



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

NDI REPORTS

NDI to Host Foreign Visitors at Democratic Convention



NDI will host the International Visitors Program at the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, Georgia, from July 15-22. Three hundred political and government leaders from nearly 100 countries will participate in a week-long Convention program that will analyze the U.S. election process and foreign policy issues.

The Democratic National Committee (DNC) has traditionally provided an opportunity for foreign dignitaries to observe its national convention and, this year, NDI was asked by DNC Chairman Paul Kirk to host the foreign delegation. Recognizing the unique opportunity the Convention provides for sharing America's democratic heritage with the international community, NDI's program will facilitate the sharing of experiences in democratic practices and development.

The International Visitors Program includes a day and a half symposium entitled "The Democratic Party 1988: Politics and Policy" at the Carter Presidential Center and the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center. An International Visitor's Lounge will be provided at the centrally located World Congress Center where daily briefings will be held on the Convention.

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Women's Leadership Institute Inaugurated

Political leaders from seven countries announced the establishment of an international institute to enhance the role of women in politics and government. NDI agreed to provide a \$50,000 matching grant to the new organization, an outgrowth of NDI's Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus for Women Political Leaders held in San Francisco last year.

Announcement of the nonpartisan International Institute for Women's Political Leadership (IIWPL) was made at a forum in March at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Geraldine Ferraro, the Institute's president, said the organization would strengthen democratic institutions by promoting greater participation for women. "We want to offer practical and educational assistance to women entering civic and political life," she said.

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**Members of the Board of Directors
Inaugurate the International Institute for
Women's Political Leadership.**

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

TUNISIA'S ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

An NDI survey team visited Tunis last January in the wake of the November retirement of Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba and the new government's commitment to political liberalization. NDI President Brian Atwood and Program Officer Sue Grabowski consulted with senior party leaders and government officials, who expressed interest in a program on democratic transition.

After Bourguiba was replaced by Prime Minister Zine al Abidine ben Ali, the new president immediately proposed a "new era" in which political life would be organized in a multi-party system. His inaugural address called for political and economic liberalization, including party reforms and a de-bureaucratization effort.

Leaders of the ruling Destourian Socialist Party (PSD) and the major opposi-

tion party, the Movement of Social Democrats (MDS), endorsed the call for a more open, democratic system. In a meeting with Atwood and Grabowski, Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche said he would welcome intra-party competition and recognized the need for greater freedom of expression. He also welcomed an NDI proposal for a regional seminar involving party leaders from Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Spain,



(l to r) U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia Robert Pelletreau and NDI President Brian Atwood meet with Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche (right).

France and Italy to examine multi-party systems and the role of political parties in a democracy. The seminar would be cosponsored by the PSD and possibly by NDI's counterpart, the National Republican Institute for International Affairs.



Members of the Board of Directors of the IIWPL confer during planning session. (l to r) Astrid N. Heiberg, Maria Rosa de Martini, Phyllis Kaminsky and Sue Wood.

URUGUAYAN POLITICAL LEADER DIES AT 69

It was with great sorrow that NDI learned of the death in March of Wilson Ferreira Aldunate, leader of Uruguay's largest opposition party. A longtime friend of NDI's, Ferreira participated last year in the Institute's conference on legislative and constitutional reform held in Buenos Aires.

Ferreira was well-known in Washington, where he worked tirelessly to combat human and political rights violations committed in Uruguay during nearly 13 years of military rule. Friends and political foes alike credit Ferreira with having played a key role in Uruguay's return to democratic rule in 1985. In expressing his condolences to the Ferreira family, NDI chairman Walter Mondale said the international community "mourned the irreparable loss of one of democracy's truest advocates."

