CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN ARGENTINA

NI Chairman Walter Mondale meets Argentine President Raúl Alfonsin at Conf. on Const. Reform in Buenos Aires.

NDI’s ongoing project on constitutional and legislative reform options for Argentina culminated in a major international conference, which took place as the country’s civilian government faced its greatest challenge since the restoration of democracy in 1983.

The April 23-25 gathering in Buenos Aires included political leaders and constitutional scholars from Europe, Latin America and the United States.

Noting the stability-threatening mutiny of some army units, former Vice President Walter Mondale, chairman of NDI and leader of the U.S. delegation, stated that the conference “reaffirmed international solidarity with Argentina’s democracy.”

Speaking about the conference theme, Mondale added “the hope of NDI and our Argentine hosts is that this conference will encourage agreement on constitutional reforms by sharing the experiences of key practitioners and scholars from other democratic nations.”

Argentine President Raúl Alfonsin, who met with conference delegates at his residence, has cited constitutional reform as a major factor in bringing greater stability to Argentina’s democracy.

NDI was asked by the two major parties of Argentina—the Union Cívica Radical and Partido Justicialista—to sponsor this “International Conference on Constitutional Reform”, to help analyze the issues under review and improve public understanding of the options for reform.

Among the panel topics for the three-day conference were Constitutional Reform: Developing an Accord for National Unity; Legislative Organization and Functions; Individual Rights, Social Rights, and Constitutional Guarantees; and strengthening Participation: Constitutional Recognition of the Roles of Political Parties, Non-governmental Organizations, and Civic Associations.

International participants included Uruguayan Vice President Enrique Tarigo and opposition leader Wilson Ferreira; former Venezuelan presidents Rafael Caldera, Luis Herrera Campins, and Carlos Andres Perez; former Costa Rican vice president Carlos Manuel Castillo, and Counselor to the President of France, Michel Charasse. Other prominent political figures and constitutional experts were present from Brazil, Peru, Chile, Spain, Portugal and West Germany. In addition to Mondale, the U.S. delegation included former Senator and NDI Board member Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Abner Mikva, and former Congressman Berkley Bedell (D-IA).

These participants were joined by a counterpart group of 30 leading political figures and scholars from Argentina, drawn from the country’s two major political parties.

NDI’s HAITI PROGRAM FOCUSES ON ELECTORAL PROCESS

Recognizing that a credible electoral process is a prerequisite for a full transition to democracy, NDI has launched a series of technical projects in Haiti as the Western Hemisphere’s poorest country moves toward a democratically-elected civilian government.

Last December, the Institute organized an international team of political party leaders and election experts to analyze Haiti’s electoral process and, in March of this year, co-sponsored a delegation to observe the referendum on the country’s new constitution.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT CAUCUS

NDI hosted the First Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus of Women Political Leaders March 14-15 in San Francisco. It was an outstanding success. Turn to pages 4 and 5 for the story.

The National Democratic Institute was created by the National Endowment for Democracy Act in 1983 to encourage democratic development efforts throughout the world. A non-profit, non-partisan organization, its central purpose is to help individuals and institutions outside the United States become effective participants in democratic systems.
NDI SPONSORS INTERNATIONAL TEAM TO OBSERVE AND STUDY PHILIPPINE ELECTIONS

Delegation leader Senator Al Graham of Canada introduces international observer/study group to President Corazon Aquino. NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack is seated at Aquino’s left.

NDI again sponsored an international observer delegation to a Philippine election. This time, however, the observer mission was designed to learn from the successful Philippine experience in election reform and administration.

The 24-member delegation to the May 11 legislative elections was led by Canadian Senator Al Graham and comprised political party, business, religious, and labor leaders from Bangladesh, Chile, Haiti, Northern Ireland, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, South Korea, and Taiwan.

"We believe that influential advocates of democratic reform in countries seeking to promote or strengthen an electoral process can learn valuable lessons from the Philippines that are relevant to their own political situations," said NDI President Brian Atwood.

Atwood noted that since President Ferdinand Marcos declared a "snap" presidential election in February, 1986, the Philippines government has restructured its commission on elections (COMELEC) and has invested major resources toward the conduct of free and fair elections.

Senator Graham, former President of Canada’s Liberal Party, said, "Last year’s events and President Corazon Aquino's efforts to consolidate the Filipino democracy have provided an important base of information about democratic transitions and an inspiration to advocates of democracy everywhere."

