



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

NDI REPORTS

EASTERN EUROPE'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Three international delegations observed the recent national elections in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, the first multi-party electoral contests in these countries in nearly half a century. The findings of the large-scale observer groups, sponsored jointly by NDI and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, illustrate the opportunities and difficulties involved in the initial stages of a transition from totalitarianism to democratic government.

In the **Czech and Slovak Federative Republic**, an informed electorate voted in an open political environment and voiced its overwhelming opposition to Communist rule. Former dissidents of the Civic Forum, led by President Vaclav Havel, won decisively in the June 8-9 elections. The 64-member observer delegation included participants from 12 countries and was led by Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and John McCain (R-AZ), former Irish Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald and Norma Gaborit de Callejas, the first lady of Honduras.

In its post-election press conference, the delegation noted the "festive atmosphere" surrounding the electoral process which, in its view, "bore witness to the commitment of the people to the values" of democracy. "The road ahead will be difficult, but the government that emerges from this election will have a clear mandate and a strong democratic base from which to begin its work," said Dodd on behalf of the delegation.

In **Bulgaria**, the reformed Communist Party, renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party, surprised many observers by winning a 47 percent plurality. However, in the Grand National Assembly, which has 18 months to write a new constitution, the new government will confront a strong opposition that garnered 36 percent of the votes on June 10.

The 60-member observer group from 23 countries was co-led by Governor Madeleine Kunin of Vermont, Rep. Robert Lagomarsino (R-CA), Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson of Iceland and Australian Senator Robert Hill.

While the delegation noted that there had been some psychological intimidation of voters, particularly in rural areas, it asserted that the campaign period



Delegation announces its findings on elections in the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic. Seated are delegation co-leaders Christopher Dodd and Garret Fitzgerald.

allowed all major parties to communicate their messages and that the election was a "substantial accomplishment," given the country's isolation and history of oppressive governments.

"The unfortunate reality that fear is still a factor in the country is not cause to invalidate this election," the delegation concluded. "But it does mean that the government has a serious challenge to erase this fear so that there will be no doubt that future elections will be decided by fully informed voters who feel free to vote their conscience."

In **Romania**, the ruling National Salvation Front, led by former Communist Party members, overwhelmed a weak and divided opposition. However, serious questions were raised as to the fairness of the political campaign leading up to the May 20 elections, as well as the commitment of the new government to a full democratic transition. Twenty countries were represented in the 60-member delegation, which was led by Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), Britain's Deputy Labor Party Leader Roy Hattersley, and former Republican Senator Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico.

The Romania observer group was cautious in its assessment of the process. "The democratic credentials of the National Salvation Front have not been fully

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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.

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Polish parliamentary study group and U.S. Senate advisor Bob Harris (far left) watch a computer demonstration in Richmond, Virginia.

Polish Parliamentary Staffers Study U.S. Computers

"Our technical delegation has returned to Poland with a lot of new ideas concerning [the workings of] our parliamentary offices," stated Wojciech Sawicki, Secretary of the Polish Senate, in a recent letter to NDI President Brian Atwood. "The knowledge we have acquired in the U.S. will be of benefit to us. Your help in the process of establishing a new democratic system in Poland cannot be overestimated."

Sawicki's comments followed a rigorous two-week visit to the U.S. by computer specialists from his office as well as from colleagues in the Sejm, Poland's lower house. Their April 22-May 6 study mission was sponsored by NDI as follow-up to the "Gift of Democracy" resolution passed by Congress last year to help strengthen the Polish parliament.

The delegation members were exposed to a full range of technologies offered by the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, including mainframe computer applications, desk top publishing and telecommunications. They also reviewed the workings of the Congressional Research Service, the Congressional Budget Office, and the Secretary of the Senate's office. In addition, the delegation visited Richmond, Virginia to study computer applications, legislative voting systems and communications

in the state's government offices.

