



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

NDI REPORTS

NAMIBIA HOLDS FIRST INTER-PARLIAMENTARY SYMPOSIUM

Working with the Speaker of Namibia's National Assembly, NDI sponsored a series of seminars last March to help strengthen the country's newly elected national legislature. The program, which coincided with the first anniversary of Namibia's independence, provided practical information on parliamentary organization, rules and procedures.

"I believe that the exchange of information, fostered by this symposium, is useful to both our National Assembly and the international delegates, who may bring the good news of Namibia's success home to their countries," said Speaker Mose Tjitendero.

The international delegation comprised parliamentarians from Botswana, Germany, Ireland, Mauritius, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zimbabwe, who spent three days in Windhoek sharing experiences and techniques with their counterparts in the Namibian legislature. Two representatives from South Africa, Brigitte Mabandla of the ANC's Constitutional Committee and Bushy Molefe of the Working Group on International Relations, also joined the delegation as observers.

Participants in the seminars exchanged views and information on parliamentary issues such as votes of no confidence, the questioning of ministers and the role of party whips. The seminars were attended by nearly all of the 72 members of the Assembly, including Prime Minister Hage Geingob and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab.

"Namibians followed NDI's work closely during the election process," said Gurirab. "We are pleased to have the Institute return to work with the National Assembly. This inter-parliamentary seminar will provide an important yardstick by which the Namibian parliament can measure its progress in the first year of independence."

"As a Constituent Assembly, the Namibian parliament has already written one of the most liberal constitutions in the world," said NDI President Brian Atwood, who led the international delegation to Windhoek. "Now as they sit in the National Assembly, these same people,

(Continued on page 2)



Workshop with Namibian party whips on role of political parties in scheduling a legislative agenda.

NDI Continues Local Government Reform Program in Moscow and Leningrad

NDI sponsored the second in a series of technical assistance seminars last May to support the economic and political reform efforts of elected local governments in the Soviet Union. The seminars on "Democratic Government and Municipal Finance" were held in Moscow and Leningrad and attended by more than 150 city council members from the Russian Republic, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Moldavia and the Baltics.

Soviet participants included such prominent leaders of the democratic reform movement as Moscow First Vice Mayor Sergei Stankevich and Leningrad Mayor Anatoly Sobchak, who hosted the seminars along with their respective city councils. The NDI seminars were carried out in cooperation with Harvard University's project on "Strengthening Democratic Institutions" and Moscow's Center for Applied Political Studies (INDEM).

Local government experts and elected officials from six countries led 10 workshops on the budget process, revenue and taxation, property and privatization, and separation of local government powers. In addition, NDI and Harvard University translated training materials on local government, which were distributed to the Soviet participants.

Following the Leningrad seminars, Mayor Sobchak invited the international delegation to address a special session of the 400-member city council. NDI

(Continued on page 6)

INSIDE

- Albania ■
- Bangladesh ■
- Bulgaria ■
- Guyana ■
- Harriman Award ■
- Hungary ■
- Paraguay ■
- Poland ■
- Senegal ■

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

Senegalese Electoral Reform

Recommendations by an NDI-sponsored international delegation have been endorsed by a special multi-party commission established by Senegalese President Abdou Diouf to review the country's electoral system. One of the few multi-party democracies in Africa, Senegal has until recently experienced a political impasse between the ruling and opposition parties over the conduct of past elections.

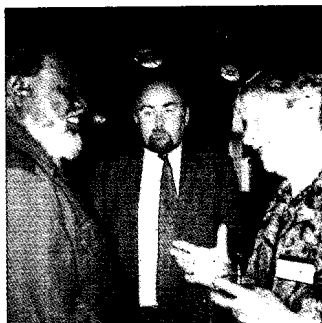
Responding to a request from Diouf, and with approval of opposition groups, the delegation of election experts from five countries, led by former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Donald McHenry, visited Dakar last September to assess the country's election laws and procedures, and to recommend reform options.

Prior to the release of the delegation's report last April, Diouf appointed a commission to make recommendations on reforming the electoral code and on ways to increase confidence in the fairness of the election process.

