



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

NDI REPORTS

NDI at Pakistan Elections

"The electoral process succeeded in allowing people in Pakistan to express their will," concluded a 22-member international observer delegation to the November 16 National Assembly elections.

The elections, which resulted in the designation of opposition leader Benazir Bhutto as prime minister, was the first party-based electoral contest since 1977. They had been scheduled last July, following dismissal of the government and the dissolution of the National Assembly by the late President Zia ul-Haq.

The observer mission, sponsored by NDI, included parliamentarians, election experts, and academics from five countries, and a bipartisan U.S. contingent. The delegation was led by NDI President Brian Atwood and Ruairi Quinn, a member of the Irish Parliament. The mission was the culmination of nearly two years of NDI program activity in Pakistan.

The observer group visited six major cities in Pakistan's four provinces and watched the voting process at 400 polling sites. Prior to the elections, delegation members also met with senior government and election officials, representatives of the major political parties and independent groups monitoring the electoral process.

"The president, the judiciary, the election officials, the political parties and the voters all deserve credit for the success of this event," Atwood said on behalf of the delegation at a Karachi press conference. "We also wish to compliment the military and police forces for providing excellent security for the election."

The delegation was impressed by the willingness of political party pollwatchers to work together and the cooperation they received from election officials. Observers noted the relative peaceful nature of the process, which stood in sharp contrast to previous elections marred by widespread violence.

In response to charges that a new identification card requirement disenfranchised potential voters, delegation members conducted a comprehensive statistical analysis, which showed "no evidence" that the low voter turnout "affected any one party disproportionately."

"The rule of law and the principle of representative democracy have prevailed in a society where it had been previously suspended," Atwood concluded. "There are no real losers in this election because the people have won the right to choose their government."



*Benazir Bhutto meets with
NDI observers, advisors
and staff following
November 16 elections.*

Chile's Movement for Free Elections and Paul Kirk Honored at Harriman Awards Luncheon

NDI presented its fourth annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to Chile's movement for free elections and Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Kirk. Accepting the award for the Chilean free election movement were Genaro Arriagada, coordinator of the campaign for the "No" vote in last year's presidential plebiscite and Sergio Molina, leader of the Committee for Free Elections.

The award, symbolized by a crystal globe, was presented at a Washington, D.C. luncheon on December 6. The audience of more than 400 included members of Congress, the diplomatic community, and visiting government officials and party leaders from abroad.

The luncheon, chaired by Pamela Harriman, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Minnesota businessman Mark Dayton was co-hosted by more than 50 members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The luncheon committee was chaired by NDI Board member Kenneth Melley, director of government relations at the National Education Association. Madeleine Albright, NDI vice chair, served as master of ceremonies.

(Continued on page 4)

INSIDE

- Argentina •
- Harriman •
- NDI Auction •
- Northern Ireland •
- Pakistan •
- Upcoming Programs •

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

EXPERTS PREPARE DELEGATION VISIT

NDI is grateful for the contribution of consultants who visited Pakistan last October to evaluate the legal and administrative procedures for the Pakistan elections and to assess the feasibility of sending an observer delegation.

The bipartisan U.S. team for the survey mission included Graeme Bannerman, president, Bannerman and Associates, Inc., and former staff director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Verne Newton, international consultant and former special assistant to the administrator of the Agency for International Development; William Oldaker, partner, Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg and Evans, and former counsel to the Federal Election Commission; and Casimir Yost, executive director, World Affairs Council of Northern California, and former professional staff member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.



Delegation co-leaders Brian Atwood and Ruairi Quinn meet with Pakistan President Ghulam Ishaq Khan prior to the elections.

MEMBERS OF PAKISTAN ELECTION DELEGATION

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

RUAIRI QUINN
Delegation Co-Leader
Member of Parliament
Republic Of Ireland

Y.B. DATO' ABDULLA AHMAD BADAWI
Member of Parliament
Former Minister of
Defense
Malaysia

JOAN BAGGETT
Political Director
Int'l. Union of Bricklayers
U.S.

ELIZABETH BAGLEY
Board of Directors, NDI,
U.S.

