



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

NDI REPORTS

Historic Hungarian Election Observed

"The people voted freely, with dignity and they did so in large numbers," concluded the international observer delegation to Hungary's March 25 national elections, the first freely-contested parliamentary contest there in more than 45 years. "We observed many touching incidents which continually reminded us both of the historical sufferings of the Hungarian people, and of their courage in shaping a new democratic future."

The observer mission, sponsored jointly by NDI and the National Republican Institute, was led by NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale, former Maryland Republican Senator Charles McC. Mathias, James Mitchell, Prime Minister of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Jan Carnagorsky, First Deputy Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia.

The 59-member delegation from 14 countries included parliamentarians, political party leaders and election experts. Eighteen of the delegates were from Central and Eastern European countries, which, in varying stages, are also experiencing transitions from Communist rule to democratic government.

Run-off elections on April 8 resulted in a victory for the Democratic Forum, which won 43 percent of the parliamentary seats. The Free Democrats trailed with 23 percent. The reformed communist, Socialist Party garnered only 8.5 percent.

Prior to the elections, the delegation met with political party leaders and election officials in Budapest and six cities throughout the country. On election day, the observers visited almost 10 percent of the country's polling sites, and monitored the counting process at the regional and national levels.

"The diligence and competence of election officials at all levels was most impressive," Mathias said on behalf of the delegation at a Budapest press conference. "We saw no serious irregularities, and certainly none which could have materially affected the outcome."

The delegation noted the key role played by Hungary's newly organized political parties, reflecting a degree of sophistication that was not expected



Delegation co-leaders Charles Mathias and Walter Mondale witness opening of ballot box in Budapest's second district.

when the electoral process began last year. As acknowledged by several political party leaders with whom the delegation met, the series of NDI-sponsored party training workshops, which were conducted during the previous six months, assisted in this development. (See article page 6).

The delegation statement, however, cautioned against an assumption that Hungary's transition to democracy is complete. "The parliament and government which will result from these elections will face the enormous tasks of rebuilding a shattered economy, and of re-establishing the institutions of civil society."

Following the elections, NDI organized a roundtable discussion on the transition process in Hungary and elsewhere in the region. Historian Miklos Vasarhelyi of Hungary, and delegation members Shlomo Avineri from Israel and Antonio Vitorino from Portugal made initial presentations, after which other members of the group described the current political environment in their respective countries. Many of the speakers pointed to the positive role of international observers in promoting confidence in the elections and in contributing to the integrity of the process.

(See more on Hungary elections, page 6)

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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.*

Nicaragua Program Promotes Confidence In Elections

NDI and the National Republican Institute (NRI) jointly administered a major portion of the special congressional appropriation to support the Nicaraguan electoral process, which culminated on February 25 with the victory of opposition presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro.

A grant to IPCE, a civic association established by political leaders, financed nonpartisan programs such as the verification of voter registration lists, pollwatching and civic and voter education. Basic infrastructure support — vehicles and office equipment — was also provided to the National Opposition Union (UNO). Assistance to the 14-party coalition was designed to help “level the playing field” and promote the long-term development of Nicaraguan political parties. Under Nicaraguan law, half the value of the material was taxed for use by the Supreme Electoral Council, which used the funds to help administer the elections.

In spite of the bureaucracy and political impediments to the rapid disbursement of the assistance, the program made a positive contribution during the last month of the electoral process. The aid was critical in enabling the opposition to train and station pollwatchers; it greatly enhanced confidence that Nicaraguans would vote in secret.

To reduce cynicism and fear, IPCE sponsored civic education ads on television and radio and in newspapers to encourage voting and explain voting procedures. Fliers with the same messages were distributed throughout the country.

NDI and NRI contracted a large management team to oversee the implementation of the UNO and IPCE programs. The team in Managua included two project managers, 12 accountants from Price Waterhouse and professional procurement agents who purchased the equipment related to the grants. Their work was supported by Washington-based staff and consultants.

