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DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE**

FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

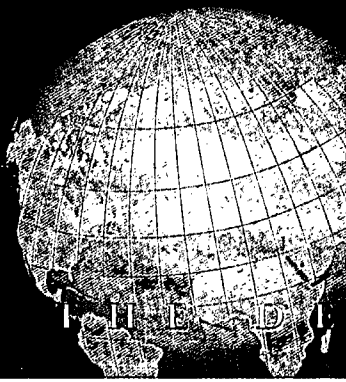
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Eric Massey
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M E X I C O

THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND



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THE SITUATION

Mexico, which shares a 2,000-mile border with the United States, is the U.S.'s third-largest trading partner and a critical component of stability in the hemisphere. However, decades of electoral manipulation have taken a heavy toll on the country's political system, a factor leading to the emergence of guerrilla groups such as the Zapatistas, and other violent advocates of change.

NDI'S RESPONSE

Beginning in 1991, NDI initiated a two-part strategy to provide Mexican citizens with the tools to scrutinize their election process and to advocate for peaceful electoral reform.

NDI brought in experts from Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines and the U.S. to share techniques on training and motivating citizen election monitors. NDI trained groups of Mexican volunteers to conduct a parallel vote tabulation, using methods developed and proven in previous elections throughout the world. A parallel count enables citizens to independently verify official election results to promote public confidence in the voting process.

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DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

The 1994 presidential race provided a critical test for these new, volunteer observers and the parallel count technique. NDI encouraged the various civic groups with which it had been working to join together in a national coalition. More than 400 groups formed the Civic Alliance, the largest independent citizen network in Mexico. NDI experts also helped the Alliance launch a public information campaign to educate Mexicans about the parallel vote tabulation and affirm its credibility. NDI also organized an international election observer mission to reinforce the work of the domestic monitors.

In the months leading up to the elections, the Civic Alliance mobilized more than 14,000 volunteer monitors, whose efforts increased voter confidence in the process. After election day, the Civic Alliance's analysis of the entire electoral process, particularly biased media coverage of the political campaign and unregulated campaign spending, played an important role in maintaining public pressure for continued electoral reforms. With its credibility established, the Alliance subsequently evolved into what the *Washington Post* called a "national good-government organization."

While continuing its work with civic groups, NDI also managed to overcome Mexico's longstanding distrust of international involvement. With the cooperation of the Mexican Federal Electoral Institute, the authority that runs Mexican elections, and the Civic Alliance, NDI cosponsored forums dedicated to improving Mexico's flawed election laws. Many of the recommendations raised by international experts and Alliance members at the various forums were eventually adopted by the Mexican Congress.

OUTCOMES

Efforts to reform the election process culminated on July 6, 1997, when Mexico held the country's fairest and most competitive elections in history. The July elections represent the promise of genuine multiparty democracy in a country long plagued by electoral fraud and one-party rule.

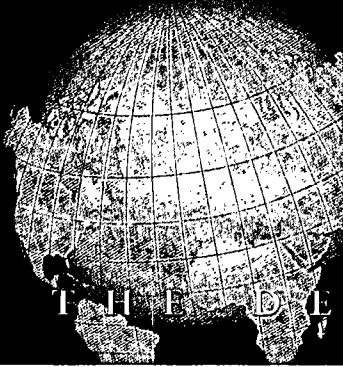
In what analysts interpreted as an unparalleled call for change, Mexican voters gave the opposition Democratic Revolution Party (PRD) historic victories at the ballot box. The PRD won a majority of seats on the capital city's "general assembly" or city council as well as the mayoral race in Mexico City, a post formerly handpicked by the president. For the first time in 70 years, the ruling Institutional Revolution Party (PRI) also lost its majority in Congress, a transformation that is likely to usher in a new era of compromise and negotiation with opposition parties.



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1717 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW, FIFTH FLOOR WASHINGTON, DC 20036

202-328-3136 FAX: 202-939-3166 EMAIL: DEMOS@NDI.ORG HTTP://WWW.NDI.ORG



W E S T B A N K A N D G A Z A S T R I P

T H E D E M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

*"The direct
assistance
provided
by...NDI...
has been
invaluable."*

**AHMED QREI'A
SPEAKER,
PALESTINIAN
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL**



THE SITUATION

As efforts to reach a Middle East peace settlement continue, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are striving to build democratic institutions in territory officially known as the Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority. In January 1996, Palestinians for the first time chose their political leaders to govern the self-rule areas, electing an 88-member Legislative Council and a chief executive, Yasser Arafat, of the Palestinian Authority. If a framework for constructive citizen participation and democratic governance can be built alongside the peace process, Palestinians will gain faith in a political system that will be an integral part of that process. While establishing a democratic society may not make headlines, the fate of a lasting peace may hinge on its ultimate success.

NDI'S RESPONSE

Following intensive consultations and survey research in the region, NDI developed an innovative approach to civic education. Through a series of moderated, community based discussion groups and the regular distribution of companion printed material, the program—called Civic Forum—assists Palestinians with understanding democratic institutions and participation. Today, the Forum has become a popular feature of democratic activity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. By 1998, 16 moderators were holding discussion groups every six weeks for more than 6,000 participants. In a volatile environment, Civic Forum provides a peaceful setting to discuss and promote democratic principles, and enables participants to learn while actually putting those ideals into practice such as developing tolerance for dissenting views.

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

Civic Forum topics have included government accountability, the role of political parties in a democracy and a definition of the powers of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC). Some forums have established important precedents by convening town-hall style meetings at which elected officials personally respond to concerns voiced by their constituents. Palestinian residents now take their lessons into the community by organizing civic activities to solve local problems. Veteran Civic Forum participants, armed with an understanding of their rights and a new appreciation for petitioning government, have called on the Palestinian Authority to improve water and sewer systems, urged government action on pollution, started schools and sports clubs, built soccer fields and volunteered their time in community efforts.

Recognizing that the Palestinian Legislative Council is an institutional linch pin in the fragile but promising democratic culture emerging in the West Bank and Gaza, NDI's efforts have also sought to develop a competent, responsive and accountable legislature. Utilizing a volunteer network of international practitioners and a resident specialist with experience as the speaker of a parliament, NDI provides practical information and advice on parliamentary organization to Palestinian legislators and decisionmakers.

NDI published and distributed to all PLC members the Council's Standing Orders in a hand-size binder, which, according to legislators, helped the Council curtail acrimonious debate, and conduct more orderly and productive legislative sessions. Following recommendations from an NDI workshop, PLC members revived the "question period" and the Council now devotes a portion of its Thursday sessions to formally questioning Palestinian Authority ministers. In July 1997, a special committee of the PLC issued a historic report, exposing corruption within the Authority. The primary authors of the report were active participants in NDI workshops.

OUTCOMES

According to a recent independent study based on focus group research, Civic Forum participants are more likely than nonparticipants to understand and apply democratic principles, and are more inclined to use dialogue and compromise to solve disputes. Having developed a draft constitution, local government legislation and a judicial reform law, the Palestinian Council has made progress toward establishing itself as an independent institution. NDI continues to help the PLC develop into a more effective vehicle for popular political participation. NDI is also moving toward transforming Civic Forum into a wholly Palestinian-run civic organization.



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M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

NDI began working with the Campaign for Free Elections, an opposition coalition preparing for the plebiscite. Because voter rolls had been destroyed following the coup, NDI brought in technical experts from six countries to provide a blueprint for a voter registration campaign. In 1987, hundreds of national, provincial and local campaign leaders attended a seminar organized by NDI and its Chilean sponsors to launch a nationwide registration drive.

Leaders of 16 parties subsequently joined together to form the "Command for the No," which urged Chileans to reject Pinochet as a means of attaining their ultimate goal—free and open elections. NDI advisers provided pro bono technical advice on polling, computerization, media and organization. Polls were commissioned and ads were produced to compete with the junta's media blitz. NDI statisticians and computer experts worked for months with the Campaign to prepare a statistically accurate, independent vote tally as a bulwark against fraud.

OUTCOMES

Early on plebiscite night, the opposition began releasing its results through radio stations around the country. The Interior Ministry, reneging on its promise to post early results, remained silent. With midnight approaching, tanks began to appear on Santiago's streets. As tensions mounted, the independent tally revealed an opposition victory so convincing it even impressed some Pinochet supporters, who began urging the government to release official results. After midnight, a junta member conceded defeat. "Chileans were not the only ones who were united," said Genaro Arriagada, coordinator of the Campaign. "The effort was also the work of a distinguished group . . . associated with NDI."

Chile has conducted two presidential elections since the 1988 plebiscite, which helped continue a democratic revival across the hemisphere. With its democratic tradition and economy revitalized, it has grown into a regional economic power and an inspiration to democrats in Latin America and beyond. Following the historic plebiscite, Chilean experts, including Eduardo Frei, who was to become president of the country, traveled with NDI to every region of the world to share their strategies for coalition-building and organization.



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C H I L E

THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

"This collaboration in the service of democracy between Chile's democratic forces and NDI has been, without a doubt, an integral part of this miracle of unity that we celebrate today."

**GENARO ARRIAGADA,
COORDINATOR OF
THE CAMPAIGN FOR
FREE ELECTIONS**



© STEVEN RUBIN/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

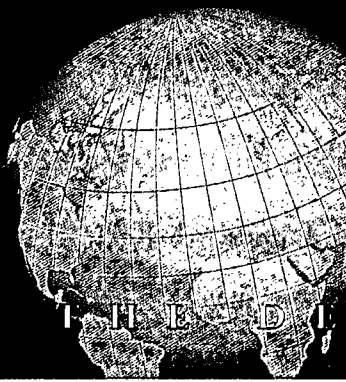
Following a violent coup in 1973, a military junta led by General Augusto Pinochet assumed dictatorial powers. The opposition was brutally repressed, with thousands killed, imprisoned or exiled. Arbitrary arrests, torture and "disappearances" marked the regime's notorious record of abuses.