The Polish delegation included Jaroslaw Deminet, advisor to the Secretary of the Senate for Information Systems and Technology; Jacek Michalowski, special advisor to the Deputy Speaker of the Senate; and Teresa Mozdzyńska and Zdzisław Choromanski, director and deputy director respectively of the Sejm Computer Center. Their program was arranged, in coordination with NDI, by Jeri Thomson, Assistant Secretary of the Senate, and Robert D. Harris, Director of Information Systems and Technology for the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

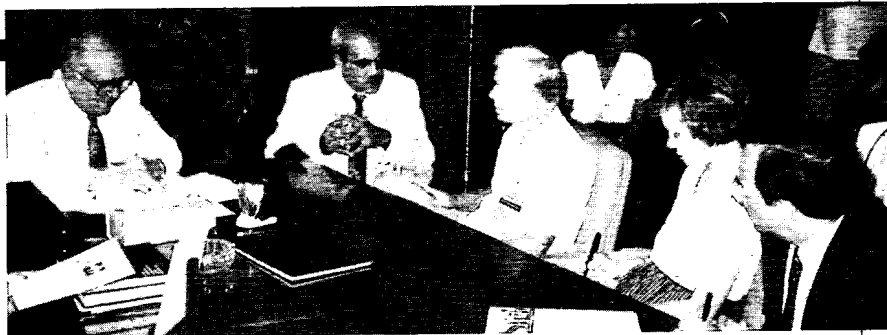
In a supplemental Congressional appropriations bill approved this spring, \$1.5 million was earmarked for further technical assistance to the Polish parliament, including 250 personal computers.

Electoral Tensions in the Dominican Republic Calmed by Carter Delegation

Political leaders in the Dominican Republic credited an NDI-sponsored observer delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, with having helped to avert violence in the days following the May 16 elections.

Incumbent President Joaquín Balaguer is expected to be declared the winner [at press time, parties were filing challenges], with slightly more than a one percent margin of victory. The challenger, former President Juan Bosch, alleged massive fraud by the government. But after having examined the irregularities presented by the political parties, the delegation concluded that they were unlikely to affect the results.

In a letter to the Dominican electoral tribunal president a month after the elections, Carter concluded, "Although I have since seen evidence of irregularities...I have not yet seen evidence of fraud, by which I mean, a pattern of irregularities that favors a



President Jimmy Carter meets with Dr. Froilan Tavares (far left), president of the Dominican Republic's National Electoral Commission. To President Carter's left are Rosalynn Carter and Robert Pastor, director of the Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program.

particular candidate or party."

The delegation, cosponsored by the Carter-led Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, included Prime Minister George Price of Belize; Genaro Arriagada, vice president of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile; Robert Pastor, director of Latin American Programs at the Atlanta-based Carter Center; Casimir Yost, director of the World Affairs Council of Northern California; and NDI senior consultant Curtis Cutter, Program Officer Mark Feierstein and consultant Santiago Canton.

On the day after the elections, as results showed Balaguer increasing his narrow lead, Bosch called a demonstration to denounce the elections. Since it was impossible at that time to

determine who had actually won due to the close results and delays in the counting of ballots, Carter recommended a series of procedures to verify the results. Those recommendations were adopted by the electoral council and approved by the leading political parties. Bosch agreed to call off the demonstration and pursue legal and peaceful means to challenge the results.

"Your contribution has been fundamentally important in assuring the veracity of the electoral process in the Dominican Republic," the electoral council president wrote to Carter. "The electoral council and the Dominican people we serve are deeply grateful for your effort and for your continued interest in our country."

(Front page story continued)

established by these elections," said Lieberman at a post-election press conference in Bucharest. While recognizing that the election was a "remarkable achievement which none of us would have believed possible a year ago," the observers characterized the electoral process as "flawed" and expressed particular concern about the pre-election campaign, which was marred by violence against opposition activists, and government control over the distribution of political information.

NDI Program Activities

Members of the three observer delegations visited nearly 2,000 polling sites and monitored the counting process at the regional and national levels. In addition to election day observations, each observer group received extensive briefings on the entire electoral process, which had been supported and monitored by NDI.

Responding to a request from President Havel last January, an NDI team of international election experts provided advice on the drafting of Czechoslovakia's election law. The Institute subsequently sponsored a series of organizational training programs for the Civic Forum and its Slovak counterpart, Public Against Violence. NDI also participated in similar training projects organized by the National Republican Institute for other democratic parties. Following the election, NDI was asked by leaders of the new parliament to assist the development of a legislative research facility that would train staff, and establish a communication network with other branches of the government and with research services in Europe and the United States.

In Bulgaria, NDI helped organize and train the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFE), a nonpartisan civic organization. The Institute also sent three pre-election technical teams to Bulgaria to assess the campaign environment and election administration. A number of the teams' recommendations were adopted by Bulgaria's

The Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections

Despite allegations of fraud in the June 10 Bulgarian elections, leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces, the principal democratic opposition, eventually acknowledged that the official results reflected the choice made by the voters. Their judgment was based, in large measure, on an independent vote tabulation organized by the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFE), a nonpartisan civic organization formed last April.