NDI's involvement with Nicaragua's civic opposition began in 1987 with seminars in Madrid and Managua to discuss ways to develop a viable democratic alternative inside the country. Representatives of parties across the political spectrum in Nicaragua have requested that NDI continue to work with them to support the consolidation of a democratic system.

*NDI delegation in
Panama meets with
President Guillermo
Endara (far right).*



Jean Dunn Joins NDI Staff

Jean Dunn, formerly Deputy Chair of the Democratic National Committee, has joined NDI as Vice President for Administration and Development. Jean brings to NDI 20 years of organizational and fundraising experience in Democratic politics.

Civilian Control In Panama

An international team of security and police experts visited Panama last March to assist the new civilian government in restructuring its public security forces. Sponsored by NDI, the group advised a wide range of Panamanian political and civic leaders, as well as the chiefs of the new Public Forces of Panama.

In early February, just weeks after the U.S. invasion, NDI sent a survey team to Panama to consult with political leaders about democratic development projects that would help strengthen Panama's new political system. Based on these consultations, NDI has developed a series of projects to assist efforts by the new civilian leadership to convert the Panamanian military into a police force.

The March mission was led by Julian Delgado, a former Spanish military officer who is currently the chief of police in Barcelona. The delegation also included Costa Rican legislator Juan Jose Trejos of the ruling Social Christian Unity party; Eduardo Garay, a former commandant of Argentina's National Gendarmerie; Jose Manuel Ugarte, an advisor to the Radical Party in Argentina's parliamentary defense committee; retired Los Angeles police lieutenant John Borunda; Martin Edwin Andersen, NDI's director for Latin America; and NDI Program Officer Mark Feierstein.

The group members presented their final conclusions at a seminar that was broadcast live on one of Panama City's largest radio stations. Their recommendations included legislative initiatives on the restructuring of the Public Forces, oversight roles for the parliament, and methods for recruitment and training, as well as decentralization of law enforcement functions.

An 80-page report by the mission, entitled, *Panama: Towards a Police Model*, has been prepared in Spanish for use in Panama as a civic education tool.



NDI Releases Study on Civil-Military Relations

NDI has published an extensive two-year study that offers practical recommendations for improving civil-military relations in an emerging democracy. The 240-page Spanish-language book, entitled *Towards a New Relationship: The Role of the Military in a Democratic Society*, was released in April.

The study is based on the proceedings of an NDI-sponsored conference last July in Montevideo, Uruguay. It also includes several scholarly articles delivered at previous NDI conferences and workshops, which focused on the promotion of healthier civil-military relations in Argentina.

"In countries that have recently returned to democratic rule, it is often difficult to find civilians who have developed their own expertise in military issues," wrote NDI chairman Walter F.

Mondale in the foreword. "In this context, this book has a special value."

The Montevideo conference brought together 90 legislators, political leaders, military officers and civil-military experts from Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Israel, Spain, Paraguay and the United States. The conference recommendations were incorporated into "The Declaration of Montevideo." Six Argentine parliamentarians who participated in the conference returned to Buenos Aires and introduced legislation designed to implement these recommendations. "Throughout three days of intensive study and debate, there grew among the participants the conviction that they were taking part in a valuable dialogue," the bill read. "The discussions — whose absolute frankness did not impede a reciprocal respect — brought with them useful conclusions for cementing a better integration of the armed forces in a democratic society."

Nation Building: The UN and Namibia

The following is excerpted from former Ambassador Donald F. McHenry's foreword to *Nation Building: The UN and Namibia*, published by NDI, May 1990.

The independence of Namibia marks the end of a long dispute between the United Nations and South Africa over the right of Namibians to exercise their right of self-determination. The process finally agreed upon was complex and was a test of the goodwill of all the parties. In the end, Resolution 435, the formula under which the Namibians voted in free

and fair elections, proved to be more than adequate for the job. Namibians went to the polls in large numbers in an impressive display of their own determination to exercise the right to vote...

Few would disagree that the work of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) stood out among the most astute and helpful observer groups, and appropriately so. NDI brought to the task seasoned students of democratic processes and a commitment to the establishment of, and improvement of, democratic institutions in Africa, as well as in Latin America and Europe.

