



NDI Reports

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MADELEINE ALBRIGHT ASSUMES CHAIRMANSHIP OF NDI



NDI welcomes former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright as the new chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors. Albright was instrumental in NDI's initial development, having served as vice chair of the Institute when it was founded in 1983.

"We will be fortunate to benefit from Madeleine Albright's leadership as NDI responds to new opportunities and challenges in assisting those courageous democrats

who promote peaceful political change in nondemocratic countries and work to consolidate pluralist institutions in new democracies," said NDI President Kenneth Wollack.

As chairman of the Institute, Albright succeeds Paul G. Kirk, Jr., co-chairman of the Commission on Presidential Debates, chairman of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, and former chairman of the Democratic Party. Wollack praised Kirk's contributions to NDI: "Paul Kirk has led NDI for nearly eight years, providing guidance and support for all of our democratic development programs. His leadership has been central to the growth of the Institute." Kirk will continue to remain active with NDI as a member of the Institute's Senior Advisory Committee.

"Madeleine Albright's life experience and public service have personified the mission of this Institute," said Kirk. "As a diplomat, scholar and activist, she has been a forceful and consistent voice for the worldwide democracy movement."

Albright told the *Washington Post* that she is eager to help emerging democracies address the issues they face after holding elections, especially countries striving to overcome a communist or authoritarian past. In conversations with the *Chicago Tribune* she also reiterated her belief that "promoting democracy" is sound foreign policy. "Our wisest leaders understood that American leadership must be based not on what we are against, but on what we are for," she said.

LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

Elections in Mexico and Peru: A Study in Contrasts

Conducted only weeks apart, two elections last year in Latin America produced strikingly different outcomes, with far-reaching consequences. Polls in Mexico represented the culmination of a remarkable

political transformation, during which five years of democratic reforms led to an historic transfer of power. In Peru, the subversion of judicial, legislative and electoral institutions led to corrupt elections that were designed to serve the interests of the incumbent president.

On May 23, 2000, following the flawed elections of April 9, incumbent Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, running

without opposition, won a tainted run-off election that was boycotted by his rival, Alejandro Toledo, and condemned by local watchdog groups and the international community.

A month and a half later, in what one observer called "the first constitutional transition of power since the Aztecs," the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico quickly conceded

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Serbia's Democratic Revolution

The brutal rule of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic ended on October 9, 2000 when he conceded defeat to constitutional lawyer Vojislav Kostunica, whose coalition of opposition parties garnered a majority of votes cast in the disputed September 24 elections for the president and parliament of the Yugoslav Federation. A popular and peaceful uprising, reminiscent of democratic protests a decade earlier in the region, led Milosevic to relinquish power and abandon his efforts to conduct run-off polls based on falsified results.

For two weeks, a defiant Milosevic asserted that neither he nor Kostunica, the consensus candidate of the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS), had won the 50 percent needed to avoid a second round. However, independent ballot tallies clearly indicated that voters had turned out in record numbers to vote against Milosevic. Three months later, on December 23, Milosevic's candidates for the Serbian parliament suffered a similar fate during elections that swept away the last vestiges of his political control.

These victories represented a triumph of unity and discipline among the ranks of formerly fractionalized opposition parties. As recently as last July, many observers believed that Serbia's opposition parties were incapable of presenting a united front to voters.

Within weeks of the elections being called, the newly formed DOS had a candidate, a message and a plan. For the first time in Serbia, a campaign focused on direct voter contact as the primary method to deliver its message. Door-to-door campaigns were planned and party leaders boarded buses to tour Serbia, speaking directly to prospective voters in the towns and villages where they lived. Those same leaders managed to contain their own differences for the good of their shared message of "unity, victory and change."



Serbian and international trainers discuss election organizing at an NDI conference for women party activists.

The opposition relied on information gathered in a series of 11 public opinion polls conducted for NDI by Doug Schoen of the U.S. polling firm of Penn, Schoen and Berland. These polls showed that the electorate disavowed Milosevic but would support decisively only a unified opposition.

Serbian politics traditionally had been centrally driven by small groups of politicians acting in isolation from the citizenry. The opinion polls revealed the hopes and aspirations of the people, and they served as a vehicle for politicians to understand public attitudes and build responsive platforms.



Billboards proclaimed Kostunica's victory and winning percentage.

