



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

NDI Conference in Poland

We are here because we want to support your efforts to rejoin the democratic community of nations," declared NDI Chairman Walter Mondale in his opening address to Polish parliamentarians. "We know you want to begin immediately to develop a national economic policy that will earn public confidence and we are here to help."

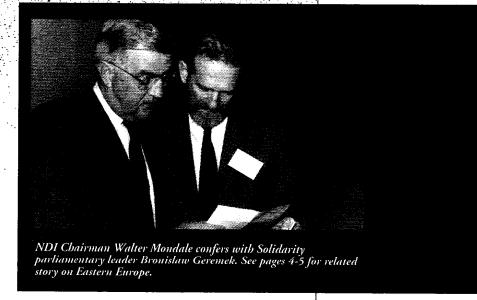
Mondale and former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker led the bipartisan U.S. delegation to the NDI-sponsored conference in Warsaw last September to study the role of parliaments in developing national economic policy. They were joined by current and former legislators from eight other Western countries who shared experiences with their Polish counterparts.

Most members of the first democratically-elected parliament in Poland have never before served as lawmakers. Against a backdrop of staggering economic problems, members of the Senate and the Sejm (the lower house) are confronted with the need to organize their two houses, write the rules by which they will operate and decide how their new institution will consider and debate issues.

The conference sessions focused on the process of economic decision making in national legislatures. Panels during the two-day conference examined the committee system, access to information and analysis, floor debate and voting procedures. Polish participants were able to examine models from other countries and apply them to their uniquely Polish institutions.

Panelists included former and current finance ministers, budget chairmen and economic policy experts from Great Britain, Finland, France, Holland, Ireland, Italy, West Germany and Sweden. In addition to Mondale and Baker, other U.S. participants included Senator Pete Domenici (R-NM), ranking minority member of the Senate Budget Committee; former Senator Thomas Eagleton; and Jim Jones, former chairman of the House Budget Committee.

While the discussion focused on basic parliamentary procedures, it often played against a larger philosophical backdrop. One Polish legislator expressed reluctance to cut off parliamentary debate when presiding over the house, since she had for so long been denied free speech; it seemed to her to be an



NDI Supports Namibia Transition

"Despite widespread pre-election concerns about the potential for violence, fraud and delay, balloting and counting were conducted in a peaceful and administratively fair manner," concluded the report of a seven-member NDI delegation that observed last November's elections in Namibia.

Under the terms of United Nations Resolution 435, which outlines the framework for Namibia's transition to independence, the elections were administered by the South Africa government, and supervised and certified by a special United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG). Though there have been many other UN peacekeeping missions, the UN effort in Namibia represents the most extended and comprehensive UN election operation. UN oversight is under consideration in other regions, such as Cambodia and the Western Sahara, where elections are contemplated as a means for resolving long-standing conflicts.

At the request of Senators John Kerry and Paul Simon, and Representatives Gus Yatron and Howard Wolpe, the NDI delegation also conducted a study of the United Nations' role in Namibia's transition process. NDI's preliminary report concluded that "the United Nations

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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.



Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown addresses Liberal International Congress.

DNC Chairman Addresses Liberal International Congress

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown addressed the Liberal International Congress in Paris last October, and reminded the delegates that the Democratic Party's founder, Thomas Jefferson, was also one of the first to espouse "fundamental liberal tenets..."

The Congress was in Paris to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the French revolution. Its theme explored the modern-day meaning of "Liberte, Egalite and Fraternite." The Liberal International, one of four international groupings of political parties, represents 55 parties and groups in 32 countries.

Declaring that the Democratic Party "stands with the oppressed from Soweto to Santiago, from Prague to Peking," Brown linked the American and French revolutions with the continuing struggle for freedom around the world. "We can be somewhat optimistic about the collapse of non-democratic ideologies," Brown said, "but the discrediting of alien ideologies does not necessarily portend the emergence of liberal democracy in practice... That takes hard work and international cooperation."

Brown pointed to the progress made under the U.S. constitutional system in the struggle for equality. "We still have a long way to go," Brown said, "but I am confident that what we have already achieved prepares us well to confront the challenges of the future."

The Paris Congress also saw former Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez elected as president of the Liberal International. Suarez has participated in NDI programs, and his acceptance speech warmly endorsed "NDI's sensible approach to international cooperation".

