

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

Haiti Party-Building Seminar Convened During Political Crisis

While Haiti's provisional government was facing the greatest challenge to its 16-month old rule, NDI sponsored its second democratic development seminar for leaders of the country's major democratic political parties. The three-day workshop, entitled "Party Building in a Transitional Democracy," began on June 24 in Port-au-Prince just two days after the three-member provisional government (CNG) issued a highly controversial electoral law decree.

At issue was whether an independent Provisional Electoral Council (CEP), a concept conceived at an NDI seminar last year and later embodied in the new Haitian constitution, or the provisional government itself would manage the upcoming local, legislative and presidential elections. The CNG decree, which left little power to the Electoral Council, sparked widespread protest.

The NDI seminar initially provided a timely forum for the 30 leaders from 16 political parties to exchange views on the decree and how best to respond to it. While party leaders offered differing views on how to resolve the crisis, they agreed that the organization and maintenance of viable parties was essential to the successful democratic transition in Haiti. "When one speaks of democracy, one must speak of political parties," said one Haitian participant.

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> > HAITIAN PARTY LEADER

The seminar then turned to the technical elements of party building with international experts making presentations on various aspects of political party and election organization. Afterwards, discussion centered on how this information might be applied in Haiti.

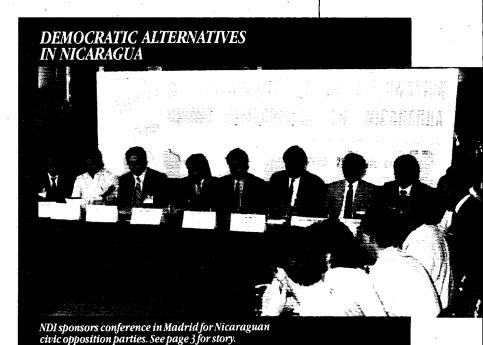
The workshop addressed such issues as internal party structure and the importance of communication between party leaders and followers, the role of parties in civic education, fundraising, and pollwatching and other election monitoring activities.

International participants included Billie Miller, Senate Leader of the Barbados Labour Party; David Collenette, Secretary General of Canada's Liberal Party; Juan Manuel Garcia-Passalacqua, a professor of law and political analyst from Puerto Rico; and, from the U.S., Gracia Hillman, Executive Director of the National Coalition of Black Voter Participation; Thomas King, Jr., a partner in the media and political consulting firm of Fenn and King Communications; Stephen Horblitt; Legislative Director to Congressman Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.); Al Raby, Director of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations and former campaign manager for Mayor Harold Washington; and NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack and Vice President for Programs Vivian Lowery Derryck.

Local elections, originally set for July 26, have been postponed due to the dispute over the electoral decree and to continuing general strikes and demonstrations. The CNG has since rescinded its decree, and as soon as the electoral law debate has been resolved, the municipal elections will be rescheduled. Elections for the legislature and presidency have been announced for November 29.

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A NEW LOOK

NDI Reports, formerly The International Democrat, has a new name and look. We hope you share our enthusiasm for the modern design and format and find the newsletter more readable.

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

URUGUAY: POLLING AND CIVIC EDUCATION

In early June, NDI and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRIIA) completed a national public opinion polling project in Uruguay in cooperation with the country's two major political parties, the Colorados and the Nationalistas (Blancos).

NDI and NRIIA commissioned the services of the U.S. polling firms of Information Associates, Inc. and Brockbank and Associates to oversee the survey and conduct training seminars. As a result of the joint NDI/NRIIA project, the two Uruguayan parties have now developed the capability to conduct all phases of a national poll, from the formulation of the questionnaire, to the oversight of the field team and analysis of the data results.

The project, however, accomplished more than the transfer of sophisticated research technology. The information gleaned from the first-ever nationwide survey of political attitudes will enable the two political parties to launch civic education programs to help strengthen the country's fledgling democracy.

"The polling project was a unique opportunity for the political leaders of Uruguay to assess the attitudes of the citizenry," said Mark Mellman of Information Associates. "The results will help the two political parties become more representative of the Uruguayan people." Mellman and partner Ed Lazarus, during seven days of intensive training in Montevideo, were able to share their expertise as Democratic pollsters in the United States.

