



# THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRAT

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.

Vol. I

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## Dakar Conference Opens With Pageantry

Dakar, SENEGAL: It was a remarkable moment, one the delegates to NDI's Conference on Democracy in Africa will long remember. Most of us had participated before in political rallies, but this was something to behold.

Hundreds of African dancers, stilt walkers, musicians and placard carriers were building toward a frenzy as they awaited the arrival of their leader, Senegal's President Abdou Diouf. Within the hour, the President would open the historic conference with a deeply philosophical speech. But now it was time for excitement and color as the supporters of Diouf's party put on a show for the visiting party leaders.

The President's arrival was preceded by the sound of sirens from his motorcycle escort, and the demonstrators seemed to reach for new heights. Congressman Julian Dixon, Chairman Chuck Manatt, and others in the NDI group greeted the President and walked with him the hundred yards to the huge conference auditorium. Chants of "Abdou, Abdou, Abdou!" accompanied them as the crowd surged to catch a glimpse of the popular President.

This was not difficult; Diouf stands 6 feet 6 inches tall, a handsome, erect, almost statuesque man. He looked the epitome of coolness in his finely tailored suit as he raised his arm, smiled and nodded to acknowledge the crowds.

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Pres. Abdou Diouf is greeted by Chairman Charles Manatt and Congressman Julian Dixon.

## African Newspaper Extols Conference

Following are excerpts from a front-page editorial appearing in the Dakar, Senegal newspaper *Le Soleil* on July 4, 1985, the day after the close of the Conference on Democracy in Africa.

### "An Historic Date, A Miracle, A Hope"

"An ideal was realized in Dakar yesterday, where the first meeting between the African and U.S. political parties took place . . .

"The meeting's theme, 'Democracy in Africa,' was neither fortuitous nor gratuitous. It responded to an immense need and gave rise to a tremendous hope: the will to question given ideas and to embark on the exploration of the most proven techniques in the management of human society.

"Why these enthusiastic debates, these rich interventions, this sincerity in the search for an African path to democracy? The continent, as was revealed in this exchange of ideas, is at a crossroads . . .

"The avalanche of military coups followed by their corollary, the abolition of all parliamentary and political activity; the emergence of dictators who consider the dignity of man to be nothing but an unrealistic dream; and the reign of inequity; all these have largely contributed to devalue, in the eyes of public opinion, the image of an Africa which had evoked so much sympathy and hope when it first emerged on the international scene.

"It was expected that, because of the differences among

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## Democratic Survey Team in Northern Ireland

Belfast, NORTHERN IRELAND: Three well-known Democratic Party political experts travelled to Northern Ireland June 15-26 to conduct an NDI-sponsored survey. Les Francis, Peter Fenn, and Paul Quinn, who together account for over 60 years of involvement at all levels of the American political

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## Northern Ireland, Continued from page 1

system, were examining the establishment of a development institute for the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP).

Earlier in June, NDI announced it would work with the SDLP to create for it an institute similar to NDI. The institute was projected as an important center wherein long-range party strategies could be considered, policy positions debated, developmental goals established and relations conducted with similar party institutes in the United States and Europe. The NDI team has now submitted a report detailing how this plan can be carried out.

The SDLP grew out of the civil rights movement of the late 1960's and is the largest party in the minority Catholic community of Northern Ireland. It has long stood for a non-violent approach to the problems of the region and for negotiations with all parties.

SDLP leader John Hume is a member of both the Westminster and European parliaments, and his work is known far beyond the borders of his homeland. A strong voice of reason and non-violence, he has frequently visited the United States, where he has many friends and supporters.

The 10-day visit by the NDI team demonstrated that this project will be of mutual benefit to the two parties. The U.S. team was able to impart some of its considerable knowledge of modern political techniques, and the SDLP leaders provided dramatic testimony of their courageous struggle to conduct democratic politics in a conflict situation.

## Washington Conference with South American Party Leaders

Washington, DC: NDI convened a working conference of South American and U.S. democratic party leaders on May 7-10, 1985 to address the critical issues affecting democracy in the region. Thirty political party leaders attended the conference, representing Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela, as well as the democratic opposition from Chile and Paraguay.

The conferees discussed five agenda items: (1) the impact of internal and external economic and political pressures on democratic institutions; (2) how political parties and party institutes might provide civic education and constituent services; (3) the role of societal institutions — armed forces, organized labor, media, the Church, business and trade associations — in developing and sustaining democratic systems; (4) the role of judicial processes and constitutional protections in maintaining democracy; (5) how the various democratic political parties in the region might assist each other in supporting democracy, especially in situations in which democracy is still being sought, such as Chile and Paraguay.