In the three years leading up to the September elections, NDI worked with Serbia's democratic parties to help them develop the political skills needed to



Youth training program held in Budapest, Hungary.

compete more effectively, training party leaders and local activists who, for the first time, used grassroots techniques—door-to-door contact, public appearances, media presentations and get-out-the-vote initiatives—to better communicate with the electorate. NDI also conducted trainings for women and youth to encourage broader participation and involvement in the political process.

A core group of Serbian activists trained by NDI conducted grassroots organizing sessions in municipalities and rural areas throughout the country. They exposed thousands of DOS party workers to new ways of reaching out to voters and connecting the party with the public. Five of the Serbian organizers successfully ran as candidates of the DOS, winning seats in municipal governments. One was later elected deputy mayor of Nis, Serbia's second largest city. Another managed the *Vreme Je* (It's Time) get-out-the-vote campaign for Otpor, the student-led resistance movement.

The efforts of the political parties were buttressed by civic movements like Otpor and the Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID). In the months leading up to the elections, NDI worked with CeSID's leadership and volunteers to create a volunteer network capable of recording and transmitting observations on election day. The Center deployed more than 5,000 volunteers to monitor activities in 3,500 polling places.

On election day, CeSID's website was up and running to record irregularities as they were reported. Problems reported by CeSID volunteers included voter intimidation, voting without identification, multiple voting, interference by election commission members, candidates operating inside polling stations and lack of ballot secrecy. Press conferences and interviews throughout the day communicated the group's findings to domestic and international media.



NDI regional trainer advises party leaders and local activists on developing and communicating a party message.

The information provided by CeSID proved critical in the days following the elections, providing an additional set of numbers along with those collected by political parties that independently

confirmed Kostunica's first-round victory. CeSID also mounted a post-election public awareness effort that informed voters about the actual results as opposed to those broadcast in the state-controlled media.

The new Serbian and Yugoslav governments face enormous obstacles. A decade of war, isolation and corruption has left the economy in shambles, and newly elected officials lack experience in governing. The country will also need to come to terms with a war that engulfed the Balkan region. The new governments, however, are legitimately elected and from that vantage point can better grapple with the social, economic and political challenges that lie on the road to peace, stability and prosperity.

WEST, CENTRAL & EAST AFRICA

Civic Groups and Lawmakers in Ghana Cooperate to Strengthen Parliament

While its neighbors attract international attention for civil wars, military coups and ethnic strife, the West African country of Ghana recently celebrated its first democratic transfer of power from one administration to another. The peaceful December 2000 presidential election marked a major milestone in a country that has been quietly taking steps toward strengthening the role of the legislature and increasing citizen involvement in the political process.

For the first time in its history, the newly inaugurated Ghanaian National Assembly will consider legislation that was neither drafted by the executive branch nor introduced by a government minister. Instead, several parliamen-

"...Parliament will continue to open its doors for consultation on all issues that will enhance the passage of laws to meet the needs and aspirations of society."

—Kenneth Dzirasah, former First Deputy Speaker of the Ghanaian Parliament, at an NDI forum on domestic violence

tarians, working in conjunction with a civic organization, will introduce an unprecedented "private member" bill—a major milestone in a country that traditionally has concentrated power in the executive. Even more remarkable is that the legislation itself—a bill that criminalizes domestic violence—addresses a subject so taboo that many countries do not even recognize violence between spouses as a societal problem.

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Democratic elections in 1996 ushered in Ghana's first multiparty parliament in 15 years. Many of the 200 new lawmakers elected at that time were unfamiliar with their representative function in a legislature that historically had exerted little authority over the executive branch. In this new parliament, opposition members began to pressure the ruling party to debate critical issues that otherwise would have been ignored. Bipartisan agreement on some committee reports even forced the ruling party to withdraw legislation, a first for the National Assembly.

Despite these improvements, the National Assembly still suffered from limited capacity to draft legislation, leaving the executive branch to define and dominate the legislative agenda. In a 1999 article, Ghanaian attorney Lawrence Prempeh urged parliament to develop its own legislative drafting service. "Unless parliament reasserts its proper constitutional role," he wrote, the executive branch "will continue to usurp the legislature's powers in the area of lawmaking." NDI programs to support the development of the Ghanaian legislature have included a comprehensive 11-week course on drafting legislation and publishing a practical guide on the subject.