The commission's preliminary recommendations, which must now be approved by the National Assembly, include lifting the ban on party coalitions, lengthening the campaign period, facilitating political party pollwatching, using indelible ink to minimize multiple voting, developing a voter education project that would stress the secrecy of the ballot and establishing a more decentralized vote counting system.

The NDI delegation's findings, which have been published in English and French, have also been the subject of interest in other countries seeking to strengthen their electoral systems. ●

President Sam Nujoma with Ruairi Quinn and Helga Timm.



BRIAN ATWOOD
Delegation Leader, NDI President, U.S.

J. EMMAN CARTER
President of the Senate, Trinidad-Tobago

C. AJAY DABY, M.P.
Former Speaker, Mauritius

ALAN GANOO, M.P.
Former Speaker, Mauritius

MARIA LEISSNER, M.P.
Sweden

LAZARUS NZARAYEBANI, M.P.
Zimbabwe

RUAIRI QUINN, M.P.
Former Minister of Labour, Ireland

BAHITI TEMANE, M.P.
Botswana

HELGA TIMM
Former Member, Bundestag, Germany

ADVISOR
PETER KATJAVIVI
Namibia Economic Policy Research Unit (NEPRU), Namibia

NDI Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer presents gavel from U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Thomas Foley to Mose Tjittendero, Speaker of the Namibia National Assembly.

(Namibia cont. from page 1)

who have long been in conflict, are deeply committed to making their multi-party democracy work."

In addition to publishing the seminar findings, NDI is planning follow-on programs, including training for parliamentary staff, additional consultations on legislative rules and procedures, and assistance for research facilities. ●

INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS: NAMIBIA INTER-PARLIAMENTARY SYMPOSIUM

New Elections Create Foundation for Democracy in Bangladesh

Following the surprise resignation of President Hussein Mohammed Ershad last December and the scheduling of national elections for February 1991, NDI quickly sponsored a series of technical assistance programs in Bangladesh to enhance the prospects for free and fair elections. As an army general, Ershad took power in a 1982 coup and later ascended to the presidency in elections that were boycotted by major opposition parties.

Last January, Damaso Magbual, a leader of NAMFREL, the respected Philippine volunteer pollwatching

group, and Mark Durkan, chair of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party, visited Dhaka to conduct training workshops for prospective Bangladeshi pollwatchers. A month later, Anecita Abion and Mariano Quesada, former officials of NAMFREL, continued the training program.

For the election itself, Quesada was joined by NDI staff members Ned McMahon, Eric Bjornlund and Gina Giere, who visited polling sites in nine constituencies in Dhaka and Narayanganj. While the small observer team was not able to fully assess the electoral process, its findings concurred with Bangladeshi and other international observers, who described the elections as generally free and fair.

In its report on the election, the NDI team urged that the organizations involved in pollwatching activities should now support the consolidation of democracy through nationwide civic education programs. In the aftermath of the April cyclone that devastated the country, NDI postponed until late summer a program to support these organizations. ●

NDI PREPARES REGIONAL PLANNING PAPERS

In an effort to help guide NDI's democratic development programs over the next two years, the Institute has prepared regional strategy papers that analyze the worldwide democratization process. The papers represent the work of NDI Board members, staff and outside experts from academia, politics and journalism who participated in regional seminars organized by the Institute.

"The challenges of change in Latin America and the sweeping transitions in Eastern Europe had forced NDI to react quickly to events," said Institute President Brian Atwood in explaining the purpose of the two-month planning effort carried out earlier this year. "NDI performed an important role, but as the transition period ended, we felt a need to understand better the future requirements of these new democracies."

Copies of a compendium of the papers on Africa, East and South Asia, Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and the Soviet Union can be obtained from NDI.

HAVEL AND KIRKLAND RECEIVE HARRIMAN DEMOCRACY AWARD



NDI Chair Walter Mondale with Harriman Award recipients Ambassador Rita Klimova (for Vaclav Havel) and Lane Kirkland.

At a March 5 dinner in Washington, DC, NDI presented its sixth annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic and to AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland. The award dinner was attended by more than 400 friends of NDI, including 80 foreign ambassadors and members of Congress.