The conference had two long-term goals: (1) to strengthen working relationships between democratic parties of the region; and (2) to develop a joint agenda for collaborative efforts in the hemisphere. Conference participants were encouraged to submit specific proposals for bilateral projects in democratic development to NDI.

These goals were met during the three day conference as party leaders enthusiastically endorsed the NDI initiative and submitted a number of project proposals. The final communique underscored the crucial role of political parties in democratic societies, called for a return of democracy in Chile and Paraguay and recommended a follow-up meeting within the year.

## A Lonely Struggle At Westminster

Brian Atwood

London, ENGLAND: It was June 26 and nearing 10:30 p.m. as the House of Commons entered its third hour of debate on the bill to extend Britain's direct rule over Northern Ireland. I had flown in from Belfast that day after having attended the final meeting between our Democratic Party survey team and the Executive Committee of John Hume's Social Democratic and Labour Party (see story on page 1). Our project to help the SDLP set up a development institute is based on a shared belief in the democratic process. That process is in a suspended state in Northern Ireland, but it was much in evidence this night at Westminster.

Most of the discussion had centered on Secretary of State Douglas Herd's exhaustive and reasoned justification for another year of London rule over the strife-ridden province. Now came the anticipated fireworks as John Hume squared off against the Reverend Ian Paisley on the age-old controversy over the Orange marches, which celebrate the British victory over the Irish at the Battle of the Boyne — over 295 years ago!

A self-styled fire-and-brimstone preacher-politician, Ian Paisley is the leader of his own fundamentalist church as well as the Democratic Unionist Party. This evening Paisley directed his considerable wrath at the SDLP leader from Derry.

Hume appealed to the British to re-route the Orange marches to avoid provoking the minority Catholic community. Why, he asked, should these marches proceed through the area of Portadown when there was a faster, more direct route to the ultimate destination?

As Paisley presented his case for the original route, John Hume, exercising his right of inquiry, persisted in asking "Why?" No longer able to ignore him, the Reverend Paisley seemed exasperated and somewhat flustered as he blurted: "Because it is tradition!"

Debate in the House of Commons sometimes turns on moments such as this. But there was no vote this night on the routing of the Orange march. Paisley's weak resort to "tradition" probably only confirmed the need for direct rule in the minds of the British MP's present. In Great Britain, there seems to be little patience for the tribal rituals of the troublesome province.

What did seem significant was the contribution John Hume was making — and continues to make — to Westminster's understanding of the Northern Ireland problem. For MP John Hume alone represents the 600,000 people of the Northern Ireland minority community.

A civil rights leader in the 1960's, Hume took his battle to Westminster in 1983. Had about 4,000 votes been turned, three other SDLP seats might have been won that year. So Hume toils alone in London.

He has used his position not only to help the people of his home district, but also those of Belfast, Armagh, and County Down. Jobs, housing, education, public works and modified parade routes are on John Hume's agenda as he seeks to demonstrate that the democratic process is the answer, not violence.

Hume seeks and maintains the high ground at Westminster. He stands against terrorism and violence on both sides. During this debate he would criticize Ian Paisley for appearing at a recent press conference carrying an axe and promising to give the IRA "a taste of its own medicine."

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## Pageantry, Continued from page 1

Inside the hall, hundreds of party loyalists gathered with members of the Senegalese National Assembly, the diplomatic corps and conference delegates to witness the opening ceremony. Chairman Manatt thanked our Senegalese hosts and welcomed the conference delegates. NDI, he said, was in Dakar "to celebrate the spirit of democracy . . . and to explore how we as political leaders can preserve strong traditional democratic values."

Congressman Julian Dixon delivered the keynote address, representing both the world's oldest political party and, arguably, its most democratic legislative body, the U.S. House of Representatives. Dixon offered a unique vision of democracy from the perspective of a minority not always blessed in his own country with equal treatment under the law.

Citing the civil rights struggles of the sixties, Dixon acclaimed the determination and persistence of the thousands of Americans of every race who came to the South "to preserve freedom and democracy." He called the results of this democratization effort "staggering" as the number of black American officials has increased from 280 in 1965 to over 5000 today.

Congressman Dixon adopted an effective approach to reintroducing delegates to the principles of democracy; his speech was well received. His was a uniquely American perspective, and in openly discussing some of the flaws in our own system, the Representative from California set the tone for what was to be a conference marked by candor and introspection.