"The poll results will help the two political parties become more representative of the Uruguayan people."

MARK MELLMAN U.S. Pollster

Uruguay returned to civilian rule in 1985 after 12 years of military government during which political party activity was banned, labor unions were dissolved, the press was censored and human rights abuses were commonplace. Leaders of the Blanco and Colorado parties had expressed their concern to NDI that the generation educated during the military regime may have been unable to acquire deeply-rooted democratic principles and that other sectors of society may have been adversely affected by the military experience. The NDI/NRIIA poll will provide a scientific basis for preparing subsequent civic education programs. By enlisting the two major parties in a program of mutual



Trained polister conducts interview as part of NDI/ NRIIA polling project in Uruguay.

cooperation, the project also served to strengthen Uruguay's democratic center.

NDI is continuing discussions with the SEPES and CELADU institutes of the Colorado and National parties to identify potential follow-on projects. These include further assistance to improve the parties' capabilities to use polling techniques in formulating party strategy, and civic education projects for youth, labor and women.

NDI DELEGATION VISITS SOUTH KOREA

IN MEMORIAM

NDI was saddened to learn of the death on June 1 of Errol Barrow, the prime minister of Barbados. Barrow was a close friend of NDI and his death is a loss to democrats everywhere. He served his country for many years, as a member of parliament since 1958, and as prime minister from 1961-1976 and from May, 1986 until his death.

Barrow was a host and active participant at NDI's July, 1985 Conference on Democracy in the English-speaking Caribbean. He also served as a prominent member of last year's presidential election observer team in the Philippines.

Following the surprise June 29 announcement by Roh Tae Woo, Chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP), proposing sweeping constitutional changes, an NDI survey team visited Seoul to reassess the Institute's democratic development program in South Korea.

The delegation was led by Board member Lewis Manilow who was accompanied by Vice President for Programs Vivian Derryck and Deputy Program Director Robert Carroll. The group met with senior government and military officials, opposition leaders, and representatives of student groups, the clergy and nongovernmental organizations.

NDI had sponsored a five-day workshop last year for 18 senior officials of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP), 12 of whom served in the National Assembly Preparations were underway for a follow-on international conference with both opposition and ruling party representatives when a series of dramatic events from April to June forced

postponement and reevaluation of the NDI program. Events included the break-up of the NKDP and the subsequent formation of the Reunification Democratic Party, major demonstrations against the DJP-led regime and, finally, acceptance by Roh and President Chun Doo Hwan of the opposition's demand for direct presidential elections now tentatively scheduled for December.

During this period, NDI President Brian Atwood testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the democratization process in South Korea and the Institute consulted in Washington-with senior officials of both parties.

After consultation with government and opposition political leaders during its visit, the NDI survey team recommended options for future Institute projects, which will be considered by the Board of Directors. NDI will pursue a neutral position, respecting the right of Koreans to choose their government without outside influence.

THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATS NEED HELP

NDI, in conjuction with the Liberal International and Spain's Foundation for Liberty and Progress, sponsored an international seminar in Madrid, from July 21-24. Ten delegates from the principal Nicaraguan opposition parties discussed democratic alternatives in Nicaragua. The conference produced "The Declaration of Madrid", the subject of an August 3 **New York Times** Op-Ed piece by NDI President Brian Atwood. His article is reprinted below.

 $m{T}$ he debate about assisting the Nicaraguan contras will soon begin again. Let's hope that this time, in contrast to so much of the past debate, the policy options are broadened beyond a simple choice between the contra and Sandinista

At a conference on democratic alternatives in Nicaragua, held late last month in Madrid, a third force demanded to be heard — the Nicaraguan opposition that is seeking democratic change from within.

In a joint declaration, leaders of seven opposition political parties-from conservatives to, ironically, a small Eurocommunist-type party—called the effort to reduce their country's problem to a dialogue between contras and Sandinistas "a deplorable tactic" that "constitutes a very serious obstacle to a peaceful solution".

These parties, all in the forefront in the ouster of the former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle, set forth a list of grievances against the Sandinistas. They asked the international community to support their demands for "authentic political democracy." They agreed to work together to bring pressure on the Sandinistas by peaceful means from inside the country. The achievement of democratic reform is, in their view, the surest path to peace and reconciliation.

