" in Bloomfontaine, South Africa.



Toward Democratic Elections in South Africa

For two-weeks in November, regional organizers of South African civic and political organizations learned about the procedures of democratic elections. Sponsored by NDI and the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of Western Cape, the election "teach-ins" were carried out in six regional centers throughout South Africa. They attracted more than 750 members from the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Azanian Peoples Organization, CONTRALESA (an association of traditional leaders), civic organizations, churches and trade unions.

"The aim of this program is to demystify the process of elections for the majority of South Africans who have for so long been excluded from participating in the voting process," said Randi Erentzen, the director of CDS.

Election experts and political party and civic leaders from Bulgaria, Kenya, Northern Ireland, the United States, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the United Nations served as the international faculty for the program. The 10-member group divided into two teams, which conducted three workshops each. The

faculty members focused on voter registration, the role of political parties, and the balloting and vote counting process. At each workshop, a mock polling station was set up at which South Africans participated in an election-day role-playing exercise. For most participants, the "mock ballot" was the first vote they had ever cast. NDI also produced and presented a 35-minute slide show, depicting each stage of the election process. Members of the international team emphasized the importance of voter education, ballot secrecy and an atmosphere of tolerance.

The November program received an enthusiastic response from the South African participants, and NDI and CDS are planning to expand the program in 12 more regional centers during 1992.

INTERNATIONAL FACULTY SOUTH AFRICA ELECTION PROGRAM

STEVEN COBBLE
Political Advisor and Strategist, U.S.

EUGENE DUFFY
*Former Deputy Mayor,
Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.*

MARK DURKAN
*Chairman, Social Democratic and
Labour Party, Northern Ireland*

FRANCESTA FARMER
NGO Consultant in Kenya, U.S.

TINA FLOURNOY
*General Counsel, Democratic
National Committee, U.S.*

LAURAH HARRISON
*Chair, National Women's Lobby,
Zambia*

JOHN RWAMBUYA
*United Nations Consultant;
Former UNTAG Official, Ovambo,
Namibia, United Nations*

MASIPULA SITHOLE
*Chair, Political and
Administrative Studies,
Department of Political Science,
University of Zimbabwe,
Zimbabwe*

MIROSLAV SEVLIEVSKI
*Secretary-General, Bulgarian
Association for Fair Elections
and Civil Rights, Bulgaria*

RAUL YZAGUIRRE
*President, National Council,
La Raza, U.S.*



NDI ADVISES ON TRANSITION ELECTIONS

CAMEROON

Under pressure from opposition activists, the government of Cameroon has begun to liberalize the country's political system. However, the sincerity of this democratization policy, including the legalization of political parties and a commitment to free and fair elections, has been questioned by much of the opposition.

Against this tense backdrop, the prime minister of Cameroon, with the approval of opposition parties, requested that NDI evaluate a draft electoral law recently proposed by the government, as well as constitutional issues relevant to the development of multiparty democracies. In response to the request, an NDI-sponsored delegation travelled to Cameroon in September. It met with Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou and other government officials, and representatives of political parties and civic associations.

The delegation was led by Keba Mbaye, a former chief justice of Senegal, who serves as vice president of the International Court of Justice and president of the Commission on Electoral Law Reform of Senegal. Other delegation members were: Gail Shaffer, secretary of state for New York; Francois Frison-Roche of France, a constitutional law expert and pres-

ident of the Democracy Without Borders organization; and Esteban Caballero of Paraguay, executive director of the Center for Democratic Studies.

In questioning the government's stated intention to establish an orderly transition to democracy, the opposition alleges partiality by a civil service that would administer elections, and limitations on press freedom and political party activities.

The delegation's report, which was widely disseminated in Cameroon, concluded that elections can help resolve political disputes but only if they embody certain fundamental principles, including transparency during all stages of the process, an independent judiciary, and freedom of association. The report made a series of specific recommendations relating to the draft electoral law and the draft decree regulating access to the media.