President Diouf gave a highly philosophical and insightful address and offered an African perspective. He asked conference delegates to think about "the deep spirit of democracy which enabled the Africa of yesteryear to build its empires. . ." Diouf expressed his confidence in the ultimate success of democracy in Africa because of "the African traditions of dialogue and tolerance . . . and the heritage of political consensus."

"African democracy has the weakness of youth," Diouf said, "but it also has the energy, enthusiasm and faith on which foundation something longlasting can be built."

Diouf, raising a subject that would be repeated often in the succeeding days, described African democracy's primary objective as "banishing food shortages for our peoples."

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## Historic Date, Continued from page 1

the political parties present at the meeting, the work sessions would be stormy, difficult, perhaps even impossible. We were instead blessed with a miracle. Agreement was easily reached on the essential points: tolerance for the ideologies and opinions of others, respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens, legal guarantees given to opposing parties in both multi-party states and single-party states.

"When he opened the conference, President Abdou Diouf stated that 'mankind is increasingly placing all its hope for a better life in democracy.'

". . . [W]ithout dwelling on the dissimilarities of the political entities represented — the delegates quickly considered all the questions brought to their attention and drafted a resolution which will put its stamp on the history of post-colonial Africa . . .

"The path to democracy is difficult and tenuous; demo-

cracy calls for uncommon virtues. It postulates generosity, unselfishness, and faith in mankind; it transcends and subsumes pervasive mediocrity and ugliness. But, without democracy, it is doubtful whether Africa will be able to free the creative forces sleeping in each of her children, and true progress and development will always remain an illusory dream . . .

"May the great and powerful United States which, via its political parties, firmly placed itself this week at the side of Africa, bring to this continent — challenged by this difficult but exalted task — its assistance and the moral and spiritual support which, at all times, contributed to the grandeur and renown of that nation."

## Africa Conference Leads to "Dakar Declaration"

Dakar, SENEGAL: Elsewhere on these pages an African editorialist captures very well the atmosphere of the conference sessions. What evolved over the three days came to be known as the "spirit of Dakar" — a spirit widely acclaimed by the delegates, particularly during a series of toasts offered at the dinner concluding the conference.

The "spirit" was not just form; it was also hard substance, as party leaders grappled with difficult topics. It was not easy for some delegates to confront issues such as the role of the party in mobilizing support for public policy, tolerance for dissenting opinions, systems of accountability, and external pressures on democratic and governmental institutions. Not all delegates represented multi-party states, and one from a military regime did not even represent a political party.

Yet the agenda was not ignored, and delegates began offering some observations that would have given pride to democrats everywhere. Among these are the following:

— Attorney General Hassan Jallow, The Gambia: "Dissent within the party must be tolerated, but this cannot be guaranteed if it is not accepted nationally and backed by a free press."

— Former Prime Minister Maati Bouabid, Morocco: "Failure to develop clear party platforms both frustrates the expression of dissent and contributes to a failure to mobilize support."

— Minister P.H.K. Kedikilwe, Botswana: "Parties have a responsibility to give the people a stake in the affairs of the country."

— Minister Hedi Baccouche, Tunisia: "The absence of democracy contributes to the 'brain drain' as those in opposition to governments are driven away."

— Opposition leader Abdoulaye Wade, Senegal: "Ruling parties should advocate the legal protection of the opposition and thus institutionalize the 'renewal of power,' allowing the people to choose the masters of their destiny."

— Minister of State Boutros Ghali, Egypt: "Information sources for party leaders in the Third World are often external; access to information should not be limited to ruling parties, but shared as well with the opposition."

— Opposition leader Paul Berenger, Mauritius: "Mobilizing the masses requires telling them the truth."

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## "Dakar" Declaration, Continued from page 3

These are but a few of the "rich interventions" referred to in the *Le Soleil* editorial. The conference discussion also included a few unfortunate attacks on such democratic institutions as the press and even political parties, but these were quickly rebutted. Some delegates were clearly defensive about their own situation and attempted to rationalize their less-than-democratic systems.

Still, a consensus was painstakingly achieved and, on the final day a rather remarkable "declaration" was negotiated and adopted unanimously. Reporting later to Washington, the American Embassy in Dakar commented on that declaration: "Given the broad range of participants attending the Dakar conference, a declaration of any kind agreed to by all was a minor miracle. That the final document actually supported human rights and democratic development in a number of ways may be considered a substantial achievement."