Civic groups in Ghana are also working to understand their rights and responsibilities in an open political environment. Most nongovernmental organizations are learning the rudimentary principles of how parliament functions and how they can influence public policy. NDI has also helped these groups develop outreach and advocacy skills, and arranged meetings at which interest groups share their concerns with parliamentary committee members. Also, at NDI-sponsored town hall meetings, constituents have met and discussed local issues with their legislators.



Angela Dwawena Aboagye, a Ghanaian expert on political organizing, conducts a workshop in Accra to strengthen the capacity of civic groups.

The domestic violence initiative began in November 1999 when NDI brought together various women's civic organizations with the Women's Parliamentary Caucus. During subsequent consultations, the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) expressed concern about high levels of domestic violence, particularly against women and children, and, with NDI assistance, began drafting a bill that would allow victims of domestic violence to pursue legal action against their abusers.

In April 2000, NDI helped to assemble parliamentary staff, leading male MPs, legal experts, FIDA representatives and members of the Women's Caucus. Experts outlined existing Ghanaian legislation on sexual assault, described domestic violence legislation in other countries and detailed the process for introducing private member legislation. Participants analyzed various sections of the draft bill, drew up proposed amendments and drafted a strategy to build public support for the bill.

With NDI assistance, FIDA and female MPs then organized a national forum to raise public awareness about the legislation and held consultations with parliamentarians, civic leaders and government representatives to advocate its passage. The conference underscored the importance of communication between elected officials and their constituents, and offered specific examples of how citizens could participate in political decisionmaking. At this conference, FIDA President Elizabeth Owiredu-Gyampoh welcomed a process in which civic, government and parliamentary leaders could "jointly coordinate ideas and resources to initiate legislation," and the Ghanaian parliament would promote greater citizen participation in legislative decisionmaking "to fulfill its constitutional functions."

The December 2000 elections ushered in a new parliament in which the ruling party has a slim majority. Women MPs who worked with FIDA to develop the domestic violence initiative have returned to parliament and still plan to introduce a private member's bill this year.

Civic Groups Gain Skills to Influence Public Policy

In the past few years, Arab societies have begun to join the global information revolution. Satellite television, the Internet, and the growth of independent print media are quickly changing Arab perceptions of their political systems and worldwide social and cultural trends. This new access to information marks a significant break from the past and has presented political leaders, who have not tended to look to the public for legitimacy and support, with new challenges.

These changes have also created new opportunities for civic organizations to raise public awareness of key issues and to communicate their concerns to decision-makers. Many groups have found, however, that despite the apparent openings, they need to acquire further skills in community organizing and advocacy in order to do this work effectively.

As part of its public policy advocacy program with Palestinian civic activists, NDI developed a “how-to” manual entitled *Getting Things Done in the West Bank and Gaza*, now widely in use. Recently, NDI revised the manual to serve as a regional resource for civic groups in Morocco, Lebanon and Jordan.



The government of Jordan has embarked on a drive to modernize the country's economy and educational system. National dialogue on these issues has inspired civic and political groups to call for a similar discussion on political parties, electoral reform and the legal status of women. One such organization, the Jordanian Women's Union (JWU), has established a national presence in raising awareness about the rights of women and children. At an NDI workshop in Amman, JWU representatives learned how to develop an advocacy strategy that could lead to legislation protecting the rights of women and children.

MOROCCO

Morocco already boasts one of the most active civic communities in the Arab world, but most organizations involved in public policy advocacy are centered exclusively in or near the capital, Rabat. In an effort to introduce new groups to advocacy techniques, NDI trained civic activists in the city of Fez and in the nearby town of Khenifra on negotiation and communication skills. One organiza-

tion in particular, the *Centre des Droits des Gens* (Center for Human Rights – CDG), has used NDI's assistance as a springboard to begin several new initiatives. CDG staff have translated the French-language documents that NDI distributed at the training sessions into Arabic and used them to recreate NDI's training with 20 other civic groups in Fez. As a direct result of its consultations with

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“Even though we are from Fez, we have never had the chance to meet each other and know what other groups are doing; we hope to be able to work together in the future.”

—Civic organizer from Fez, Morocco

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

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NDI, CDG is now working on a program with members of Parliament.