These parties claim that collectively they represent up to 80 percent of the Nicaraguan populace. It is clear that their

"their united front raises serious questions about the legitimacy of the Sandinista regime."

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The emergence of a credible democratic opposition complicates the Sandinistas' efforts to gain international sympathy as the aggrieved victim of U.S. aggression.

The Sandinistas have had some considerable success in this effort and have cultivated a moderate image in Latin America and Europe. But in Madrid, the opposition parties openly ridiculed this portrait, calling the regime a "Bonapartist" dictator-



European and American participants moderate session at conference on ^aDeveloping a Democratic Alternative in Nicaragua." From left to right: Manuel Dias Loureiro, Secretary General, Social Democratic Party, Portugal; Javier Ruperez, President, Popular Democratic Party, Spain; Giovanni Malagodi President, Liberal International; Antonio Garrigues Walker, President, Foundation for Liberty and Progress, Spain; and Brian Atwood, President, NDI.

ship, less concerned with ideology than with consolidating power through repres-

The opposition leaders do not want to eliminate the Sandinistas as a political party; they simply want them to behave like one.

The private views of these leaders toward the contras vary, but most seem to agree that the Sandinistas helped create the armed opposition by their adoption of repressive tactics, even, in the words of one leader, "before the Reagan Administration came into office.'

They disagree about whether the contras serve as positive pressure on the Sandinistas or as a consolidating force. But the opposition leaders are all convinced that a negotiated end to the conflict must be found and that they must be part of that process.

The Nicaraguan opposition will be watching with interest in August when Central American heads of state meet in Guatemala to discuss the peace plan advanced by the Costa Rican President, Oscar Arias Sanchez.

The opposition's Madrid declaration welcomes this initiative, but it also sees the solution as being "the principal responsibility of Nicaraguans." The docu-

ment is also generally critical of "external intervention" of all kinds, particularly the supplying of arms "by some governments" - meaning the U.S. and the Soviet Union-when Central Americans are the "victims".

The development of a strong democratic alternative inside Nicaragua is indispensible. Regional trends are running in favor of democracy and against Cubanstyle communist states.

The romantic notion of a "peoples' state" led by a dashing Fidel Castro character have faded as the gray has crept into Mr. Castro's beard and as his experiment increasingly is seen as an abject failure.

Given these trends, we should not underestimate the ability of these parties to challenge the Sandinistas using peaceful

The democratic opposition inside Nicaragua is a reality that people on both sides of the contra-aid issue have largely ignored. No one knows how effective it can be now that it has committed itself to action and fully understands the many obstacles that block its way.

Still, the opposition's courage and commitment to democratic change deserve our support.

It could be the wave of the future in Nicaragua, like the united democratic forces in the Philippines, South Korea,

and Haiti.

The international community should offer strong support by providing technical assistance, protection and the psychological reinforcement that will enable the opposition to pursue its goals successfully.

ON PROMOTING



SENATOR BILL BRADLEY

"When we support democracy and human rights, our interests and our principles converge."

n our approach to world affairs are we forever trapped in the swings between isolationism and messianism? Is there no compass to guide us in championing democracy for others without revealing ourselves to be hypocrites by what we fail to do at home or by the inconsistency by which we apply our moral criteria abroad?

I believe we can and should support democratic movements that are grounded in respect for human rights and committed to an empowerment of the people. But we must do it in a way that abides by our laws, matches our means and remains consistent with our values.

When we support democracy and human rights, our interests and our principles converge. This is because democracy and political stability go hand in hand. Moreover, democracies seldom fight one another. So when we stand up for freedom, our politics and our morality coincide. That is why we were right to demonstrate our solidarity with Mrs. Aquino and the Filipino people in their quest for a democratic process and why we have a continuing obligation to provide the economic support on which their democratic future depends. And that is also why America's voice must echo the demands of South Korean people for a truly democratic government.

But there is another reason, a reason beyond national interest and American values, for championing democracy. It is a duty that transcends borders and customs. It is the obligation we have as human beings to other human beings. We cannot put our own good as individuals, as groups, as a Nation, ahead of the common good, ahead of the common need for human dignity, for social and economic justice, for the freedom to speak and assemble and worship.