Having organized the international observer delegation to last year's presidential election, NDI has closely followed the democratization process in the Philippines, and, based on comments from participants in programs that the Institute has sponsored in other countries, there is substantial interest in learning from the Philippine experience.

In addition to observing the elections in four provinces of the country, the delegation had extensive briefings with COMELEC and governmental officials, political party leaders, and members of NAMFREL, the volunteer citizens group that successfully monitored last year's "snap" election.

The May 11 elections for the Senate and House of Representatives was the second of three Philippine electoral exercises in 1987. On February 2, a new constitution was overwhelmingly ratified.

Elections for local and provincial offices have been scheduled for August 24.

The decision by NDI to organize the May election observer delegation was based on the recommendation of a technical team that observed the February constitutional plebiscite. The team included Larry Garber, acting director of the International Human Rights Group; Elaine Shocas, Special Counsel to the American Federation of Teachers and the Democratic National Committee; and Curt Wiley, Deputy Secretary of Transportation for the State of Michigan.

Observing that the February electoral process was "well-organized and well-administered," the team said that COMELEC "deserves credit for rebuilding Filipino confidence in the electoral process." The Commission successfully administered a massive registration program to replace the fraudulent voter rolls from 1986, and promulgated several innovative regulations to help ensure a free and fair voting process. The group also pointed to a greatly improved relationship between COMELEC and NAMFREL.

"Last year's events and President Corazon Aquino's efforts to consolidate the Filipino democracy have provided an important base of information about democratic transitions and an inspiration to advocates of democracy everywhere."

Bishop Carino of the Catholic Bishop's Conference meets with members of the NDI delegation (L to R) Al Graham, Canada; Bishop Carino; Jose Miguel Barros, Chile; Leopoldo Berlang, Haiti; Hilda Duk, South Korea; and Father Fernando Guardia, Panama.
DEMOCRACIES IN REGIONS OF CRISIS: THE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE

An NDI-sponsored conference in January explored how Israel has managed to remain a viable and vibrant democracy despite serious external threats and internal pressures. The conference, held near the Dead Sea in Israel from January 8-10, brought together fifty prominent U.S. and Israeli government officials, legislators, emerging democracies. "This time NDI is doing something different," he said. "We are here to study an example of a solid, stable democracy that operates in an environment of crisis. We decided to begin our study in Israel because we believe that she is the classic example of this accomplishment."

(Lef|t to right) Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA), Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, NDI Chairman Walter Mondale, and Congressman Bill Green (R-NY) exchange ideas during NDI's conference held January 8-10 in Israel.

The Israel conference represented the first in a series of NDI projects that will analyze the institutions and practices that have helped to sustain and even strengthen successful democracies in regions of crisis. An inventory of these institutions and practices will be published as a means to assist new or emerging democracies which are building or rebuilding the machinery of democratic government. Later this year, NDI will examine other democracies in crisis regions, such as Costa Rica in Central America and Botswana in southern Africa.

In his opening address to the conference, NDI Chairman Walter F. Mondale, who led the American delegation, said: "For every country that has used an external threat to justify authoritarian rule, there are others that have successfully faced challenges to their security and maintained their commitment to an open political system. . . . What these successful democracies demonstrate is that far from undermining the security of a country, democracy is actually the best guarantor of security."

Mondale said the conference in Israel was unique for NDI in that the Institute has been engaged principally in new or political party and labor leaders, journalists and academicians.

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In addition to Mondale, the U.S. delegation included Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA), Representatives Howard Berman (D-CA) and Bill Green (R-NY), former Ambassador to Israel Sam Lewis, former White House aide Stuart Eizenstat, New York University President John Brademas, veteran news analyst Daniel Schorr, Communications Workers of America Secretary-Treasurer James Booe, Philadelphia Councilwoman Joan Specter, AIPAC Executive Director Tom Dine, Delaware Republican Party Chairman Frank DiMondi, former congressional staff aide Patrick Griffin and Ari Weiss, Jerusalem Post correspondent Wolf Blitzer, University of South Carolina professor Morris Blachman, NDI President Brian Atwood and Executive Vice President Ken Wollack.

Among the 30 Israeli participants were Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, cabinet ministers, members of Knesset (Parliament), senior military officers, as well as prominent journalists and academicians.