LEBANON

The end of the Lebanese civil war has seen the rise of civil society organizations that both conduct advocacy programs and provide various social services. One such group, the *Secours Populaire Libanais* (Lebanese People's Aid-SPL), works directly with some of the most disadvantaged members of Lebanese society and

has recently begun to try to affect national policies in the areas of health, education and labor. Recently, NDI worked with SPL and several other organizations on strategic planning and coalition building. Building upon these activities, the Institute placed a permanent representative in Beirut to assist Lebanese civic activists in further developing the skills necessary to conduct sustainable campaigns in such areas as electoral reform, environmental protection and the rights of the disabled.

JORDAN

Responding to the modernization drive of King Abdullah, the country's civic organizations are beginning to raise public awareness of problems associated with education, the electoral system, and the status of women, among others. NDI trained one such group, the Jordanian Women's Union, which works on advancing the rights of women and children, in strategic planning for advocacy initiatives.

ASIA

Civilians Struggle to Define New Role for Military in Indonesia

Almost three years have passed since Indonesia began its democratic transition after the fall of the Soeharto government. Even in the wake of far-reaching political reform, the world's fourth most populous country still faces challenges to establishing fully democratic institutions and processes, including the appropriate role of the military in a democratic society. A legacy of military influence in political affairs has left a void in the expertise and institutional mechanisms necessary to ensure civilian control of the armed forces.

For decades, the armed forces formed the foundation of Soeharto's "New Order" regime, which systematically weakened the legislature, judiciary and civil society. The military institutionalized *dwifungsi* (dual functions), an ideology that established twin roles for the armed forces in political and defense matters. Nationwide protests against the military's involvement in the repressive politics and endemic corruption of the Soeharto regime have challenged *dwifungsi*. More



Newspaper headlines in Jakarta reflect support for military reform in the changing political environment.

recent revelations of human rights abuses by the armed forces fueled momentum for transforming the military's political function.

Since his election in October 1999, President Abdurrahman Wahid has committed his government to establishing civil supremacy over the military by removing insubordinate commanders and reorganizing the military leadership. Wahid also appointed the first two civilian ministers of defense in four decades and dissolved the ministry of information, which had previously overseen suppression of the media.

Despite steps taken by President Wahid's government, widespread military reforms have met with mixed success. While the armed forces have relinquished control of the civilian police, they still assert political influence through an entrenched "territorial system" that maintains an army garrison in every city, town and village. Although the military lost half of its appointed seats in national and regional legislatures, it retained representation in these assemblies, and many active-duty and retired officers continue to work in the civilian bureaucracy.



Indonesian journalists Ray Happyeni (left) and Rahmawati (right) participate in media training sponsored by NDI and the Jakarta-based Dr. Soetomo Press Institute.

The military promulgated its own reform plans with the publication of a “New Paradigm” in October 1998. In an effort to provide an alternative, NDI, the University of Indonesia and Gadjah Mada University assembled a team of civilian national security experts who produced a blueprint for military reform, called the “Civil Supremacy Paradigm.” This civilian blueprint recommends a 10-year timetable of reforms to civil-military relations including constitutional amendments, legal reforms and sweeping changes in military doctrine. The minister of defense called the blueprint a source of ideas for “reorienting the military with the final goal of civil supremacy.”

In contrast to the previous “rubber stamp” parliament of the Soeharto era, the historic general elections in June 1999 ushered in a group of lawmakers who are in a position to significantly influence the development of effective civilian oversight of the military. To assist these newly elected parliamentarians, few of whom possess any experience in formulating national security policy or scrutinizing military budgets, NDI programs over the last two years have focused on

strengthening their capacity to direct, manage and oversee military affairs.

NDI has organized trainings with the defense committee of the People’s Representative Assembly, one of the primary civilian institutions responsible for overseeing military affairs. During one such program, the Institute brought members of the defense committee and expert staff together with senior legislators from the Philippines and the U.S. to address policy and budget oversight of the military, an issue of crucial importance in the transition to civilian management.

Journalists are also assuming a new role during this period of democratic reform. While new press freedoms allow the media to openly discuss military matters, most journalists are ill-equipped to report on issues that were off limits to them for more than a generation. Furthermore, a legacy of authoritarianism cultivated a press corps more accustomed to self-censorship than to objectivity.

NDI programs acquaint journalists with security issues to enable them to report accurately on defense matters and promote greater transparency in military affairs. NDI and the Jakarta-based



An Indonesian parliamentarian and member of the legislative defense committee overseeing military affairs queries U.S. and Philippine legislators on issues relating to civilian control of the military during an NDI-sponsored training session.