LAZHAR BOUAOUNI
Dean
Faculty of Law & Pol.
Science
University of Tunis
Tunisia

MARK BRADEN
Chief Counsel
Republican National
Committee, U.S.

LOVIDA COLEMAN
Attorney-at-Law
Tuttle and Taylor, U.S.

LEE FELDMAN
President
Global Analysis, Inc., U.S.

LARRY GARBER
Elections Consultant
NDI, U.S.

RICHARD JOHNSON
Mayor
Taunton, MA, U.S.

PATRICIA KEEFER
Pakistan Project Director
NDI, U.S.

ELLIOTT KULICK
Board of Directors, NDI
England

ERGUN OZBUDUN
Faculty of Law, Ankara
University
Vice President
Turkish Democratic Fdn.
Turkey

ELAINE SHOCAS
Counsel
Democratic National
Committee
Asst. Leg. Director
American Federation of
Teachers, U.S.

THOMAS M. SUSMAN
Partner, Ropes and Gray
Former General Counsel
to U.S. Senate Judiciary
Committee, U.S.

EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD
Attorney-at-Law
Senior Advisor
Lawyers for Bush/Quayle
U.S.

ROBERT WHOLEY
Deputy for Program
Development
and Field Evaluation
Asian-American Labor
Institute, U.S.

DELEGATION ADVISORS

PETER GALBRAITH
Professional Staff Member
U.S. Senate Foreign
Relations Committee

ROBERT HATHAWAY
Advisor for Foreign Policy/
Press Secretary
Rep. Stephen Solarz
(D-NY)

ANDREW SEMMEL
Advisor for Foreign Policy
Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN)

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION KARACHI, PAKISTAN

November 20, 1988

The international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs congratulates the people of Pakistan for a peaceful and thus far, successful electoral process. What happened Wednesday and yesterday at polling places all over the country should be a source of national pride for Pakistan.

Our 22 delegates covered six major cities in each of the nation's provinces for both the elections for the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies, although we concentrated on the former. We visited approximately 400 polling places. In addition, prior to the elections as well as on the election days, we talked with representatives of the major political parties, election officials and independent groups monitoring the process. While there were some minor disputes—indeed, some ongoing challenges may be the subject of adjudication—our impression is that the Pakistan people believe, based on their experiences, that the process was generally free and fair. They have been afforded an opportunity to express their vote and they have done so.

As we indicated in our pre-election statement, the delegation believed that fraud in the polling and counting phases could be detected if present. Candidates' polling agents were at all the polling places we observed and we understand that they were present throughout the counting phase. We were impressed by the willingness of the party agents to work together and the cooperation they received from the election officials. They carefully checked voting rolls and were present at the polling places for the counting.

We also wish to compliment the military and police forces for providing excellent security for the elections. We saw no evidence of intimidation by security forces. On the contrary, we believe that the presence of police and military personnel contributed greatly to a sense that voters could cast their ballots in peaceful conditions.

In summation, we believe the electoral process succeeded in allowing people in Pakistan to express their will. The November 16 and 19 elections, which followed a free and open campaign, represent an historic event. Based on what our delegation witnessed, we believe this should lead to an historic institutionalization of democracy in Pakistan. The president, the judiciary, the election officials, the political parties and the voters all deserve great credit for the success of this event.

We leave Pakistan with confidence that the completion of the process will go as smoothly as the beginning. We have witnessed a spirit of goodwill and compromise that should prevail when the government is formed within the prescribed time. The rule of law and the principle of representative democracy have prevailed in a society where it had been previously suspended. There are no real losers in this election because the people have won the right to choose their government.

VIEWPOINT

"I believe the children are our future. Teach them well and let them lead the way."

Those who planned the third annual Social Democratic Group's (SDG) youth conference—"Choices for a New Generation"—in Belfast, Northern Ireland, may well have had the words of Whitney Houston's popular song in mind. NDI has supported the program activities of the SDG, the party foundation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) of Northern Ireland.

SDG's charter, like that of NDI, is political development. One of its missions is to work with the young people of this troubled province who might be inspired to break the cycle of violence and sectarianism that dominates life in Northern Ireland.