NDI provided material and technical assistance to BAFE. An NDI-sponsored seminar provided guidance to the BAFE organizers in developing voter education programs, mobilizing pollwatchers and conducting an independent vote counting system. Participating in the seminar were political and technical experts from Chile, Hungary, the Philippines and the United States.

BAFE's organizers were students and other young activists, who preferred to work for a nonpartisan organization, rather than a political party. A leading television journalist, Kervork Kervorkian, served as president of BAFE.

The credibility provided by Kervorkian, together with an energetic organizing drive, permitted BAFE to field more than 10,000 trained volunteers on election day. Prior to the election, BAFE distributed information regarding the voting process and facilitated visits by international monitoring groups, including three NDI fact-finding delegations.

From the outset, the independent, or "parallel," vote tabulation was viewed as the critical component of BAFE's activities. Similar operations have been used in other countries where a large segment of the population has questioned the integrity of the electoral process.

In the Philippines and Panama, the par-

allel vote counts were used to document fraud and identify the actual winners. In Chile and Nicaragua, they deterred the governments from attempting to manipulate the results. In Bulgaria, it convinced a suspicious electorate that the ruling party had indeed garnered the largest number of votes. BAFE's confirmation of a ruling party win was ironic since some officials in the government had claimed that the organization was part of the opposition camp.

By 11:30 p.m. on election night, BAFE had collected a sufficient portion of the results from randomly selected polling sites to convince NDI consultant Glenn Cowan, who was advising the organization, that the trend in favor of the Socialist Party would hold and that the opposition's hope of obtaining a plurality would not be achieved. The quality of the tabulation system and the professionalism of BAFE were best illustrated by the fact that the results released by a BAFE representative on national television soon after midnight were accurate to within less than a half percent of the official results announced four days later.

Using the credibility it has gained, BAFE will continue as an activist organization. Seminars are planned for members of the Grand National Assembly, which is responsible for drafting a new constitution. The Association also hopes to use its nationwide network to monitor the human rights performance of the new government.

NDI is preparing detailed observer delegation reports on the elections in Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. The Institute also plans to publish a comprehensive study on the elections and the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe.

Central Election Commission. NDI will continue its support for BAFE, which plans to monitor upcoming local elections and mount a national civic education program.

NDI's program in Romania focused on assistance to student associations, independent trade unions, and intellectual groups for election monitoring and voter education programs. Following an NDI-sponsored seminar in April, these groups announced the formation of the National Center for Free

Elections (CENAL). Due to a dearth of knowledge about democratic politics and the short time frame leading up to the elections, CENAL was unable to develop a national presence. However, the effort was organized successfully at local levels.

NDI will provide additional training and infrastructure support for CENAL, and will also send a group of technical experts to Romania to consult with election officials on reforms that could enhance confidence in future elections.●



Excerpts from Romania Delegation Statement

...Any judgement on the Romanian elections, the first multi-party electoral contest in nearly half a century, must take into account the national trauma inflicted on the people of Romania by decades of brutal Communist dictatorships. Consequently the country faced the election only five months after the December revolution, without the political experience, preparation, and infrastructure which would have permitted a completely free and fair election...

The process was flawed. But the very fact that an election has taken place is itself a remarkable achievement which none of us would have believed possible a year ago...

Key among the areas of greatest concern to our delegation are:

— The centralized means of creating and distributing political information remain under the control of the government led by the National Salvation Front. This situation prevented opposition views from being effectively presented in all regions of the country...

— The government did not promptly and vigorously condemn incidents of intimidation including attacks on opposition candidates and party activists...

— Finally, the general attitude of the National Salvation Front toward opposition parties and groups did not serve to promote a genuinely pluralistic and tolerant political environment.

Our teams did note instances of irregularities, but we did not observe systematic electoral fraud...We also are concerned at the frequency of instances,

particularly in rural areas, in which electoral authorities assisted voters inside the voting booths. While this situation may have arisen from a lack of understanding and the complexity of the balloting process, it is nonetheless inconsistent with the principle of a secret ballot...