The delegation also suggested that the elections, originally scheduled for February 1992, be postponed to allow sufficient time for election administrators and political parties to organize for the polling. Subsequent to the release of the delegation's report, the government rescheduled the elections for late spring. ●

ETHIOPIA

A three-member NDI team visited Ethiopia last November to advise the government on plans for upcoming regional and district elections. The visit was organized in response to a request from Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, which was transmitted to NDI by former President Jimmy Carter.

The team included Judge Antonio Vitorino of the Portuguese Constitutional Court, NDI Senior Counsel Larry Garber and NDI Program Assistant Peter

Silverman. In addition to President Meles, the team met members of the Council of Representatives, who are responsible for drafting a new election law, and representatives of political groups and nongovernmental organizations. At the conclusion of the visit, the team presented a paper to the Council outlining various procedures for a new election process.

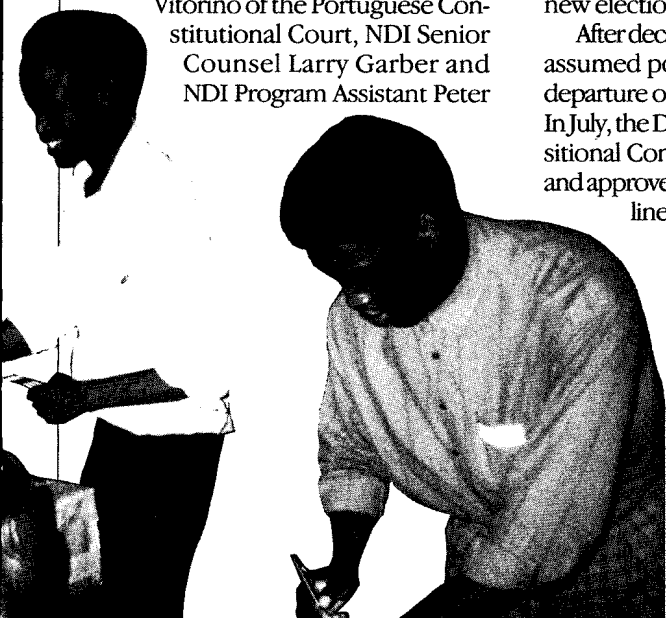
After decades of bloody civil war, Meles assumed power last May following the departure of former President Mengistu. In July, the Democratic and Peaceful Transitional Conference of Ethiopia drafted and approved a National Charter that outlines a framework for the transition period. The Charter provides for the establishment of a government whose principal mandates are the preparation of a new constitution and the organi-

zation of free elections.

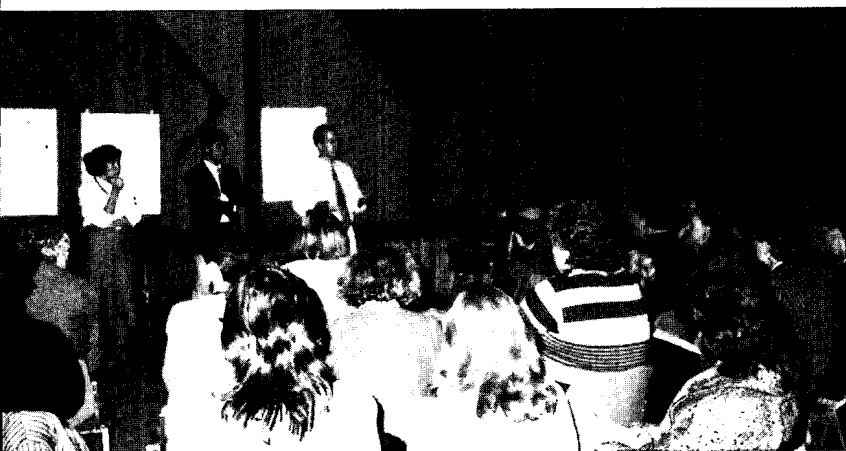
The challenges facing Ethiopia in implementing a democratic transition are daunting. Ethiopia has had no experience with competitive elections, and decentralization and regional autonomy will complicate the democratization process.

President Meles and other government officials told the team that, in implementing the regional and district elections, Ethiopia will require international assistance. In this context, Meles expressed appreciation for NDI's quick response to his request for electoral advice.