Asia Week correspondent Warren Caragata (right) looks on as Air Force Marshall Graitto Usodo, Chief of the Indonesian Military Information Office, speaks to journalists on media coverage of the military.

Dr. Soetomo Press Institute have conducted programs for journalists from leading Indonesian newspapers and magazines. Experts in civil-military relations and journalism from Australia, Canada, Malaysia, the Philippines and the U.S. have introduced Indonesian journalists to the role of the military in a

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ASIA

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democracy and the practices necessary to report accurately on national security and defense matters.

Following these seminars, participants returned to their newsrooms to research, write and publish articles regarding the Indonesian military. International experts

provided Indonesian journalists and their editors with additional guidance on their coverage of military issues.

One participant, a journalist for a provincial newspaper, exposed the role of local army units in protecting log smuggling operations from the rainforests of East Kalimantan to Malaysia. National

newspapers picked up the story and sent reporters to investigate. President Wahid subsequently ordered the military commander and appropriate minister to conduct raids along the border, resulting in the eventual arrest of loggers, confiscation of their heavy equipment and the destruction of illegal logging roads.

EURASIA

Violations Again Undermine Elections in Azerbaijan

November 5 parliamentary polls in Azerbaijan represented “a continuation of a pattern of seriously flawed elections...that fail to meet even minimum international standards,” according to a statement issued by a 35-member international monitoring delegation organized by NDI. The delegation asserted that the violations that were witnessed “undermined the integrity of the election process and raised doubts as to whether the final results will reflect the will of the people.”

The delegation cited extensive evidence of ballot stuffing, signature forgeries, secret ballot counting, credible reports of bribery of election officials, a 30 percent error rate on voter registration rolls, pervasive pro-government alterations to tally sheets and restrictions that prevented election observation by Azeri civic groups.

After the November elections, the ruling New Azerbaijan Party was granted 77 seats in the 125-member parliament. According to official figures, the opposition Popular Front Party cleared the 6 percent threshold necessary to gain any of the 25 proportional representation seats, while the opposition Musavat and National Independence parties did not make the cut. However, analysis of results collected from polling stations indicates that both Musavat and the National Independence Party received votes



Leaders of NDI's election observation delegation to Azerbaijan announce their findings at a press conference in Baku.

exceeding the threshold. Opposition parties denounced the results and demanded new elections, but the new parliament was sworn in on November 24.

The government called for repeat elections to be held in 11 out of 100 districts; these polls were held on January 7. Key opposition parties boycotted the elections and voter turnout was extremely low. While there were some improvements in the way these polls were conducted, observers noted efforts to manipulate voter turnout figures in order to reach the 25 percent threshold required for a valid election.

The November polls and January re-elections represent the fourth set of elections that NDI has observed in this oil-rich nation on the edge of the

Caspian Sea. All of them—parliamentary polls in 1995, a presidential election in 1998 and municipal contests in 1999—were marred by serious irregularities.

Initially, there were some signs that the 2000 elections might be conducted in a more fair and open manner than previous elections. NDI's pre-election assessment team which visited Azerbaijan last August noted some of the changes that had been made, and offered a series of further recommendations.

However, only half of the candidates who sought registration won a place on the ballot and the registration petitions of eight opposition parties were ruled invalid by the Central Election Commission. Of the 250 candidates

who filed formal complaints, only a small number ultimately secured a place on the ballot. Just one month before the elections, President Heydar Aliyev submitted a petition to allow all eight of the parties to register, but this decision came too late for the parties to mount adequate campaigns.

Early on, the campaign environment seemed to be more open. The government provided some airtime for opposition parties in the state media; candidates were allowed to travel freely and hold rallies and meetings. But prior to the elections, the atmosphere became more restrictive. There were numerous reports of assaults against opposition supporters, their posters being torn down and electricity mysteriously being cut off during rallies.

A law passed weeks before the elections prevented any group that received more than 30 percent of its funding from outside sources from monitoring the elections. This restriction (which NDI has not encountered in any other country where it has observed elections) eliminated the possibility for nonpartisan domestic observation, and also runs counter to Azerbaijan's obligations under international agreements.