Yet in championing democratic ideals and movements, we must also strike a balance between grand visions of unlimited means and the mundane reality of scarce resoures. . . In the world beyond our borders we must find a middle ground between the noble, but unsustainable, commitment, in John Kennedy's words, "to pay any price, bear any burden . . . to secure access to liberty" and the passive timidity that refuses to use American power anywhere.

Our challenge is to chart that middle course between principle and moralism, between the democratic vision and everyday human reality.

And we will have to accept the limitations on our ability to induce democratic change and shape its course. The wholesale adoption of western constitutional structures may interfere with the development of indigenous democratic institutions that would be more robust and enduring. So we are not talking about remaking the world in America's image. We are talking about identifying, understanding, and working with forces for democratic change. And enriching our own cultural traditions in the process.

This has not often been the American way. We become impatient. We like to

make a big splash and get the job done now. Unlike the left which knows guerilla movements take time or the right which knows official brutality can produce self-censorship, we tend to escalate or lose attention. But now the stakes are too high for that. Too many lives hang in the balance. There is too much repression, too much suffering, too much despair and at the same time too large a strategic opportunity for us not to invest in democracy. But it has to be a long term investment and we have to stick with it even when it isn't paying quarterly dividends.

Our non-governmental sector also has a large role to play. Our citizens have a duty to speak out against cruelty and for justice. The moral obligation to secure human rights rests heavily onour churches, universities, trade unions, business groups, and professional associations. It is government's task to keep human rights high on the national agenda. It is the people's job to tend the flame of protest. Indeed while government sometimes gets caught in the contradiction inherent in an active attempt to enforce human rights in a pluralistic world, individuals and nongovernment groups can promote aggressively human rights without fear of hurting our national interests.

There are certain principles that the U.S. government, as a champion of democracy, simply must observe. We must be absolutely unequivocal in denouncing the overthrow of a popularly elected civilian government that respects freedom of speech and human rights. We must also put away romantic illusions about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our commitment to democracy cannot take second place to an anti-communist ideology or to a pro-communist self-delusion. We must see clearly. Democracy comes first.

If we can help channel the productive energy of the Latin people away from the tyranny of bad laws and toward the empowerment of good law; if we canhelp them develop a system where the. state protects individuals instead of cheating them, harassing them, and exposing them to the greed and blindness of a self-interested political establishment, then we will be unleashing powerful, creative energies. We will be promoting reforms that unite economic freedom and political freedom. Economic growth will boom. For tens of millions of men and women, the promise of democracy becomes a reality.

The following remarks are excerpted from speeches delivered by Senator Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and Representative Stephen J. Solarz (D-NY) to the National Endowment for Democracy "Challenge of Democracy Conference," May 19, 1987.

would like to share with you five conclusions I've reached over the course of more than a decade in Congress about the importance of human rights as a significant element in American foreign policy.

The first conclusion I reach is that while human rights and the need for democracy should be a very important factor in the formulation of American foreign policy, it cannot be the only factor. There are times when the overriding strategic interests of our country necessarily take precedence over the claims of democracy and human rights.

The most persuasive example has to do with the alliance into which we entered in June of 1941 with the Soviet Union following the attack by Nazi Ger-

many against that country. . .

The second conclusion I've reached, however, is that more often than not, the most effective way for us to protect our strategic interests is to promote our political ideals.

I can think, for example, of the Philippines, where we have our most important military facilities anywhere in the world outside of the United States, and where it was clear in the early and mid-1980s that the prospects for the eventual triumph of communism in the Philippines were clearly related to the duration of the Marcos regime. .

It was clear, therefore, that the real alternative to communism in the Philippines was not a continuation of the repression of the Marcos regime, but the establishment of genuine democracy.

And one of the reasons I am confident that ultimately the communists will not prevail in the Philippines is that I know of no country anywhere in the world where a communist revolution has come to power when genuine political pluralism exists, and when people can work for change through peaceful rather than only through violent

The third conclusion I have reached is that when considering how best to promote the cause of democracy and human rights in repressive regimes around the world, we ought to defer to the judgment of the honest men and women in those nations who have put their lives, their honor, and their sacred fortunes on the line for democracy.

I support sanctions against South Africa because most of the major black and colored leaders in that country support it.