NDI Chairman Walter Mondale said that Vaclav Havel's "struggle to build a democratic society has come to symbolize Eastern and Central Europe's rebellion against repression." He called the AFL-CIO's partnership with Poland's Solidarity movement, "the latest effort in Lane Kirkland's lifelong commitment to working men and women both here in the United States and around the world."

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, Harriman Dinner Chair Elizabeth Bagley and House Speaker Thomas Foley.



Ambassador Rita Klimova of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, who received the award on behalf of President Havel, commented on the difficulties of consolidating democratic government. "The transition to a parliamentary democracy and to a market economy are proving to be much, much more difficult than we had anticipated in the good old days when we were all dissidents and had only the police to fear," she quipped.

In his acceptance speech, Kirkland said the "triumph of the human spirit" in Eastern Europe and elsewhere vindicates those who were once criticized for ignoring "geopolitical realities" and "national interests that leave little room for such

fantasies as social justice and human rights. It proves that there is no more enduring reality than the universal craving to breathe free and no interest stronger than its service."

The dinner program included introductory remarks by Washington, DC Mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon. Mondale presented the award to Kirkland, Ambassador Klimova received the award from Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

This year's award dinner was chaired by Elizabeth Bagley and co-chaired by Maurice Tempelsman and Leon Lynch, all members of NDI's Board of Directors. Mondale, Irena Kirkland and Pamela Harriman served as honorary co-chairs. House Speaker Thomas Foley and Majority Leader Mitchell headed the Congressional Host Committee for the event.



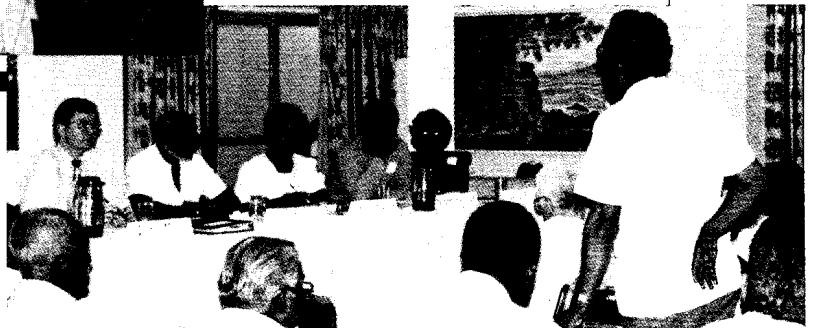
Poland Ambassador Kazimierz Dzwianowski (left) with NDI Senior Advisory Committee members Mike Mansfield and Stephen Solarz.

Guyanese Organize to Support Elections

An international seminar to assist Guyana's political parties and civic groups enhance confidence in upcoming national elections was organized by NDI in Georgetown. Topics at the May 11-12 symposium included scrutinizing voter registration lists, election-day pollwatching, the role of nonpartisan civic groups and interacting with international observers.

Leaders of six Guyanese political parties and representatives of civic organizations participated in a series of workshop sessions with a panel of experts including Billie Miller, MP from Barbados; Selwyn Ryan, a pollster from Trinidad and Tobago; Danielle Bazin, a political campaign manager from Haiti; Bernard Craighead, a U.S. political campaign manager and NDI Program Director Thomas Melia.

Since independence in 1964, elections in this small anglophone country on the northern coast of South America have been marred by charges of fraud. With a new voter



registry in preparation and international observers invited by the government, the prospects for genuine and widely accepted elections, scheduled for later this year, have increased substantially.

Two weeks after the symposium, Miles Fitzpatrick, president of the Guyana Bar Association, participated in the NDI observer delegation to the Paraguayan municipal elections. During his visit to Paraguay, Fitzpatrick also examined the work of the Asuncion-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED). In cooperation with NDI, the CED has trained political party pollwatchers, and has conducted nationwide civic and voter-education programs.

Guyanese political party leader questions NDI panel on voter registration. Pictured (l to r) Thomas Melia, Selwyn Ryan, Danielle Bazin, Bernard Craighead and Billie Miller.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

NDI trainers Jack Walsh and Fernando Marques da Costa (at board) review organizational plans for political parties.