Given the unique nature of the Namibia experience there no doubt will be many informed and scholarly studies in the years to come. What follows is NDI's highly useful and contemporary account of the final phase of the independence process in Namibia, together with insightful observations for improvement in future situations where, in the face of bitter dispute, the international community might play a role in helping install and build democratic institutions.

Democracies in Regions of Crisis

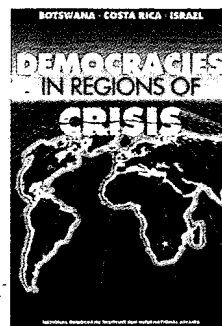
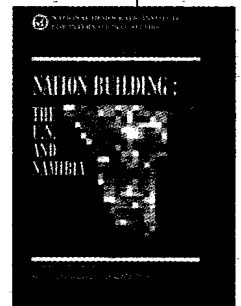
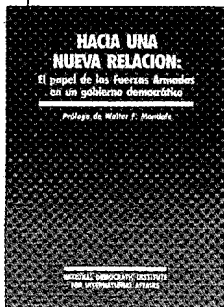
Democracy is the most effective form of government even during periods of severe external and internal pressure, according to an NDI study of three successful democracies — Botswana, Costa Rica and Israel — situated in regions of crisis.

NDI has published a 146-page report on these countries, revealing the lessons of their democratic experiences. "The conclusions reached in this study will be of great interest to new democracies in Eastern Europe, Central

America and Southern Africa," said NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale. "They will face many of the same intense pressures Botswana, Costa Rica and Israel have confronted."

The study, entitled *Democracies in Regions of Crisis*, was based on independent research and conferences held in each of the three nations. The conferences were attended by leading politicians, academics, journalists and military officers.

The introduction to the NDI study draws together common themes that suggest "certain patterns that help explain why democracy works in these distinctive regions...[providing] lessons for those seeking to foster democracy in nations where it does not exist today."





Romania: Promoting Civic Action

NDI, in cooperation with Northeastern University, is providing support for Romanian organizations to monitor upcoming national elections, conduct voter and civic education, and promote participation in the electoral process. At a two-day seminar in Bucharest last April, experts from Chile, the Philippines, Paraguay, Nicaragua, and the U.S. advised on ways in which nonpartisan Romanian groups

could effectively coordinate programs to support free and fair elections, and the democratization process.

The May 20 presidential and legislative election is the first multi-party electoral contest in Romania in nearly half a century. The oppressive Ceausescu regime, combined with Romania's almost complete isolation from the outside world during Communist rule, has led to a dearth of knowledge

about democratic politics and institutions. A large segment of the population has never participated in elections and remain cynical or apathetic about the process.

From March 10-16, NDI and Northeastern University sent a seven-member survey mission to Bucharest to assess democratic development opportunities. During that survey mission, a number of nonpartisan groups expressed interest in enhancing their efforts to promote civic awareness and a peaceful democratic transition. These prominent pro-democracy groups include student organizations, independent trade unions, and the Group for Social Dialogue, an association of academics, writers and artists.

Each of these groups sent national and local representatives to the NDI-sponsored seminar in April. Workshop sessions focused on organizational and communication techniques as well as issues relating to election monitoring, and voter and civic education.

The international trainers included political experts and leaders of successful civic organizations. They were: Mariano Quesada, former Secretary General, National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections, the Philippines; Monica Jimenez, Director, PARTICIPA, Chile; Esteban Caballero, Executive Director, Center for Democratic Studies, Paraguay; Hortensia Rivas, President, Confederation of Nicaraguan Teachers and Director of Training for Via Civica, Nicaragua; Jill Buckley, Partner, FMR Group, U.S.; and Steve Murphy, Associate, Fenn and King Communications, U.S.

Working with NDI, Northeastern University plans to provide Romanian civic organizations with infrastructure support, such as office equipment and video cameras. NDI, along with its Republican counterpart, will also sponsor a 60-member international observer delegation to the May election.