NDI IN AZERBAIJAN

Political parties in Azerbaijan have suffered from a highly centralized decisionmaking process, with little regard for the party's representative function, a limited membership base and, as a result, only tenuous links to their constituencies. Parties also have had limited success in working together on issues or forming coalitions in Parliament.

NDI has implemented programs to assist Azerbaijan's political parties in democratizing their organizational structures, improving communication and attracting citizens to the political process.



Representatives from nongovernmental organizations participate in NDI data entry training to assist in the task of auditing the voter lists used in the elections.

Violations witnessed by the NDI election observers undermined the integrity of the election process and raised doubts as to whether the final results will reflect the will of the people.

In one such program, NDI brought party leaders to Poland where they learned firsthand about how parties there, previously plagued by disunity and fragmentation, had successfully formed political coalitions to offer voters a choice between ideological blocs. On their return, parties began to implement voter contact strategies based on their newfound familiarity with grassroots organization and outreach.

NDI programs also have promoted public participation in the political process by strengthening nonpartisan organizations. NDI has worked with the Azerbaijan Civic Initiative to increase the transparency of the election process. Activities with ACI focused on preparations for scrutinizing voter registration

lists and monitoring the balloting. NDI also joined with the Organization for the Protection of Women's Rights to inform women across the country about the political process and train female candidates to contest the elections.

To overcome political parties' limited access to the state-owned media, NDI sponsored a project with an independent news agency to produce weekly, objective updates on election-related developments. This not only provided parties access to the mass media, but also gave voters independent information about the elections.

NDI also helped produce a weekly hour-long television talk show, called *Ekssada* (Echo). A moderator and four rotating political party commentators have candidly examined Azerbaijan politics in the context of democratic development in the region and around the world. Such opportunities to hear competing political viewpoints are rare in the country, and citizens tuned in often enough to make the show one of the most popular programs on the air.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa Budget Assistance

In South Africa, where budget reforms are designed to make the process more transparent, NDI has sought to provide parliamentarians with the tools they need to oversee government spending. The *South African Budget Guide and Dictionary*, published jointly by NDI and the Budget Information Service of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), describes to parliamentarians how revenue is raised and then allocated between national, provincial and local government, and the parliamentary process that accompanies these allocations. The guide is also helping the National Council of Provinces (NCOP)—the second house of Parliament consisting of representatives from national, provincial and local government—increase its influence on the budget process in South Africa.

In the process of laying out where government plans to spend its financial resources, the executive and legislative branches of government conduct an important dialogue about where resources



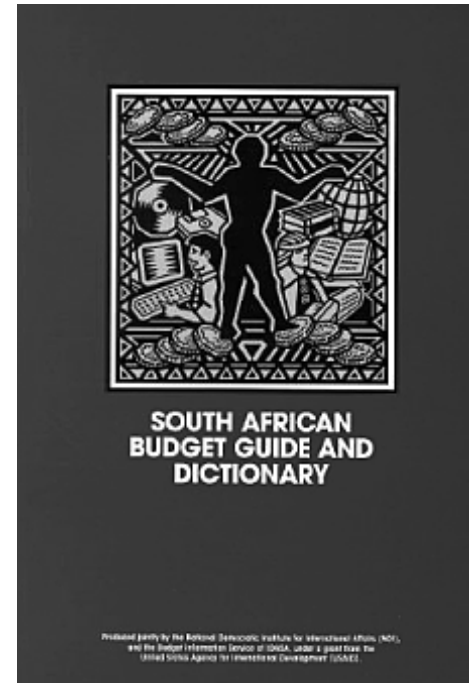
Sipho Jonas, Assistant to the Chairperson of the Select Committee on Finance of the South African Parliament, with the *Budget Guide*.

are most urgently needed and why. Helping to streamline this process has been a major focus of NDI's programs with the South African parliament and civic groups.

Last July, NDI cosponsored an intensive one-week training on the budget process, led by economists from the University of Cape Town, for finance committee and public accounts committee members

from the national parliament and the provincial legislatures.

The finance committees in both chambers of the South African Parliament plan to use the *NDI Budget Guide* and other comparative research as they consider proposed budgetary reforms.



LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN

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defeat in the face of an opposition triumph in the July 2 presidential poll. The PRI's 71-year grip on government ended when Vicente Fox of the opposition National Action Party (PAN) prevailed over PRI candidate Francisco Labastida.