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP continued from page 1

Joining Ferraro at the Kennedy School forum were seven other members of the IIWPL board of directors. They are: Victoria Garron de Doryan, second vice president, Costa Rica; Astrid N. Heiberg, member of parliament, Norway; Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, former minister of finance, Liberia; Phyllis Kaminsky, director, U.N. Information Centre in Washington, DC; Maria Rosa de Martini, president of Conciencia, Argen-

tina; Carmen Saenz de Phillips, former president, National Party, Chile; and Susanne Wood, former president, National Party, New Zealand. Johnson-Sirleaf and Wood were elected treasurer and secretary respectively of the 15-member non-partisan IIWPL Board.

The new Institute, which will be temporarily housed in Washington, DC, will sponsor training seminars on politics and civic education. It will also monitor efforts by political parties and other organizations to integrate women into party and government affairs.

POLL RESULTS FROM CHILE

More than 60 congressional staff and members of the foreign policy community attended an NDI-sponsored luncheon on Capitol Hill in March to discuss recent public opinion polls in Chile.

Angel Flisfisch and Mauricio Culagovski of the Santiago research institute Flasco, analyzed their institute's November poll that showed 21 percent support for President Augusto Pinochet. Pollster Peter Hart, who served as an advisor to the survey, and media consultant Frank Greer offered their assessment of the Flasco poll and its implications for the presidential plebiscite to be held later this year.

Under Chile's 1980 Constitution, vot-

The plebiscite can provide an opportunity for the Chilean people to vote for free elections and a return to democracy.

ers will be asked in the plebiscite to approve or reject a candidate selected by the four-man military junta. If the candidate, expected to be Pinochet, wins, he would serve an eight-year term. If defeated, Pinochet would remain in power for an additional year, at which time open elections would be held.

Chile's Campaign for Free Elections, a coalition of democratic political parties, labor unions and civic organizations, launched a national voter registration drive last fall. NDI sent a delegation of technical specialists from six countries to participate in a conference at the outset of the registration campaign. Supporters of the Campaign say that the plebiscite can provide an opportunity for the Chilean people to vote for free elections and a return to democracy.

Since the conference, a spurt in voter registration has allayed the Campaign's concern that it would not reach its goal of 6.5 million registrants out of 8.2 million eligible voters. As of April, about five million Chileans had registered to vote.

LOCAL OFFICIALS JOIN NORTHERN IRELAND TRAINING PROGRAM

NDI and Northern Ireland's Social Democratic Group—the political development institute affiliated with the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)—sponsored the first of seven regional seminars for city council members and party activists. The seminars are a continuation of NDI's program in Northern Ireland to broaden the base of participation in a non-violent political process.

More than 20 councillors and party leaders from the Newry/Mourne area, south of Belfast, attended the two-day session in February. The training program was led by Democratic Party media consultant Jill Buckley and Jim Houlihan, a former Illinois state legislator who heads a Chicago-based government-relations firm.

The seminar focused on communication techniques for local elected officials and methods for improving con-

stituent services. Participants were videotaped in mock press interviews and critiqued by Buckley, Houlihan and council colleagues.

The seminar sessions also explored ways to effectively publicize the SDLP's message and recruit party members. "It

The seminar focused on communication techniques for local elected officials and methods for improving constituent services.

was an intensive two days," said Buckley. "Jim [Houlihan] and I were gratified by the enthusiasm of the participants and their willingness to work as a group to deliver a cohesive thematic message."



Vivian Derryck accompanies former President Jimmy Carter and former Belize Prime Minister George Price on an NDI-sponsored visit to Haiti last October.

DERRYCK LEAVES NDI

Vivian Derryck, our vice president for programs since 1984, left NDI in January to assume the directorship of the Washington International Center at Meridian House.

The legacy Vivian leaves is extensive and represents the essence of NDI's work. It was her idea to bring the world's most powerful women leaders together to promote women's leadership roles in politics. She understood that democracies cannot be fulfilled without greater involvement by women in representative government. She worked tirelessly for two years toward the success of a democratic transition in Haiti. She directed NDI projects in such places as Senegal, Botswana, Brazil, Argentina and Korea.