NDI'S RESPONSE

At a time when it appeared the democratic opposition might wither, NDI brought together the regime's fractious and demoralized opponents for meetings in Washington and Caracas. As one leader observed, "We had to come here to learn to talk to one another."

Confident of its power, the junta scheduled a plebiscite in 1988, in which Chileans would vote on extending military rule for seven more years. If voters chose "No," Pinochet would remain in office only for an additional year after which competitive elections would be held.

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THE NDI DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

participation and reform. To develop the PDA's political skills, as well as its faith in Romania's democratic potential, NDI brought in experts from Bulgaria, Chile, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines and Zambia who were experienced civic organizers in nondemocratic environments. NDI served as a bridge between Romanian reformers, who were unaccustomed to cooperating with one another, and their elected officials, many of whom were reluctant to recognize the need for popular political participation.

Borrowing from successful NDI programs elsewhere, the PDA initiated a nationwide civic education campaign, including mock elections, "town hall" meetings, public debates and an information campaign about the democratic process. It successfully lobbied parliament to open plenary sessions to the public, publish draft bills, and invite public testimony at hearings. Groups of schoolchildren began making regular trips to parliament, a civics lesson that was inconceivable only a few years before. Meanwhile, NDI legislative experts from four nations worked with Romanian lawmakers to improve their constituent communication and services.

With daily support from NDI advisers, the PDA established three dozen local branches. Thousands of PDA volunteers turned out to monitor elections in 1992 and 1996. Using skills he says he learned from NDI advisers, PDA's founding leader campaigned for mayor of Brasov, Romania's second-largest city, and won.

OUTCOMES

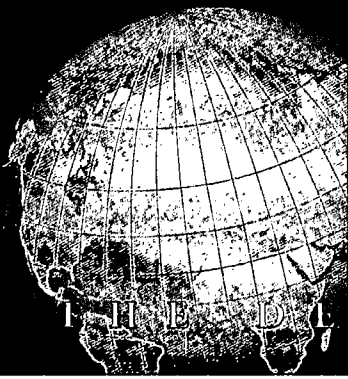
The PDA was a major force in creating a new political environment. A more informed and active citizenry began to emerge. By 1996, Romanians had overcome their fear and embraced the democratic ideal of political choice. The coalition of democratic parties achieved an historic victory, defeating the post-communist government in national elections. NDI remains actively engaged in Romania, working to consolidate the gains of fledgling democratic parties and institutions, and readying the PDA and others to stand on their own.



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R O M A N I A

T H E D E M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

“If one really needs figures to quantify, NDI representatives changed, in Romania, the 12 staff members of my organization, who, in our turn, changed another 7,000 people... who, in turn, motivated tens of thousands of others to participate in the democratic process.”

**ALINA INAYEH,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
PRO DEMOCRACY
ASSOCIATION**



© LARRY BOYD/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

Four decades of repression and a Stalinist economy left Romanians destitute, economically and politically. Essential foodstuffs were scarce. Independent social institutions were destroyed while a vast network of secret police exercised Orwellian control. Public meetings were banned; typewriters were registered by state.

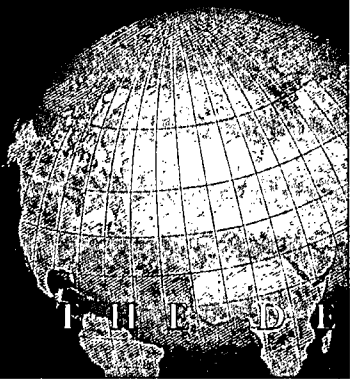
Following the 1990 overthrow of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, a visiting NDI delegation found traumatized citizens who had little understanding of political rights or democratic processes. Ceausescu's legacy, said one student leader, was “inertia and fear.”

NDI'S RESPONSE

In advance of elections organized by a successor regime of former communists, NDI advisers flew to Romania to aid local democrats with organizational and electoral strategies. But the weakness of democratic parties and the deep conditioning of Romanians to accede to authority assured the former communists' victory.

In defeat, however, NDI representatives recognized the building blocks of a viable democratic movement. NDI advisers trained a handful of activists who established the Pro Democracy Association (PDA). They began educating citizens and promoting political

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THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

In three years of training in the U.S. and Northern Ireland, NDI offered the SDLP advice in all aspects of political organization—from running for office to organizing local party branches. The NDI-trained members soon filled the party's leadership ranks. After winning election to local government councils, they strategically focused the party's resources on winning key parliamentary elections. Within a decade, the SDLP quadrupled its representation in the British parliament, providing Hume with a political base from which to press other parties toward the peace process.

In 1997, NDI also facilitated cooperation between Northern Ireland party leaders and South Africans who actually negotiated the historic transition to all-race elections and democratic rule. South Africa's transition, where democracy and reconciliation replaced authoritarianism and war, became a model for other countries striving to resolve seemingly intractable conflicts. In attendance at this exchange program, held outside of Cape Town, South Africa, were leaders of nationalist and unionist parties, the two sides of Northern Ireland's political divide. They heard President Nelson Mandela and South Africa's historic rivals describe the challenges they faced in reconciling differences and achieving consensus.

OUTCOMES

Months after it ended, the South Africa program, which took place before multiparty peace talks convened in Belfast, continued to influence the negotiations. "We have all been affected by this experience," said one Northern Ireland political party representative. "It is inevitable that our perspectives have changed . . . barriers have been broken down . . ."

NDI, which possesses the breadth of contacts and depth of experience in both Northern Ireland and South Africa to implement this unique cross-regional initiative, is optimistic that the lessons learned in South Africa help provide a model and catalyst for negotiation between Catholics and Protestants.

Regardless of the final settlement in Northern Ireland—which remains uncertain—both unionist and nationalist parties are likely to take more active roles in governance. Yet after years of political exclusion, they recognize they are unprepared for leadership. Consequently, parties across the sectarian divide have requested that NDI expand its training to improve their organizing skills, constituent service and overall leadership capacity.



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N O R T H E R N I R E L A N D

I N D I M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

*"Not a day goes
by in the
[Northern
Ireland] talks
that a reference
is not made to
the South Africa
experience.*

*It was a
turning point
in our lives."*

**PARTICIPANT IN THE
NORTHERN IRELAND
PEACE TALKS**



© DONNA DICESARE/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

Decades of sectarian political violence have claimed thousands of lives in Northern Ireland. But the ongoing strife has also demoralized a generation of political leadership and eroded public confidence in the political system. With a fragile ceasefire in place, the governments of Great Britain and Ireland convened multiparty peace talks among Northern Ireland's political forces to shape a new settlement for the province. These events have raised hopes for a peaceful resolution of Europe's most enduring civil conflict.

NDI'S RESPONSE

Since 1985, NDI has worked with political parties that support nonviolence and democratic reconciliation in Northern Ireland. NDI focused its early efforts on the Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), the only major political party in the Catholic community that advocated a democratic accommodation of both Protestants and Catholics. After the party's poor showing in local elections in 1985, SDLP leader John Hume sought NDI's assistance in developing the skills of young party members and in broadening the party's base.

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NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

"NDI has enabled us to proceed with confidence that we are writing our legislation fully informed about the experiences of others worldwide."

**M. VALLI MOOSA,
MINISTER FOR
PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND
CONSTITUTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT**

In the three years after Mandela's election, South Africans wrote a new constitution, conducted elections for 800 local government bodies, stabilized an uncertain economy and laid the foundation of an independent judicial system. The responsibilities were so daunting that, after the elections, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told NDI, "We actually need you more now."

Drawing on a global network of experts, NDI brings a wide range of democratic political experiences to policy deliberations underway in South Africa. Much of NDI's program relates to the continuing evolution of South Africa's government institutions under the new constitution. From offices in Cape Town and Johannesburg, NDI programs reinforce the democratic transition with activities to strengthen the national and provincial parliaments, develop stronger intergovernmental relations, and promote public participation and transparency in legislative decisionmaking. Government officials and legislators have sought NDI's assistance with drafting laws to fund political parties, determine ethical standards for members of parliament and cabinet ministers, and develop new local government structures. The Institute also assembles resource teams of international specialists who are "on call" to respond to inquiries from South African decisionmakers. NDI is deeply involved with those establishing a new model of intergovernmental relations known as "cooperative government" which national, provincial and local jurisdictions all contribute to the policy-making and administrative processes. To assist those developing this constitutionally mandated system, NDI has brought in municipal experts, organized public forums, designed data bases and helped improve the operations of nascent provincial governments as well as the National Council of Provinces, the second house of the national parliament.

OUTCOME

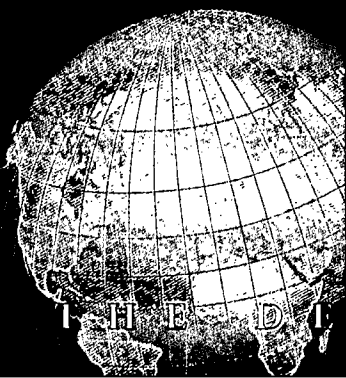
In 1994, less than 1 percent of all ballots cast were invalidated due to voter error—a statistic that underscored the success of Project Vote's voter education efforts. Today, NDI works closely with South Africa's political leadership to reinforce the country's ongoing democratic transition. The Institute's program to support the development of new parliamentary ethics regulations bore fruit in 1996 when the National Assembly passed a landmark code of conduct. NDI also worked with the government ministry writing legislation to implement constitutional provisions that call for public financing of political parties; that legislation is expected to pass parliament in 1998. NDI's programs have earned the respect of officials from across the political spectrum who have come to rely on the Institute's responsiveness and long-term commitment to a new, democratic South Africa.



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S O U T H A F R I C A

T H E D E M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

“...the National Democratic Institute... has been working hand-in-hand with Project Vote since 1991 to provide necessary guidance in navigating the tough terrain of democracy.”

ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU



© PAULA BRONSTEIN/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

Four years after walking out of Pollsmoor prison in 1990, Nelson Mandela was sworn in as president of South Africa—a country that emerged from one of history’s most debilitating racial struggles to a new era of multiracial democracy. As the world and South Africans celebrated historic elections in 1994, the country’s new political leadership embarked on the difficult task of transforming its apartheid political system into a multiparty, democratic government. Challenges loomed as newly elected lawmakers faced critical legislative responsibilities, including the creation of “enabling” legislation to convert the principles of South Africa’s new constitution into the laws of the land.

NDI’S RESPONSE

Key to the success of the 1994 polls was the ability of millions of South Africans, previously denied the right to vote, to participate confidently in the electoral process. Voter education formed the heart of Project Vote, an ambitious program initiated with NDI’s support years before national polls and sustained through local elections in 1995 and 1996. NDI and Project Vote trained thousands of grassroots organizers who in turn tutored tens of thousands of their fellow citizens on voting principles and practices. From distributing 15 million copies of the *Voting Times*, which detailed the balloting process, to conducting informational rap, gospel and jazz “road shows,” Project Vote reached the most remote corners of the country and educated newly enfranchised voters. Even the official ballot used on election day was adapted from the sample ballot designed for Project Vote training materials.

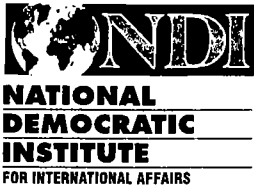
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NDI Reports

FALL 1999

EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM

16 Countries in Transition Share Achievements, Challenges

Political and civic leaders from 16 countries on four continents called upon the international donor community and international financial institutions to use democratic criteria and "give priority to those countries implementing political as well as economic reforms" in determining aid, loan and debt reduction policies. The Sana'a Declaration, issued at the close of a three-day summit in Yemen, defined these political reforms as measures that "advance popular participation, build

"The goal of the conference goes beyond morale-boosting; representatives will trade tales on party building, balancing political and economic reform, fighting corruption and other nitty-gritty of democracy building."

*"The Democracy Club,"
The Washington Post*

public trust in elections and legislatures, and enhance government transparency and accountability."

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Special English Edition on
The Occasion of Emerging
Democracies Forum
Sana'a 28-30 June 1999

AL-THAWRA

Tue 29 Jun 1999
15/ 3/1420 - No.
(12648)

Daily Political Review

In the attendance of 17 countries and 200 International officials the President inaugurated the Forum

The President : No Development Without Democracy And No Democracy Without Development



Sana'a, May Emerging Democracies International Our friends, we are looking for this Forum to come Yemeni people's celebrations of the 9th unity National

Special English edition of Al-Thawara newspaper headlines remarks by Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh at opening session of Emerging Democracies Forum.

WEST, CENTRAL & EAST AFRICA

Civilian Take Over in Nigeria

May 29 marked a historic moment in Nigeria, as elected officials, including President Olusegun Obasanjo, 469 members of the National Assembly, 36 state governors, and hundreds of state and local authorities took their oaths of office. For the first time in more than 15 years, civilians govern Africa's most populous country. While the momentous transfer to civilian rule

was cause for celebration, the seriously flawed elections that preceded it underscored the challenges that lie ahead for advancing democracy in Nigeria.

Obasanjo, a retired general, previously ruled Nigeria from 1976 to 1979 and was the country's only military head of state to willingly transfer power to an elected civilian government. In his inaugural address, he acknowledged

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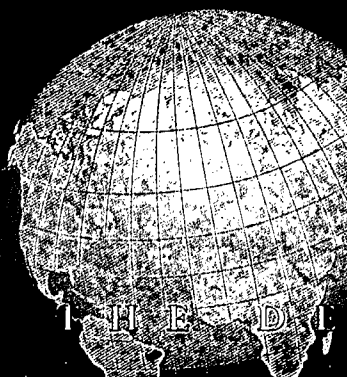
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THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND



A PROGRAM
OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC
INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL
AFFAIRS



R U S S I A

THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

"Your tireless efforts have helped us a great deal."

YEGOR GAIDAR
CHAIRMAN,
DEMOCRATIC CHOICE
OF RUSSIA PARTY

"The leadership of...Yabloko expresses its gratitude to [NDI]."

G.A. YAVLINSKY
LEADER,
YABLOKO PARTY



© DAVID BLUMENFELD/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

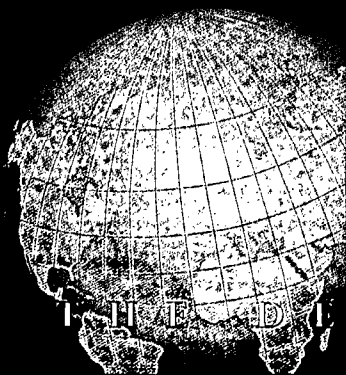
NDI began working in Russia in 1990, when Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* created an opening for the Institute to train a small and disparate group of reform leaders who were elected to city councils throughout the country. NDI trainers worked primarily to improve the reformers' management and budgeting skills and to increase their understanding of democratic principles and practices. In the process, various reformers from across the nation established working relationships.

NDI'S RESPONSE

Soon thereafter, NDI-trained leaders established the 80-member Association of Russian Cities; others formed the reformist political movement, Democratic Russia. During the 1991 coup attempt by communist hardliners, the Association served as a nationwide communication link for the resistance to the coup. Working out of Moscow City Council offices, it was able to transmit news of the resistance, including Boris Yeltsin's dramatic speech from atop a Soviet tank, which the state media had blacked out.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, Russia emerged as a small and weaker state, stripped of its empire and unsure about its future direction amid a series of fast-moving events. NDI

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THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

opened a Moscow office in 1992. It worked with leaders of emerging democratic parties and civic groups in the skills and methods of political organizing—from volunteer recruitment to communications—so that crumbling Soviet edifices might be replaced with democratic institutions.

Parliamentary elections in 1993 and 1995 put the reformers' NDI training to the test. Whereas initial electoral efforts in 1993 were often haphazard, by 1995 several democratic parties had learned to target voters geographically and demographically and were using sophisticated outreach techniques.

The 1996 presidential election was a watershed for Russian democrats, most of whom united behind Boris Yeltsin. At first, old-school operatives were running his languishing campaign. Then, shortly before the election, Yeltsin revamped his team. Many NDI-trained activists emerged contributing their organizing skills to the President's winning effort.

OUTCOMES

Yeltsin's reelection marked important progress toward democracy. Yet, Russia's new political institutions are not yet secure and self-sufficient. Citizens still lack a real say in government decisions. Political parties and civic groups must organize to influence public policies and participate in future elections. The legislature must be strengthened to better represent popular interests. And local governments, which are closest to citizens' concerns, must assume more authority.

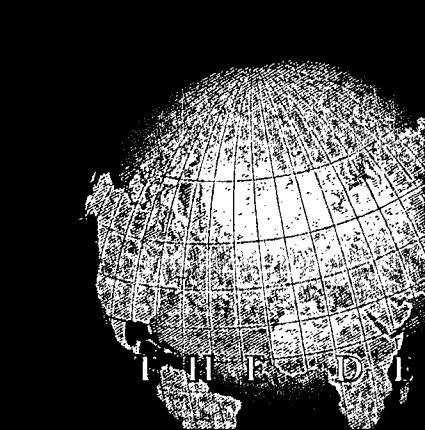
NDI continues to work with Russia's nascent reform-oriented political parties and movements; more than 4,000 activists have already participated in NDI training programs. NDI has also invested in the capacity of civic groups to engage in the democratic process, including their ability to organize, advocate public issues and participate in elections. At the same time, the Institute has worked with local elected officials on constituency relations and has encouraged political parties to forge relationships with these groups. The task is enormous. But the threat of retreat from democracy in this powerful and populous state more than justifies the investment.



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1717 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, NW, FIFTH FLOOR WASHINGTON, DC 20036

202-328-3136 FAX: 202-939-3166 EMAIL: DEMOS@NDI.ORG [HTTP://WWW.NDI.ORG](http://WWW.NDI.ORG)



T H E P H I L I P P I N E S

M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

"[NDI's] excellent and highly professional work contributed to public understanding of what occurred during the election and helped to preserve democracy in the Philippines."

**GEORGE SHULTZ, FORMER
SECRETARY OF STATE**



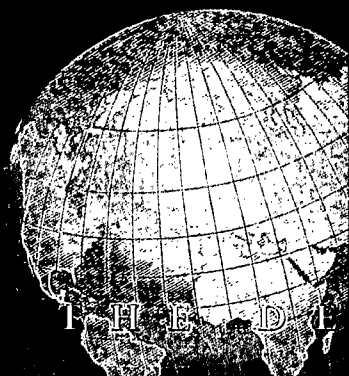
THE SITUATION

In March 1986, many Filipinos had refused to participate in the presidential election between President Ferdinand Marcos and Corozon Aquino, assuming it would be a sham. But a civic group called the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) encouraged public involvement as a necessary step to restoring democracy. NAMFREL, with roots in the free election movements of the 1950s, had been formed by civic, business and religious leaders shortly after the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino. In an extraordinary organizational effort, NAMFREL mobilized "Operation Quick Count," an independent vote tabulation carried out by 500,000 nonpartisan volunteers.

NDI'S RESPONSE

On election day, members of the NDI's international observer delegation joined NAMFREL pollwatchers, fanning out across the archipelago's 7,000 islands to cover 15 provinces and more than 1,500 precincts. The delegation witnessed every type of electoral violation imaginable. In one region, voters openly bartered ballots for pesos. Thousands of voters were physically intimidated or otherwise turned away from polling stations. Three NAMFREL volunteers were killed and scores injured attempting to protect the integrity of the ballots.

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THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

Having witnessed these efforts to ensure a Marcos victory, NDI observers were as shocked as the Filipinos themselves when early returns at the government's Commission on Elections (COMELEC) corresponded to NAMFREL's "Quick Count." Both showed the president trailing challenger Corazon Aquino. Suddenly, the vote count slowed to a trickle. New numbers were subsequently posted showing Marcos surging ahead.