P O L A N D

Parties Prepare for Fall Elections

NDI continued its technical assistance program in support of Poland's political parties by conducting a two-day training seminar in Pultusk, Poland from April 12-14. Political experts from the U.S. and Europe advised representatives from 14 Polish parties on ways in which they can effectively organize for this fall's elections, the first fully democratic parliamentary polls in post-communist Poland. Seminar workshops focused on national and local political organization, resource management, candidate recruitment, message development and use of the media.

Poland's political parties, which are emerging from the successful Solidarity movement, represent the beginning of a multi-party system after four decades of communist rule. However,

Polish party leaders candidly admit that there exists a dearth of knowledge about how they should organize and participate in the country's changing political environment.

International trainers at the Pultusk seminar were: Fernando Marques da Costa, International Secretary of the Socialist Party, Portugal; Robert Esposito, Political Director, Lt. Governor of New York, U.S.; Joyce Gould, Director of Organization, Labour Party, Great Britain; Will Robinson, Campaign Director, Democratic National Committee, U.S.; Tibor Vidos, Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary; and Jack Walsh, President, Jack Walsh & Associates, Inc., U.S. The trainers were joined by NDI President Brian Atwood and Senior

Program Officer Lionel Johnson.

"It is NDI's hope that this party-building program will expose the leaders and activists of Poland's political parties to the key elements of successful planning and organization" said Atwood during the seminar's opening session. "In the process of consolidating Polish democracy, we share your belief that strong and competitive parties are essential to the process of peaceful change."

NDI has received requests from many of the participating parties for follow-on training prior to the fall elections, and a series of training consultations is planned during the next few months. ●

B U L G A R I A

Training Civic Activists

"Imagine yourself in a situation of fear," began Dr. Nureya Abarca of Chile in response to a question about overcoming the legacy of 45 years of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria. Abarca, a psychologist and leader of the Chilean civic organization

Participa continued: "For a woman, having a first child is a very fearful time. What is it that you want? First, you want all the relevant information that can be provided. Second, you want someone there to hold your hand, figuratively if not literally. And finally, you want to know that there will be a positive outcome. The same notions must be communicated to voters participating in elections after decades of nondemocratic rule."

This and other equally definite responses were offered at a May 30 forum in Sofia attended by more than 250 members of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR). The forum culminated a week-long program organized by NDI and BAFECR. In addition to Abarca, civic organizers and technical experts from Czechoslovakia, Norway and the U.S. led training seminars



BAFECR training seminar. Pictured (l to r), David Cohen, Ingse Stabel, Deborah Seiler and Larry Garber.

BULGARIA TRAINERS

NUREYA ABARCA MELO
Professor, Catholic University;
Member of Participa, Chile

MARGARET BLACKSHERE
Assistant to the President, Illinois Federation of
Teachers, U.S.

JAN BUBENIK
Former Member of Parliament, Czechoslovakia

DAVID COHEN
Co-Director, Advocacy Institute, U.S.

ROBERT DOVE
Parliamentarian Emeritus, U.S. Senate, U.S.

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Consultant, U.S.

DEBORAH SEILER
Election Administration Expert, U.S.

INGSE STABEL
Equal Status Ombud, Norway

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

SPECIAL OBSERVER
CHRIS MATHABE
Working Group on International Relations,
African National Congress, South Africa

for the leaders of BAFECR's 50 regional offices and participated in the Association's civic education forums in six cities.

The international participants not only shared their expertise, but also heard of the tremendous progress made by BAFECR since the June 1990 national elections. Through publications on human rights, a legal assistance program that provided advice to more than 10,000 Bulgarian citizens, and the promotion of changes in the election law, BAFECR maintains an active presence on the Bulgarian political scene.

During the same week, NDI sponsored the second visit to Bulgaria by Robert Dove, U.S. Senate parliamentarian emeritus, to evaluate the rules and practices used by the Grand National Assembly (GNA). While the GNA continues to face political problems, Dove left Bulgaria impressed over the progress made by the Assembly since his November visit.

NDI also sent to Bulgaria Joe Sweat, director of the Tennessee Municipal League, to advise officials in the Sofia mayor's office. The visit came in response to a specific request by Mayor Karakachanov.