Bulgaria

In anticipation of the June 10 elections in Bulgaria, NDI is providing material assistance and training for a newly-formed, election monitoring organization. The organization will conduct civic education programs, monitor the election campaign, train pollwatchers and organize an independent vote count.

The Bulgarian elections are occurring against the backdrop of a November 1989 coup in which Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's long-time ruler, was replaced by Peter Mladenov, a foreign minister for the previous 18 years. The coup occurred in response to pressures from a small group of democratic activists and to events in the region. Following the coup, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) agreed to relinquish its monopoly on power and to permit the multi-party elections.

Because the BCP remains in power with its organization intact, the challenge for democratic forces is to overcome the insecurity and apathy felt by many Bulgarians, as well as the population's lack of familiarity with democratic practices. The new organization's chief goal is to instill confidence in the electoral process.

The first NDI training program took place in April and included technical advisors from Chile, Hungary, the Philippines and the United States.

In addition to assisting the Bulgarian monitoring organization, NDI will organize three pre-election observer delegations and will sponsor, along with its Republican counterpart, a 60-member international delegation for the June elections.

Polish Parliament to Study U.S. Computer Technologies

NDI will sponsor the visit of four staff members from Poland's newly-elected parliament to study computer technologies utilized by the U.S. Congress and the Commonwealth of Virginia.

The upcoming study mission was recommended by five U.S. Congressional staff members who visited Warsaw last February to assess equipment and training needs of Poland's Senate and House (Sejm). Their visit was sanctioned by Congress, which last year passed a "Gift of Democracy" resolution in support of the Polish legislature. The resolution was sponsored by Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM) who had participated in NDI's September conference in Warsaw on the role of parliaments in developing national economic policy.

The U.S. staff delegation concluded that the most immediate need for the parliament was technological and automation training for top officials in the Senate and Sejm. Due to a lack of equipment and training, the processing of even basic legislative tasks is extremely difficult and time consuming.

The visiting Polish staff members will review the various computer applications in the U.S. Congress and assess procedures that would be most adaptable to their system. They will also study computer installations at government offices in Virginia, as well as the state's highly regarded communications network for telephone, data transmission and television.



NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack and Romania's National Liberal Party leader Radu Campeanu.

Members of survey mission meet with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. (Left to right) Northeastern University Vice President Jim King, NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack, Prime Minister Roman, and NDI Board Member Mark Siegel.

Future Programs Surveyed in Yugoslavia

An NDI-sponsored study group visited five of the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia last April to assess the prospects for future democratic development programs. The delegation also observed elections in the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, the first multi-party contest in the post-war era.

The team was led by NDI Board member Paul G. Kirk, Jr. Other members included Andrew Ellis, former Secretary General of the British Liberal Party; Fernando Marques da Costa, International Secretary of the Socialist Party of Portugal; Ned McMahon, NDI Program Coordinator; Mahnaz Ispahani, NDI Research Director; and NDI Program Assistant Peter Silverman.

The team found a wide variety of views about the future of intra-Yugoslav relations, ranging from a federal system to calls for the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. While the federal government is still officially controlled by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), divisions within the LCY and conflicts between the republics are rapidly decreasing the influence of the Communist regime.

The Slovenian elections are likely to result in a measure of power sharing between reform Communists and a coalition of opposition parties that has advocated greater autonomy or possible independence for Slovenia. A nationalist movement was also expected to make a strong showing in the Croatian elections, scheduled to begin on April 22.

Based on the recommendations of the delegation, NDI is exploring projects with European partners to help promote democratic political structures and resolve growing ethnic conflicts within and between Yugoslav's republics. ●

East Germany

A four-member NDI delegation observed the March 18 elections in

East Germany — the first multi-party election in 40 years. The delegation included Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff members Peter Galbraith and Frank Sievers and attorneys Dan Gordon and Fred Reinke.

The campaign was dominated by West Germany political parties and personalities, overshadowing the East German organizations that had played leading roles in pressuring for democratic change prior to the opening of the Berlin Wall in November, 1989. Despite 40 years of nondemocratic practices, the elections proceeded without problems. To the surprise of many outside observers, the Christian Democratic Party won a large plurality, underscoring a strong East German desire for reunification.