REPRESENTATIVE STEPHEN SOLARZ

"the most effective way for us to protect our strategic interests is to promote our political ideals."



If they were against it on the grounds that it hurt their people more than it helped them, I would be against it, too.

Similarly, in Poland, in 1981, when the Jaruzelski regime cracked down against Solidarity and established martial law when [Lech] Walesa [and] the Catholic Church called upon the Western world and the United States to impose sanctions against their government, I thought we had an obligation to do

The fourth conclusion I have come to is that it is very important, if we're going to sustain support among the American people for a foreign policy in which human rights is a significant component, that we apply the policy as consistently as is possible under the circum-

We need to speak out against tyrannies of the left, just as we need to criticize repressive regimes on the right.

If we are going to denounce torture in Chile, then we also need to condemn torture in Cuba. If we're going to denounce the establishment of martial law in Poland, then we need also to criticize the establishment of martial law in countries like Pakistan.

And, finally, let me respond to those who would argue that efforts on the part of the United States to foster and to facilitate democracy in countries around the world constitutes an interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

I asked the leader of the Christian Democratic Party of Panama how he felt about that criticism. And I thought his answer was a very persuasive one.

He said, "In a country which is already democratic, where people have the right to participate in a determination of their own destiny, then such [efforts] clearly would be an interference in the internal affairs of the nation. And it would rightly be rejected by the people as well as the government. But, in a nation like Panama, in which democracy does not exist and in which the people do not have a right to participate in the determination of their own destiny, then such [efforts are] seen by the people of that country not as an interference in their internal affairs, but as an expression of solidarity with their deepest and most fundamental aspira-

And I think that underscores that we do not need to be embarrassed about the United States unashamedly proclaiming the virtues of political pluralism and democracy and working for it around the world.

The Soviets do not hesitate to proclaim the virtues of their bankrupt ideology. I think we ought not to refrain from proclaiming the virtues of a democratic ideology, which is becoming more and more attractive to more and more people around the world.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION DRAWS LESSONS FROM PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

Election observers Andres Allamand from Cbile and Jean-Claude Roy from Haiti learn about experimental voter registration equipment in the Pbilippines.

MEMBERS OF THE OBSERVER/STUDY DELEGATION

Bangladesh: Hasna Moudud, Member-of Parliament, Jatiya Party

Canada: Al Graham, Member of the Senate, Liberal Party

Chile: Andres Allamand, Vice President of the Renewal Party; Jose Miguel Barros, former Ambassador to the U.S. and Board Member of the Movement for Free Elections; Carlos Figueroa, former Minister of Finance, Christian Democratic Party; and Heraldo Munoz, Member of the Political Commission and former Secretary for International Relations, Socialist Party

Hatti: Leopold Berlanger, Director of the Haitian Institute for Research and Development, and Jean-Claude Roy, businessman

Northern Ireland: Denis Haughey, International Secretary of the Social Democratic and Labour Party

Pakistan: Abida Hussain, *Member of*Parliament, *Independent Party*; and Nabi Dad
Khan, *Deputy Secretary General of the Pakistan*People's Party

Panama: Aurelio Barria, Jr., President of the Chamber of Commerce; Luis Carlos Chen, Member of the Election Tribunal; and Father Fernando Guardia, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Panama

Paraguay: Victor Baez, Chairman of the Bank Workers Union

South Korea: Hong Sa Duk, Member of the National Assembly, Reunification Democratic Party

Taiwan: Chien Yu-chien, Member of Legislative Yuan, Kuomintang, and Hong Chi-chang, Member of National Assembly, Democratic Progressive Party

United States: Glenn Cowan, political consultant; Jean Dunn, Deputy Chair of the DNC; Larry Garber, Acting Director of the International Human Rights Law Group; Elaine Shocas, counsel to the DNC and the American Federation of Teachers; and Ken Wollack, NDI Executive Vice President



Twenty four political party and civic leaders from 11 countries visited the Philippines to observe the May 11 congressional elections and to learn from the country's recent experiences in election reform and administration.