COMELEC computer operators, who transmitted the official vote count, quickly realized that the new numbers had been fabricated. Thirty courageous operators rose in protest and abandoned their stations at the national counting center. Escorted by members of NDI's observer team, the operators took refuge in Manila's largest cathedral, where, despite fear of reprisals, they told a worldwide television audience their story.

OUTCOMES

In announcing its preliminary assessment of the election, the NDI was the first group to substantiate NAMFREL's claims of pervasive electoral fraud. Confronted by international condemnation on the one hand, and mounting internal pressure on the other, the Marcos regime succumbed fewer than two weeks later to the historic "people power" revolution, which restored democracy to the Philippines.

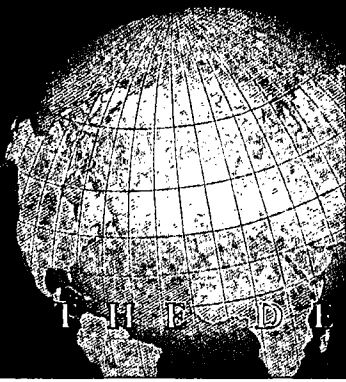
Working through NDI, NAMFREL experts now train similar groups on every continent, helping to build election watchdog efforts around the world. NAMFREL's inspiring story has provided a model for political participation.



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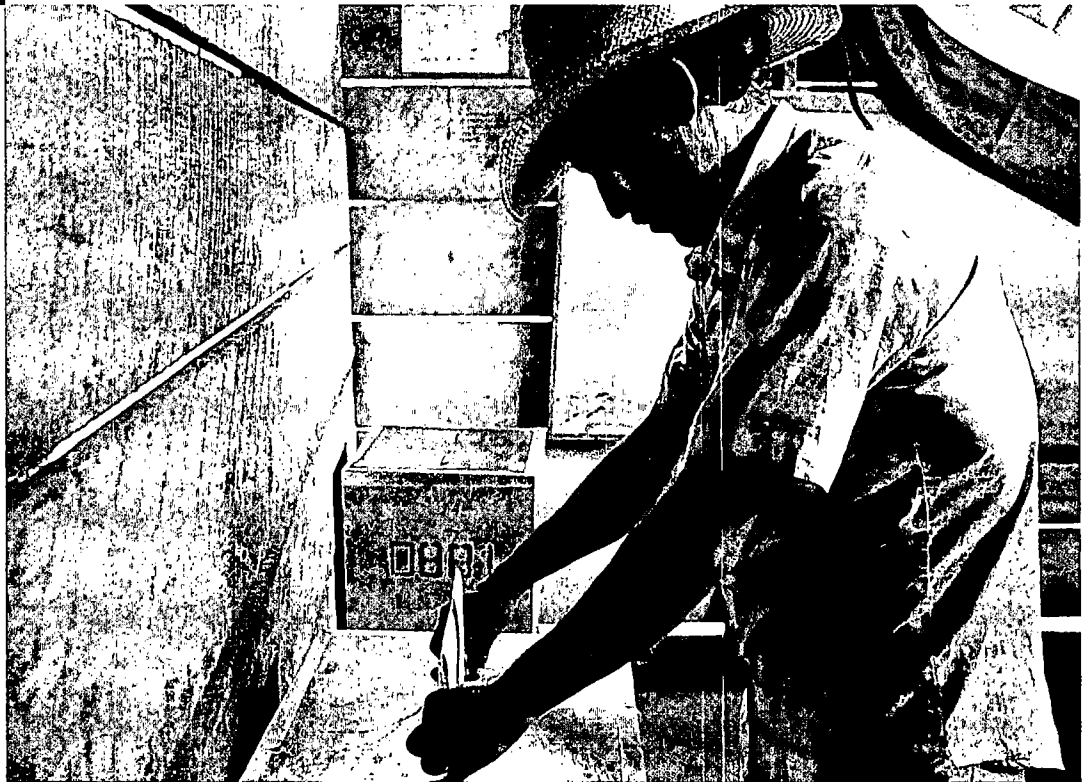


N I C A R A G U A

T H E D E M O C R A T I C C E N T U R Y F U N D

*"I have asked
the National
Democratic
Institute to
sponsor a civic
education process
to achieve,
on the one hand,
the people's respect
for the army;
and on the
other hand,
the army's respect
for the people's
decisions..."*

**FORMER PRESIDENT
VIOLETA CHAMORRO**



© MARVIN COLLINS/IMPACT VISUALS

THE SITUATION

After decades of authoritarian rule, Nicaragua has become a full member of the hemisphere's community of democracies. Following historic transition elections in 1990, however, formidable challenges remained, including establishing civilian control of the Sandinista army and overcoming a legacy of political divisiveness that threatened the democratic process. In 1992, Nicaraguan political leaders, including then-President Violeta Chamorro, requested NDI's help in transforming the nation's often perilous military traditions and culture.

NDI'S RESPONSE & OUTCOMES

In response, NDI initiated programs to strengthen civilian oversight of the armed forces and to promote communication and consensus among the government, political parties and the army. After holding separate meetings with feuding civilian and military officials, in 1993 NDI convened an unprecedented public forum on civil-military relations with Nicaragua's key political and army leaders. This and subsequent high-level colloquies prompted significant agreements on changing the politically charged name of the Sandinista army, reforming the country's undemocratic military legislation and creating a civilian-led ministry of defense.

continued on back



THE DEMOCRATIC CENTURY FUND

For several years, NDI brought in specialists from other countries to share their experiences in integrating the military into nascent democracies. Volunteer experts included the former civilian defense ministers of Argentina and Chile, senior legislative staff from throughout the region and retired Portuguese, Spanish and U.S. army officers. Their briefings helped fill a critical void in civilian defense expertise while exposing Nicaraguan army officers—most of whom had been trained in Cuba, East Germany or the Soviet Union—to principles of democratic civil-military relations.

The National Assembly has since passed groundbreaking military legislation and constitutional reforms; the army is on a professional path; and political and military leaders now regularly consult one another. NDI also helped establish the Center for Strategic Studies, Nicaragua's first nongovernmental institution dedicated to strengthening democratic civil-military relations. The work of the Center was so highly regarded that its president was recently appointed Nicaragua's first civilian vice minister of defense.

In addition to its work on civil-military relations, NDI has been active in protecting the integrity of Nicaraguan elections. In 1996, NDI actively supported Nicaragua's first non-partisan national election observer effort, known as "Ethics and Transparency" (ET). With training from NDI, the organization recruited and deployed more than 4,200 volunteers who monitored nearly 90 percent of Nicaragua's 9,005 polling sites. ET quickly emerged as the most broad-based civic group in the country's history—becoming a symbol of pluralism and national reconciliation.

The group's independent vote count overcame the pervasive mistrust and suspicion that has characterized Nicaraguan politics for decades. The *Economist* called ET's creation one of the more inspiring—and potentially most enduring—consequences of the election. The *Washington Post* stated, "The particular danger [in Nicaragua] is the absence of institutions and habits of a grass-roots civil society able to stir cooperation in public enterprises from below. This is what ET provided."



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1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Fifth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel: (202) 328-3136 Fax: (202) 939-3100
E-Mail: ndi@ndi.org
Home Page: <http://www.ndi.org>

October 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM

TO: NDI BOARD OF DIRECTORS
AND
SENIOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE

FROM: Kenneth D. Wollack 

I thought you would be interested in the attached article that appeared in the Mail & Guardian.

The article highlights the results of the NDI-sponsored visit to South Africa by leaders of Northern Ireland's political parties. We have since learned that the program has contributed measurably to the recent negotiations in Belfast. In fact, one prominent political leader stated: "Not a day goes by in the [Northern Ireland] talks that a reference is not made to the South Africa experience. It was a turning point in our lives".

ATTACHMENT

MAIL & GUARDIAN
September 19 to 25 1997

'I could learn to love my enemy'

Martin McGuinness speaks to Dean Nelson about what he has learnt from the South African peace process

Variously described as Sinn Féin's chief negotiator, the Irish Republican Army's godfather of godfathers and the personification of its armed struggle, Martin McGuinness appears far too sober to have revelations.

But he has had one and it's shocking: he could actually come to like his Ulster Unionist Party opponent David Trimble and one day may even love Democratic Unionist Party opponent Reverend Ian Paisley.

Such a vision seems more like a hallucination. It came in the Western Cape in early June as leaders of Ulster's main political parties met the South African government and the strategists who negotiated the country's transition from apartheid.

The Ulster delegates wanted to see if they could learn from South Africa's experience in resolving what had been one of this century's most enduring conflicts. McGuinness was moved by what he saw.

"We had people there from the National Party, Roelf Meyer, Cyril Ramaphosa of the African National Congress, people from the old South African Defence Force and many of the other political parties involved in the negotiations.

"What I found really interesting about it was that obviously a number of years previously these people were bitter enemies, and here they were sitting together. From watching their body language it was clear that many of them actually liked each other, even loved each other.

"The message for me was that if they can do that, we can do that also."

But the conditions that were laid down by the unionist parties for Sinn Féin's attendance adds another perspective: they were forced to travel separately, at the end of the weekend says McGuinness. Nelson Mandela made two farewell speeches — one for Sinn Féin, one for the others.

It says much for the chief negotiator's optimism that he could find any hope in such complete isolation. "I said at the end of the weekend — even though there were all sorts of problems and there was no doubt the unionists felt very uncomfortable, probably much more uncomfortable than we felt — that no party would remain unaffected by what they had heard, and I believed that in the weeks and months ahead we could possibly see the results of that trip.



Optimistic: Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin's chief negotiator and the IRA's godfather of godfathers. PHOTOGRAPH: KELVIN BOYES

He points to his head-to-head debate with the unionist MP, Ken Maginnis, on a BBC programme as one of those first fruits. Although that encounter revealed only the strength of unionist contempt for the republican leader, McGuinness regards it as evidence of new thinking within unionism.

"I publicly gave credit to David Trimble and Peter Robinson for going to South Africa because the only logical reason why people thought they went there was because they felt they had something to learn. And that was progress. It's a small step, but I see it as new thinking by their standards."