The delegation's report will be included in an extensive NDI study of the 1990 elections in Eastern and Central Europe. The study, which will also analyze the democratization process in the region, will be published in September. ●

Training Program for Civic Forum

NDI sponsored the first in a series of training programs for Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum, which is preparing to participate in the June 8 elections — the country's first democratic electoral contest in more than 40 years.

The three-day training workshop last April in Mariánské Lázně was attended by 100 national and regional coordinators of the Civic Forum, which was founded by President Vaclav Havel and other democratic activists. Political party leaders, elected office holders

and technical experts from Europe and the U.S. conducted sessions on grassroots organizing and political communications.

The NDI training team included: Connie Hedegaard, a member of parliament in Denmark; Hugo Dittmar, campaign manager for the People and Democracy Party in the Netherlands; Hege Hero, a member of Oslo's City Council in Norway; Brian Feeney, member of the Belfast City Council in Northern Ireland; and Les Francis, former executive director of the Democratic National Committee, U.S. The team was led by Michael McAdams, an NDI consultant with vast experience in grassroots organizing.

As is true in other Eastern and Central European countries, the ability of newly-formed political parties to perform their roles in a competitive election environment is crucial to the foundation of a stable democratic system. After years of Communist rule, a large segment of the Czechoslovakian population is understandably cynical about electoral exercises and indifferent toward political activism. The biggest challenge facing new democratic organizations is to overcome this cynicism and encourage participation in the electoral politics of the country. The NDI program is designed to assist this process.

NDI will sponsor a second series of workshops in May, followed by an international observer delegation for the June elections. ●

NDI seminar leaders (left to right) Les Francis, Hugo Dittmar, Hege Hero, Michael McAdams, Connie Hedegaard, and Brian Feeney.



HUNGARY

Gabor Fodor (left), a leader of the Association of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) addresses delegation during post-election seminar. Also pictured: Tom Melia, NDI Program Director, and Walter Mondale.



*The following is excerpted from **The Independent** (London), "Bright Dawn for Hungarian Democracy," March 26, 1990.*

A high-powered international delegation organized by the National Democratic and National Republican institutes of the United States [crisscrossed] the city in small groups, dropping in unexpectedly at polling stations...

Travelling the city, the delegation passed posters and other evidence of a campaign that had benefited much from Western coaching organized

by the two American parties' institutes. For nearly a year they have been holding seminars and briefings by American, British and other political experts here and in the United States for the Hungarian parties on how to organize themselves and campaign effectively.

Organisers say they were teaching them techniques they would eventually learn anyway. "It just served to speed up the learning curve...we helped to jump start the process," said [NDI President Brian] Atwood.

It appears to have been effective. Last year parties were putting out long tracts of information about their economic or foreign policies which few voters were inclined to read. They soon learned to print leaflets and posters with photographs of candidates and snappy, easy to read phrases.

They learnt to put aside initial inhibitions, based on decades of oppression and suspicion, and go canvassing house to house and collect lists of potential voters. The skill with which the parties have adapted their campaign tactics as the need arose has been remarkably professional.

"One could have compared them to elementary school pupils a year ago. Now they are college graduates," says one official. "They have been soaking it all up like sponges." ●



Jozsef Antall (left), leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and likely Prime Minister, with Walter Mondale at MDF headquarters. A popular MDF campaign poster "So Long Comrade" appears at left.

