

20TH ANNIVERSARY W. AVERELL HARRIMAN DEMOCRACY AWARD



NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright and recipients of NDI's 2004 W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award: (l to r) U.S. Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr., former Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek of Poland, President Xanana Gusmão of East Timor, Minister Amat Al-Aleem Alsoswa of Yemen, former President Corazon Cojuangco Aquino of the Philippines, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal, Minister José Miguel Insulza of Chile, U.S. Senator Richard G. Lugar, Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania of Georgia.

NDI Pays Tribute to an Era of Democratic Transformation

On December 6, NDI commemorated its 20th anniversary by presenting its W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award to nine recipients from every region of the world who have played leading roles in the global democracy

movement over the past two decades. NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright hosted a celebratory dinner with a review of democratic advances around the world over the past 20 years, as she presented the award to each of the recipients. The dinner was

attended by more than 800 guests, including officials from the U.S. government, members of Congress, representatives of the diplomatic corps and the press, and members of the labor, business and foreign policy communities.

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IN MEMORIAM — ZURAB ZHVANIA 1963-2005

“The family of democracy is uniting people not only across the globe but across generations, and what unites all of us is our common desire to make life more equitable and more prosperous for our citizens.”

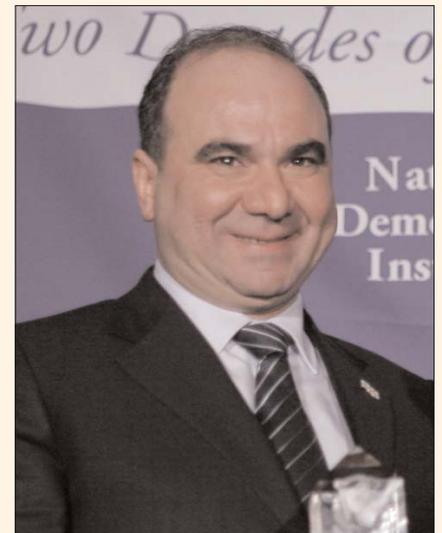
—Zurab Zhvania, accepting the NDI Democracy Award on December 6, 2004

All of us at NDI are deeply saddened by the death of Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania of Georgia on February 3. Zurab was known in Georgia and around the world as a gifted public servant who

worked courageously for the cause of democracy. His leadership was central to Georgia's democratic movement and to the new government's efforts to transform the country into a regional model of political and economic progress.

We at NDI knew Zurab as an environmentalist, democratic activist, political party leader, parliamentarian and head of government. But we also knew him as a friend, with a warm heart and good humor.

Zurab Zhvania was an inspiration to us all. We will miss him and always honor his memory.



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NDI President Kenneth Wollack with Prime Minister Zurab Zhvania of Georgia (see *In Memoriam*, page 1).



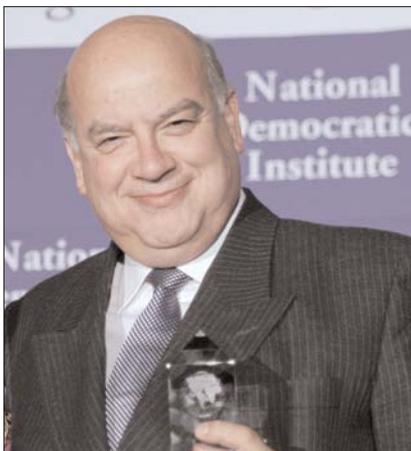
U.S. Senators Joseph R. Biden, Jr. and Richard G. Lugar.



President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Minister Amat Al-Aleem Alsoswa of Yemen.



President Xanana Gusmão of East Timor (above). Minister José Miguel Insulza of Chile (below).