Resolutions were adopted on topics such as the environment, East-West relations, China and the Middle East. The Middle East resolution, the first passed by the Congress in many years, supported an

electoral process in the West Bank. The resolution was authored by Amnon Rubenstein, leader of Israel's Shinui Party, and was endorsed in a powerful, well-received speech by NDI Board member Mark Siegel.

Ferraro Leads NDI Delegation to Christian Democratic Meeting

Geraldine A. Ferraro led a three-member NDI delegation to Guatemala City last September to attend the tri-annual meeting of the Christian Democratic International. In her keynote address, Ferraro discussed recent NDI programs, particularly in Chile, Panama, Eastern Europe and on civil-military relations. Ferraro also held several meetings with women political leaders attending the three-day event.

The Christian Democratic International, one of four international groups of political parties, represents 54 parties or movements in 50 countries.

At the meeting, Venezuelan opposition leader Eduardo Fernandez was elected president of the international. A gravely-ill Jose Napoleon Duarte, the former Salvadoran president, made a brief appearance at the plenary, where he was warmly greeted. Human rights and world trends towards democracy were two of the most important items on the international's agenda.

The NDI delegation, also made up of Board member Marvin Weissberg and Latin American Director Martin Edwin Andersen, met with Christian Democratic leaders from Italy, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A number of the political party leaders expressed interest in closer ties with NDI and discussed possible joint programs.

Strengthening Democratic Institutions in Pakistan

NDI's election monitoring projects before and during the historic 1988 elections enhanced the Institute's reputation and credibility across the Pakistani political spectrum. Given developments in Pakistan during the past year, a six-member NDI delegation visited Pakistan last December to assess the prospects for new programs to help consolidate the country's democratic institutions.

The team included: U.S. political consultants Graeme Bannerman and Patrick Griffin; NDI Board member Mark Siegel; Ustun Erguder and Ergun Ozbudun of the Turkish Democracy Foundation; and NDI Program Coordinator Ned McMahon. The group met with politicians, journalists, labor leaders, academics and government officials. Based on these consultations, NDI plans to sponsor projects designed to strengthen Pakistan's legislature, political parties and provincial-federal relations.

Local Elections in Bangladesh

Following the survey mission to Pakistan, McMahon travelled to Bangladesh where NDI has received requests for electoral assistance.

Recently, relations among the Bangladeshi political parties have deteriorated to what many observers believe is the worst political stalemate in the country's young history. The opposition boycotted the 1986 parliamentary elections, and at least one major party has stated its refusal to participate in any electoral exercise as long as President Hussein Mohammad Ershad remains in power.

At the request of both ruling and opposition leaders, NDI plans to observe the March local elections and to develop projects designed to promote consensus on laws and procedures necessary for free and fair national elections.

International Observers Study Chilean Transition

From the hotel balcony, the NDI-sponsored international observer delegation could see thousands of Chileans gathering in the street below to celebrate Patrico Aylwin's victory in Chile's first presidential election in 19 years. Meanwhile, across the hall, the losers, Francisco Errazuriz and Hernan Buchi, were offering their personal congratulations to Alywin in the time-honored tradition of democratic politics.

MESA 28

NDI international observers (center of picture, left to right) Rufus Darpoh and Henryk Sienkiewicz, and NDI President Brian Atwood, observe counting process in Santiago.

Finally, at one minute past midnight, Alywin, taking care not to violate Chilean law that prescribes campaigning on election day, appeared before the crowd. For the NDI delegation, the celebration was understandable — the December 14 election was a victory for the Chilean people who overcame tremendous odds to initiate a peaceful democratic transition.

Alywin's midnight speech marked the end of a long day for the delegation members. Earlier, the observer group had watched the polling in six cities. Balloting proceeded in an orderly and peaceful manner, with more than 95 percent of the Chilean population casting ballots for president, senators and deputies.

Delegation members returned to Santiago that evening to watch the returns. Unlike the presidential plebiscite a year earlier, the returns were announced in an accurate and expeditious manner by the Ministry of Interior. By 9 p.m., more than 65 percent of the votes had been tabulated, with Alywin receiving more than the 50 percent necessary to avoid a run off.

The NDI delegation, however, was in Chile not merely to observe, but also to learn from the successful Chilean transition process. The 25-member delegation included representatives from 15 countries,

many of which had recently experienced transitions to democracy or were seeking to initiate such transitions.