In every country she visited, Vivian Derryck made friends and admirers. NDI, the Democratic Party and the United States could not have had a better representative. What Vivian gave NDI cannot be replaced and that is why we will continue to work with her as a consultant. Vivian will no longer carry her previous title, but she will continue to project NDI's reputation—after all, she helped to create it.

PARAGUAY: PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE



NDI Director for Latin American Programs Martin Edwin Andersen (right) with (l to r) Colorado party dissident leader Carlos Romero Pereira, U.S. Ambassador to Paraguay, Clyde Taylor, and Argentine journalist Carlos Torrengo.

In the midst of national elections marred by violence, an NDI survey mission visited Paraguay to explore possible democratic development programs.

On February 14, Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, second only to North Korea's Kim Il Sung as the world's longest reigning dictator, was re-elected with nearly 90 percent of the vote. Opposition political parties and independent observers charged massive fraud.

Last year, Stroessner's Colorado Party split over the issue of presidential succession. In January, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration reopened its office in Asuncion, following repeated allegations of involvement of high-level government officials in narcotics smuggling. Concern over Paraguay's future has also been heightened by the landlocked South American nation's lack of a tradition of democratic rule.

During their survey trip, Martin Edwin Andersen, NDI's director for Latin America and Caribbean Programs, and consultant Jo Marie Griesgraber found broad support for an NDI project in Paraguay.

During extensive talks with political and civic leaders, NDI was asked to support the establishment of a nonpartisan institute in Asuncion to promote civic education and political development.

In mid-March, NDI invited Aldo Zuccolillo, the publisher of the prestigious daily newspaper *ABC Color*, to visit Washington to discuss the project and the process of democratic transition in Paraguay. March 22 marked the fourth anniversary of the "indefinite" closing of *ABC Color* by the Stroessner regime.

During his four-day visit, Zuccolillo exchanged ideas with NDI on specific programs to be promoted by the new institute. He also met with members of Congress and congressional staff, testified before the Organization of American States, and was hosted at a breakfast meeting by the Carnegie Endowment and the Inter-American Dialogue. ●



NDI TO PUBLISH STUDY ON PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

NDI delegates (l to r) Karen Clark, Curt Wiley, and Larry Garber discuss January 18 local elections with COMELEC Chairman Ramon Felipe.

An NDI technical team visited the Philippines last January to observe local elections and complete a study on the country's successful experience in election reform in the post-Marcos era.

The NDI study encompasses observation of all electoral exercises since the 1986 "snap" Aquino-Marcos election, including the 1987 constitutional plebiscite, the May 1987 congressional elections and the January 1988 local elections. The next elections are not slated until 1992.

The January delegation included Larry Garber, NDI's senior consultant for electoral processes; Elaine Shocas, counsel to the Democratic National Committee and the American Federation of Teachers; Deputy Secretary of Transportation for the State of Michigan and former NDI Development Director Curt Wiley; and NDI Program Officer Karen Clark.

Prior to the election, the group members held a series of meetings with officials of the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) and the National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). They observed campaign and election day activities in four provinces and the Manila metropolitan area.

The delegation found the election to be well administered, although the slow counting process remains a problem. The group noted that NAMFREL's nonpartisan poll-watching activities had decreased markedly from previous elections, but that candidates and political parties actively fielded observers to fill the gap.

The delegation's findings will be incorporated into the study, which NDI will publish this summer. The Philippine experience in electoral reform, management and monitoring is of keen interest to other countries seeking to strengthen their electoral systems. ●

By J. Brian Atwood

NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale and I recently visited Tokyo to seek the support of Japanese political parties in the effort to promote democracy in Asia. Japan's democratic system has long stood as a rejoinder to those who argue that highly structured Asian societies are not conducive to pluralism.

Japan's system was imposed on it by a victorious army. Nevertheless, it is today seen as a product of the country's history and culture.