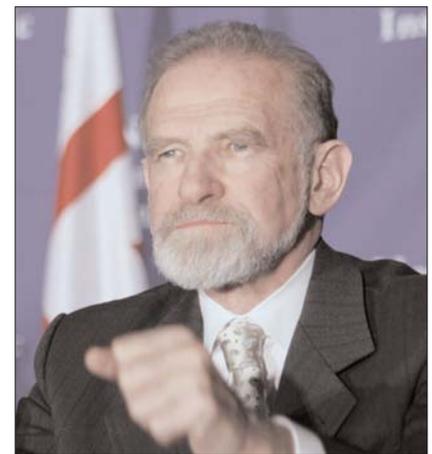


During the course of the program, the nine recipients sent this message to Ukrainians demonstrating in the streets of Kyiv:

*To the People of Ukraine—
We have watched with wonder and admiration as hundreds of thousands of you have braved the cold and snow and the fear of intimidation in your call for democracy. You vividly remind those of us, who are gathered today at the National Democratic Institute's Democracy Award event, celebrating twenty years of worldwide progress towards democracy, of the power and universal appeal of a simple idea: that the people should choose freely their government.*

We stand in solidarity with you, in the conviction that the principles to which we aspire together, for a political process based on equality and respect for human rights, reflect the hopes and aspirations of people the world over.

With courage and determination, Ukrainians are claiming their rightful place in the community of democracies. Your example is an inspiration.



Former Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek of Poland (above). Former President Corazon Cojuangco Aquino of the Philippines (below).



“We know that democracy cannot be imposed. It grows from the hearts and minds of citizens; it is a way of living and governing that must be developed by each society in its own way. But in our era, events in one country inevitably affect those in others, like one ball hitting another in billiards. Those fighting for freedom today are lifted by the examples of those who gained their freedom in earlier decades. Because when the impossible happens in one nation, it is easier to believe it will happen in the next.”

—Madeleine K. Albright

In this issue of the newsletter we highlight four recent noteworthy elections that have been held in Afghanistan, Ukraine, the West Bank and Gaza, and Iraq, and examine their implications for democratic development in their regions and worldwide.

Ukraine Elections Lead to Democratic Transfer of Power

World attention focused on the political crisis in Ukraine as hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians poured into the streets of Kyiv and other cities following the fraudulent November 21 presidential runoff election. In spite of the potential for violence to break out, the Ukrainian people were able to resolve the situation peacefully in the parliament, the supreme court and through political negotiation; and after a repeat election on December 26, Viktor Yushchenko was sworn in as President in late January.

The initial October 31 presidential election was held in an atmosphere of growing dis-



A Ukrainian voter casts her ballot in the November 23 run-off election.

satisfaction with long-time president Leonid Kuchma, whose rule was seen to be increasingly corrupt and authoritarian. Opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko was pitted against President Kuchma's chosen successor, Victor Yanukovych, in a field of 26 candidates. No candidate earned more

than 50 percent of the vote and both men, as the two top candidates, went forward to a second round election on November 21.

This election was marred by intimidation and blatant fraud. International observers, including delegations from NDI, the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO), which fielded a regional team of 1,000 monitors (*see article on page 7*), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and NDI's civic partner in Ukraine, the Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU), which deployed nearly 10,000 domestic monitors, all strongly criticized the conduct of the election.

The NDI observer delegation was co-lead by Abner Mikva, former member of Congress, White House Counsel and

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Iraqi Elections: A Dramatic First Step

January 30, 2005 was an historic day for Iraq. Despite onerous security, political and logistical challenges, and predictions that violence would disrupt the elections, 59 percent of Iraqis turned out to elect members of the 275-seat Transitional National Assembly (TNA) that will run the country, draft a permanent constitution and choose a president and prime minister. Local elections were also held to select governorate (regional) assemblies; and the Kurds held elections for their own National Assembly.

Of the 5,587 polling stations expected to operate, most opened on time and remained open throughout the day. Voter turnout in the north, south and among women was noticeably strong. The elections were monitored by a number of officially registered domestic observers including NDI's partner organization, the Iraqi Election Information Network (EIN), which was responsible for training, deploying and overseeing almost 10,000 accredited monitors who observed in 80 percent of the polling stations.

In the lead-up to the elections, NDI conducted training sessions for candidates,

campaign managers and party agents. The Institute also organized workshops for women candidates, reaching more than 200 national and local candidates. NDI helped 60 political parties and coalitions to design and produce printed campaign materials which were distributed throughout Iraq, and operating out of its resource center in Baghdad, established a media center where political groups could produce and disseminate television messages. Overall, NDI worked with 11 of the 12 political entities and coalitions that won seats in the TNA.