MEMBERS OF HUNGARY ELECTIONS OBSERVER DELEGATION

WALTER F. MONDALE,
Co-leader
Former Vice President, US

CHARLES MCC MATHIAS,
Co-leader
Former U.S. Senator, US

JAMES MITCHELL,
Co-leader
Prime Minister, St. Vincent and the Grenadines

JAN CARNAGORSKY,
Co-leader
First Deputy Prime Minister, Czechoslovakia

DAVID AARON
Former Deputy National Security Advisor, US

ALEXANDER ALEXIEV
Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria

GABRIEL ANDREESCU
Group for Social Dialogue, Romania

ERNEST ANGELLO
Republican National Committee, US

J. BRIAN ATWOOD
NDI President, US

SHLOMO AVINERI
Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University, Israel

JAN BARAN
Republican National Committee, US

BRUCE BENSON
Colorado Republican Party, US

VLADIMIR BERON
EcoGlasnost/Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria

EDMUND BILICKI
Member of the Senate, Solidarity, Poland

FRITS BOLKESTEIN, MP
Former Defense/Finance Minister, The Netherlands

MONICA BOTEZ
National Liberal Front, Romania

PAVEL BRATINKA
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DON CAMERON
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IVAN CARNAGORSKY
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Republican National Committee, US

JEAN-PIERRE DETREMERIE, MP
Christian Democratic Party, Belgium

JOHN DOUGLAS
National College of District Attorneys, US

THOMAS EAGLETON
Former U.S. Senator, US

ANCA GALASIU
Romania

PETER GALBRAITH
Staff member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, US

LARRY GARBER
NDI Senior Consultant, US

OVIDIU GIRBOZAN
Social Democratic Party, Romania

B.A. GRAHAM
Senator, Former President of Liberal Party, Canada

ROBERT GRIGA
Peasants Party, Romania

JANE HARMAN
Former White House Counsel, US

DASHA HAVEL
Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia

IVAN HAVEL
Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia

ROBERT HENDERSON
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MARIFE HERNANDEZ
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RACHELLE HOROWITZ
American Federation of Teachers, US

JUDY INGRAM
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, US

ZBIGNIEW JANAS
Deputy, Solidarity, Poland

SUSAN JOHNSON
Liberal International, United Kingdom

PHILIP KAISER
Soros Foundation, Former Ambassador to Hungary, US

JOHN KLUSARITZ
Venable, Baetjer, Howard and Civiletti, US

ANTHONY KRONER
VVD - Liberal Party, The Netherlands

ELLIOTT KULICK
NDI Board Member, United Kingdom

MARTA LAGOS
Center for the Study of Contemporary Realities, Chile

ALLAN LEVEY
Maryland Republican Party, US

TERRY MCAULIFFE
McAuliffe, Kelly, Raffaelli and Siemens, US

ALEXANDER MORARESCU
National Democratic Party, Romania

LORI MURRAY
Office of Senator Kassebaum, US

Role of the Media Explored at Namibia Conference

Incoming Minister of Broadcasting and Information, Hidipo Hamutenya told a conference workshop in Windhoek that the newly-elected government was "profoundly aware" of the role that the media would play in an independent Namibia.

The March media workshop was the first in a series sponsored jointly by NDI and the Namibian Peace Plan Study and Contact Group (NPP 435). Workshops on the role of the free press are designed as part of NDI's ongoing effort in support of Namibia's transition to a multi-party democracy.

The two-day session brought togeth-

er local journalists and media experts from Europe, Canada and other African countries to discuss the electronic media as an effective instrument for educating, informing and entertaining. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Executive Producer Mark Starowicz drew parallels between the two countries, both faced with the common problem of reaching a sparse population. BBC correspondent Jorge Borger spoke on the need to maintain freedom and impartiality in programming funded by government sources.

NDI and NPP will hold a similar workshop on print media this May. Chris Matthews, Washington Bureau Chief for the *San Francisco Examiner* will be a keynote speaker. ●

NDI Observes Bangladesh Elections

Two NDI representatives perched uncomfortably on the edge of a wooden desk in a schoolroom in rural Bangladesh early one evening last March. Dancing images flickered on the wall, the result of a kerosene lamp casting its uneven light over eight election officials sitting crosslegged on a blanket, counting ballots by hand. Outside, on the other side of shuttered windows, a crowd chanted "rickshaw, rickshaw", the symbol of a favored candidate. A few minutes later, another group formed, pronouncing its support for the prospective office bearer using the symbol of a ship. Finally, after three hours of painstaking counting, the presiding election officer toted up the score — the winner was the rickshaw. At least in this small snapshot of local elections, democracy had prevailed in a society characterized by turbulent and often violent politics.