In a series of workshops, the delegation heard from key negotiators of the constitutional changes approved in a July 1989 referendum, journalists who described the role of the media in the transition process, and election officials who explained the mechanics of the Chilean electoral process.

Chilean experts also explained the importance of public opinion polling, the workings of the parallel vote-counting systems organized by the opposition and nonpartisan organizations for ensuring that the

plebiscite results were respected, and how a diverse group of political parties could form a coalition and implement a unified campaign. The program closed with a round-table at which delegation member discussed how Chilean experiences might be applied in their respective countries.

NDI DELEGATION TO CHILE NATIONAL ELECTIONS

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Chief Judge, U.S. Claims Court, U.S.

MS. DENE SMUTS
Democratic Party, Member of
Parliament, South Africa

BELA SZABO Member, Foreign Affairs Committee, Hungarian Democratic Forum, Hungary

EASTERN EUROPE



Panel discussion on access to information and analysis. Pictured (left to right): Julian Ridsdale (UK), Ursula Hansen (FRD), Michal Chalonski (Poland) and Senator Pete Domenici.

Poland continued from front page

undemocratic gesture. However, her Western colleagues defended the need for discipline under such circumstances.

Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity's parliamentary leader actively participated throughout the conference. In his remarks, he emphasized



Former Senator Howard Baker welcomes delegates. Also pictured (left to right): Speaker of the Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale, and NDI President Brian Atwood.

the importance of social pluralism and the spirit of compromise that guided the negotiations leading to the elections. Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki told the conference that Poland faced two "grand tasks." One was to restructure the state and the other to lead Poland out of economic catastrophe. He appealed to the West to help in achieving both simultaneously

Senator Domenici, who chaired the conference session on the committee system, returned to Washington and introduced a resolution authorizing the "Gift of Democracy" from the United States Congress to the new Senate and Sejm in Poland. In his letter to Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, Domenici described the conference as "a dramatic and deeply moving experience for each one of us, and we came back convinced that the United States Congress has a unique opportunity to help the newly democratic Polish Parliament."

The resolution calls for the U.S. Congress to organize, in consultation with NDI, a group of technical experts who would assess the equipment and training needs of the Sejm and the Senate. A team will be dispatched to Warsaw in February and report back to the Senate and House of Representatives within 30 days. The findings of the team of experts will be used by Congress to raise the necessary private or public funds to assist the Polish legislature.

NDI Training in Eastern Europe

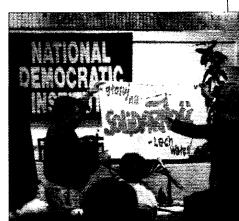
The following is excerpted from the January 20, 1990 issue of The Economist. NDI's Hungarian program referred to in the article has been funded with grants from AID and the German Marshall Fund. The training seminars have been conducted by U.S., European and Latin American experts for the six principal Hungarian democratic parties, which are preparing to participate in the March 25 parliamentary elections. Technical advice and grants for infrastructure support are designed to help build strong competitive parties that are necessary to promote and sustain democratic systems.

From "Replacing Communism — So Little Time, so Much to Do" *The Economist*, January 20, 1990

In a castle built for sixteenth-century Habsburg emperors and furnished for twentieth-century communist ones, Mr. Vaclav Havel bounded into his new presidential suite, tossed off his ski jacket, settled into an oversized leather chair and took a decision. "We need advice, here, now, immediately. Not from government, but from professionals who know election laws. If you can bring somebody to Prague by

Monday, that would be wonderful."

This week four experts chosen for legal know-how and political savvy were conferring in Prague with the men who are writing the rules for the first free election in Czechoslovakia in 44 years. The draft law they are reviewing is a complex version of proportional representation. Hence the composition of the advisory team: Mr. Richard Holme, a



U.S. media trainer Tom Ochs (left) and Polish Solidarity campaign strategist Jacek Moskwa describe how to develop a party message.



NDI Chairman Walter Mondale accompanies Prime Minister Mazowiecki (center) and Solidarity parliamentary leader Bronislaw Geremek to conference.



Michael Boyd of Northern Ireland leads seminar on economical communication techniques; here he speaks about pamphlets.

British Liberal and author of a book on PR; Mr. Peter Hack, a negotiator on Hungary's new PR system; Mr. Larry Garber, an American who wrote the bible on election monitoring; and Mr. Antonio Vitorino, a judge from Portugal's constitutional court.