NDI plans to organize a workshop in late January to discuss election-related issues with representatives of Ethiopian political groups. NDI also expects to work with the election commission and other organizations in developing a comprehensive civic education program. ●



Participants in South African elections workshop vote at mock polling station during election-day role-playing exercise.



Sergio Godoy of Chile and Mike Marshall lead training seminar for leaders of Pro Democracy, a Romanian civic group.

Monitoring and Training for the Romanian Elections

In preparation for the February 9 local elections in Romania, NDI began an intensive six-month program to promote a free and fair polling process.

In August, NDI opened a permanent office in Bucharest staffed by resident program managers Maura Brueger and Gerald Mitchell. They have been providing organizational advice to the Pro Democracy Association (PDA) and to other civic groups engaged in voter education and election monitoring activities.

In addition to this ongoing technical assistance, an NDI delegation travelled to Romania in October to conduct an assessment of the Romanian political environment and to hold training seminars for PDA and other civic organizations. The delegation included experts from Chile, the Philippines, United Kingdom and the U.S. The training seminars addressed election monitoring activities, volunteer recruitment and media relations. The delegation also discussed the implementation of the draft electoral law with government officials, and held meetings with representatives of the major political parties in Bucharest, Craiova and Sitiu.

A second delegation, consisting of political party experts from Northern Ireland, Germany, the Netherlands, United Kingdom and the U.S., was in Romania a month later to provide organizational advice to a cross-section of democratic political party leaders in Bucharest and in local party headquarters throughout the country.

In conjunction with the monitoring of the election process, NDI, in cooperation with the American Bar Association Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI), reviewed the Romanian draft law on local elections. The review, along with Brueger and Mitchell's efforts, helped persuade the Romanian parliament to amend the law and permit domestic civic groups, like PDA, to monitor the voting and counting process.

In January, Mitchell will return to NDI's Washington offices. He will be replaced by Mike Marshall, who recently worked as the field director for the California-based Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways.

Also in January, NDI will continue its training program with PDA and sponsor a third international delegation to evaluate the campaign period. For the elections itself, NDI and the International Republican Institute will jointly organize an international observer delegation.

INTERNATIONAL TRAINERS IN ROMANIA: OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1991

SANDRA COLLIVER
Principal Legal Officer, Article 19, United Kingdom

TIM DICKSON
Powell Tate, U.S.

ANDREW ELLIS
Former Secretary General, Liberal Party, United Kingdom

BRIAN FEENEY
Member Belfast City Council, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland

PETER FENN
Partner, Fenn and King, U.S.

SERGIO GODOY
Communications Director, Participa, Chile

JOYCE GOULD
Director of Organization, Labour Party, United Kingdom

MIKE MARSHALL
Field Director, Citizens for Reliable and Safe Highways, U.S.

PATRICK MERLOE
Attorney, Heller, Ebrman, White & McAuliffe, U.S.

KLAUS PFNORR
Director of Organization, Free Democratic Party, Germany

MARIANO QUESADA
Founder, National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), Philippines

EWALD WERMUTH
Chairman, Amsterdam Branch, Christian Democratic Appeal, The Netherlands



Romanian workshop session on election monitoring.

National Elections in the Philippines

An international NDI team visited the Philippines from November 4-9 to assess current political developments and the Aquino government's preparations for the May 11 national and local elections. Previously, the Institute observed the historic 1986 snap election, the constitutional plebiscite and legislative elections of 1987, and the 1988 municipal elections. Filipinos will go to the polls during the upcoming elections to elect a new president, members of Congress and local officials.

The NDI team included: Feroz Hassan, managing director of the Remians Business and Professional Forum of Bangladesh; James B. King, chief of staff to Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts; Susanne Wood, former president of the National Party of New Zealand; and NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson. NDI program staff members Michael Ratner and Catherine Kelsch accompanied the group.

The NDI team met with a wide range of government, political, and civic leaders. Christian Monsod, chairman of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), discussed the challenges of electing all the nation's officials on a single day, and the complicated balloting process. Armed Forces Chief of Staff Lisandro Abadia and national police officers reviewed their plans for ensuring a peaceful election environment.