Looking ahead, NDI will offer orientation trainings for new TNA staff members as they assume their responsibilities with little or no governance experience. NDI will also provide new TNA members with comparative information and advice on procedural issues; and as the Assembly begins the process of drafting a new constitution, the Institute will organize programs on federalism, transparency, constituent relations, and women's rights and political leadership. The Institute will also continue to work with political parties—whether or not they are represented in the TNA—on participating in the constitu-

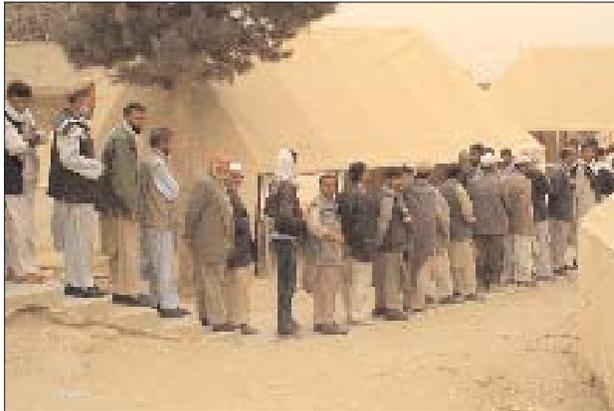
tional development process, coalition building, internal democratic procedures, and organizational development. Finally, NDI will continue to support EIN by helping it evaluate its monitoring effort for the January 30 elections and design an action plan for the period leading up to the October constitutional referendum and December national elections. The Institute will also work with EIN to increase citizen participation in the constitutional drafting process.



Throughout the country, Iraqi women made their voices heard at the polls. Women now fill 25 percent of the seats in the Transitional National Assembly.

Peaceful Afghan Election Advances Democratic Process

With the world watching, Afghanistan held its first direct presidential election on October 9. Approximately 70 percent of the Afghan voters bravely turned out to vote—many of them waiting in long lines for many hours in a celebration of their country's new democratic processes. The election—which analysts had widely predicted would be marred by violence and irregularities—was in fact, relatively peaceful. As expected, Hamid Karzai handily won the presidential contest, winning 55 percent of the vote.



Some Afghans waited up to five hours to vote in the first direct presidential election in the country's history.

A coalition of local civil society organizations, the Free and Fair Election Foundation of Afghanistan (FEFA), supported and trained by NDI, fielded 2,300 non-partisan election monitors, the largest observation

group in the country. This nationwide monitoring effort was particularly important, because security concerns kept international observers confined to Kabul.

Despite a variety of administrative difficulties on election day, the election was considered by Afghans and the international community alike as a significant step in advancing democratic development in Afghanistan.

Parliamentary and local elections, postponed from the Spring, are now scheduled for September 18. Election authorities not only face significant administrative challenges in conducting three simultaneous elections—for the lower chamber of parliament, as well as provincial and district council elections—but this task is greatly complicated by the tenuous security environment.

NDI has been conducting programs in Afghanistan since March 2002 to support the development of emerging political parties and civic groups as effective and viable participants in the country's political and electoral processes. The Institute has provided technical assistance on political party development, and established eight Election Training and Information Centers throughout Afghanistan. In advance of the election, more than 2,500 party members received training in one of these centers. In addition, NDI produced and distributed 50,000 copies of a handbook for party and presidential candidate election monitors, and used it to directly train over 10,000 pollwatchers throughout the country.

Ukraine Elections

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Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit; David Collenette, former Minister of Defense and Minister of Transport of Canada; Alexander Longolius, former President *Pro Tem* of the Berlin House of Representatives; and Kenneth Wollack, President of NDI. The delegation stated that fundamental flaws in the election “subverted its legitimacy.”

It called on Ukraine's political leaders to immediately begin a dialogue about how to rectify the “corrosive” effects of the abuses in the election process.

From the early hours of November 22 onward, and for more than two weeks, in what came to be known as the “Orange Revolution,” citizens crowded the streets of Kyiv, formed blockades in front of government buildings, and maintained a constant and peaceful call for a more fair election process.

The Yushchenko campaign filed a complaint with the Supreme Court of Ukraine alleging serious election violations and requesting a re-run in certain electoral districts. The statements of election observers from NDI, ENEMO, OSCE and CVU were included

in the campaign's brief. On December 3, the Supreme Court annulled the November 21 results and, in a dramatic response, called for a complete repeat of the election to be held within two weeks.