Representatives from Costa Rica, which NDI will examine next, also attended the conference. They were: Father Benjamin Nunez, a former ambassador to Israel and the United Nations; and Enrique Carreras, Political Bureau member of the National Liberation Party.

The three-day conference was divided into four workshop sessions, focusing on security, political, economic and social issues. Examining subject areas that have practical relevance to other regions of the world, the conferees discussed safeguards for ensuring effective checks and balances, the relationship between security concerns and the rule of law, rights and responsibilities of a free press, tolerance for diversity, the role of a loyal opposition, crisis management, and civilian control of the military.

"For every country that has used an external threat to justify authoritarian rule, there are others that have successfully faced challenges to their security and maintained their commitment to an open political system."

A number of Israeli participants pointed to the civilian-military relationship as the most striking aspect of Israeli democracy. Asserting that the Israeli military has been a "bulwark of democracy," one academician argued that Israel has defied the conventional wisdom that a democracy cannot survive if it is faced with a situation of protracted military conflict.

Congressman Berman, reflecting the view of many participants, described the program as "tremendous. I've been to many conferences in 14 years in office, and this was the best, in terms of the quality of discussion and the broad cross-section of Israeli society represented."

NDI will soon publish a detailed report based on the conference proceedings. Copies will be available from NDI.
"It was exciting, inspirational, and informative to be with other women political leaders from around the world."
Barbara Mikulski
Senator
United States

"The Caucus was the most important event in which I have taken part. It was a challenge that will make me face in the future the role of woman leader with much more confidence."
Carmen Saenz de Phillips
President, Partido Nacional
Chile

"It was a great opportunity to meet such a dynamic gathering of women who have distinguished themselves in the field of politics, and to share in an understanding and appreciation of the concerns we have in common."
Flora MacDonald
Minister of Communications
Canada

(Left to right) Carmen Saenz de Phillips, President, Partido Nacional, Chile; Mansura Mohiuddin, Member of Parliament, Bangladesh, and Geraldine Ferraro.

Maimouna Kane, Counsellor to the Supreme Court, Senegal (left) and Sophie Ndiaye Cissoko, Deputy, National Assembly, Senegal.

Rose Waihuru, Member of Parliament from Kenya (left) with Dorothy Lightbourne, Senator from Jamaica.


Karin Ahrlund, Member of Parliament from Sweden greeted by Geraldine Ferraro.

Helen Suzman, Member of Parliament, Republic of South Africa.

...TO INCREASE POL

"We are here together in San Francisco to design a global blueprint defining practical ways women can play a greater role in the political life of their countries." That is how NDI Board member Geraldine Ferraro described the purpose of the First Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus of Women Political Leaders in her opening address to more than 100 delegates and observers.

Sponsored by NDI, the three-day conference last March signified the first time an international group of women political leaders had convened to form a strategy by which more women can become involved in politics and government and ascend to leadership positions.

The caucus was hosted by San Francisco's mayor, Dianne Feinstein, and included 62 participants from 38 countries, as well as 50 official observers from the U.S. and abroad.

"This is in every sense a unique forum," said Sue Wood, the former president of the New Zealand National Party. "We are here because of the part we have played or the part we are playing in the role of politics. It is beholden upon us to ensure that this momentary glimpse of the strength and fortitude of women power that we have seen in the last two days is not lost with this caucus."

At the conclusion of the three days of committee meetings and plenary sessions, the participants called for the establishment of an institute for women political leaders that would provide training for women in or entering politics, collect and disseminate information on women's political status, and monitor political parties' progress in promoting women's par-
CALLS FOR GLOBAL BLUEPRINT...
NDI CONDUCTS SYMPOSIUM ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN

Participants in NDI's seminar on political development in Taiwan (left to right), Kang Ning-hsia and Chon Ching-yu meet with Foreign Affairs Committee member Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) and Chairman Dante Fascell (D-FL).

At a time when democratic reform issues are beginning to shape the political debate in Taiwan, NDI hosted a group of political leaders from the island in a symposium to discuss “Political Development in Taiwan.” The program, which took place in Washington February 10-12, included the participation of elected officials and party leaders from Taiwan’s newly formed Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and one prominent independent county magistrate.