Members of the observer delegation, sponsored by NDI and led by Canadian Senator Al Graham, came primarily from countries which are seeking to create or strengthen their electoral systems. "One of the most interesting parts of the entire program was a forum on our final day, when delegation members reflected on the relevance of their observations to the situation in their respective countries," Graham said in a June 22 speech on the floor of the Canadian Senate. "Without exception, they stressed the value of lessons learned, and individually they spoke positively of-how these lessons could be put to practical use in their own coun-

Delegation members were particularly impressed by the government-funded but independent electoral commission, comprehensive voter registration drives, safeguards against multiple voting, and the technical aspects of the independent computerized vote tabulation — "Operation Quick Count" — employed by the National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL), the 300,000 member volunteer pollwatching organization which has monitored the election process since 1984.

In addition to observing the election and counting process in three provinces and the Metro Manila area, the delegation was briefed by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC), government officials, congressional candidates, and members of NAMFREL. They also met with prominent journalists, and representatives of the Catholic Church, the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the University of the Philippines. On the final day of the mission, the group was received by President Corazon Aquino.

Delegates commended the thousands of teachers who were commissioned by COMELEC to conduct the balloting and counting which, at the precinct level, lasted more than 24 hours. They also praised COMELEC's commitment to hold free and fair elections, although observers noted several technical inefficiencies.

From an institutional perspective, several delegation members stated that the concept of an independent electoral commission and reliance on civil servants to

"delegation members spoke positively of how lessons could be put to practical use in their own countries."

> AL GRAHAM Delegation Leader

administer the election could improve the electoral systems in their respective countries. Also, the cooperation between COMELEC and NAMFREL was viewed as a contributing factor to what was generally a peaceful and orderly election process.

Perhaps the most lasting impression was left by NAMFREL, which received accolades from everyone in the group for its training, organization, professionalism, and commitment to uphold the integrity of the election process. Members of the delegation were eager to learn the techniques NAMFREL used to instill the civic awareness — especially among youth — and to mobilize and sustain such a massive monitoring effort. As a result of the mission, efforts to form similar pollwatching groups are underway in Chile, Haiti, and Panama.

NDI VISITS CHILE

NDI sent a team of experts to Chile in July to analyze the election law and voter registration procedures as the country moves toward a national plebiscite that will confirm or veto the four-man military junta's presidential nominee for an eight year term.

A TRIBUTE

During this past summer, two friends of NDI were murdered and another hides from a warrant for his arrest. All three have made major contributions to the democratization process in their respective countries and NDI pays tribute to their accomplishments and sacrifices.

Louis Eugene Athis, leader of the Movement of the Liberation of Haiti, was murdered as he prepared to address a political rally on the steps of a church on August I. Athis had participated in two NDI conferences, the most recent in July, and was a tireless advocate for bringing the democratic process to the poor and disadvantaged of Haiti.

Jaime Ferrer, a member of President Corazon Aquino's cabinet, was assasinated on August 2 outside Manila. In 1986, Ferrer, formerly the Chairman of the Commission on Elections, was among the first to call on NDI to form an observer team for the February 1986 "snap" presidential elections.

Aurelio Barria, Jr., president of Panama's Chamber of Commerce, was a member of NDI's observer delegation to the Philippine congressional elections in May. A leader of the National Civic Crusade, a coalition of groups seeking peaceful democratic change, Barria was detained and released in June and has now gone into hiding after a warrant for his arrest was issued in August.

The NDI delegation included Frank Greer, president of Greer and Associates, a Washington-based political consulting firm; William Velasquez, director of the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project; and NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack.

They held extensive meetings with national and local leaders of the Movement for Free Elections, a group of democratic opposition parties, civic organizations, and labor unions and met with officials of the government's Election Service and representatives of the Catholic Church, trade unions, political parties, bar associations, and the media.

The free election movement has begun to prepare for the plebiscite — or, preferably, a multi-candidate election — by registering millions of citizens who will vote to return Chile to democracy. Leaders of the movement have not had the opportunity to participate in this type of organized effort since the military coup l4 years ago. It is estimated that nearly half the elector-

ate has never had the opportunity to vote in a country that was once known for its rich democratic traditions. As of August, only 1.6 million Chileans had registered out of 8.2 million eligible voters.