McGuinness recounts a discussion with Meyer, the NP's former chief negotiator with the ANC. Meyer told him that his party's big mistake was to regard the problems of apartheid as security issues rather than political ones.

"They only moved forward in the South African peace process when the NP was willing to concede that the problem was a deeply rooted political one which required political negotiations. From that moment, from FW de Klerk accepting this new analysis, the situation moved forward."

He says the IRA's 1994 ceasefire collapsed because the British government, notably former prime minister John Major and former Northern Ireland secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew, continued to focus on security issues rather than political dialogue.

"I could have walked away from all this in 1993, when Mayhew went into the British House of Commons and told a bucketful of lies about my role in the private discussions between Sinn Fein and the British government; when he said the reason these contacts began was because they got a message from Martin McGuinness. Many people within republicanism since then have asked, why did Mayhew do that?"

"It has always been my belief that British strategy in Ireland for many, many years has been controlled by people who have a military agenda, by people who believed for over a quarter of a century that you could kill the problem in Ireland, imprison it, shoot to kill it."

Republican paranoia about British bad faith in the peace process was reinforced by the leaked government memorandum over Drumcree, stating the intention to have "a controlled parade on the Garvaghy Road" over the heads of local objectors.

It was the long list of people in MI5 and British military intelligence to whom the document was circulated that interested Sinn Fein most, reinforcing their belief that the government continues to see Northern Ireland as a military rather than political problem.

McGuinness believes that British Prime Minister Tony Blair may be Ireland's De Klerk in that he has taken "courageous steps over the months to remove such obstacles" and that "this is the beginning of a British government challenging those people with a military mindset who have held us all back for so long".

He says it begs the question how much further along the road to a settlement Northern Ireland's parties could have progressed had Blair been in power when the 1994 ceasefire was declared. He cannot answer this, but insists the solution must be an end to British jurisdiction.

"The reality is that British rule has failed miserably, not just nationalists but also the unionists."

Blair's declaration that he is a unionist who does not believe there will be a united Ireland in the lifetime of today's youngsters has not shaken McGuinness's faith. He says he is not impatient and does not hold to the traditional demand for an end to British jurisdiction within the five years of a Parliament.

"I don't believe there is anybody on the island who believes British rule is going to end overnight, it's going to be a process, but one which should not take overly long."

He believes the talks must persuade the unionists that they too could live with that and must face up to "the reality that British rule has failed".

And if Britain does not give up its sovereignty? "As far as I'm concerned if it doesn't there is no justice," he says.

The South African influence bubbles up once more as he says "finding a way on this island to live in peace with one another" is essential not just for his children but also for Trumble's children and Paisley's grandchildren.

The Washington Post

Recast Solidarity Shows A New Political Finesse

Discipline, Savvy Campaigning Aid Comeback

By Christine Spolar
Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, Sept. 22—Four years after a steely ex-Communist coalition routed them from Parliament, Poland's former freedom fighters figured out the rules of the game.

Solidarity Election Action, an alliance rooted in the Solidarity political movement that toppled communism in 1989, showed with its impressive first-place finish in Sunday's parliamentary elections that it has learned how to finesse and sustain modern democratic politics.

The newly fashioned conservative with the historic name came out on top because of calculated maneuvers that put its own house in order—and not, apparently, because of deep shifts by the electorate. In fact, P voted along fairly predictable political lines, rooted in history and biography.

Opposition groups reorganized themselves this year—with some guidance from Western advisers such as the U.S.-based National Democratic Institute—to challenge the well-financed and well-run operations of the former Communists in the Democratic Left Alliance and its ally, the Peasant Party. The strong showing by Solidarity, a coalition of about three dozen political parties, was a reflection of consolidation and pline.

The coalition's members did what they had never, in any orchestrated or systematic way, done before: They knocked on doors. They passed out campaign literature. They went hoarse chatting up voters. They carried questionnaires from Krakow to Poznan to Torun to Lodz to ask Poles what they wanted from their public servants.

Perhaps more importantly for their own survival, Solidarity politicians stopped—or were perhaps too tuckered out by campaigning to pursue—the internal spats that drove them apart in the past.

In turn, they recaptured their sense of purpose in this eight-year-old democracy and stoked voter interest in the future and the continuing evolution of Polish democracy.

"The campaigns were well mobilized. And people came to vote in much higher numbers than before," said Lena Kolarska-Bobinska, director of the Institute of Public Affairs, an independent think tank. "Poles have been questioning the future—and the issues aren't always about the economy."

The election result brought Polish politics a step closer to what passes for normal in the West. The campaign was remarkably calm by Polish standards. Church leaders in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic country played a quieter, more circumspect role than ever. Nor were there any of the coarse slogans and antisemitic whispers that had marked previous campaigns.

In the end, Solidarity's new restraint showed. While the governing Democratic Left Alliance took 26.8 percent of the vote, Solidarity eclipsed that with 33.8 percent. The Freedom Union party, with a nucleus of former Solidarity activists and led by the architect of Poland's economic reform, Leszek Balcerowicz, ran a similarly rigorous campaign and fin-

ished with 13.4 percent. Most analysts see the Freedom Union as a likely junior coalition partner in the next government.

Whether Solidarity can hold onto its new-found unity as it begins trying to form a government remains to be seen. The new Parliament is set to convene Oct. 20, and the president then has two weeks to nominate a prime minister.

The man who turned the Solidarity movement into a triumph this weekend will be an integral part of the negotiations, and may hold the key to forming a stable government that could last into the 21st century.

Trade union leader Marian Krzaklewski, 47, has headed Solidarity since its founder, Lech Walesa, was elected president in 1990. His learning curve has been steep. In 1993, Krzaklewski overplayed his hand in a parliamentary dispute that set the stage for the conservatives' loss to the ex-Communists in the next election.

He helped orchestrate a no-confidence vote in Poland's first freely elected Parliament—which strongly favored economic reform—over a wage dispute for public sector workers. The vote, meant as an unfocused message of discontent, ended up disastrously for Solidarity.

Walesa dissolved the Parliament in the aftermath. When parliamentary elections were called later that year, angry voters backed the former Communists.

Krzaklewski clearly absorbed the lesson of just where political talk can lead. But he remains an outspoken firebrand who, in the months leading up to Sunday's election, rarely shied from controversy.

9/21/99
W.P.S.

He has suggested that, depending on the number of parliamentary seats Solidarity emerges with when final election results are announced later this week, the bloc could try to rule as a minority government. Sunday night, he said a coalition will be possible only with parties that fall in line with Solidarity demands—and he made no promises about the Freedom Union, which is clearly favored in financial circles.

For much of the campaign, Krzaklewski espoused moderate conservative visions for Poland. He has promised to continue economic reforms, speed up privatization and pursue NATO and European Union membership. In a bid for Western respectability last week, he penned an opinion piece in the Wall Street Journal aimed at calming business about Poland's future.

"It's hard to say who Marian Krzaklewski is," said Zbigniew Nosowski, a writer for the Catholic journal *Wiesze*. "It's hard to say what are his private opinions and what he has been convinced by experts to say."

Solidarity's leaders, Nosowski added, "managed all along to present the differences among the present Solidarity as their strength. We'll see whether they are strengths or weaknesses."

The Elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The End of an Illusion

Paul Shoup

Bosnia's first national elections served as a wake-up call for the international community, which apparently hoped that an exercise in democracy could resolve—or paper over—the challenge of bringing peace to this war-torn part of the world. But will the ruling parties in Bosnia now focus their efforts on peace or begin to plan for a future war?

On September 14, 1996, Bosnia and Herzegovina held its first elections since the Dayton peace accords ended three years of civil war. The first real test of the international community's ability to build the groundwork for a lasting peace in Bosnia, the elections were the subject of contention and conflict. Many observers viewed the elections as a dismal failure; in the words of one diplomat, "they were the worst elections in Eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall." For others, the elections "were reasonably fair" and "reflected the will of the people." The only point on which there was common agreement was that the elections proved trying for all those engaged in organizing and implementing them.

This analysis examines the institutions in Bosnia for which the elections were held, the organization of the election campaign, and, of course, the results of the voting. The daunting task of organizing and holding the elections obscured the underlying goals of the elections, as well as the preconditions that had to be met if these objectives were to be accomplished (even in part). These underlying objectives and the preconditions for their successful realization must be re-examined if the local elections scheduled for the spring of 1997 are to have a reasonable chance of contributing to the peace process in Bosnia.

The Road from Dayton

According to the Dayton accords, elections were to be held in Bosnia within six to nine months after the signing of the peace treaty on December 14, 1995. The decision to hold elections within a year's time was driven by the

PAUL SHOUP is professor of government and foreign affairs at the University of Virginia.

would prepare voter lists and oversee the polling stations, to determine how to register voters and count absentee ballots, and to issue the rules and regulations governing the conduct of the elections, including the choice of the electoral system. The PEC was able to agree to a system of proportional representation for the legislative bodies and a majority, first-past-the-post system for the presidencies of the BiH and the RS.⁸ There would be only two electoral districts, the FBiH and the RS. The decision whether to register voters anew or to base registration lists on the 1991 census was more controversial. Despite expert opinions to the contrary, the PEC determined that the latter method was the only feasible one. Simultaneously, the PEC struggled to set up regional committees to supervise local election commissions, select and place some 1,200 election supervisors, meet the deadlines for registering absentee voters abroad, and prepare voting lists based on the 1991 census. By all accounts, the PEC was overwhelmed and unprepared. The publication of voter registration lists was significantly delayed, according to a critical report of the International Crisis Group (ICG) on the OSCE performance, postponing plans for registration from April to June.⁹ More embarrassing still, the PEC had to cope with defections from within its own ranks as it became clear that the conditions for holding free and fair elections in Bosnia would probably not be met. Internal reports by disillusioned OSCE staff were then leaked to the media in the West.¹⁰

Growing doubts about the wisdom of holding elections in Bosnia under the time constraints laid out in the Dayton accords prompted a vigorous response from the U.S. State Department. Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with President Slobodan Milošević of Serbia and President Alija Izetbegović of the RBiH in early June and gained their agreement that "a delay in the elections risks widening the divisions that continue to exist [in Bosnia]."¹¹ Flavio Cotti initially refused to certify that conditions for a free and fair election existed in Bosnia, but relented in late June, while warning of the extreme risks posed by holding elections if conditions did not improve.¹² Cotti was particularly outspoken with respect to the failure of the international community to act to remove RS president Radovan Karadžić from office. If indicted war criminals were not removed from office, Cotti warned, the elections would result in a "pseudo-democratic legitimization of extreme nationalist power structures and ethnic cleansing."¹³

The OSCE, although committed to holding national and regional elections in the fall, remained undecided

Major Political Parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Serb. The main party in the RS is the **Serb Democratic Party (SDS)**, led until recently by Radovan Karadžić. SDS's main rival has been the **Union for Peace and Progress (SPiM)**. Other parties include the **Serb Radical Party (SRS[RS])**; the **Party of Serb Unity (SSJ)**, run by accused war criminal Zeljko "Arkan" Raznatović; the **Democratic Patriotic Bloc (DBP)**; the **Serb Patriotic Party (SPAS)**; and the **Serb Party of Krajina**.