The featured speaker at the January 20 conference for Catholic and Protestant secondary school students was Kerry Kennedy, Executive Director of the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Human Rights. Kennedy, daughter of Robert Kennedy, urged the 200 conferees to take up the cause of human rights, to look beyond their own problems to a world where misery and oppression cry out for our concern and involvement. "It is by recognizing our shared humanity that we enrich our own lives," she said.

The conference participants then worked together in smaller groups to formulate answers to such questions as "Why do I want to be involved in politics in Northern Ireland?" or "What do I think of politicians?" or "How do we stop the violence?"

The answers were not very encouraging except that they were delivered by bright, articulate and frequently humorous young men and women. The consensus seemed to be that

You have often been told that you are the people of tomorrow. You are the teachers, the workers, the housewives, the professionals. I hope you accept that simple fact because your challenge is the greatest of all—the integration of this community we live in. We hear talk of integrated projects, integrated schools integrated activities, but your first responsibility is to integrate your community. You must become an active member of your community. You must take the decision for involvement and if necessary, the mantle of leadership. You must seek out and where there is injustice—correct it; where there is hatred—challenge it; and where there is sectarianism—reject it.

Don't ever be put in the position of saying I didn't know. What you don't know, learn, and what you learn, teach. Today, this afternoon start to work for a more just society, a more equitable society, a more tolerant society.

**Honorable E.K. McGrady
Member of Parliament**



*Students attending
SDG conference on
"Choices for a
New Generation."*

politics was futile in the face of continuing violence. The students questioned whether positive political steps could be undertaken given the British parties' control over the government in the province.

It is clear that this growing cynicism about politics is a major challenge to the current leaders of Northern Ireland. As each day goes by, the sectarian struggle seems to be taking its toll, both in lives and youthful idealism.

Next, the politicians had their chance. Alliance Party leader, Dr. John Alderdice, Unionist MP Ken Maginnis and SDLP MP Eddie McGrady appealed for "choices" that included involvement in the political life of the province. (Excerpts from McGrady's speech are reprinted on this page.) In their different approaches, they seemed to be getting through. Their very presence, as national and appealing political leaders, seemed to go far in dealing with the cynicism. That they represented three distinct political and ideological viewpoints, yet treated each other civilly, was also an important subliminal message.

Who knows, perhaps one or two teenagers were inspired to enter a life of politics. Perhaps others will be less skeptical and will get involved in the next election in support of a candidate. Perhaps others will see democratic politics as the only means for resolving the conflict that has taken so many lives.

The Social Democratic Group deserves great credit for at least trying to show the way. The SDG believes that the young people of Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, are the future. It is now up to them to "lead the way."

—Brian Atwood



Kerry Kennedy addresses SDG conference.

HARRIMAN AWARDS LUNCHEON



*Harriman award recipient
Sergio Molina accepts congratulations from
NDI Chairman Walter Mondale.*

(Continued from page 1)

In his remarks, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale recalled the history of Chile's free election movement, which began amidst skepticism about the prospects for defeating General Augusto Pinochet. "The Chilean democratic opposition defied the skeptics and banned together in a single movement to encourage the Chilean people to have hope again," he said. "Sergio Molina and Genaro Arriagada personify the dedication and accomplishment of the free election movement."

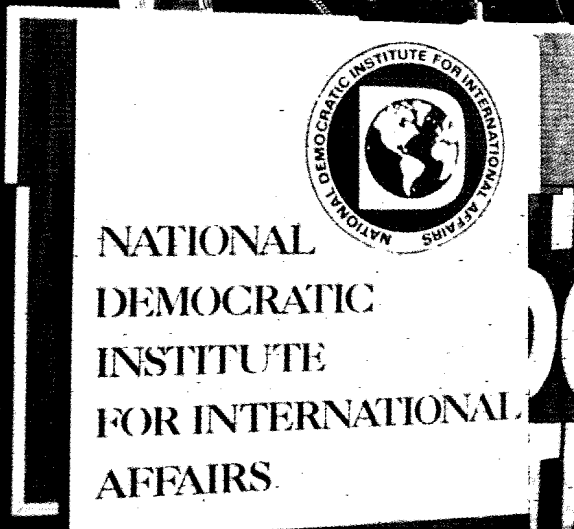
Mondale also praised Harry Barnes, the former U.S. Ambassador to Santiago, for his role in promoting democracy in Chile. Political consultants who worked with NDI in providing technical advice to the free election movement were also recognized. They were Peter Hart, Fred Hartwig, Frank Greer, Annie Burns, Glenn Cowan, Jack Walsh and Curt Cutter. Barnes and the consultants were presented with certificates of ap-