NDI achieved much more than a declaration at the Dakar conference. Most of the delegates wanted to follow up with bilateral projects in their countries, and most embraced the democratic development goals so well described during the conference. The Institute achieved its objective — we fanned the embers of African democracy, and the fire that burns exceeds even our own expectations. (Excerpts from the "Declaration of Dakar" appear below.)



### **Mondale Becomes NDI's Honorary Chairman** Weil Also Elected to Board

Washington, DC: On June 14, the Institute's Board of Directors met and elected the 1984 Democratic nominee for President, Walter F. Mondale, to the position of Honorary Chairman. Mr. Mondale will also serve as a member of the Board.

Also elected to the Board on June 14 was Mr. Frank Weil, former Undersecretary of Commerce in the Carter Administration. Mr. Weil is a prominent attorney and businessman active in the Democratic Party.

Mr. Mondale was also elected a member of the Board of Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy on June 7. He joins former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger as the most recently elected NED Board members.

## Declaration of Dakar

- The International Conference on Democracy in Africa has attained its historic objective. The representatives of the African political parties present at Dakar agreed on the fundamental principles on which a democratic government is based, i.e. the necessity for tolerance; the protection of human rights; a system wherein those who govern are responsible to the people; and strong political parties.
- The political parties of the United States who have, via their participation in this Conference, contributed eminently to the progress of democracy in Africa, also share this view.
- The representatives of the African parties have agreed to advise their respective governments to ratify the African Charter for Human Rights of all Peoples, which has already been signed by all African states.
- The political party was described as the primary institution for the advancement of pluralistic and democratic values. Parties play a vital role in policy development, as arbiters of opinion, and in mobilizing the population to support policy decisions reached through the process of consensus.
- Keeping this in mind, the conference recommends:
  - In multi-party states, respect for the rules of the democratic game, which implies respect for the rights and the responsibilities of opposing parties.
  - In single-party states, the free exchange of ideas, free choice of representatives, and respect for the rights of the minority.
- The participants in the Dakar Conference condemned the odious apartheid regime of South Africa, describing it as the antithesis of democracy and a negation of human rights.
- Citing the recent invasion of Botswana by South Africa, delegates expressed their solidarity with the people of Botswana and all the front line states, and firmly condemned this action.
- Delegates agreed that East-West rivalry in Africa has not profited the African states. This rivalry deepens the cleavages already existing in Africa and precipitates an arms race, which drains resources needed for economic and social development.
- The conference warmly saluted the initiative of the Democratic Party of the United States, which facilitated this Dakar meeting and encourages the maintenance and reinforcement of the resulting ties of solidarity with Africa.

## NDI Plans Caribbean Conference

Washington, DC: An Advisory Group on the Caribbean met on July 16 to plan an NDI conference in that area. The conference is tentatively scheduled for November with the most likely location being the island-nation of Barbados. The experts suggested a number of interesting topics — among them: The Impact of Foreign Investment on Democratic Institutions; The Prospects for Regional Structures in the Caribbean; The Role of Advocacy in a Democratic State; The Relevance of the "Westminster" system in 1985; and The Participation or Alienation of Youth in the Caribbean Democracies. Each of these topics would serve to introduce NDI to an area where democracy flourishes despite the strain of economic pressures.

Members of the Institute's Advisory Group include: Sally Shelton-Colby — former Ambassador to Barbados, Grenada, St. Kitts and Dominica and currently a vice president at Banker's Trust; George Dalley — executive assistant to Cong. Rangel; Peter Emerson — international economic and political consultant; Lou Goodman — director of Latin American Programs, Wilson Center; Peter Johnson — executive director, Caribbean and Central American Action; Bob Pastor — professor, University of Maryland and former NSC member; Jeff Farrow — professional staff member, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; Stanley Smith — President, Shaw University; Theta Shipp — legislative assistant to Cong. Dymally.

## NDI Workshops at UN Decade for Women

Nairobi, KENYA: Forum '85, a gathering of 11,000 women representing non-governmental organizations from around the world in Nairobi, Kenya was the site of a well received and well attended series of NDI workshops on women in political development, the transition from enfranchisement to empowerment.

The Nairobi NGO Forum preceded the third official UN Conference on Women, marking the close of the UN Decade for Women. This "unofficial" forum, widely recognized as the more innovative and substantive of the two events, was the largest gathering ever of its kind.

NDI held a series of three workshops in Nairobi to address the specific concerns of women as decision makers and active participants in the political process.