Croat. Krešimir Zubak, the Croat delegate to the Bosnian collective presidency, is a member of the leading Croat party, the **Croat Democratic Union (HDZ)**. Also active are the **Croatian Pure Rights Party (HSCP)** and the **Croatian Rights Party (HSP)**.

Muslim. The pre-Dayton Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (RBiH) was led by the **Party of Democratic Action (SDA)**, founded by President Alija Izetbegović in 1990. In early 1996, Prime Minister Haris Silajdžić left the SDA to form the **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SzBiH)**. Based in Bihać, Fikret Abdić's **Democratic People's Union (DNZ)** trailed the other two parties in the elections.

Multiethnic parties. The **United List (ZL)**.

Platforms for these and many smaller parties are available at: <http://www.oscebih.org/platform.htm>.

on whether to stage local elections at the same time. Local elections would result in a large number of persons returning to vote in the villages and towns from which they had been ethnically cleansed. After much uncertainty, the PEC announced on August 27 that local elections would be postponed. The issue of local elections continued to dog the PEC, even after the September 14 elections had taken place. Under pressure from the United States, Frowick first agreed to hold local elections on November 22–23, only to change his position once again on October 21, announcing that elections would be held sometime in the spring of 1997.¹⁴

Once Cotti gave the go-ahead in late June, the campaign commenced in earnest. The activities of the parties were extensively reported on by human rights activists, politically oriented advocacy groups such as the ICG and the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, and organizations concerned with the monitoring of elections and promoting democracy, including the CSCE/Helsinki Commission and the **National Democratic Institute (NDI)**, both based in Washington. Voter education programs were launched. Focus groups were organized, and Western experts reviewed political priorities for the democratic opposition parties.

Mostar Rehearsal

The difficulty of conducting free elections in Bosnia was made clear by events in Mostar, where local elections were held on June 30. The European Union (EU) Administration of Mostar had undertaken the task of reuniting the city and turning it into the showcase of ethnic tolerance it had been before the war. After prolonged negotiations, the Muslims and Croats agreed to divide the city into six districts and to elect a municipal council for the city as a whole, to be made up of sixteen Croats, sixteen Muslims, and five others.¹⁵ After careful preparation and a massive international presence, the election was conducted without incident. Some 7,000 residents of the east bank crossed peacefully into their former home districts in Croat western Mostar to vote.¹⁶ In the race for municipal councillors the Muslim coalition won a slight advantage, gaining 48.9 percent of the vote to 45.8 percent for the HDZ. Because a number of the deputies running with the support of the Muslim coalition were ethnic Serbs, the coalition ended up with twenty-one seats (sixteen seats allotted to ethnic Muslims and five to others), while the HDZ won sixteen. The outcome, while legal, could be seen as violating the ethnic rules of the game and provoked the HDZ into challenging the election on the basis of irregularities discovered in the absentee voting in Germany.¹⁷ A Croat boycott of the municipal council ensued. At one point U.S. president Bill Clinton pressed Croatian president Franjo Tudjman to carry out his earlier pledges to facilitate the dissolution of Herzeg Bosna and to aid the EU in resolving the Mostar impasse.¹⁸ A compromise was finally reached that allowed the EU to save face, but resolved nothing about Croat participation in the municipal council.¹⁹ When the dust had cleared, the Mostar local elections had fallen victim to ethnic controversy and failed to resolve the continuing impasse between Muslims and Croats in the divided city.

Ethnic and Regional Campaigns

Conditions in Mostar were the worst in Bosnia, a reflection of the difficulty in campaigning in Croat-administered areas in the FBiH. In most parts of Herzeg Bosna, only the HDZ and other nationalist parties of the right, notably the Croatian Rights Party (HSP) and the Croatian Pure Rights Party (HSCP), were allowed to campaign. Conditions for conducting the election campaign were better in the Muslim-administered parts of the FBiH. By August the campaign spirit had caught hold

in both the Muslim areas and in the RS, and parties were holding rallies without the intimidation that had marked the earlier stages of the campaign. In the FBiH, cross-ethnic voting was possible, and in theory campaign appeals might have been directed toward a broader group than a candidate's own ethnic constituency. Certain opposition parties—notably the United List (ZL) and, to a lesser extent, the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SzBiH)—were in a position to launch such cross-ethnic appeals. In practice, however, Muslim and Croat voters, even in urban areas, were largely segregated as a result of the fighting between Muslims and Croats in 1993. Croats in central Bosnia, furthermore, were pressured by the HDZ to vote in Muslim-free towns under Croat control, such as Čaplina, rather than in their home districts, which were now under Muslim administration. Thus the parties' campaigns, even in the two mixed cantons in the FBiH, were conducted within the confines of their own ethnic district or region, although both the SDA and the HDZ made a point of holding symbolic rallies in the strongholds of their ethnic rivals (the SDA in Čaplina, the HDZ in Bugojno).

In the RS, the emergence of a democratic movement advocating the reunification of Bosnia was doomed from the start. But opposition to the ruling SDS emerged in the form of two coalitions, one with support from Belgrade and the Serbian Socialist Party—the Union for Peace and Progress (SPiM)—and the other made up of representatives of the power structure in Banja Luka—the Democratic Patriotic Bloc (DBP)—headed by the mayor of Banja Luka, Predrag Radić.²⁰ In addition, several far-right nationalist parties participated in the elections in the RS, including the Radical Party (the SRS[RS]) and the Serbian Unity Party (SSJ), founded by Željko Raznjatović-Arkan with generous, if unintended, funding from the OSCE.²¹ Conditions for campaigning for the opposition coalitions in the RS were not onerous, and some criticism of the regime was tolerated if it did not challenge the central tenet of the RS national cause (separation from Bosnia).

In the Muslim-administered areas of the FBiH the democratic opposition to the SDA was made up of a coalition of disparate parties and intellectuals united by their commitment to a civil society, their opposition to the SDA, and their fervent belief in the need to preserve Bosnia and Herzegovina and reverse ethnic cleansing. **With the help of the Washington-based NDI, the United List was able to organize and run an effective campaign,**²² but the coalition's support remained restricted largely to Sarajevo and Tuzla, where its principal oppo-

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1992

At a Namibian Hunting Lodge, Lessons in Democracy

U.S. Institute Offers Forum for Southern Africa, Where Multi-Party Rule Is Novel

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOUNT ETJO, Namibia—Representatives of more than 30 political parties from nine southern African countries are meeting for the first time to discuss their common goal of multi-party democracy.

The session here, sponsored by the Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, is a long-distance reverberation from the democratic earthquake that has struck the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Third World countries elsewhere.

The institute is operated by the Democratic Party with funds provided by Congress through the National Endowment for Democracy.

For five days ending today, political experts from Europe, the United States and Latin America are conducting a workshop for African party representatives on how to choose an electoral system, generate support for parties, register voters, run a campaign and assure free and fair elections.

The site is a private big-game hunting lodge 125 miles north of Namibia's capital, Windhoek. Prolonged debates over democracy tend to drown out the chirp of exotic birds and, at night, even the roar of lions.

Three years ago, such a meeting would have been unthinkable: most of the southern African parties did not exist and most of the ones that did were illegal.

In Malawi and Swaziland, multi-party democracy is still looked on as a Western oddity. In Zimbabwe, President Robert Mugabe extols single-party rule and uses the state-controlled media to assail his weak political foes. But free and fair elections in Zambia last October defeated president Kenneth Kaunda after 27 years in power, energizing the democracy movement throughout southern Africa.

Elections for presidents, national assemblies and local or regional governments are scheduled over the next two years in Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho, Namibia and Botswana.

White-ruled South Africa, the main regional power, faces major changes with a referendum, or possibly elections, for a multiracial interim government, expected by mid-1992, as the first step toward a democracy under majority rule.

Yet, as participants in the workshop have made clear, democracy still has fragile roots in southern African soil.

"We have the institutions of democracy, but we don't have a democratic culture," said Michael Mothobi, legal adviser to the opposition Botswana National Front, as he accused the ruling party of restricting opposition activities.

"We have a constitution, but we don't have the culture of free thinking," said Peter Koep, a white Namibian who heads a watchdog group, the Namibian Peace Plan.

"Nobody is born a democrat," Omo Omoruyi, director general of the Center for Democratic Studies in Nigeria, reminded the more than 70 participants as he reflected on his country's political history. "Nigeria has had too many elections," he said. "The question is accepting the results."

Many participants from fledgling parties in southern Africa face problems so basic that they scarcely can put to use the advice of experts such as Tom King, an American election planner, or Mark Durkan, the chairman of Ireland's Social Democratic and Labor Party, who lectures on how to organize a campaign.

Casimiro Nhamithambo, president of the newly formed Social Liberal and Democratic Party in Mozambique, said one of his biggest problems was how to set up offices around the country when the cost of an airplane ticket from Maputo to Beira is now \$300 and civil war makes road travel and telephoning impossible.