*Former ambassador to Chile Harry
Barnes and Rep. Stephen Solarz.*



*(l to r)
Advisory
member Edmu
NDI Boar
Elizabeth Bagley,
actor Christop
and pollster.*



*Sen. Edward Kennedy
presents Harriman
award to Paul Kirk.*

*Harriman
award recipient
Genaro Arriagada.*

preciation from NDI President Brian Atwood.

In his acceptance speech, Arriagada underscored the profound divisions among parties in Latin America, but said, "It is to our country's great merit that the 'No' campaign united men and women of very different philosophies . . . This time we were united to give democracy a chance."

Molina also paid tribute to the Committee for Free elections and to his countrymen, who, he said, "showed the world the dignity of a free people."

In presenting the democracy award to Kirk, Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) recalled Averell Harriman's leadership and inspiration. "Paul has many talents that Averell Harriman had," he said, "including the rare ability to extract the maximum of agreement from the most strong-willed of opponents—and that's a special reason why Paul richly deserves to be linked with NDI through the Averell Harriman Award."

While congratulating Chileans for their 97 percent voter turnout, Kirk con-

trasted election day in the U.S. "At home, where elections have always been free, ours the most advanced democracy in the world was sobered by the lowest voter participation in a national election of any democracy in the world," he said.

Commenting that there is "much to be grateful for in our own democracy, and how precious little there is we can afford to take for granted," Kirk called for procedural and educational changes to address low voter turnout. "Such changes forge a stronger connection and trust between the governed and those who seek to govern."

The newly-elected prime minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, sent a special message to the luncheon. She congratulated the award recipients and commended NDI for its democratic development mission. "In the Philippines, in Chile, in Pakistan, and in the countless other places where people are fighting for control of their own lives and future, we owe much to the work of NDI," she said.

SPEAKERS LAUD NDI PROGRAMS

NDI does not just arrive on election day. You are there months, even years, in advance—working, training, teaching, helping to plant the seed and ensure the success of the democratic enterprise.

Battling on the front lines, engaged and involved—often in the most difficult of elections where democracy is at the greatest of risk—NDI has become a vigorous and visible presence and an inspiring symbol of the United States, reflecting the best values of our country and the unquenchable dream of men and women everywhere who struggle to be free.

I know I speak for many others who share our goals of liberty and human rights, democracy and peace on earth, when I say to all of you at the National Democratic Institute—well done. You have held America's standard high.

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

[We] Chileans were not the only ones who were united. The effort was also the work of a distinguished group of North Americans associated with NDI. You all know that in my country's recent past, the tale of North American intervention was not an honorable one.

This time, however, Chileans and their North American friends from NDI came to a gentlemen's agreement. We shared a common objective—democracy. And we worked for that goal with means that were morally unquestionable—using tools that were clear and transparent. Clear for the U.S. Congress and press; public and well-known to Chileans, whatever their political stance.

This collaboration in the service of democracy between Chile's democratic forces and NDI has been, without a doubt, an integral part of this miracle of unity that we celebrate today.

GENARO ARRIAGADA

NDI's work to strengthen political parties, to foster democracy and democratic institutions around the globe has brought it well deserved international standing and respect. And as Democratic National Chairman, I am personally grateful to the officers, board and staff of NDI.

Thanks to their leadership, NDI accepted my request that it serve as the official host to the hundreds of foreign dignitaries who came to Atlanta in July. Democratic pluralism and diversity were on full display at the 40th Democratic National Convention.