The international stigma of 37 years of martial law, the impressive economic development of the last 20 years, and increased educational levels have all contributed to a consensus in Taiwan that the political system must become more open if future leaders are to achieve more legitimacy. In particular, increasing political participation for the island’s native Taiwanese is viewed as central to achieving that legitimacy.

The formation of the Democratic Progressive Party in September 1986 represented the first time opposition forces had attempted to form a party since 1960, when leaders of the opposition movement had been imprisoned for their efforts. This time, however, the government reacted to the new party by announcing its intention to lift martial law and to permit the organization of new political parties in the near future.

Though not yet legally recognized, the DPP made a strong showing in the December 1986 legislative elections. The NDI symposium provided a forum for participants to analyze the experiences of democratic development in other countries and the practices of democratic organization in the U.S. that might be applicable to the process of democratic reform in Taiwan.

In discussions of democratic organization, policy formulation and consensus-building, the participants explored the mechanisms by which political parties and other democratic institutions could more effectively promote democratic change from within. Such mechanisms include an institutional focus on leadership training, developing clear systems of internal accountability, and establishing internal communications as the crucial element in political management. These sessions helped participants identify strategies to make a party structure a model for more systemic democratization. Additionally, the importance of institutional flexibility and responsiveness were stressed as means by which to successfully promote democratic reform.

Additional symposium activities included a luncheon on Capitol Hill with House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante Fascell (D-FL) and Representatives Ben Gilman (R-NY) and Chet Atkins (D-MA); a reception hosted by Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Kirk at which the group was welcomed by Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman Rep. Beryl Anthony (D-AR); and a briefing session for U.S. press and academics hosted by Dr. Selig Harrison at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Members of the delegation also met with Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA) and Administration officials during their visit.

NORTHERN IRELAND

In November, NDI accepted an invitation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) of Northern Ireland to send an observer delegation to the party’s annual conference in New Castle, County Down. The 10 member delegation was led by NDI President Brian Atwood, who presented the SDLP leader with the Institute’s Democracy Award.

In presenting the award, Atwood said, “John Hume has been a constant reasonable voice for peace and constitutional values as the world has looked in bewilderment at the conflict in Northern Ireland.”

In addition to attending the SDLP conference, the delegation members were briefed by Irish and British government officials in Dublin and Belfast. They were brought up-to-date on recent meetings of the Anglo-Irish Conference of Ministers as well as the developments in cross border security, judicial reforms, and the role of the RUC (the Northern Ireland police force) during the summer marching season.

In March, NDI Board member Marvin Weissberg, hosted a briefing session in Washington with the Northern Ireland Minister for State, Nicholas Scott. Scott encouraged NDI to continue its interest in Northern Ireland, asserting that such efforts contributed to stability and reconciliation. He cautioned that the process of reconciliation would be a long and arduous task but that the 1985 Agreement between Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland had established a framework for bringing about an ultimate solution.
SDVY MISSION TO SOUTH ASIA

NDI sent a five-person survey delegation to Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India, April 16-28. The mission, requested by both ruling and opposition parties, examined political development projects for the Institute in the three nations.

During the past year, representatives of the Pakistan and Bangladesh governments as well as opposition political party leaders have visited NDI to encourage assistance with the development of political parties in their respective countries. Both nations have terminated martial law and are in a transition from military to civilian rule.

"We wanted to undertake an objective assessment, without preconceptions or biases, as to possible NDI projects to help Pakistan and Bangladesh further develop their political parties and election systems," said Institute President Brian Atwood. "The delegation will provide a comprehensive report to NDI's Board of Directors on efforts underway in these nations to restore full democracy."

In India, the Institute explored the possibility of holding a symposium on a successful democracy in a region of crisis. India's democracy has been sustained despite constant stress due to regional instability and a very large, heterogeneous population.

The delegation included NDI Board Members Mark Siegel and Elliott Kulick, and Leon Billings, a former executive assistant to Secretary of State Muskie. The delegation was accompanied by NDI senior consultants Patricia Keefer and Patrick O'Malley.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

NDI welcomes four new Board members elected since the December edition of the International Democrat: Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, Congressional consultant to the Center for National Policy; former Senator John Culver (D-IA); former Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-MO); and Congressman John Lewis (D-GA).

HAITI—continued from p. 1

The NDI delegation that visited Haiti in December, comprised of government officials, party leaders and election experts from Canada, Costa Rica, Jamaica, the Philippines and the United States, made a comprehensive analysis of steps being taken by the interim Council of National Government (CNG) to prepare for a series of elections to be held later this year.