The repeat election was held on December 26 and Yushchenko was declared the winner by a margin of 8 percent. This time, observers found that the election was peaceful, orderly and credible. The day after the poll, a second NDI delegation, which comprised many of the same observers of the previous election, stated that this election “promises to cross the democratic threshold, opening a new era in [Ukraine's] political history, breaking a decade-old pattern of seriously flawed elections.”

The impact of this transition is not limited to Ukraine. Like Georgia's “Rose Revolution” in 2003, the people of Ukraine have shown that ordinary citizens are prepared to defend their fundamental political rights, and that peaceful, democratic successions are possible in Eurasia.



Leaders of NDI observer delegation announce findings at press conference. (l to r) Abner Mikva, David Collenette, Alexander Longolius, Kenneth Wollack.

NDI calls Palestinian Election a “Major Accomplishment”

Co-led by former President Jimmy Carter, former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt and former New Jersey Governor and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Christine Todd Whitman, an NDI delegation called the January 9 election for president of the Palestinian Authority “a major accomplishment.” Large numbers of Palestinians turned out to vote, and election day was orderly and generally peaceful. The significant presence of political party and candidate agents, as well as nonpartisan domestic and international observers, added transparency to the process.

The NDI delegation, which was organized in cooperation with The Carter Center, noted: “The successful organization of this election demonstrates the potential for the start of a new era in Palestinian politics and the development of representative and accountable governance.”

The 76-member delegation, which included current and former legislators, former ambassadors, elections and human rights experts, civic leaders and regional specialists from 15 countries from every continent, observed the election throughout the West Bank and Gaza.



NDI delegation co-leaders discuss polling arrangements with a voter on election day. (l to r) Governor Christine Todd Whitman, Prime Minister Carl Bildt and President Jimmy Carter.

This delegation followed two NDI pre-election assessment missions. The first, in October, examined the voter registration process, and noted that the Central Elections Commission (CEC) had succeeded in registering more than 70 percent of potential voters. The second mission, which visited the region in December to examine the pre-election environment, expressed concern about possible restrictions that Israel might place on freedom of movement for electoral officials and voters, possible confusion about the provisions for voting in Jerusalem, and the possibility of violence on election day.

Despite some problems that materialized on election day, observers found that the election was contested vigorously and administered fairly. The NDI delegation commended the Central Election Commission for its success in organizing the election in just 60 days under difficult circumstances of the ongoing conflict and occupation. The Israeli authorities were also commended for following through on their commitment to help facilitate freedom of movement of voters and electoral officials through Israeli check points.

However, the delegation did note that the use of two separate voters lists, each designating different polling stations, caused considerable confusion, as many voters could not find their names on the lists and were therefore barred from voting. As expected, voter turn-out in Jerusalem was low, and the issues surrounding voting

there were not satisfactorily addressed before or during the election. More seriously, two last-minute decisions by the CEC to change the voting regulations—one to keep polling stations open for an additional two hours, and the other to allow voters to vote with their ID cards, even if they were not on the voters list—were poorly implemented, and caused confusion



A Palestinian poll worker marks the thumb of a voter with indelible ink.

and some resentment among voters and polling officials.

While these changes undoubtedly enabled some Palestinians to vote who otherwise might not have been able to do so, they were made in a non-transparent manner and without consultation, were not communicated precisely and in a timely fashion, and produced not only the perception but the likelihood of unfairness, creating opportunities for voting fraud or other forms of electoral manipulation. Moreover, the decisions taken by the CEC commissioners concerning the extension of voting hours and changes in eligibility requirements were taken under duress. Six days after the election, 46 staff members of the Commission resigned, stating that they were pressured to make these changes. While the CEC’s decisions did not materially affect the outcome of the poll, they did have a negative impact on the integrity of the process and the work of the Commission.

The delegation concluded that “there are now opportunities to advance positive developments in a broader context necessary for peace and prosperity.” At the same time, it noted the challenges ahead as Palestinians move to consolidate their democratic institutions. Municipal and legislative elections are scheduled for July, and will require careful preparation. The delegation called for continued Palestinian-Israeli cooperation and international support during this crucial transition period.