With new elections scheduled for September, NDI plans to organize several pre-election monitoring missions that will be designed to promote confidence and participation in the process. NDI also will continue providing material and technical assistance to BAFECR, and will again organize a large international observer delegation for the national elections, scheduled for September. ●

HUNGARY

Parliament and Local Government

Since the March 1990 national elections in Hungary, NDI has conducted a series of technical assistance programs to help strengthen the country's democratically elected national and local governments.

Last November, NDI organized a three-day program of consultations in Budapest with MPs and staff from each of the six party caucuses in the National Assembly. Experts from Denmark, the European Parliament, Finland, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United States provided technical assistance on recruiting and managing staffs, budgeting and research, and drafting legislation. As a result of these consultations, the Hungarian parliamentarians requested follow-on assistance for their efforts to develop new rules of procedure for the Assembly.

In April, NDI responded by sponsoring a four-day symposium on "Parliamentary Rules of Procedure in Democratic Legislatures." During individual meetings with the party caucuses and at an all-parties symposium chaired by Gyorgy Szabad, Speaker of Hungary's National Assembly, international experts provided detailed information on how legislatures manage issues in committee and on the floor. "I

am deeply impressed by your active participation in establishing a solid democracy in this part of the world," Szabad said about the NDI program.

Prior to the symposium, the parliamentary experts from the U.S. Senate, the California state legislature, the Danish Parliament and the European Parliament were able to review and assess the Hungarian draft legislation on parliamentary rules. Their observations about the Hungarian system were contained in a report that was distributed to members of the Assembly.

NDI also sponsored a series of consultations last December with the Budapest Municipal Council and Mayor Gabor Demszky. The U.S. training team included a former U.S. mayor, city manager and municipal adminis-

trative officer who advised their Hungarian counterparts on local government organization and management, as well as public services and taxation. ●



Else Soerensen of Denmark discusses parliamentary procedures at seminar for Hungarian legislators. Also seated (l to r) Gyorgy Szabad, Speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly and Murray Zweben

HUNGARY INTERNATIONAL TRAINERS NOVEMBER 1990-APRIL 1991

GRAEME BANNERMAN
*Former Republican Staff Director,
Senate Foreign Relations
Committee, U.S.*

ANN BRANSTON
*Deputy Chief Administrative
Officer, City of San Francisco, U.S.*

JOSE PAULO CASACA
*Economic Advisor, Socialist Party,
Portugal*

CLIODHNA DEMPSEY
*Administrator, Interparliamentary
Delegations, European Parliament*

GEORGE HAMILTON
*Director, Office of Policy Research
and Coordination, Governor of
Vermont, U.S.*

ANDREAS R. HARTMANN
*Advisor, European People's Party,
European Parliament*

BRIAN KIDNEY
*Former Chief Clerk, California
State Assembly, U.S.*

NORMAN KING
*Former City Manager, Palm
Springs, California, U.S.*

GEORGE LATIMER
*Former Mayor of St. Paul,
Minnesota; Former President,
National League of Cities, U.S.*

ROBERT G. LIBERATORE
*Former Staff Director, Senate
Democratic Policy Committee, U.S.*

SCOTT LILLY
*Executive Director, Democratic
Study Group, U.S.*

WEIJO PITKAENEN
*Former Secretary, Center Party
Caucus, Finland*

ROBERT SHAPIRO
*Former Legislative Staff Director,
Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, U.S.*

THOMAS J. SLITER
*Former Staff Director, Senate
Democratic Policy Committee, U.S.*

**ELSE THEILL
SOERENSEN**
*Former Member of Parliament,
Conservative People's Party,
Denmark*

LYKKE SOERENSEN
*Political Advisor, Conservative
Party, Denmark*

HANS VAN SPANING
*Coordinating Policy Assistant,
Christian Democratic Party,
Netherlands*

GERHARD STAHL
*Political Advisor, Socialist Group,
European Parliament*

MURRAY ZWEBEN
*Parliamentarian Emeritus,
U.S. Senate, U.S.*

ALBANIA

Elections Fail to Establish Legitimacy for Ruling Party

After 45 years of self-imposed isolation and repressive one-party rule, the communist Party of Labor of Albania (PLA), responding to mass student protests, scheduled national multiparty elections last March. The urban-based Democratic Party, which was hurriedly organized as the principal alternative to the communists, garnered 75 of the 250 National Assembly seats while the PLA won just over two-thirds of the seats.