The advisers were recruited, in record time, by the National Democratic Institute of Washington, an offshoot of the Democratic party whose brief is to provide non-profit, non-partisan and not-strictly-American advice to new-born democracies. This was the NDI's first visit to Czechoslovakia. Doors opened — in a city besieged by foreign do-gooders — at least partly because of the presence of the NDI's vice-chairman, Mrs. Madeline Albright, foreign-policy adviser to the Dukakis campaign and Czech-speaking professor of communist politics.

The NDI also has a track record in the neighbourhood. A week earlier, an NDI group was in Budapest, instructing members of two of Hungary's dozens of parties on how to plan their campaigns for the election on March 25th. This was the fourth NDI workshop in Hungary this autumn, with a fifth scheduled for this weekend. Over the past year other NDI missions have been in Panama, Chile, Paraguay, Taiwan, Botswana, Namibia and Nicaragua.



After workshop sessions, Hungarian participants designed mock campaigns. Pictured: Anna Petrasovits, president of the Social Democrats, describes her group's planning schedule.

Hungary Trainers

NDI wishes to express its gratitude to the many political professionals who have donated their time to the training program in Hungary. They have been generous in sharing their experience and expertise with the new political parties in Hungary, and we wish to acknowledge their important contributions.

THOMAS OCHS

United States

WILL ROBINSON

United States

United States

FRANK WALL

ACK WALSH

JOHN SASSO United States

AUDREY SHEPPARD United States

WILLIAM SWEENEY, JR.

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WOJCIECH MAZIARSKI

FRANCIS O'BRIEN United States



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Violeta Chamorro visits NDI offices to discuss Nicaragua electoral process. Also pictured: NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack and NDI Logistics Coordinator Leticia Martinez.



Namibia continued from front page

played a critical role in ensuring the conduct of a free and fair election process for members to [the Namibian] Constituent Assembly." Simon and Wolpe serve as chairmen of the Senate and House subcommittees on Africa; Kerry and Yatron chair subcommittees that oversee U.S. contributions to international organizations.

More than 97 percent of the population voted during the five-day voting period. Under the proportional representation system stipulated by UN Resolution 435, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) earned 41 seats in the 72-member Constituent Assembly and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) captured 21. The open election process, along with the liberal constitution drafted in January by Namibia's newly-elected

assembly, provides a strong foundation for a multiparty democracy in "Africa's last colony."

As part of an overall examination of the UN effort, the NDI delegation, led by the Institute's President Brian Atwood, interviewed UN and government officials, political party leaders and representatives of nongovern-



Lines of voters in Namibia.

mental organizations. The delegation focused particular attention on the UN operation as it related to the formation of legal and administrative procedures, relations with the government, and investigations of election-related intimidation.

Other members of the delegation included: Joan Bingham, freelance journalist; Eric Bjornlund, attorney and delegation rapporteur; Larry Garber, NDI senior consultant for electoral processes; Patricia Keefer, NDI senior consultant and Namibia project director; Michael McAdams, attorney and political consultant; and Katherine Moore, NDI program assistant.

The observer delegation was part of a nine-month NDI program.

Nicaragua: Supporting the Democratic Process

NDI and the National Republican Institute (NRIIA) are jointly administering the bulk of a special \$9 million Congressional appropriations to support free and fair national elections in Nicaragua, scheduled for February 25. The program is designed to support activities that enhance participation and promote confidence in the electoral process.

A grant to IPCE, a civic association established by opposition political leaders, would finance the verification of voter registration lists, pollwatching and related monitoring activities, and civic and voter education. "These nonpartisan activities have been critical to the conduct of free and fair elections, particularly in countries where a large segment of the population has not participated in elections or may be cynical about the process," said NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack.

Basic infrastructure support, such as vehicles and office equipment, is also being provided to the National Opposition Union (UNO). Assistance to the 14-party opposition coalition is designed to help "level the playing field," and promote the long-term development of Nicaraguan political parties.

Because of the size of the program and the oversight requirements established by Congress, NDI and NRIIA have contracted a large management team that is overseeing the implementation of the UNO and IPCE programs. The team in Managua includes two project managers, 12 accountants from Price Waterhouse and professional procurement agents who are purchasing the equipment related to the grants. Their work is being supported by Washington-based staff and consultants.