PAUL G. KIRK, JR.



(l to r) Paul Kirk, Vernon Jordan, Sen. Edward Kennedy, NDI Vice Chair Madeleine Albright, and Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad.



(l to r) Michelle Jourdak, Ron Brown, and NDI Board member Jack Dunfey.

ntor
lilee
skte,
nber
Kirk,
evee,
hart.

ARGENTINA: CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS



Panel discussion at civil-military conference; at center table (left to right) NDI President Brian Atwood, Diego Guelar, former Peronist deputy, and Andres Van Der Horst of the Dominican Republic, president of the Central American Liberal Foundation.

Just days after Argentina was shaken by a third military uprising in less than 21 months, NDI convened its first program on civil-military relations. The seminar, held in the Dominican Republic last December, focused on the recent experience of Argentina's five-year-old democracy, which is struggling to establish the primacy of democratic, civilian institutions over the military establishment.

The conference, "Civil-Military Relations: The Argentine Experience," was attended by Argentine political leaders, military officers and academics as well as civil-military experts from the Dominican Republic, Israel, Panama, Spain, Uruguay, United States and Venezuela.

The seminar focused on the role of the executive and legislative branches in military policy, the defense budget and the military's role in the economy, and the armed forces' integration into civilian society.

Although there was a frank recognition of differences on several issues, particularly concerning the on-going trials in Argentina of military men accused of human rights violations, the conferees reached a consensus on several constructive steps that would promote healthier civil-military relations.

Among the key recommendations, the conference called for:

- a military doctrine for the Argentine armed forces which focuses on the defense of the country's territorial integrity and not on the arbitration of national policies, interests and values;
- civic education programs within the armed forces, and the use of existing educational institutions to integrate civilian and military communities;
- possible changes in recruitment policies, training, promotion and terms of service to reduce the caste-like nature of the military profession;

- training of legislative staff in defense matters in order to reduce the executive branch's oversight burden;
- greater civilian training in and control of intelligence gathering and internal security affairs; and
- reliance on the police rather than the military in anti-drug efforts.

In February, NDI published the conference findings in a 33-page report, which received wide press coverage in Argentina. "There is perhaps no greater threat to fragile democratic systems than the inability to integrate the military forces of a nation into the civil society," noted NDI chairman Walter F. Mondale. "As Argentina wrestles with extremist forces—groups stimulated to act by the failure to reconcile the civil-

do. . . . And they have an obligation to consult with the armed forces on matters of legitimate concern to them, such as military doctrine, force structure, personnel policy and the budget for defense."

Several participants said the degree of frankness reached in Santo Domingo would have been extremely difficult to achieve in the polarized atmosphere of Buenos Aires. As one retired military officer said at the close of the conference, "For the first time in my life, I feel I can speak openly both to my comrades in arms and to representatives of the political parties."

In order to take advantage of the successful effort begun in Santo Domingo, NDI plans a program designed to broaden the base of Argentine exposure to civilian experts on military matters and to military officers who



NDI President Brian Atwood (left) addresses civil-military conference; at right is moderator Dante Gladone, president of the Radical Party's Arturo Illia Foundation.

military relationship in a democratic context—we at NDI believe that the pages of this report contain within them the beginnings of a solution."

"Democracy demands of the Argentine military nothing less than a fundamental reassessment of its purpose and place in the country," the report added. "But the foundation of true democracy cannot rest on concessions and changes made by the armed forces alone."

Civilian leaders, it said, "must show they can capably perform the tasks they have told the military it must no longer

have worked under civilian control. Emphasis will be placed on strengthening Argentine legislative oversight capabilities in defense and security matters.

As a first step, NDI will invite four Argentine civilians and two military officers to Washington in April for a workshop on the legislative role in defense policy. NDI will then convene a three-day seminar in Punta del Este to continue the dialogue on civil-military relations and to begin training political leaders and legislative staff from Argentina and Uruguay on defense issues. ●

NDI Programs in Progress

BOLIVIA—Consultants Les Francis and Jack Walsh conducted a March survey mission to La Paz in response to requests for technical assistance programs with Bolivia's major political parties. Future party-building projects would be designed to help consolidate Bolivia's nascent democracy.