During the pre-election period, Mexico had taken steps to build public confidence and establish the conditions for political competition by opening up media access, establishing a genuinely independent election commission, and resolving many long-standing problems that plagued the campaign and electoral process. The Fujimori government in

Peru, on the other hand, moved in a different direction, systematically using the courts, media, election commission and Congress to stifle competition and intimidate opponents.

Two months after the May run-off, Fujimori took office for an unprecedented third term. His administration was soon enveloped in a major corruption scandal, and the escalating political crisis prompted Fujimori to announce that he would step down after new elections, which would be held in the spring of 2001. He could not withstand the crisis, however, and last November, while on a trip overseas, he resigned and sought refuge in Japan.

NDI IN PERU

Seven months before the presidential run-off election in Peru, NDI and The Carter Center jointly deployed the first in a series of multinational delegations which issued the earliest warnings that the country's pre-election environment was "marked by serious flaws."

Similar critical assessments were made by three subsequent NDI/Carter Center delegations. Although the Peruvian government promised to address the concerns cited by the delegation, genuine measures to build a credible process never materialized.



Former Guatemala President Ramiro de León Carpio, former Texas Governor Ann Richards and NDI President Kenneth Wollack present the findings of the election observer mission to Mexico.

As preparations were being made to send a fifth delegation to the May 2000 runoff, it became apparent that the elections would fail to meet minimum international standards for credible, democratic polls, and plans to go were cancelled. The European Union also withdrew its observers, as did the Organization of American States (OAS). *Transparencia*, Peru's most influential election watchdog group, also judged the irregularities grave enough to refrain from deploying its observers, even though it had organized almost 20,000 volunteer pollwatchers for the first round of polls on April 9.

Nonetheless, the findings and recommendations of the NDI/Carter Center pre-election observation effort provided a foundation for the work of national observers, intensified media coverage and public awareness of an increasingly unsound election process, and provided encouragement to political competitors.

Throughout this process, the NDI/Carter Center observation mission worked closely with NDI's long-time domestic partner, *Transparencia*. In addition to deploying election observers for the April 9 polls, the group produced well-documented reports of election irregularities in the months preceding both rounds of

balloting. *Transparencia's* parallel vote count during the first round of elections, which showed that Fujimori failed to gain the 50 percent needed to avoid a runoff, enjoyed greater public confidence than did the official count itself. After protracted delays, the results released by Peruvian election authorities confirmed *Transparencia's* unofficial count.

The fall of the Fujimori regime—along with the formation of a new interim government, congressional leadership and

election authority—greatly increases the chances that early legislative and presidential elections, now scheduled for April 8, will enjoy the confidence of the Peruvian electorate. An NDI/Carter Center delegation visited Lima in February and concluded, "The conditions for organizing genuine democratic elections have been established in Peru," and even though important challenges still remain, "the prospects for realizing them are strong."

The delegation recommended a series of steps to secure a peaceful election environment and build confidence in the process.

NDI IN MEXICO

Two NDI pre-election delegations to Mexico in May and June 2000 commended the success of recent government-instituted reforms and offered recommendations to improve public confidence and participation in the July 2 presidential and parliamentary polls.

NDI organized a 42-member international observer delegation to the election, led by former Guatemalan President Ramiro de León Carpio, former Texas Governor Ann Richards and U.S.

Representative Ed Pastor of Arizona. The delegation witnessed a large turnout and

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Vicente Fox greets international observers before the historic July 2 elections.



"The vote is free and secret."—Mexico, July 2, 2000.

LATIN AMERICA & THE CARIBBEAN



Members of the NDI/Carter Center Joint Election Observation Mission to Peru joined Peru's Human Rights Ombudsman Jorge Santistevan (left) in the first post-election forum on the common aspirations of Peruvians for genuine democratic reform.

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an orderly and peaceful election day, the results of which yielded a peaceful transfer of power between political rivals and set a powerful example for those struggling for democracy in the hemisphere.

All three of the NDI delegations recommended a continued focus on the challenges that still remain, including the use of state resources for electoral advantage, objective news coverage, and coordination among electoral authorities at the national, state and local levels.

As it has since 1993, NDI worked closely with Civic Alliance, a coalition of domestic monitoring organizations, to help develop an independent vote count; to train monitors; and, on election night, to collect, tabulate and disseminate the results. On election day, the Alliance deployed thousands of election monitors; its parallel vote count was within 1 to 2 points of the official results.

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