On January 16, NDI and NRIIA wrote to the Nicaraguan government about bureaucratic delays in Managua. They expressed serious concerns that a "political decision" had been reached by Nicaraguan authorities to delay the release of the funds. Since that time, however, as a result of direct intervention on this issue by former President Jimmy Carter, the funds and equipment have begun to be released. NDI is hopeful that this assistance will make a positive contribution during the last month of the electoral process, and beyond.

Second Annual International Auction

NDI is planning "Out of This World," the second annual international auction, on Tuesday, May 1 in Washington, DC Proceeds will be used to support the Institute's democratic development programs. The auction will be an evening filled with political humor, culture and entertainment. Special guests will include members of Congress and the diplomatic corps, Democratic Party leaders and foreign dignitaries. Auctioneers will sell items ranging from fine art to celebrity dinners to items illustrative of the international community.

Requests for NDI assistance worldwide far outstrip its resources. Events such as the auction help the Institute meet and expand its program activities. NDI is a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, and contributions are tax-exempt.

NDI Board Chairman Walter Mondale presents Harriman Award to Speaker Thomas Foley.



Harriman Dinner Committee chair, Paul Kirk, Gail Kirk and Begum Nusrat Bhutto.

Bhutto and Foley Honored at Harriman Award Dinner

NDI presented its fifth W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan and to Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley for their contributions to democratic principles and human rights. The award, symbolized by a Waterford crystal world globe, was presented at a Washington, DC



Begum Nusrat Bhutto, NDI Board member Mark Siegel and Senator Barbara Mikulski.

dinner on October 4. The audience of more than 500 included members of Congress, the diplomatic community and visiting government officials and political party leaders from abroad.

The dinner, chaired by Pamela Harriman and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland was co-hosted by 68 members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The dinner committee was chaired by Paul G. Kirk, Jr., who served as master of ceremonies, and co-chaired by Terence R. McAuliffe, and NDI Board members Elizabeth Frawley Bagley and Rachelle Horowitz.

In bestowing the award to Bhutto, NDI Board member Geraldine A. Ferraro praised the Prime Minister for her tireless efforts to bring democracy to Pakistan. In accepting the award on behalf of her daughter, Senior Minster Begum Nusrat Bhutto commended the work of NDI, particularly its role in monitoring Pakistan's November 1988 elections. She also called for the creation of a new Association of Democratic Nations, an international organization committed to

representative democracy.

NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale presented the award to Speaker Foley. In his remarks, Mondale cited the Speaker's abiding dedication to democratic government. Foley acknowledged the important role that the U.S. can play in promoting personal liberty, political freedom and representative government. •

NDI Board member Harriet Babbitt; Mohammad Yamin, Minister of Trade, Embassy of Pakistan; Tariq Fatemi, Political Minister, Embassy of Pakistan; and Zahra Fatemi.



NDI Observes Taiwan Election Process

In an effort to support and encourage the democratization process in Taiwan, NDI sent two delegations to the island before and during the December 2 parliamentary and local elections. The first trip, undertaken last October at the invitation of both the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) and the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), resulted in a comprehensive pre-election study. The NDI report was widely distributed to international groups that were preparing to observe the December elections. The report was also presented at a November 15 hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs.

The December elections were the first since the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the first to allow opposition political parties to compete. These and other recently enacted political reforms made these elections a significant benchmark in Taiwan's democratization process. However, the number of parliamentary seats subject to election remained limited, ensuring the ruling party's continued dominance.

Led by NDI Board member Ken Melley, the October delegation included Alan Griffiths, Member of Parliament from the Australian Labor Party; Thomas Carothers, then a Visiting Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and currently at the Smithsonian's Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars; NDI Deputy Program Director Karen Clark and NDI staff assistant Jeff Ganz. Based on meetings with political party leaders, government officials, journalists, academics and other independent observers, the delegation's report identified several key issues for prospective election watchers. These

included: the authorities' impartiality in administering the election; access to electronic media by the opposition; and charges of vote buying and other irregularities. The delegation also recommended several measures that could help instill greater confidence in the electoral process.

Two members of the October delegation returned to Taiwan for the elections. Despite the "unlevel playing field" on which the campaign was conducted and allegations of some election-day irregularities, the elections were generally viewed by observers as the most freely contested in Taiwan's history. The DPP scored impressive gains, capturing 21 seats in the Legislative Yuan and six of the 21 municipal mayoralties. This performance, together with the election of several KMT advocates of political reform, are likely to sustain momentum for Taiwan's continuing democratizition.

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