BOTSWANA—Through a grant to the Democracy Project at the University of Botswana, NDI will assist the development of the political parties in Botswana and use the occasion of the upcoming elections as a demonstration model for advocates of democracy in the region who are seeking to promote competitive electoral systems.

EL SALVADOR—In February, NDI organized an eight-member international survey mission to study laws and procedures relating to the March 19 presidential election. The mission of electoral experts and regional specialists issued a report of its findings to help foster international understanding of the March election.

HUNGARY—In coordination with the Liberal International, NDI will sponsor a delegation of leading politicians from democratic countries who will visit Budapest to study the liberalization of the Hungarian political system.

LIBERIA—NDI is planning to cosponsor the first in a series of Public Affairs Forums in Monrovia in May. The forums will support civic organizations seeking to strengthen democratic values and institutions in Liberia.

NAMIBIA—April 1 marks the start of a six-month U.N. supervised transition process, leading to the election of a constituent assembly on November 1. NDI is developing a program to support the electoral process in this critical period.

NICARAGUA—National and local elections have been scheduled for February 1990, and NDI has begun a training program for the civic opposition. An international team of constitutional and electoral experts will review Nicaragua's election laws. The review will provide a basis for several of NDI's party-building projects.

PANAMA—Working in cooperation with NDI, the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government sponsored a delegation to Panama in mid-March to assess the electoral laws and procedures for the May 7 elections. President Jimmy Carter, who chairs the Council, former Costa Rican President Daniel Oduber and Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez designated representatives for the mission. Delegation members included Ambler Moss, former U.S. ambassador to Panama; and Miguel Ocque and Carlos Monge Sanabria, members of the legislature in Venezuela and Costa Rica, respectively.

Last February, NDI consultants Glenn Cowan and John Rendon, along with Chilean and Venezuelan technical experts, participated in a two-day workshop for Panamanians organizing an independent monitoring and vote-counting system. NDI and its Republican counterpart also plan to organize an international observer delegation for the upcoming elections.

PARAGUAY—NDI plans to assist the Paraguayan Center for Democratic Studies to undertake a massive civic and voter education effort in preparation for the May 1 presidential election.

PHILIPPINES—In cooperation with the Manila-based Congressional Research and Training Service and the Young Legislators Caucus, NDI plans to organize a conference on legislative procedure and organization for members of the newly-elected Philippines Congress.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP (IIWPL)—NDI has given the IIWPL a second grant to support the Institute's 1989 programs, including a seminar in East Africa on women's participation in local politics and a workshop in South America focusing on leadership and advancement techniques.

RECENT NDI PUBLICATIONS

Pakistan Elections: Foundation for Democracy a 102-page report on the November 1988 National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies elections.

Chile's Transition to Democracy: The 1988 Presidential Plebiscite a 133-page report of the international observer delegation.

Civil-Military Relations: The Argentine Experience a 33-page report of the December 1988 conference in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.

The 1989 Salvadoran Election: Challenges and Opportunities a 33-page report of a pre-election survey, February 18-23, 1989.

NDI PLANS INTERNATIONAL AUCTION

NDI plans to sponsor an "international auction" this May to raise funds for the Institute's political development programs. The auction will be an evening filled with political humor, culture, and entertainment. Special guests will include ambassadors, members of Congress, 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 these afford NDI the opportunity to meet and expand its program commitments. NDI is a nonprofit 501 (c)(3) organization and contributions are tax-exempt. Please contact NDI Development Director Amy Conroy for details.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

NDI welcomes eight new members to its Board of Directors. They are:

DAVID AARON
New York

PAUL KIRK
Boston

HARRIET BABBITT
Phoenix

STUART MOLDAW
San Francisco

GERI JOSEPH
Minneapolis

MAURICE TEMPELSMAN
New York

JAN KALICKI
Providence

MARK WEINER
Providence

INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

ARTEMIO A. ADASA, Member of Congress, LDP, Philippines
RAMON S. BAGATSING, Member of Congress, LDP, Philippines
PAT BRANIGAN, Treasurer, SDLP, Northern Ireland
ROBERTO BRENES, Co-leader, Civic Crusade, Panama
CHIU CHING HWEI, Member of National Assembly, General-Secretary, Chinese Federation of Labor, Taiwan
JENS CLAUSAGER, Secretary-General, Danish Social-Liberal Party, Denmark
GUILLERMO COCHEZ, Congressman, Vice President, Christian Democratic Party, Panama
DIOGENES DE LA ROSA, Former Panamanian Ambassador to Venezuela, Panama
ANGEL FLISFISCH, Political Scientist, Latin American Center for Social Sciences, Chile
THEODOSSIS GEORGIU, Secretary for International Relations, Democratic Renewal Party, Greece
RAMIRO GURDIAN, Vice President, Nicaragua Coordinating Group, Nicaragua
HSIEH SHEN SAN, President, Chinese Federation of Labor, Taiwan
JU GAU-JENG, Member of Legislative Yuan, Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan
GEZA KILENY, Deputy Minister of Justice, Hungary
KIM KWANG-IL, Member of National Assembly, Reunification Democratic Party, South Korea
STANISLAW KWIATKOWSKI, Director, Center for Research of Public Opinion, Poland
KU CHANG RIM, Director, International Relations Bureau, Democratic Justice Party, Korea
JOSE BURNEO LABRIN, Member, Center for Research and Action for Peace, Peru
LEE YEOW CHI, Member of Legislative Yuan, KMT, Taiwan
ELEK NAGY, Vice-Chair, Budapest Workers' Council, Hungary
HIROSHI OHKI, Director General, International Bureau, Liberal Democratic Party, Japan
DETTE PASCUAL, Executive Director, Evelio Javier Foundation, Philippines
ROBERTO PULIDO ESPINOSA, President, National Press Association; Director *Qué Pasa* magazine, Chile
JUNIO RAGRAGIO, International Bureau, LDP, Philippines
ENRIQUE SALMAN SAJURIA, President, Educational Service Institute, Chile
BRICCIO SANTOS, International Bureau, LDP, Philippines
SANTIAGO CARRASCO TORAL, Coordinator for Public Relations, University of Cuenca, Ecuador
ERNESTO VIDELA CIFUENTES, Former Undersecretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Chile
ANDRES ZUNIGA, President, Liberal Party, Nicaragua

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Walter F. Mondale
CHAIRMAN

Madeleine K. Albright
VICE CHAIR

J. Brian Atwood
PRESIDENT

Rachelle Horowitz
SECRETARY

Peter G. Kelly
TREASURER

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

David L. Aaron

Harriet C. Babbitt

Elizabeth Frawley Bagley

James B. Booe

John C. Culver

John P. Dunfee

Thomas F. Eagleton

Geraldine A. Ferraro

Maurice Ferré

Marifé Hernández

Geri M. Joseph

John T. Joyce

Jan Kalicki

Penn Kemble

Paul G. Kirk, Jr.

Elliott F. Kulick

John Lewis

Leon Lynch

Lewis Manilow

Kenneth F. Melley

Julius Michaelson

Stuart G. Moldaw

Mark A. Siegel

Michael R. Steed

Maurice Tempelsman

William G. Thomas

Esteban E. Torres

Mark S. Weiner

Marvin F. Weissberg

Charles T. Manatt
CHAIRMAN EMERITUS

SENIOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD

Michael D. Barnes

John Brademas

Bill Bradley

Richard F. Celeste

Mario M. Cuomo

Richard N. Gardner

Madeleine M. Kunin

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Edmund S. Muskie

Charles S. Robb

Stephen J. Solarz

Cyrus R. Vance

Anne Wexler

Andrew J. Young

Kenneth D. Wollack
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Patricia J. Keefer
SENIOR CONSULTANT



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW • Suite 605

Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 328-3136

Telex 5106015068 NDIIA • Fax (202) 328-3144

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
WASHINGTON, DC
PERMIT NO. 780