President Corazon Aquino told the NDI team that she hoped that "fair and open elections and the smooth transition to a new government will be my legacy as president." She said that her ability to survive numerous coup attempts is testimony that Filipinos are committed to civilian rule. Aquino said that the May elections would be a milestone in Philippine history, and that the support and continued encouragement of the international community would be needed for their success.

CHILE

Promoting Democracy at the Local Level

At the request of Chilean legislators, NDI and the International Republican Institute organized an international team of municipal experts to assist Congressional efforts to reform the country's local governments.

In December, the team visited Santiago and Valparaíso, the site of the Chilean Congress, where they consulted with government officials and lawmakers on the scope and limits of local government power, as well as the process of drafting municipal reform legislation. The team included: George Latimer, former mayor of St. Paul, Minnesota and former president of the National League of Cities; Guillermo Fernandez De Soto, former aide to the mayor of Bogotá Colombia; and William Whatley, councilman, Dorchester County, South Carolina.

Chilean political leaders candidly admit that the success of the democratic transition at the national level has not been matched at the local level where sitting mayors were appointed by the Pinochet regime. In June, the country will be holding mayoral elections for the first time in nearly two decades.



Lindy Boggs addresses prospective women candidates for local elections at Santiago training program.

The week-long program was co-sponsored by the Corporación Tiempo 2000 and the Instituto Libertad y Desarrollo, public policy institutes affiliated, respectively, with the ruling coalition and conservative opposition in the Chilean Congress.

Also in Chile, NDI sponsored the visit of former Louisiana Congresswoman Lindy Boggs who participated in a program to encourage women to take a more active role in politics. The November program was organized by Participa, a Santiago-based civic organization. Leaders of Participa have been active participants in NDI's civic education programs in Africa and Eastern Europe.

During her visit, Boggs participated in a training seminar for prospective women candidates for local elections and met with government officials, political and trade union leaders, and journalists. She discussed opportunities and obstacles that women face in seeking a career in politics. ●

PARAGUAY

Group Continues Civic Education Program

As a continuation of its democratic development assistance to Paraguay, NDI entered into a fifth cooperative agreement with the Asunción-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) for a civic and voter education program to increase participation in the December 1 constituent assembly elections. The four-month program helped educate the Paraguayan citizens on the functions of the constituent assembly so that the electorate could make an informed decision at the polls. In addition, the CED also designed, published and distributed training manuals for poll-watchers and election officials.

Polling for the constituent assembly was the third electoral contest since the 1989 ouster of Alfredo Stroessner. National elections were held in 1989 and municipal elections in 1991. The assembly is charged with drafting the country's new constitution.

In response to a request from the city council of Asunción, the CED used a portion of its grant funds to organize a forum for 180 members of town councils throughout Paraguay. Topics discussed in the November meeting included decentralization of government functions, constitutional and tax reform, urban planning and transportation. The program led to an agreement by the participating council members to form an association that would conduct training seminars on local governance issues. ●

EL SALVADOR

Peace Accord Promotes New Opening for Democracy

As the historic negotiations to end El Salvador's 12-year civil war came to a successful conclusion, NDI participated in a month-long study to assess potential programs that could further the country's democratization process.

From October 21 to November 23, NDI, in cooperation with Freedom House, the International Republican Institute and Southwest Voters Research Institute, surveyed 70 Salvadoran civic organizations seeking to increase the participation of the citizenry in a demo-

cratic society. NDI consultant Santiago Canton took part in the study, which was funded by the Agency for International Development (AID). It was carried out in San Salvador and in regions throughout the country.

A report produced by the four groups evaluated the role of Salvadoran organizations in recent elections and assessed their future needs. The report also recommended activities that AID might fund in order to strengthen the country's civil society.