The democratic credentials of the National Salvation Front have not been fully established by this election...[t]he Front must take greater steps toward establishing a genuinely pluralistic political environment. These include:

— Guaranteeing a free press, allowing the creation and distribution of printed material, and the development of an independent electronic media.

— Engage in a meaningful dialogue with opposition groups — including the students — in an effort to achieve genuine national reconciliation...

— Encourage and cooperate in the development of a nationwide civic and voter education program to address the consequences of the 45 years of Communist domination.

— And above all to promote the adoption of a democratic constitution and institutions at all levels which guarantee political and human rights for all Romanian citizens...

*MEMBERS OF NDI'S ROMANIA OBSERVER DELEGATION

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN
Delegation Co-leader
U.S. Senator, U.S.

ROY HATTERSLEY
Delegation Co-leader
Member of Parliament; Deputy Leader,
Labour Party; Shadow Home Secretary,
United Kingdom

TERRY AULICH
Senator, Australia

DVORA AVINERI
Department of International
Conventions, Social Security Institute,
Israel

KEN BODE
Center for Contemporary Media, DePaul
University, U.S.

GEORGE BRUNO
Democratic National Committee, U.S.

DAVID COLLENETTE
Former Secretary General, Liberal Party;
Former Minister for Multicultural Affairs,
Canada

JOHN FLORESCU
David Paradine Television, U.S.

PETR GANDOLOVIC
Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Consultant, U.S.

JUAN M. GARCIA-PASSALACQUA
Political Analyst, Puerto Rico

JOAN GROWE
Secretary of State, Minnesota, U.S.

JIM KING
Northeastern University, U.S.

THEO KRALT
Christian Democratic Party, Netherlands

ANTONIO LA PERGOLA
Member, European Parliament;
President, Commission for Democracy
Through Law, Italy

MICHAEL LEWAN
Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman, U.S.

SOOROOJNUNDUN MOOSUN
Chief Electoral Commissioner, Mauritius

NORMAN ORNSTEIN
American Enterprise Institute, U.S.

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

CHARLES ROYER
Institute of Politics, Kennedy School of
Government, Harvard University, U.S.

MIROSLAV SEVLIEVSKI
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections,
Bulgaria

LOTTIE SHACKELFORD
Democratic National Committee, U.S.

DANIEL TARSCHYS
Member of Parliament; Secretary
General, Liberal Group, Council of
Europe, Sweden

RUMEN TSANEV
Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections,
Bulgaria

RICHARD VIETS
Former U.S. Ambassador to Jordan and
Tanzania; Former Deputy Chief of
Mission to Romania, U.S.

NORBERT WIMMER
Constitutional Court of Austria; Member,
Parliament of Innsbruck, Austria

KENNETH WOLLACK
NDI Executive Vice President, U.S.

SUE WOOD
International Institute for Women's
Political Leadership;
Former Leader, National Party,
New Zealand

ZEV YAROSLAVSKY
Los Angeles City Council, U.S.

JERRY ZURAWIECKI
Deputy, The Sejm, Poland

*These delegation members were
joined by 30 participants invited by
the National Republican Institute.

*Sen. Joseph Lieberman meets with
student protestors at Bucharest's
University Square. Miners, at the
urging of the Romanian government,
attacked the peaceful demonstration
shortly after the May 20 elections.*





Bulgarian journalists brief delegation on media coverage of the elections.

Excerpts from Bulgaria Delegation Statement

...One of the most difficult issues which an observer delegation must consider is whether the voters were intimidated into voting a different way than their conscience would otherwise dictate. Overt intimidation — written or verbal threats, heavy and threatening military or police presence or actual physical abuse — can be detected. But intimidation can also be psychological and sociological, a subtle but insidious deterrent to free voting that is not as visible. A long history of dictatorship can affect the behavior of a voting population. When this is the case only the most aggressive reassurances by a government can overcome the fear people feel.

There are incidents on election day that could be interpreted as overt intimidation. In a democracy with some history, some of these examples might be considered benign. This is not the case in Bulgaria, a society that was until recently oppressed by its own government. Overall, we did not see intimidation of such a nature as to invalidate the national election...

A great deal has taken place in this country. Substantial negotiations in the round-table framework produced agreement on a wide variety of issues, large and small, including the procedures for these elections. Parties and other independent groups have formed and become active in many fields. The press has become freer and more diverse and, during the campaign, the major political parties were provided significant access to television...