The group held meetings with two of the three CNG members — President Henri Namphy and Minister of the Interior Williams Regala — cabinet ministers; political party leaders; representatives of the Catholic and Protestant churches; senior military officers; journalists; and leaders of labor unions, civic organizations and the business community. In order to compile data on the election process on a country-wide scale, the delegation visited four major cities, in addition to the capital.

Members of the December survey mission to Haiti were: Enrique Carreras, member of the Political Bureau of Costa Rica's ruling National Liberation Party; David Collenette, Secretary-General of the Canadian Liberal Party; Leroy Cooke, a member of Jamaica's People's National Party; Judith Corley, an attorney for U.S. Democratic Party campaign organizations; Angela Gallimore, an education specialist from Jamaica; Neville Gallimore, Jamaica's Minister of Education; Larry Garber, Acting Director of the Washington-based International Human Rights Law Group; Juan Manuel Garcia-Passalacqua, a Puerto Rican attorney; Steven Horblitt, Legislative Assistant to Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-DC); Mariano Quesada, former Secretary-General of the Philippines National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL); and Roberto Tovar. Secretary-General of Costa Rica's United Social Christian Party.

NDI published a comprehensive report, in both English and French, which details the conclusions and recommendations of the survey delegation. The report was widely distributed in Haiti, and copies can be obtained by contacting NDI.

Observing the Constitutional Referendum

In late March, NDI and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRRIA) sent a joint team to observe the March 29 referendum on Haiti's new constitution.

The five-person delegation was headed by NDI Vice President for Programs Vivian Lowery Derryck and NRRIA Program Director Robert Henderson. Other team members were NDI Program Officer Randy Godman, NRRIA Deputy Program Director Margaret Thompson, and Larry Garber, Acting Director of the International Human Rights Law Group.

During its first two days in Haiti, the group held meetings with senior government officials, political party leaders, the Papal Nuncio and other church representatives, as well as leading labor and business leaders.

During the referendum, the delegation divided into smaller teams to observe the voting process in Port-au-Prince, Gonaves, Cap Haitien and Jeremie.

The delegation found that the referendum was conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner. The turnout was unexpectedly high, estimated at more than 40 percent of the voting age population. An overwhelming 99 percent of the electorate voted for ratification of the constitution.

While the delegation members observed some technical problems that could hamper the more hotly contested elections later this year, they noted overwhelming enthusiasm for democratic reform through free and fair elections. The delegation has prepared a report on its findings, which is available through NDI's office.
INTERNATIONAL VISITORS TO NDI

ARMANDO ARANCIBIA, International Secretary, Socialist party, Chile
JOSE M. CERNA, Partido Liberal (PALI), Nicaragua
HILARION CARDOZO, Secretary General, Christian Democrat Organization of the Americas, Venezuela
ENRIQUE DAZA, International Relations Secretary, Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOIR), Colombia
ABRAHAM FLEISMAN, Argentina Federation of Credit Cooperatives, Argentina
HONG SA DUK, Member, National Assembly, New Korea Democratic Party, South Korea
KANG NING-HSIANG, Member, Legislative Yuan, Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan
ABDULLAH KHAN, Ambassador to the United States, Bangladesh
KIM DONG YOUNG, Member, National Assembly, New Korea Democratic Party, South Korea
LEE CHANG-HEE, Legislative Research Bureau Staff, National Assembly Secretariat, South Korea
LEE YOUL-BOK, Legislative Research Bureau Staff, National Assembly Secretariat, South Korea
LESLIE MANAGOT, Secretaire General, Rally of the National-Progressive Democrats of Haiti, Haiti
HAROLD McCUSKER, Deputy Leader, Official Unionist Party, Northern Ireland
GUILLERMO ENRIQUE MORAN PERDOMO, Eisenhower Fellow, El Salvador
VEENA NAYYAR, Director, Women's Foundation, India
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PRAVO RANTANEN, Ambassador to the United States, Finland
JORGE SAMPAIO, International Secretary, Social Democratic Party, Portugal
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VICTOR UJORCAN, Partido Blanco, Uruguay
PENTTI VAANANEN, General Secretary, Socialist International
LUKE VERON, President, Parti Socialiste, France
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