In the ornate central hall of the National Diet—Japan's parliament—bronze statues honor three turn-of-the-century statesmen who "contributed to the foundation of the Japanese parliamentary system." It is said that these three brought democratic ideas from other countries and planted the seeds of parliamentary democracy. While a full-fledged democratic system did not emerge until after World War II, it is revealing that the Japanese like to see its origins in pre-war history.

A nation's budgetary process is often a reflection of its democracy and Japan's system was on full display during our visit. The smallest line item was subjected to open and intense scrutiny by the upper house's budget committee as the entire Japanese cabinet made itself available for eight straight legislative days to answer any and all questions.

The seating arrangement for the committee sessions was symbolically important and different from the American congressional hearing room. Our members

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of Congress are seated above Executive Branch witnesses; not so in the Diet. The only elevated seat is reserved for the chairman who sits on the same side of the room as the Japanese cabinet ministers. These ministers—including the prime minister—sit opposite the 30-member committee, and on the same level. Bureaucrats with bulging notebooks and briefcases ring the room and a press section assures full national coverage of the event.



*The National Diet of Japan's Budget
Committee Room.*

When I entered the room, a member of the opposition Democratic Socialist Party was questioning the government on international student exchange programs. Several times the prime minister himself—Noboru Takeshita, with whom Vice President Mondale and I met later—was called upon to answer questions. An electronic clock kept track of the legislator's allotted time. It was an intense process, conducted with civility but with a sense that a great deal was at stake so as to avoid national embarrassment over any issue.

Japan's democracy, as is true of all democracies, is not perfect. A single party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), dominates the system. The LDP tends to co-opt dissent over issues, expanding its reach to cover a broad ideological spectrum. Still, ideas are debated and amplified by three minority parties and a free press. Inter-party competition within the LDP's five competing factions is vigorous. The system works because it is open and consistent with the consensus-oriented Japanese decision-making process.

NDI believes that Japan has much to offer as a model in Asia. Democratic trends are strong in the region, and Japan's experiences are highly relevant as societies such as Korea and the Philippines struggle to consolidate their systems. We presented a proposal to the LDP for a jointly-sponsored conference of Asian party leaders and our suggestion was warmly received. Japan, which has projected its economic power internationally, may now be ready to share its experience with a democratic political system that has produced stability and prosperity.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS IN TAIWAN AND KOREA



National Assembly member Chou Ching-yu welcomes NDI delegation to a meeting of the DPP's Assembly Caucus.

Nieb Wen-ya, President of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan, greets NDI delegation members Burton Sheppard and Ken Melley. Also pictured is Foreign Ministry official Jonna Chen.



A debate over political reforms in Taiwan and a presidential election in Korea formed the backdrop of an NDI survey mission to Asia last December. The delegation observed the progress of democratic transition and assessed the prospects for future NDI political development programs.

In Taiwan, leading government officials, scholars and representatives of the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) party and the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) met with NDI Board member Ken Melley, President Brian Atwood, DNC representative Burton Sheppard and NDI Program Officer Karen Clark.

The delegation commended representatives of both parties for a series of reforms instituted since NDI's last visit in August 1986. These included the lifting of martial law, the release of political prisoners, the formation of the opposition DPP, and the passage of more liberal press laws. In addition, the leadership of the Legislative Yuan (parliament) has encouraged more debate and interaction between the political parties.

The political debate in Taiwan has now focused on proposals to permit the organization of new political parties, regulate public demonstrations and reorganize directly-elected legislative bodies.

While there is continuing debate about the substance and pace of future reforms, most politicians agree that the trend toward full democracy is well underway. The NDI delegation was confident that the reform legislation would progress.

The Korean Vote

The delegation arrived in Seoul as the Korean people prepared to vote in the first direct presidential elections in 16 years. From December 14-17, the group—joined by Acting Program Director Robert Carroll and Ken Hutchi-

son, deputy director of the Asian American Free Labor Institute—met with representatives of the major political parties, academics and election monitoring groups. They also observed the voting at several polling sites on election day.