The full statement of the NDI delegation and a final report on the election can be found at www.ndi.org.

NDI Focus Groups—The Prospects for a “New Sudan”

Following the January 9 comprehensive peace agreement that brought to an end more than 20 years of civil war between northern and southern Sudan, the Sudanese people now face the challenge of rebuilding their country’s political institutions, including writing a new constitution and creating democratic political institutions. To assist political leaders and the international community in these efforts, NDI is conducting a series of focus groups over the next three years across the country to help gauge Sudanese attitudes towards the peace agreement, and the prospects for democratic development.

In the fall of 2004, NDI conducted in southern Sudan the first public opinion research since the war. Over a period of six weeks the Institute conducted 32 focus groups in a territory the size of Texas, with only limited transportation links. The focus

groups revealed that despite the years of civil war, the people of southern Sudan are optimistic about the peace process. At the same time, there remains deep seated mistrust of the North. On the question of whether Sudan will remain a unified country or split into two (which will be determined in a referendum six years from now), southerners overwhelmingly indicated that they see themselves as a separate people and have no desire to be part of a united Sudan.

Many people interviewed embraced the idea of democracy, especially the role of



Focus group participants in southern Sudan discuss topics related to the peace process and the future of their country.

elections. They were, however, less familiar with the function of democratic institutions. Citizens also identified education, food, healthcare, clean water and security as priorities in the post-war period.

YOUTH PROGRAMS

Young People in the Forefront of Political Participation

In the coming decades, people under the age of 25 will comprise a quarter of the world’s population—in some countries, almost as high as 70 percent.

In recent years, young people have been visible in the forefront of democratic change in countries like Poland, Serbia, Georgia, South Africa and Ukraine. NDI is conducting programs in 24 countries to help youth engage in the political arena, become involved in their legislatures and political parties, and participate in elections.

In Indonesia, collaborating with the Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation and USAID, NDI organized a model youth parliament for high school students. Participating in a seven-week program, students learned the basics of civic participation and legislative processes as they proposed, debated, and passed mock legislation.

Working with legislatures in

Macedonia, Bosnia and Montenegro, NDI has organized internships for young people that feature legislative research, document drafting, and constituency outreach.

NDI works with political parties to develop youth wings and engage youth in political leadership training, as well as party reform and outreach activities. For example, in Kenya, NDI collaborated with the Swedish Council for Democracy in developing a “Youth Political Leadership Academy.” This program provided emerging leaders with the skills to assume greater leadership responsibilities in their parties. In Latin America, NDI has helped emerging political leaders to promote the modernization and renewal of 36 political parties and movements from nine countries.

In Bulgaria, NDI worked with local civic groups to organize the *Ti Izbirash* (“You Choose”) campaign, a get-out-the-vote and voter education initiative designed to encourage youth to participate in local elections, and to help them persuade local officials to address public concerns.



A participant in NDI’s youth parliament program in Indonesia practices her debate and negotiation skills.

ENEMO—Regional Observers of Ukraine Elections

Faced with the likelihood of large scale fraud in last year's presidential election, Ukrainians called on the international community to dispatch observers to complement their own monitoring efforts. Large numbers of international observers were seen as necessary to help deter anticipated misconduct in the election, or to expose it should it occur. In response, one of the world's largest international election monitoring efforts was mounted. One thousand monitors from civic organizations in 16 countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union who had observed elections in their own countries came together under the banner of the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO). Collectively over the past 15 years, these organizations, assisted by NDI, have trained more than 100,000 monitors and observed more than 100 elections in their own countries.

With support from USAID, and in cooperation with Freedom House, NDI helped ENEMO organize the many facets of a complex observation effort, including training and deploying the 1,000 monitors, as well as the establishment and operation of 25 regional offices.



At a November 22 press conference, ENEMO co-leaders Peter Novotny from Slovakia and Edil Baisalov from Kyrgyzstan, (3rd and 4th from left) note a “coordinated, systematic pattern of major violations leading to an outcome that does not reflect the will of the Ukrainian people.”