A five-member NDI study team had visited Bangladesh to analyze the local election process and to determine whether the Institute could sponsor programs that would promote participation in free and fair national elections. The team was led by Washington, DC

Voter in Sirajdikhan Upazila (left) shows Bill Oldaker (right) his stamped thumb, indicating he had voted.



attorney William Oldaker, and included Mariano Quesada, a founder of NAM-FREL, the respected election monitoring organization in the Philippines; Dr. Chanaka Amratunga, leader of the Sri Lanka Liberal Party; NDI Program Coordinator Ned McMahon; and NDI consultant Eric Bjornlund. The team visited polling places and held discussions with a wide-range of political activists and observers.

The opposition boycotted the 1986 parliamentary elections, and opposition parties have been reluctant to participate in any national electoral contest as long as President Ershad remains in power.

In the past, Bangladesh's elections have been challenged by charges of widespread intimidation, vote buying, and organized fraud. While serious irregularities took place in the March elections, the NDI group concluded that the process was freer and more peaceful than previous electoral exercises.

NDI is currently exploring a series of projects that are designed to promote consensus among the Bangladesh parties on laws and procedures necessary for free and fair national elections. Presidential and possibly parliamentary elections will take place in 1991. ●

LISA NELSON
National Review, US

VESNA PESIC
Association of Yugoslavian Democratic Initiatives, Yugoslavia

OLLI REHN
Center Party, Finland

FREDDY SARENS, MP
Christian Democratic Party, Belgium

PETER SCHRAMM
Associate Professor of Political Science, Ashland College, US

KEITH SCHUETTE
NRHA President, US

ANTONIA SHISHMANOVA
Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria

MATJAS SINKOVEC
International Secretary, Social Democratic Union of Slovenia, Yugoslavia

DOROTHY TAFT
Office of Representative Chris Smith, US

ANTONIO VITORINO
Judge, Constitutional Court, Portugal

THOMAS VOLGY
Mayor of Tucson, Arizona, US

MARVIN WEISSBERG
NDI Board Member, US

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JOZSEF ANTALL, President, Hungarian Democratic Forum, Hungary
JAN BUBENIK, Member of Parliament, Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia
R. DAVID S. CAMPBELL, Managing Director, The Somme Association, Northern Ireland
ALICE COETZEE, Koinonia, South Africa
CHATHADHURI AJAY DABY, Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Mauritius
EUGENII ALEXANDROV DAYNOV, Sofia University, Bulgaria
JAUN MANUEL BENITEZ FLORENTIN, Majority Leader, Chamber of Deputies, Paraguay
IVAN GABAL, Election Director, Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia
CANON A.J. JANTJIES, Koinonia, South Africa
GEZA JESZENSKY, Hungarian Democratic Forum, Hungary
EDWARD B. KESSELY, President, Unity Party, Liberia
ANTONIO LA PERGOLA, President, Commission for Democracy and Law, Council of Europe, Italy
STEPHEN LIVINGSTON, Committee on Administration of Justice, Northern Ireland
GREG LYLE, Principal Secretary to the Premier, Canada
ANDREI MALOV, Deputy Head of Section Committee of Youth Organizations, Soviet Union
JURAY MIHACIK, Campaign Manager, Public Against Violence, Czechoslovakia
NTHATO MOTLANA, Soweto, South Africa
KENNETH MULLEN, Professor of Law, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland
YEHUDA PAZ, Director, Afro-Asian Institute, Israel
IRINE B. PONOMAREVA, Professor of Political Science, State Institute of International Relations, Soviet Union
GUILLERMO QUIJANA, Vice President, Mólirena Party, Panama
GONZALO SANCHEZ DE LOSADA, President, National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), Bolivia
EDUARDO M. STAFFORINI, Defense Ministry Advisor, Argentina
MARIA ELENA VALENZUELA, National Office for Women, Chile
SZETO WAH, President, Hong Kong Professional Teachers' Union, Hong Kong
HENRYK WUJECK, President, Citizens Club, Solidarity, Poland

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