The delegation observed an intensive campaign for what most foreign observers had predicted would be a close elec-

tion. A definitive judgement on the fairness of the election was beyond the mandate and resources of the delegation. However, the NDI group was able to conclude that the overwhelming participation by the Korean people and its general acceptance of the election results demonstrated a strong desire to see democratization move forward under the new president, Roh Tae Woo. ●

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

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The five-session symposium, to be held Friday and Saturday prior to the Convention, will feature prominent political analysts, campaign advisors, journalists, members of Congress, former Administration officials and foreign policy experts. They will analyze the primary and general election campaign processes and examine the foreign policy, democratization and human rights positions likely to be taken by a Democratic Administration. Former President Jimmy Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale will also participate in the symposium sessions.

Since the entire visitors program will be funded by private tax-deductible donations, NDI's International Host Committee is seeking sponsorship by corporations, foundations, and individuals. Additional information can be obtained by contacting Amy Conroy at the NDI office. ●

Vice President Walter F. Mondale delivering his acceptance speech at the 1984 Democratic National Convention. As NDI Chairman, Mondale will host the International Visitors Program at the 1988 Convention.



COSTA RICAN DEMOCRACY FEATURED AT INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

NDI Chairman Walter Mondale will lead the U.S. delegation to a conference in Costa Rica for the second phase of NDI's series on democracies in regions of crisis.

NDI will convene the conference in San Jose from June 3-5 as part of its effort to understand how some countries have developed and maintained resilient democratic forms of government despite serious external threats and internal pressures. Through the study of these countries, NDI will provide an important base of information for leaders of new democracies who are building the machinery of democratic government.

The Costa Rican seminar will be the second in NDI's multi-regional project. Last year in Israel, NDI initiated the first phase of the program, which examined the institutions and practices that have helped sustain Israeli democracy.

"The Costa Rican experience demonstrates how democratic ideals and practices can be maintained in times of crisis and how democratically oriented societies can rely on certain mechanisms to resolve conflicts peacefully," said NDI President Brian Atwood.

In January, NDI Executive Vice President Kenneth Wollack led a three-person delegation to Costa Rica to discuss details of the conference agenda with Costa Rican government officials, political party and civic leaders, journalists and academics.

Participants will include leaders of the ruling and opposition parties in Costa Rica. President Oscar Arias

The Costa Rican experience demonstrates how democratic ideals and practices can be maintained in times of crisis.

Sanchez will address the opening session of the conference. NDI will also invite party leaders from the other Central American countries to discuss democratization efforts in the region; participants from Israel, Botswana, India and the U.S. will relate and contrast the Costa Rican experience with the demo-

cratic systems in their respective countries. In addition to Mondale, the U.S. delegation will include a bipartisan group of members of Congress, as well as journalists and academics with expertise in Central American affairs. ●

FORUM TO FOCUS ON DEMOCRATIZATION IN PAKISTAN

Following a yearlong study, NDI will hold its first symposium in September to assist the democratic transition in Pakistan. The forum will offer influential Pakistanis of diverse viewpoints the opportunity to examine the role of political parties, the press, the bureaucracy and the military in the transition process.

NDI will also invite political practitioners from Argentina, West Germany, Turkey, Egypt, Japan and Great Britain. This setting will allow the Pakistani participants to compare and contrast their experiences and objectives with experts from other countries.

After the three-day seminar at the Airline House Conference Center in Northern Virginia, the conferees will meet with members of Congress and Administration officials, and visit the national headquarters and local campaign operations of the Democratic and Republican presidential campaigns.

The September conference was the result of three NDI survey missions to Pakistan in 1987. In April, a team assessed the political developments occurring as part of the transition from military to civilian rule. In November, NDI Board member Mark Siegel and Acting Program Director Robert Carroll observed local elections in the Punjab province. And in December, an NDI delegation consulted with Pakistani experts on the participants and agenda for the symposium. In preparing for the September symposium, the NDI survey groups also met with key Pakistani political figures, including President Zia-ul-Haq, Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo and Benazir Bhutto, leader of the opposition Pakistan People's Party.