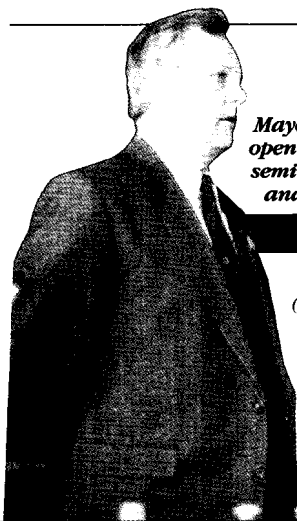
In mid-March, NDI sent a small technical team to Albania to gather information on the campaign environment and assist the Democratic Party in its efforts to monitor the electoral process. The team included Miroslav Sevlievski and Krassen Krayev of the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, the successful civic and pollwatching organization. Based on their findings, NDI published a pre-election report, which raised serious questions about the election law and the fairness of the campaign.

While noting that the legalization of opposition parties and their participation in the electoral process constitute "historic steps forward in the political development" of

Albania, the report expressed doubts that the electorate would be "sufficiently confident in the integrity of the electoral system, or sufficiently familiar with the choices before them, to cast informed votes without fear of retaliation."

NDI staff members Thomas Melia, Olga Milosavljevic and Gerald Mitchell later travelled to Albania for the elections where they distributed the pre-election report and helped coordinate the activities of international observer delegations. The report was particularly timely since most observers were denied entry into Albania until a few days before the voting and, therefore, were unable to thoroughly assess the pre-election environment.

Despite its electoral success, the new PLA government resigned in early June amidst labor unrest. The PLA and the opposition Democratic Party agreed to an interim government led by nonparty officials. NDI has published a comprehensive report on the election and is exploring a democratic development program in the areas of civic education, political party building and parliamentary training. ●



Mayor Anatoly Sobchak addresses opening session of Leningrad seminar on "Democratic Government and Municipal Finance."

(Soviet Union cont. from page 1)

Executive Vice President Kenneth Wollack told the council members that the NDI training program was designed "to contribute to an informed debate" as Soviet elected officials seek to establish democratic systems at the local level.

Zev Yaroslavsky of the Los Angeles City Coun-

Elizabeth Reveal and Hartmut Wrocklage lead workshop on budget process at Moscow seminar.



INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AND MUNICIPAL FINANCE

GEORGE CARVALHO
City Manager, City of Santa Clarita, California, U.S.

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

MARSHALL GOLDMAN
Associate Director, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, U.S.

RITA HALE
Head, Local Government Division, Chartered Institute for Public Finance and Accountancy, United Kingdom

LYNN HAMPTON
Chief Financial Officer, Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, U.S.

MAHNAZ ISPAHANI
NDI Director of Research, U.S.

BOGDAN JANKOWSKI
Director, Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, Poland

GORAN LANGSVED
Chief Executive Officer, Stockholm, Sweden

ELIZABETH REVEAL
Strengthening Democratic Institutions, Harvard University; Former Director of Finance, Philadelphia, U.S.

CZESLAWA RUDZKA-LORENTZ
Advisor to the Undersecretary of State for Local Government Reform, Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, Poland

MARCO SWART
City Councilor, Enschede, Netherlands

THOMAS J. VOLGY
Mayor of Tucson, Arizona, U.S.

KENNETH WOLLACK
NDI Executive Vice President, U.S.

HARTMUT WROCKLAGE
Director and Permanent Secretary, Civil Service Finance Department, Hamburg, Germany

ZEV YAROSLAVSKY
Chairman, Budget and Finance Committee, Los Angeles City Council, U.S.

cil addressed the growing friction between large, unwieldy Soviet city councils and their mayors, who are seeking greater executive authority. "I know of no city council that would not want to get rid of its mayor," he said to the applause of the council. "And I know of no mayor who would not want to get rid of the council." In truth, Yaroslavsky said, the legislative and executive branches "need each other" and the "challenge of democratic government is to deal with this necessary tension."