Among other recommendations, the study advocates programs to promote a fair and impartial electoral process in 1994, to strengthen the role of local governments, and to help define the new, nonpolitical role that the peace agreement envisions for the armed forces. ●

Hungarian Lawmakers Study Legislative Oversight Role

At the request of the Speaker of Hungary's National Assembly, Gyorgy Szabad, and the parliamentary parties, NDI returned to Budapest in October to provide technical advice on legislative oversight of classified information. The program was the third in a series of NDI-sponsored consultations that have assisted efforts of the newly elected Assembly members to reorganize and reinvigorate the national legislature. Previous consultations have focused on parliamentary rules and procedures, and the recruitment and training of staff.

With a group of international experts, who brought a mix of executive and legislative experience, the October consultations helped contribute to an informed debate as the Hungarian government and Assembly begin to redefine their relationship in the post-communist era.

The international team included: Yossi Beilin, a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee of the Israeli Knesset and a former member of the cabinet; Alberto Duran Nuñez, a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Spanish parliament; and Dr. Gary Schmitt, a constitutional scholar who has served as the minority staff director of the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee and director of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

During a series of individual meetings with political parties and government officials, as well as a concluding all-parties symposium, the international experts addressed a wide range of practices employed by established democracies in



Gary Schmitt (left) and Bela Kiraly, a Hungarian parliamentarian, review U.S. Congressional oversight procedures.

exercising the legislature's oversight role. In particular, they examined access to information, and the system of classifying and protecting such information.

The experts also discussed some of the natural tensions inherent in reconciling the interests and responsibilities of the two branches of government. The Hungarian legislators said the consultations provided practical information on the struggle within democratic systems to maintain a balance between the "right to know" and the need to protect national security.

In a letter to NDI, Speaker Szabad thanked NDI for providing "information, advice and support to enable Hungary's first freely-elected Parliament to professionalize its operation." ●



Members of Albanian parliament participate in NDI-sponsored seminar in Tirana.

Advising Albania Parliament on New Election Law

In response to requests from the Democratic and Socialist parties, the two principal groupings in the Albanian parliament, NDI provided technical advice to the National Assembly on drafting a new election law. The Albanian interim government, established

last June, is preparing to hold national elections in March.

In November, an NDI-sponsored team of election experts visited Tirana where they consulted separately with the political parties represented in the government to determine their respective positions on a new law.

The consultations were followed by an all-parties meeting at which the team sought to reconcile differences and reviewed basic international standards for free and fair elections. At the conclusion of the meeting, representatives of the Democratic and Socialist parties agreed to jointly draft a law based on the principals addressed by the NDI experts.

The NDI team included Bernard Owen, general secretary of the Paris-

based Center for the Study of Comparative Elections, and Matthew Shugart, assistant professor at the University of California, San Diego and co-author of *SEATS AND VOTES: THE EFFECTS AND DETERMINANTS OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS*.

Prior to the November consultations, NDI sponsored the visits to Bulgaria by Albanian political party activists and parliamentarians. During their week-long stay in September, the Albanians were able to observe preparations for the October 13 national and local elections, and to study the activities of two factions of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

During the run-up to the Albanian elections, NDI plans to organize an international monitoring effort to promote a free and fair process. The Institute will also work with Albanian political parties and civic groups to enhance domestic monitoring capabilities. ●

(Zambia continued from front page)

uation fueled the demand for a return to multiparty politics after almost two decades as a one-party state. Kenneth Kaunda and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) had led the country since independence in 1964. Under pressure from the MMD, Kaunda agreed to multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections in October 1991.

During the run-up to the elections, the international delegations sponsored by Z-Vote recommended changes in the election system. A number of these recommendations were adopted by the government and the electoral commission. Z-Vote also reviewed complaints by the political parties, monitored political developments and conducted an in-depth analysis of media coverage during the campaign period.

The NDI/Carter Center program also focused on strengthening domestic monitoring organizations, particularly the Zambian Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT) and the Zambian Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC). In organizing a nationwide pollwatching and voter education program, these nonpartisan civic organizations received technical advice from leaders of similar groups in Bulgaria, Chile, Namibia and the Philippines.