BRAZILIAN STAFFERS STUDY U.S. SYSTEM

Staff members of the Brazilian Senate travelled to the United States last December to study the role of support staff in state and national legislatures.

The Director of the Assessoria—the centralized staff for the Brazilian Senate—his deputy and the Chief Counsel to the ruling PMDB party had asked NDI and the State University of New York to coordinate their three-week program in New York, California and Washington, DC. The visit was part of the ongoing effort to improve the staff structure of the Brazilian Congress and increase the role of the legislature under the fledgling democracy's new constitution.

The group spent the first week in Albany, New York to examine legislative staffing at the state level. They were

briefed by academics and key representatives of the New York legislature.

In Washington, DC, the group met with congressional staff in the Senate and House, as well as officials in the office of the Secretary of the Senate. Representatives of the Congressional Research Service, the Congressional Budget Office, the General Accounting Office and the Office of Technology Assessment provided a look at the detailed operation of congressional "support agencies."

Following the Washington program, the group spent the final week in Sacramento studying the large and well-organized staffing system of the California legislature.

The December visit was an outgrowth of an NDI-sponsored international seminar last September which explored mechanisms for enhancing legislative oversight of Brazil's federal budget. U.S. participants at the Brasilia seminar had stressed the importance of congressional support staff. ●

INTERNATIONAL VISITORS TO NDI

ROMESH BHANDARI, Foreign Affairs Secretary, Congress (I) Party, India
ERIK BETTERMANN, Deputy National Executive Secretary, Social Democratic Party, West Germany
HILARION CARDOZO, Senate Vice President, Venezuela
HUMAYUN RASHEED CHOUDHURY, Foreign Minister, Bangladesh
BADRUDDOZA CHOWDHURY, Vice Chairman, Nationalist Party; former Deputy Prime Minister, Bangladesh
BYUNG CHUL, Professor, Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, South Korea
ANTONIO COUSINO, Professor of Political Theory, University of Chile, Chile
LOUIS DEJOIE II, Former presidential candidate, Haiti
ANGEL FLISFISCH, Political Scientist, Latin American Center for Social Sciences, Chile
ANDRES FONTANA, Civilian-Military Analyst, Center for State and Social Studies (CEDES), Argentina
RICARDO J. GALARZA, President, Uruguayan Antarctic Institute, Uruguay
JOSE ANTONIO SEGURADO GARCIA, Chief of Cabinet; President, Liberal Party, Spain
AL GRAHAM, Senator, Liberal Party, Canada
FRANCISCO GRANELLA G., Secretary General, Humanist Party, Chile
DENIS HAUGHEY, International Secretary, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Northern Ireland
TOMAS HIRSCH G., Vice President, Humanist Party, Chile
KMAL HOSSAIN, Presidium Member, Awami League; former Foreign Minister, Bangladesh
DOMINGO LAINO, President, Liberal Radical Authentic Party, Paraguay
OTTO GRAF LAMBSDORFF, Member of Parliament, Free Democratic Party, West Germany
GUY LARDEYRET, President, Foundation for Democracy, France
MA YING-JEOU, Deputy Secretary General, Kuomintang, Taiwan
ENRIQUE NUNEZ, Member of Congress, Democratic Action Party, Venezuela
ROMEO PEREZ, Academic Director, Latin American Center for Economic Studies, Uruguay
CARLOS SEPULVEDA VALLE, State Representative, Guadalajara, Mexico
YOLANDA DE VARGAS, National Election Tribunal, Honduras
SALUD HERNANDEZ-MORA ZAPATA, President, Liberal Party, Spain
ALDO ZUCCOLILLO, Publisher, *ABC Color*, Paraguay

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