The seminars were developed following a similar NDI program last December that examined the structure and management of municipal government. That program, according to the Soviet participants, led to the establishment of a League of Russian Cities, which has grown to 86 members. Moreover, a draft law on local government reform before the Russian Republic legislature is based in part on the conclusions reached at the December seminars.

NDI plans to continue its local government project by sending experts from Europe and the U.S. to participate in extended consultations with council members in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities.



Closing session at Moscow seminar on municipal finance. Pictured (l to r) Marco Swart, Tom Volgy, Sergei Stankevich, Ken Wollack, Mahnaz Ispahani and Glenn Cowan.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE

Excerpts from the April 24 testimony of Brian Atwood before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on European Affairs, chaired by Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE)

...political development work must continue on an urgent basis if economic reform in Eastern Europe is to be realized. These difficult economic changes will not go forward without political stability; without democratic institutions that can contain, channel and inform debate.

The parliaments of these countries are heavily populated by the veterans of underground or protest movements. They are struggling to create and then regulate a private enterprise system. To do this they must devise an entire legal and bureaucratic regime—commercial codes, taxation schemes, agencies to dispense public property, banking systems, labor laws and accounting systems.

These programs for economic transformation are profoundly political. As is increasingly being understood today in the Soviet Union, it is impossible to move forward on the economic

front in the absence of legitimately elected governments, reasonably strong and stable democratic institutions and a minimal acceptance of democratic culture and pluralism.

Past experiences with economic liberalization in this region—most notably in Yugoslavia and Hungary—proved largely unsuccessful. These countries learned that a functioning market economy requires many of the things we usually associate with political freedom: the free flow of information; open international borders; dispersed, autonomous decision-making; experimentation; and, most importantly, accountable government.

An important aspect of democratic development in this region is integration. Together these nations are involved in a great experiment and they can learn from each other's failures and successes. Their economic and political futures are linked. The ethnic divisions that threaten stability in the region can only be resolved with a deepening of democratic values, increased prosperity and the integration of these nations into a cooperative, multi-national Europe.



Observer delegation co-leaders hold press conference following May 26 Paraguay elections. Pictured (l to r) NDI Program Officer Mark Feierstein, Canadian Senator Al Graham, former Bogota Mayor Andres Pastrana and former U.S. Rep. Bruce Morrison.



Paraguay Holds First Municipal Elections

An international delegation organized by NDI to observe the May 26 municipal elections in Paraguay concluded that despite serious administrative flaws, the holding of the country's first mayoral contest represented an important step in efforts to consolidate Paraguay's nascent democracy.

"Paraguay's local governments are now representative of the country's political spectrum," the delegation said in a statement released the day after the elections. "The newly elected city councils will provide forums to democratically debate and determine public policies that affect Paraguayans daily."

The delegation, which visited polling sites in more than 15 cities, observed many irregularities on election day. The most serious problem was the disenfranchisement of people who could not acquire accurate information about where to vote or whose names did not appear on the electoral registries where they believed they were supposed to cast their ballots.

The delegation concluded, however, that the irregularities were administrative in nature and were not engineered to favor a particular party or candidate. The victory of many opposition candidates, particularly an independent candidate in Asuncion, discredited charges that the irregularities were politically motivated.

The ruling Colorado Party dominated the balloting, picking up more than 75 percent of the races. As of early June, with 176 of 206 municipalities reporting, the Colorado Party captured 121 mayoral races; the Radical Authentic Liberal Party (PLRA), 27 and independents, six. Counting continues in 30 races.

The delegation, which consisted of 15 members from seven countries, was led by Canadian Senator Al Graham, former U.S. Congressman Bruce Morrison, and Andres Pastrana, former mayor of Bogota, Colombia.

Two NDI pre-election monitoring missions, which visited Paraguay in March and April, concluded that no restrictions were placed on the parties' ability to compete during the campaign period. A vigorous and responsible press also contributed to the process by reporting about all aspects of the elections.