Under the military governments constitution, the junta must unanimously nominate its presidential choice by December 1988, with the plebesite to be held no later than February 1989. President Augusto Pinochet is widely believed to be running, although all but the Army representative in the junta have expressed a preference for a civilian candidate. If the junta is unable to reach a consensus, a candidate would be proposed by a simple majority of the National Security Council where support for Pinochet is virtually assured.

If the military's candidate loses the plebiscite, Pincochet would remain in power until March 1990, when a competitive election would be held.

NDI EXPLORES SOUTHERN AFRICA INITIATIVES

NDI President Brian Atwood travelled to South Africa and Botswana in August to consult on existing and prospective Institute projects. Botswanan democracy stands in stark contrast to the turmoil in the Southern Africa region. It plays an important stabilizing role as South Africa's apartheid system begins to yield to the inexorable forces of the majority.

NDI has worked with the political parties of Botswana on a number of projects and hopes to help create a regional institute for democracy in the capital city of Gabarone. The increase in per capita income from \$80 in 1966 to more than \$900 today is but one example of what Botswana's multi-party democracy has produced. The debate among political contestants is vibrant, the free press is dynamic, and the election system reflects the popular will. The system is a model for South Africa and the entire continent.

Atwood met with President Masire, cabinet ministers, and leaders of the opposition parties. They affirmed their desire to work with NDI to help foster democracy in the region.

HARRIMAN AWARD DINNER SET FOR NOVEMBER

NDI's third annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award will be presented on November 10 at a Washington, D.C. dinner chaired by Pamela Harriman, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, and IBM Chairman Emeritus Thomas Watson, Jr.

The 1987 recipients of the award will be announced on September 16 at a congressional reception hosted by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante Fascell.

The NDI award is given each year to individuals who have made a significant contribution to the promotion of democratic practices and human rights. The first recipient was John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party. Last year, the Institute awarded former Senator Thomas Eagleton of Missouri.

In South Africa, Atwood visited with leaders of the United Democratic Front, a coalition of forces inside the country seeking majority rule and a non-racial society. He visited the black township of Soweto, and also met with one of the Afrikaner businessmen who recently met with members of the African National Congress in Dakar, Senegal.

INTERNATIONAL VISITORS TO NDI

LUIS ALBERTO, President, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Brazil

RICARDO AMIEL, Secretary General, Popular Christian Party, Peru

SERGIO BITAR, Editor of Fortin, Chile

EDGARDO BOENINGER, Director, Center for Development Studies, Chile

ANTONIO CAMARA, Speaker of the House, Ceara, Brazil

CARLOS MANUEL CASTILLO, former Vice President, Costa Rica

WILLIE COACHES, Member of Parliament, Christian Democratic Party, Panama

DAVID M. COLLENETTE, Secretary General, Liberal Party, Canada

MARIA ROSA DE MARTINI, President of Conciencia, Argentina

DAVID FREILICH, Director for North American Affairs, Labor Party, Israel

CHRISTOPHER GOTANCO, Executive Director, Evelio B. Javier Foundation, Philippines

TAHIX HANFI, Pakistan National Assembly Research-Center, Pakistan

PETER JANKOWITSCH, Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, Austrian Parliament,

Austria MONICA JIMENEZ, Executive Board Member, Voter Education Program, Latin American Institute of Doctrine and Social Studies, Chile

ELLEN JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Former Minister of Finance, Liberia

THOMAS KROPP, First Vice President, European Young Christian Democrats, Belgium

CHUAN LEEKPAI, Speaker, House of Representatives, Thailand

DILTON LYRIO, President, State of Espirito Santo, Legislative Assembly, Brazil

MAURICO MOLANO, New Liberalism Party, Columbia

SERGIO MOLINA, Coordinator for National Accord and Movement for Free Elections,

LUIZ ALBERTO MARTINS DE OLIVEIRA, President, Interstate Union of Parliamentarians, Brazil

CHO HONG RAE, Assemblyman, Reunification Democratic Party, Republic of Korea PAUL M. RANTAO, Mayor of Gaborone, Botswana

LUIS AND PATRICIA SISON, National Coordinators for NAMFREL, Philippines

LOURIVAL ZAGONEL DOS SANTOS, National Association for the Development of Legislative Activities, Brazil

ANDRES ZUNIGA, President, Liberal Party (PALI), Nicaragua

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