Another Mozambican opposition leader, Marcos Juma, told the first session that he had not seen the government's draft electoral law until he arrived here. The sponsoring institute was distributing copies to all participants.

"It shows now we are being marginalized," Juma complained.

Whether Angola and Mozambique, emerging from long civil wars, would be able to hold fair

elections was much discussed. In each country, newly created political parties are facing two well-established rivals with their own armies that control much of the population and territory.

"You need a period of peace before elections," advised Neri Omoruyi, whose own country went through a devastating civil war in the 1960s.

Mathew Ngulube, the deputy chief justice in Zambia whose election commission played a key role in assuring free elections there, was pessimistic about the future of democracy in Angola and Mozambique. "It's no use talking about democracy in a shattered country until you get peace," he said.

Namibia gave more cause for optimism. In March, it will celebrate two years of independence, multi-party democracy, and the position seems as content as a ruling party with the way things have gone.

The speaker of its National Assembly, Mose Tjitendero, cautioned, however, that "the bottom line" for democracy in poverty-ridden societies of southern Africa was whether a government could manage the rising economic and social demands of the people.

"After you have acquired a constitution, which may be praised worldwide, and achieved the goal of political independence and liberty," he said, "we have learned that votes in the ballot box are not edible."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1999

The Democracy Club

TWO THINGS HELD in common by the countries of Benin, Georgia, Guyana, Malawi and Mongolia: Few Americans could find them on a map, and all are emerging democracies. They represent a class of nations that just in the past few years have embraced political reform against large odds and have received little attention for it. So it's appealing that representatives of these and other nations—Bolivia, El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, Macedonia, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia and Nepal—will next month gather in Yemen, itself an emerging democracy, to swap advice and seek some measure of recognition.

The global trend toward democratization, along with some notable holdouts and recidivists, has been much remarked upon. Countries such as South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand have famously given the lie to those—most notably in China, Singapore and Burma—who argued that democracy was not suitable for Asia. Chile and Costa Rica have set well-noted examples for their regions. South Africa is an inspiring story of its own. Many nations emerging from the Soviet Union or its control—such as Hungary, Poland and Lithuania—have received at least some well-deserved attention. Now the most populous nations of Africa and Southeast Asia, Nigeria and Indonesia, are soaking up—as they

should—much of what aid exists for transitional democracies.

Relatively out-of-the-way nations such as Mali struggle in the shadow both of the success stories and of the nations gone disastrously wrong. But their struggles are in some ways all the more heroic for their relative obscurity. Moreover, there are practical reasons to help them along. Small countries can have a contagious effect on larger, more strategically significant neighbors; success can set a positive example, backsliding a demoralizing one. And the failure of small countries can have a disproportionate human and financial cost, as Rwanda and Serbia demonstrate.

The June conference is sponsored by Yemen's government and the U.S. National Democratic Institute, with help from Japan, Canada and others. Hillary Clinton will attend, as will representatives of the World Bank and other financial institutions, which increasingly recognize a connection between participatory government (they still hesitate to use the d-word) and economic success. The goal of the conference goes beyond morale-boosting; representatives will trade tales on party-building, balancing political and economic reform, fighting corruption and other nitty-gritty of democracy-building. But if there's some morale-boosting, well, good.



Emerging Democracies Forum

"Managing the Twin Transitions Political
and Economic Reform in Emerging Democracies"

Sana'a, Yemen

27 to 30 June, 1999

PRESS CLIPPINGS

DEMOCRATIZATION:
The Movement of Our Time

Sanaa Declaration Announced, US First Lady's Speech Heard, Emerging
Democracies Forum Concluded, and it is Now Time to Act

**WORDS Have Been Said, Now Deeds
Must Follow!**

"There can be no democracy without development,
and no development without democracy"

YEMEN TIMES

YEMEN OBSERVER

**We Discussed, We Learned
and We WILL Implement!**



BOSTON • WEDNESDAY

JULY 28, 1999

Taking note of democratic bloom in world's quiet corners

By William A. Rugh

IN SOME remote corners of the world, a quiet push for democracy is going on that most Americans never hear about. In June, a US organization, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), organized a conference of 16 small nations that have, in the last decade or so, begun to adopt democratic practices. The conference, held in Sana, Yemen, brought together representatives of these countries to share experiences and ideas, and reinforce a common determination to transform their societies.

That transformation can't happen quickly. It needs a sustained, long-term effort, as the more than 200 participants recognized. But to the handful of American observers, these countries have already accomplished a great deal.

Look at Yemen, the conference host. It has had two parliamentary elections (1993 and 1997) involving millions of enthusiastic voters — including women — and many political parties. Newspapers representing dozens of contrasting views, some harshly critical of the government, appear regularly. Private organizations abound, operating unhindered. None of these democratic features existed a decade ago. Other small countries have had similar experiences, equally unknown outside.

Why haven't Americans paid attention to the emergence of democracy abroad, except perhaps in Eastern Europe? First, all of these countries are small and poor.

Most Americans know nothing about Benin, Mali, Malawi, Ghana, Mozambique, and Mongolia. Second, they aren't in crisis or making trouble for their neighbors, so they don't attract attention. Third, they have no oil or other important natural resources, and very limited military strength, so they rarely come up in Washington policy deliberations. Yet, Americans should know something about the emergence of democracies in many places. Democracy is probably more likely than a dictatorship to

explode in a sudden upheaval that would potentially cause international problems, perhaps requiring US intervention. Democratic regimes, also, are more likely to see eye to eye with America on basic issues of concern. Americans tend to take democracy for granted, but the few of us who were observers at the Sana conference were reminded about some of its basic principles. Third world delegates stressed that free elections aren't sufficient to make a democracy, but other things are

needed: free speech, a free press, independent judges, the right to organize private groups, and the full participation of women in political life. They emphasized that governments must be free of corruption, and official acts open to public scrutiny. One politician from central Asia pointed out that because corruption is usually hidden, it is more difficult to combat than street crime. A Moroccan speaker argued that true democracy requires at least one peaceful transfer of national leadership to the opposition

party. A Ghanaian speaker asserted that the third world should follow America's example and have weak political parties rather than the European model of strong parties, which, he said, distorts the public's will at election time.

Complicating the transformation to democracy, they explained, is their struggle to promote economic development. Energizing the economy often requires belt-tightening measures, which are likely also to be demanded by organizations like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank as a condition of loans. But the people who suffer from belt-tightening can use the new democratic tools of free press and elections to put pressure on governments to resist such measures. Thus, Sana delegates appealed to the US and others for help in easing the economic burden. A US banker urged delegates to create incentives for foreign investments: the Namibian prime minister admitted that made sense. But these countries also need outside help, at least temporarily.

Poor countries such as Yemen, struggling to democratize while privatizing and rationalizing their economies, do deserve US attention and aid in this crucial transition phase. The amounts of money that can make a difference — only tens of millions of dollars — are very modest compared with what the US spends on weapons. For America, this would be a very worthwhile investment. It is in the national interest to support these transitions.

■ William A. Rugh, who served as the US ambassador to Yemen and the United Arab Emirates, is president of America-Mideast Educational and Training Services Inc. in Washington, D.C.

Egypt

Controlling the press

from Steve Negus

Cairo

IT IS A SOBERING thought that one of the few surviving structurally democratic institutions in Egypt — the Journalists' Syndicate — is barely democratic in practice.

About the only thing that keeps Ibrahim Nafi', editor of *al-Ahram*, the largest and most prestigious of the state's newspapers, from becoming syndicate chairman for life is a clause in the constitution which forbids anyone from holding the office for more than two successive terms. Nafi' was chairman twice in a row from 1993 to 1997. From 1997 until 28 June there was an interlude in which the editor of *al-Musawwar*, Makram Muhammad Ahmad, held the post, but on that day Nafi' was elected again to the chairmanship with an overwhelming majority.

He did not run unopposed. Five other journalists, both from the opposition and the state-owned press, also ran. But everyone knew they stood no chance. Partly, it was a question of numbers: 45 per cent of the syndicate membership works for *al-Ahram* or other publications it owns. And partly it is the nature of the job. No one opposed Nafi' on ideological grounds, or because he was too close to the regime. Campaign promises focused on winning journalists both material gains — accommodation, holidays, cheap flights, subsidised tuition for their children, etc. — and on political gains — making sure no journalists go to jail for libel, giving newspapers a tax break. And on both counts, it was Nafi' who could deliver.

Al-Ahram's editor is the middle-man *par excellence*. On the one hand, he dissuades feisty journalists from going too far; on the other, he persuades the regime to give the press a break from time to time. His intercession with President Mubarak was key to getting the infamous Press Law 93 of 1995 revoked (although the current one, it could be argued, is little better).

On 23 June, Nafi' told a gathering of state journalists that Egypt's press was £E2bn in debt. Much of this, he

said, was for taxes on advertising. The Ministry of Finance decreed a decade ago that it should get 36 per cent of all revenue and in recent weeks the ministry has started sending out letters demanding back-payment. On 7 June Finance Minister Muhiy al-Din Gharib issued a decree freezing the accounts of offenders — that is the whole press. This might sound serious, but usually what happens is that the papers hoard whatever hard cash they can find until someone can intercede for them. It is a bit too conspiratorial to think that Gharib was acting to help Nafi's campaign — the government has a cash-flow problem and Gharib has been hitting other sources for cash as well.

The unfortunate fact is that none of Egypt's newspapers make financial sense. The two that can credibly claim a profit — *al-Ahram* and *al-Akhbar* — make money from sources other than either sales or advertising. "It's an economic problem," says *al-Akhbar* columnist Hassan Ragab. "The cost of living is going up, people are getting poorer. And advertisers and the public are more interested in television."

Some papers manage to hold even with a spicy sex, scandal and Zionist conspiracy format, but that is beginning to wear thin. Cash-strapped papers can be controlled by Nafi's carrots and the tax authorities' stick, and that is how the state likes it.