The unfortunate reality that fear is still a factor in the country is not cause to invalidate this election. But it does mean that the government has a serious challenge to erase this fear so that there will be no doubt future elections will be decided by fully informed voters who feel free to vote their conscience...

Many vital and difficult tasks remain to be addressed. These include political and social reforms, significant economic restructuring and a greater respect for the rights of minorities — specifically, the Turkish community which has suffered a great deal and whose exile community was effectively disenfranchised. The local elections that are envisioned for later in the year will provide a further opportunity for Bulgaria to demonstrate that political pluralism can be a meaningful reality for society in transition...



*MEMBERS OF NDI'S BULGARIA OBSERVER DELEGATION

- | | |
|--|--|
| STEINGRIMUR HERMANNSON
<i>Delegation Co-leader</i>
<i>Prime Minister, Iceland</i> | SUSAN JOHNSON
<i>Liberal International, United Kingdom</i> |
| MADELEINE KUNIN
<i>Delegation Co-leader</i>
<i>Governor of Vermont, U.S.</i> | THOMAS KAHN
<i>Office of Rep. John M. Spratt, Jr., U.S.</i> |
| GENARO ARRIAGADA
<i>Christian Democratic Party, Chile</i> | LEONID KRIVENKO
<i>Institute for Democracy, Soviet Union</i> |
| BRIAN ATWOOD
<i>NDI President, U.S.</i> | MARCUS KUNIAN
<i>Office of Rep. James Moody, U.S.</i> |
| ISAAC BANTU
<i>Press Union of Liberia, Liberia</i> | DANNY L. McDONALD
<i>Federal Election Commission, U.S.</i> |
| GIUSEPPE BARBAGALLO
<i>Judge for the Council of State, Italy</i> | JAMES MOODY
<i>Member of Congress, U.S.</i> |
| SUSAN BROPHY
<i>Office of Rep. Byron Dorgan, U.S.</i> | ANTONIO NADAIS
<i>Constitutional Court, Portugal</i> |
| EDWARD COLE
<i>Mississippi State Democratic Party, U.S.</i> | TAWFIQUE NAWAZ
<i>Bar Association, Bangladesh</i> |
| GLENN COWAN
<i>EMR Group, Inc., U.S.</i> | KASIM RASIDOVIC
<i>League of Democrats (Bosnia), Yugoslavia</i> |
| GERALD DANAHER
<i>Fianna Fail, Ireland</i> | WILLIAM ROMPKEY
<i>Member of Parliament, Canada</i> |
| RIKA DEBACKER
<i>European People's Party, Belgium</i> | STEPHEN C. SCHLESINGER
<i>Office of Governor Mario Cuomo, U.S.</i> |
| A.C.H.M. DE KOK
<i>Member of Parliament, The Netherlands</i> | DEBORAH SEILER
<i>California Assembly Elections, Reapportionment & Constitutional Amendments Committee, U.S.</i> |
| STANISLAW DEMBINSKI
<i>Senator, Poland</i> | VILMOS SOOS
<i>Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, Hungary</i> |
| HARVEY FELDMAN
<i>Retired U.S. Diplomat, U.S.</i> | TIBOR VIDOS
<i>Alliance of Free Democrats, Hungary</i> |
| LARRY GARBER
<i>NDI Senior Consultant, U.S.</i> | PATRICIA M. WALD
<i>U.S. Court of Appeals, U.S.</i> |
| JOYCE GOULD
<i>Labour Party, United Kingdom</i> | |
| GITOBU IMANYARA
<i>Nairobi Law Monthly, Kenya</i> | |
| NDUKA IRABOR
<i>The African Guardian, Nigeria</i> | |

*These delegation members were joined by 27 participants invited by the National Republican Institute.

Delegation co-leaders Gov. Madeleine Kunin and Prime Minister Steingrímur Hermannsson (seated) observe counting process at Sofia polling site.



CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC

*President Vaclav
Havel (far right)
meets with observer
delegation.*



Excerpts from Czechoslovakia Delegation Statement

...**D**espite decades of totalitarian rule the people of this great nation have turned out in huge numbers to cast their ballots, and in so doing they have taken a major step forward on the difficult road to democracy.

President Havel has noted that nations which have not experienced political oppression can learn a great deal from nations such as Czechoslovakia. These elections, which have shown an exhilaration for democracy, should indeed

teach us all a greater appreciation for the rights and responsibilities of a democratic society which are too often taken for granted in many of our own countries...