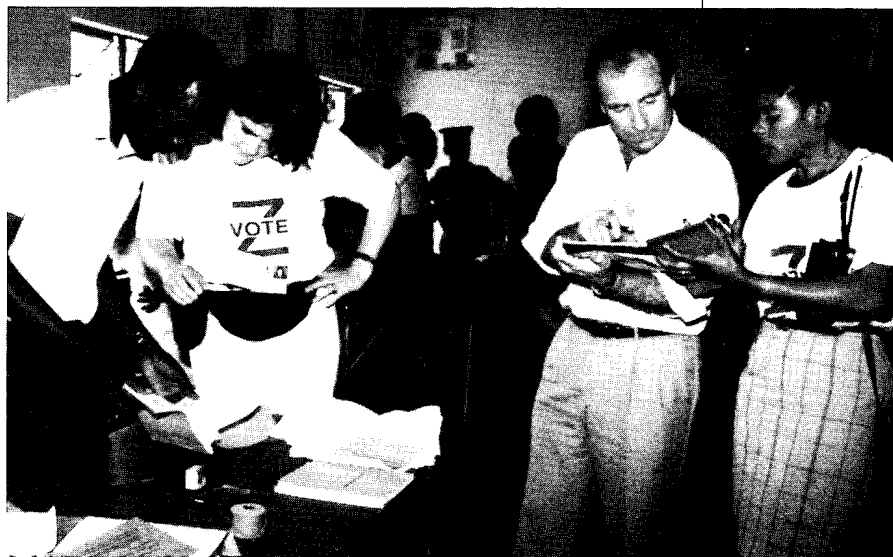
NDI, relying on its experience in other countries, also implemented an independent vote tabulation, which accurately projected the results in the presidential election.

While NDI and the Carter Center dispatched international teams to Zambia for monitoring and training programs, Program Assistant Gina Giere staffed the Z-Vote office in Lusaka for NDI and provided ongoing advice to the Zambian civic organizations.

The Z-Vote program received support from the governments of Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. The Agency for International Development also provided assistance.

The elections and the peaceful transition process have already had an impact on events in other African countries. In Kenya and elsewhere, democratic activists are seeking to learn from the successful Zambian experience. For its part, NDI plans to continue working in Zambia. Officials in the new government have encouraged NDI to consider programs relating to election reform, parliamentary procedures and the roles of majority and minority parties in a democratic system. The Institute also plans to continue assisting nonpartisan Zambian organizations, which hope to build on their successful election monitoring efforts.

Z-Vote monitors at polling station in Lwinba, Zambia.



Z-VOTE OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE ZAMBIAN ELECTIONS

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UPCOMING PROGRAMS

BOLIVIA Beginning in March, NDI will sponsor a series of seminars for the Bolivian political parties on electoral and constitutional reform issues.

CENTRAL & EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL PARTIES In January, NDI will hold the third in its series of technical assistance programs to promote cooperation between parties with similar ideologies in Central and Eastern Europe. The January 23-25 program for Social Democrats follows similar programs held in 1991 for Liberal and Christian Democratic parties.

LIBERIA NDI will begin a program to support democratic elections, anticipated sometime in 1992. The program will include a series of training programs for political parties and civic groups seeking to promote participation in the electoral process.

MEXICO NDI will support a forum on election reform in Mexico organized by the Council for Democracy, a nonpartisan civic institute based in Mexico City. The April forum will cover such topics as compilation of registration lists, distribution of identification cards and the composition of election boards.

NICARAGUA NDI and the Nicaraguan National Assembly are planning a three-year program to enhance civilian control over the armed forces.

PAKISTAN In February, NDI will sponsor a series of consultations with political parties and civic groups to enhance their capabilities for monitoring future elections.

PANAMA NDI will send a five-member international delegation to Panama to design a program to help strengthen the country's political parties. The delegation, which will consist of political party experts and NDI staff, will visit Panama in March.

SOUTHERN AFRICA In January, NDI will sponsor a regional conference, "Advancing and Strengthening Elections in Southern Africa," in Windhoek Namibia. An international faculty of election experts from Africa, Latin America, Europe, the U.S. and the United Nations will join approximately 60 participants from nine southern Africa countries.

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