In advance of the October 31 first round election, 50 long-term ENEMO observers produced regular reports that detailed abuse of state resources, intimidation of voters and other problems in the regions. They found “major violations” in the October 31 poll, including problems with the voters rolls that led to large numbers of voters being turned away, voters being bused around the country to vote for the government-favored candidate, and an intimidating presence of police and others at many polling sites.

The full complement of 1,000 observers was in place at more than 3,000 polling places throughout the country for the November 21 run-off election. ENEMO

leaders worked closely with other international observers, including NDI and the OSCE. After the election, ENEMO issued a strong statement, noting a “coordinated systematic pattern of major violations leading to an outcome that does not reflect the will of the people.” Many of the thousands of violations of systemic fraud which they documented, particularly in Ukraine’s eastern oblasts, were later used in challenging the election results in court.

In spite of logistical challenges, ENEMO was able to maintain a monitoring presence for the December 26 repeat election.

Its ongoing reports were an important source of information throughout the preparation period, and on election day a contingent of 1,000 monitors was again present at the polls. This time, its findings were quite different. As noted in ENEMO’s report, the repeat election was “peaceful, better organized than previous rounds and generally free of fraud.”

ENEMO reports related to the Ukraine elections can be found on the NDI website at www.ndi.org.

ENEMO’s efforts in Ukraine have strengthened a regional network for democratic elections. In February and March an ENEMO delegation observed the first and second round of elections in Kyrgyzstan.

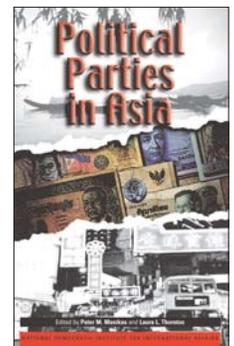
NDI PUBLICATIONS

The problem of how corruption affects political parties and poses a threat to democratic development inspired the comprehensive study presented in NDI’s newest publication, *Political Parties in Asia*. The book grew out of research conducted for a 2002 conference in Bangkok that brought together 28 political parties from eight Asian countries to discuss strategies for combating corruption in the political process.

The book examines how political parties operate in Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand, including their structure and financing, the political environments in which they exist, and the reform measures some have adopted to combat corruption.

The 428-page book is a collaborative effort between NDI and the Council of Asian

Liberals and Democrats (CALD), based in the Philippines. It is edited by Peter Manikas, NDI’s Director of Asia Programs, and Laura Thornton, NDI’s Singapore-based Senior Program Manager for Asia.

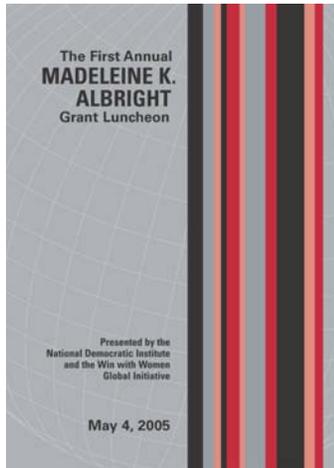


NDI EVENTS

First Annual Madeleine K. Albright Grant Luncheon

On May 4, NDI is hosting a luncheon to present the first annual Madeleine K. Albright Grant to the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (*Kaukus Perempuan Politik Indonesia*, or KPPI) for its efforts to advance women's political leadership. The program will include remarks from NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright, Representative Jane Harman, former Member of Congress and vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, and KPPI Chair Gefarina Djohan.

As part of NDI's commitment to promoting the equitable participation of women in politics and government, the Institute has created the Madeleine K. Albright Grant as a means of supporting organizations around the world that create greater roles for women in political and civic life.



This is part of a larger reform effort launched in 2003 called the *Win with Women Global Initiative*, which promotes the participation of women in politics around the world. Nearly 400 political leaders from 65 countries have become part of this initiative.

This year's grant recipient is the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (KPPI), an organization that is at the forefront of Indonesia's transition to democracy by leading the effort to increase women's political participation. A multi-party organization, KPPI encompasses women from political parties, civic organizations, government, trade unions, academia and the media. KPPI has also been instrumental in advocating for laws to increase women's representation and leadership in political parties.

For more information about the Madeleine K. Albright Grant and the Win with Women Global Initiative, please visit <http://winwithwomen.ndi.org>.

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