Paraguayan political leaders said the presence of the observers was necessary to increase confidence in the electoral process. In a poll conducted in the Asuncion area in April, nearly 50 percent of the respondents

INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE PARAGUAY ELECTIONS

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

BRUCE MORRISON
Delegation Co-Leader
Former Member of Congress, U.S.

ANDRES PASTRANA
Delegation Co-Leader
Fellow, Center for International Studies, Harvard University; Former Mayor of Bogota, Colombia

JEFFREY T. BERGNER
President, Bergner, Boyette & Bockorny;
Former Republican Staff Director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S.

JUAN CASAFONT
Alternate Magistrate, Supreme Electoral Tribunal, Costa Rica

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

JULIO FAESLER
President, Council For Democracy, Mexico

MARK FEIERSTEIN
NDI Program Officer for Latin America, U.S.

MILES FITZPATRICK
President, Guyana Bar Association, Guyana

TINA FLOURNOY
Executive Director, Rules and By-Laws Committee, Democratic National Committee, U.S.

LOUIS GOODMAN
Dean, School of International Service, American University, U.S.

AGUSTIN JARQUIN
City Councilman, Managua, Nicaragua

ELIZABETH MCININCH
Professor of Political Science, Concordia University, Canada

JOHANNA MENDELSON
Director, Democracy Project, American University, U.S.

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

believed there would be some fraud in the elections.

In addition to its election monitoring program, NDI provided financial and technical assistance to the Asuncion-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) to carry out civic and voter-education programs. The CED conducted 200 seminars throughout the country to promote participation in the municipal elections and trained thousands of political party pollwatchers. ●

WORLD AFFAIRS BRIEFINGS

NDI's World Affairs Briefings in Washington provide a forum where U.S. and foreign political leaders have shared their perspectives on timely international issues. Speakers at these monthly forums in 1991 have included:

SALI BERISHA
MP, Chairman, Democratic Party, Albania

EDGARDO BOENINGER
Minister of the Presidency, Chile

KATALIN E. KONCZ
*Executive Director, Democracy
After Communism Foundation, Hungary*

ARCHIE MOGWE
*Minister for Mineral Resources
and Water Affairs, Botswana*

MASIPULA SITHOLE
*Chairman, Political and Administrative Studies,
University of Zimbabwe*

SERGEI STANKEVICH
Deputy Mayor, Moscow, USSR

JOZSEF SZAJER
MP, FIDESZ Hungary

*Archie
Mogwe at
June 17
World Affairs
Briefing.*

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Walter F. Mondale
CHAIRMAN

Rachelle Horowitz
VICE CHAIR

Marvin F. Weissberg
TREASURER

Kenneth F. Melley
SECRETARY

J. Brian Atwood
PRESIDENT

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

David Aaron
Harriet C. Babbitt
Elizabeth Frawley Bagley
James B. Booe
John Culver
John P. Dunfee
Thomas F. Eagleton
Eugene Eidenberg
Geraldine A. Ferraro
Richard N. Gardner
Alexis M. Herman
Marife Hernandez
Robert E. Hunter
Geri M. Joseph
Jan Kalicki
Peter G. Kelly
Penn Kemble

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.
Elliott F. Kulick
Madeleine M. Kunin
John Lewis
Leon Lynch
Lewis Manilow
Lenore Miller
Aziz Taylor Morton
Mark A. Siegel
Michael R. Steed
Maurice Tempelman
Esteban E. Torres
Andrew J. Young

Charles T. Manatt
CHAIRMAN EMERITUS

SENIOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD

Madeleine K. Albright
Bill Alexander
Michael D. Barnes
John Brademas
Bill Bradley
Richard F. Celeste
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
March Fong Eu
Martin Frost

Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce
Mike Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Edmund S. Muskie
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Bill Richardson
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler

Kenneth D. Wollack
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Jean B. Dunn
VICE PRESIDENT

Patricia J. Keefer
SENIOR CONSULTANT



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW • Suite 503
Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 328-3136
Telex 5106015068 NDIHA • Fax (202) 939-3166

NON-PROFIT ORG.
US POSTAGE
PAID
SO. MARYLAND
PERMIT NO. 554