The festive atmosphere surrounding the election bore witness to the commitment of the people to the value of democracy...

We applaud the enthusiastic and extraordinarily high voter turnout, which indicates to us that the people of this republic have placed great faith in the democratic system, and suggests that the historic democratic traditions of the people have survived despite 40 years of totalitarian rule...

While the journey to democracy is not yet complete, it is clearly evident that the people of this republic have embarked on a historic course to build a democratic nation. The road ahead will be difficult, but the government that emerges from this election will have a clear mandate and a strong democratic base from which to begin its work.

Among the challenges to be faced are the consequences of four decades of communist domination, and the need to deal effectively and fairly with those whose previous activity was clearly anti-democratic. It will be critical for all parties in the process to establish procedures and norms to ensure that these matters are dealt with fairly and with regard to the process...

*MEMBERS OF NDI'S OBSERVER DELEGATION TO CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
Delegation Co-leader
U.S. Senator, U.S.

GARRET FITZGERALD
Delegation Co-leader
Member of Parliament; Former Prime Minister, Ireland

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
Center for National Policy, NDI Vice Chair,
U.S.

SHLOMO AVINERI
Professor of Political Science, Hebrew
University, Israel

HARRIET C. BABBITT
Attorney; NDI Board Member, U.S.

ELIZABETH F. BAGLEY
Attorney; NDI Board Member, U.S.

ROBERT BARRIE
General Electric, Co., U.S.

CARY BLACKENSHIP
Strategic Development Associates, U.S.

ROBERT J. BROOKS
Episcopal Church of Washington, U.S.

JANET CAPAZO
Art Consultant, U.S.

ROBERT CHASE
National Education Association, U.S.

MIKE FARRELL
Actor, U.S.

JOHN J. GILLIGAN
Institute for International Peace Studies;
Former Administrator, Agency for
International Development, U.S.

RICHARD GOODWIN
Author and Political Advisor, U.S.

INGMUND HAGG
Liberal International, Sweden

MIKLOS HARASZTI
Member of Parliament; Former Dissident
Author, Hungary

JANE HARMAN
Attorney, U.S.

N.D. KAHN
Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan

DORIS KEARNS
Author and Historian, U.S.

MARIA LEISSNER
Member of Parliament, Sweden

MICHAEL MAREK
Office of Rep. David Obey, U.S.

MICHAEL MCADAMS
Attorney, U.S.

DONALD F. MCHENRY
Professor of Diplomacy, Georgetown
University School of Foreign Service;
Former Permanent Representative to the
U.N., U.S.

LORNE MICHAELS
Television Producer, U.S.

VERNE NEWTON
Writer and Film Producer, U.S.

RICARDO NUNEZ
Senator, Chile

MARY ROSE OAKAR
Member of Congress, U.S.

STEPHANIE O'NEILL
Special NDI Project Consultant, U.S.

EDUARDO PUNSET
Member, European Parliament, Spain

JAMES RUVOLO
Association of State Democratic Chairs, U.S.

PAUL SIMON
Composer and Musician, U.S.

STEVE VOSSMEYER
Attorney, U.S.

MARVIN F. WEISSBERG
Businessman/Engineer; NDI Board Member,
U.S.

*These delegation members were
joined by 31 participants invited by the
National Republican Institute.

PRAGUE SYMPOSIUM ON DEMOCRACY

"The people of Czechoslovakia have a unique opportunity to benefit from the experiences of Western democracies — not only to learn from our successes, but from our difficulties as well," observed former Irish Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald in his opening remarks to NDI's Prague Symposium on Democracy. At the symposium, conducted the day after Czechoslovakia's elections, a distinguished group of artists, academics and politicians from around the world joined their counterparts from Czechoslovakia to discuss the difficulties inherent in transitions to democratic government.

Moderated by ABC European bureau chief Pierre Salinger, the symposium provided spirited discussion on the unique challenges facing new democracies, including the role of the individual, the balance between public and private sector interests, and the pace of economic reforms. The program, which was filmed as part of a documentary on Czechoslovakia's transition process, sparked lively exchanges reflecting the diverse backgrounds of the participants.

PRAGUE SYMPOSIUM
ON
DEMOCRACY
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE



*Pierre Salinger (standing) moderates
Symposium on Democracy in Prague.*

Members of NDI delegation meet with Panamanian President Guillermo Endara (fourth from right) and Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon (third from left).