NDI's first workshop, entitled "Women in Decision Making: Changing Public Policy," attracted over 60 women whose background ranged from community organizing to elected public office. NDI Board member Arvonne Fraser (representing the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute for Public Affairs) and NDI Program Director Vivian L. Derryck co-chaired the session. Panelists included Mária Rosa de Martini, president of Conciencia, a women's civic education organization in Argentina, and Joan Lester, Member of Parliament and former Minister of Health in the U.K. Their presentations highlighted the appropriateness of political participation for women, and the role of women's organizations as a political force.

NDI's second workshop focused on women in national government. The workshop was co-sponsored by NDI, the African American Institute, and the three female members of the Kenyan Parliament. Mrs. Coretta Scott King gave the opening address, which stressed the particular strengths of

women in the political process. African panelists, including the Honorable Phoebe Assiyo, Member of Parliament, Kenya, the Honorable Gwendoline Konie, former ambassador to the U.N. from Zambia, and other women in politics representing several developing nations spoke on their experiences in attaining public office, and described the obstacles encountered along the way and opportunities for the future. NDI Program Director Vivian Derryck closed the session with remarks on lessons learned regarding women and political participation during the Official Decade for Women.

NDI's third and final workshop brought together leaders of women's organizations from around the world to discuss the organization of women's groups, and their role as a political training ground for women. The discussion prompted numerous questions and substantive debate among the more than 75 participants. Workshop participants were particularly interested in issues such as leadership, organizational development, recruitment, and training.

This series of workshops at the historic Nairobi Forum '85 introduced NDI to women political leaders of all regions and will serve as a sound basis for future programs throughout the world.

### Pageantry, Continued from page 3

Paraphrasing Montesquieu, Diouf said there were "those made poor by harsh governments, those incapable of virtue because their poverty is their burden and those who are not poor because they have not known the luxuries of life." This last group, Diouf observed, "are capable of greater deeds, for their poverty is part and parcel of their freedom."

With these thoughtful ideas and inspirational words ringing in their ears, the delegates proceeded to the conference table where for three days they would explore the applications of democracy to their own parties and political systems. The Dakar Conference on Democracy in Africa was off to an excellent start. (see story on conferences sessions, page 3).

### Westminster, Continued from page 2

This kind of provocative activity, Hume observed, makes Paisley "the best friend the IRA has."

A little after 1:00 a.m. on the morning of June 27, the debate was history and for one more year, Britain would rule Northern Ireland from London. For one more year the British Secretary of State for the province would possess extraordinary powers to combat violence and terrorism, or, potentially, to violate rights that most British subjects take for granted.

It is difficult for an outsider to argue that these measures are not needed. The activities of extremists on both sides continue to dominate the story of Northern Ireland. Nevertheless, this debate confirmed to me that more, not less democracy is needed if the responsible center is to emerge.

I later walked out of Westminster with John Hume into the cool London night. He had made his case well and seemed satisfied. At the same time, he was angry over a religious slur directed at him by one of the Unionist MP's. He would contain his anger, as he had for so many years, for he knew that the MP was hoping for a response in kind.

This night, as before, John Hume would hold the high ground. In a place like Westminster, one can be effective from the high ground, even when one struggles alone.

Brian Atwood is the Executive Director of NDI.

## Visitors to NDI: March - June, 1985

Peter Beattie, Labour Party, Australia  
Hans-Juergen Beerfeltz, Free Democratic Party,  
West Germany  
Benezir Bhutto, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan  
Fritz Bolkestein, Dutch Liberal Party of the Netherlands  
Ricardo Claro, Chilean attorney  
Augusto Conte, Christian Democratic Party, Argentina  
Roberto de Michel, Union Civica Radical, Argentina  
Abdel Kader Fall, Socialist Party, Senegal  
George Gear, Labour Party, Australia  
Dennis Haughey, Social Democratic and Labour Party,  
Northern Ireland  
Abderrahman, Lahrichi, General Union of Moroccan  
Workers, Morocco  
Ricardo Lombardo, Colorado Party, Uruguay  
Dante Loss, Justicialista Party, Argentina  
Giovanni Malagodi, Liberal Party, Italy  
Seamus Mallon, Social Democratic and Labour Party,  
Northern Ireland  
Anthony Page, Labour Party, Great Britain  
Herman Riesco, National Party, Chile  
Peter Robinson, Democratic Unionist Party,  
Northern Ireland  
Luis Stulman, Union Civica Radical, Argentina  
John Whittingdale, Conservative Party, Great Britain

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