Haiti Again Prepares for National Elections

In cooperation with former President Jimmy Carter, NDI has begun an election monitoring program in Haiti to help promote agreement on security measures necessary for free and peaceful national elections scheduled for November 4.

In July, Carter will lead the first in a series of delegations to Port-au-Prince where he will meet with political, military, religious and civic leaders. Carter will be accompanied by NDI staff and international election experts who will evaluate government plans for the upcoming elections. Subsequent monitoring missions will assess the implementation of security and other arrangements and prepare for an NDI-sponsored international observer delegation for the November elections.

The vivid memory of the aborted 1987 elections, which were marred by widespread violence against peaceful voters, has focused attention on security needs to enhance confidence in this year's electoral process. During a May survey trip to Port-Au-Prince, Haitian political leaders had urged NDI to step up its democratic development activities in the country. The survey mission was led by NDI Senior Program Officer Lionel Johnson who met with President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot, Haiti's fifth post-Duvalier leader, Armed Forces Chief of Staff Herard Abraham, members of the Electoral Council, prospective presidential candidates and civic leaders.

NDI will also resume training and technical support for Haiti's major political parties. At a seminar in late July, experts from the Philippines, Chile, Paraguay, Bulgaria and the U.S. will advise on ways in which the parties can effectively organize for the elections. Workshops will focus on voter participation, pollwatching and the establishment of an independent vote-counting system to verify official election results.●

DNC Chairman Ron Brown auctions off a package of dinners indicated on display poster held by Michael McAdams.

An international team of security and police experts visited Panama last May as part of NDI's ongoing program to assist the new civilian government in restructuring its public security forces. The technical team continued consultations that began last March when a similar group advised Panamanian political leaders and police officers on ways to convert their military into a civilian-led police force (*NDI Reports*, Spring 1990).

The May mission was led by Julian Delgado, a former Spanish military officer who is currently the chief of police in Barcelona. Delgado, who also headed the March delegation, was joined by Carlos Reynaldo Lopez Nuila, retired Colonel of the Salvadoran army and head of the National Police during President Jose Napoleon Duarte's administration; Francesc Villanueva,

director of public security in Barcelona and member of the Security Commission of the Socialist Party; Gustavo Adolfo Druetta, an advisor for the Defense and Security Commission of the Argentine Parliament; and Nina Maria Serafino, director of the Asia-Latin American section of the Foreign Affairs and National Defense division of the U.S. Congressional Research Service.

The group consulted with Panamanian President Guillermo Endara and Vice President Ricardo Arias Calderon, and presented its recommendations at a session of the National Assembly. Among its 22 recommendations, the delegation advocated a series of new security laws and a code of ethics for the Panamanian police, known as the Public Forces. They also urged the creation of a new system for promotion.●

Panama: From Military to Police

Bidding Spirited at NDI Auction

NDI's second annual international auction on May 1 was filled with items from around the world donated by NDI board members, embassies, members of Congress and Washington's business community.

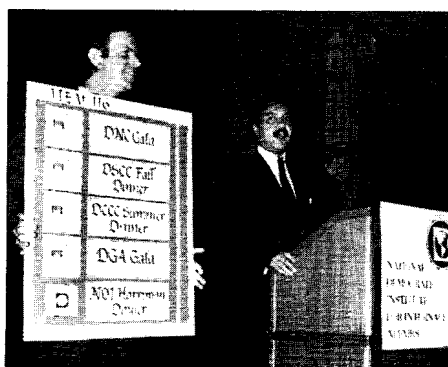
A crowd of more than 400 at Washington DC's Union Station bid on a wide range of domestic and international items including Dale Loy's collage of the Berlin Wall, dinner for 14 hosted by the Hungarian ambassador, a week-end retreat at a 1200-acre Georgian plantation, an international wine col-

lection, a rug commissioned by Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Korean porcelain, a Kenyan safari trip, Waterford crystal, Washington Redskins season tickets, vacation holidays in Ireland and Israel, and dinners at more than 20 Washington DC-area restaurants.

Proceeds from the event will help fund NDI's rapidly expanding democratic development work overseas. ●



Rep. Sander Levin and NDI board member Geraldine Ferraro study auction catalog.



(Left to right) Amb. Denis D. Afande from Kenya, Amb. Chitmansing Jesseramsing from Mauritius and Amb. Ali Bengelloun from Morocco.



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1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW • Suite 605
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