Yemen

Showcasing democracy

from Brian Whittaker

London

YEMEN HAS begun the window-dressing for its first direct presidential election. With polling just three months away on 28 September, no serious candidates have yet emerged from the shadows, though a 12-year-old boy recently put his name forward.

President Ali Abdullah Salih is expected to be nominated by his party, the General People's Congress, in July. Because of a quirk in the electoral rules and its overwhelming majority in parliament, the president's party may also have to nominate a second candidate to

oppose him. Although the main parliamentary opposition party, *Islah*, has hinted that it will not contest the election, there are suggestions that the Socialist Party and various opposition groups may bury their differences to field a joint candidate. In a heated meeting organised by the Socialists, two names were reportedly discussed: Yasin Nu'man (former parliamentary speaker) and Faraj bin Ghanem (a former prime minister).

Nominations open on 8 July and campaigning starts on 2 August. The chosen date for the election is only four days before the president's current term expires — less than the seven days required by the constitution — and allows no time for a run-off in the unlikely event that Salih fails to secure an overall majority.

As MEI went to press, San'a was hosting the Emerging Democracies Forum, a three-day international conference organised by the US National Democratic Institute and billed as an opportunity "for nascent and promising democracies to share experiences, achievements, best practices as well as common hurdles of democratic transition".

The government regards the conference as a means to showcase the country's democratic achievements so far, as a prelude to the presidential election. Some opposition elements have been less kind, decrying it as an empty propaganda stunt. But the published agenda did indicate a "warts and all" debate and it is worth noting that only two Arab countries, Yemen and Morocco, were either sufficiently interested or sufficiently democratic to attend.

However, two events have overshadowed the conference. One was Hillary Clinton's last-minute decision to cancel her visit because of problems on the Israeli leg of a scheduled Middle East tour. The other was the death of Dr Abd al-Aziz al-Saqqaf, publisher of the *Yemen Times*, after being hit by a car in San'a on 2 June. Saqqaf, who was 47, had been a key figure in bringing the conference to Yemen and was killed by a teenager driving a Mercedes as he left a lunchtime planning meeting. In just eight years, Saqqaf, an economics lecturer, had built the English-language newspaper into one of the most influential independent voices in Yemen.

Los Angeles Times

SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1999

Quietly, They're Moving to Democracy

■ **Geopolitics:** These nations don't grab headlines, but they deserve attention and help as they fashion free societies.

By ZEPHIRIN DIABRE

The formerly obscure province of Kosovo is now etched in the public's mind. So is Bosnia. As are Rwanda, Iraq and Iran. All have received extraordinary attention in the international community, and for good reason. Strife, both internal and external, attracts diplomatic and media attention. Conflict generates news. Peaceful progress does not.

The fact that nations such as Mongolia or Mali or Malawi have not received such recognition should surprise no one. Yet there exists a remarkable "good news" story in these and a small number of similarly often-overlooked nations: Against all odds, they are building a quiet record of democratic progress. While the long-term prognosis is far from certain, one thing is: "Globalization" is no guarantee of continued democratization. These countries merit our respect and our help.

This week, leaders from these and other smaller, struggling nations will come together for an unusual three-day gathering in Yemen. Sponsored by the United Nations Development Program, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the U.S. and other nations and international organizations, the conference will provide a forum for political, civic and economic leaders of these countries to delve into the many

daunting obstacles to sustainable development and continued democratic reform.

An initial perusal of the names of some of the 17 nations that are meeting in Yemen might surprise some observers: Benin, El Salvador, Guyana, Nepal, Yemen, the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. These countries together will take a close look at the politics of hard choices—the challenges of making economically painful decisions while simultaneously maintaining public confidence and providing for the most vulnerable members of their societies. They will look at how to reaffirm and maintain their commitment to the development of multi-party structures, free and fair elections and public participation, including the integration of women into all levels of political and economic decision-making. Economic restructuring, rooting out corruption and ensuring freedom of speech and of the press will all be examined in depth.

It will not be an easy agenda, nor will it provide a one-size-fits-all formula. Democracy, as we are learning daily, exists in more than one form and does not happen spontaneously or without major dislocations.

Should any of this matter to the rest of us? Absolutely. In a world characterized by economic globalization and instantaneous communication, the presence of turbulent social, political and economic environments can have a cross-border ripple effect. The economic and political problems of Asia, for example, have global repercussions that extend far be-

yond any discrete national borders. By the same token, successful moves towards democracy and reform have the potential to transcend borders and to have a positive effect on larger, more volatile neighbors.

For example, the democratically elected government in Skopje, provided a much-needed firewall against the spread of violence from neighboring Serbia into the Balkans and South Europe. At the same time, the influx of refugees has taxed the country's efforts at continued economic and political reform. Such operations, often beyond the control of an individual nation, can prove costly, socially disruptive and unpopular. Can a country subjected to such stress retain its democratic character and its commitment to openness while dealing with these controversial and costly efforts? It remains an open question, as does the issue of what the international community should and could do to help democracies stabilize when they are faced with these situations.

One thing is sure: Without the rule of law, without predictable and accountable administrations and institutions, without legitimized power, no amount of funding or outside aid will create sustainable economic prosperity and political stability.

This forum may not be a high-profile "summit," but how these countries fare could have long-range consequences for their neighbors and for the global community.

Zephirin Diabre is associate administrator of the United Nations Development Program.

From the newsroom of the **BBC World Service**
Monday, June 28, 1999
Published at 17:37 GMT 18:37 UK

World: Middle East

Democratic Forum opens in Yemen

An international conference on the development of democracy has opened in Yemen.

It is being attended by government and opposition delegates from 17 countries, including Yemen, which are trying to move towards full democracy.

The Yemeni President, Ali Abdulla Saleh, said his country had been consolidating itself on the road to democracy since its elections in 1993 and 1997.

A representative of the American group which organised the conference, the National Democratic Institute, said the democratic process would not be complete without the full participation of women.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1999

YEMEN: WIDER ROLE FOR WOMEN A U.S.-sponsored conference pledged to expand the participation of women and minorities in the political life of emerging democracies. A final declaration said participating countries agreed to appoint women to top government posts and to discuss the legal barriers to wider participation of women. Delegations to the talks came from 16 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

(Reuters)

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1999

The Democracy Club

TWO THINGS HELD in common by the countries of Benin, Georgia, Guyana, Malawi and Mongolia: Few Americans could find them on a map, and all are emerging democracies. They represent a class of nations that just in the past few years have embraced political reform against large odds and have received little attention for it. So it's appealing that representatives of these and other nations—Bolivia, El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, Macedonia, Mali, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia and Nepal—will next month gather in Yemen, itself an emerging democracy, to swap advice and seek some measure of recognition.

The global trend toward democratization, along with some notable holdouts and recidivists, has been much remarked upon. Countries such as South Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand have famously given the lie to those—most notably in China, Singapore and Burma—who argued that democracy was not suitable for Asia. Chile and Costa Rica have set well-noted examples for their regions. South Africa is an inspiring story of its own. Many nations emerging from the Soviet Union or its control—such as Hungary, Poland and Lithuania—have received at least some well-deserved attention. Now the most populous nations of Africa and Southeast Asia, Nigeria and Indonesia, are soaking up—as they

should—much of what aid exists for transitional democracies.

Relatively out-of-the-way nations such as Mali struggle in the shadow both of the success stories and of the nations gone disastrously wrong. But their struggles are in some ways all the more heroic for their relative obscurity. Moreover, there are practical reasons to help them along. Small countries can have a contagious effect on larger, more strategically significant neighbors; success can set a positive example, backsliding a demoralizing one. And the failure of small countries can have a disproportionate human and financial cost, as Rwanda and Serbia demonstrate.

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Yemen forum concludes with calls for women, press rights By AHMED AI-HAJ

SAN'A, Yemen (AP) _ Delegates from 17 nations called Wednesday for giving women their rights as a base for strengthening democracy.

In the final communique issued at the end of the Emerging Democracies Forum held in Yemen, the delegates stressed for the need to link development to democracy and called on donor countries to recognize this as the main path toward establishing democracy.

The communique also said that state control over the press made "choosing democracy impossible" and called for lifting state control from the media.

Among other things, the forum called for respecting minorities, protecting human rights and fighting corruption.

More than 200 participants from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin and North America, took part in the three-day forum whose goal is to draw attention to the democratic success stories in countries that have little international exposure. The conference was held at the Presidential palace in the capital San'a amid tight security.

U.S. First Lady Hilary Clinton, in a televised address

broadcast to the attendees via satellite, called for giving women a larger role in society and cited Yemen as a role model for the countries in the region.

"No nation can move forward until all of its citizens -including all of its women - are full participants in the social, economic and political life of their communities," Mrs. Clinton said. She was supposed to attend the conference during a tour of the region which was postponed.

Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh, addressing the delegates before the end of the session, said that women should be given their right in the political field, including complete participation.

He urged the major industrial powers to provide aid for developing countries, especially emerging democracies.

"We hope the major countries will be serious and provide aid and assistance, and this will be a helping factor," for emerging democracies.

Funding for the conference came from the governments of Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Yemen forum agrees that women are vital to democratic process

By AHMAD AL-HAJ

June 28, 1999

SAN'A, Yemen (AP) _ Delegates from 17 nations agreed Monday that women have a vital role to play in the democratization of their countries.

"The democratic process will not develop or be complete unless women participate fully and completely in it," Kenneth Wollack, head of the U.S.-based National Democratic Institute, told the Emerging Democracies Forum.

More than 200 participants representing 17 countries from Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin and North America, are taking part in the three-day forum whose goal is to draw attention to the democratic success stories in countries that have little international exposure.

The conference is being held at the Presidential palace in San'a amid tight security.

Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh spoke about the challenges facing developing democratic nations.

"Democracy is in danger when economic and development programs are not also supported," Saleh said in his opening speech.

"Today, more people enjoy the right to democratic

self-governance than ever before. In the mid-70's, there were some 40 democracies in the world compared to 120 today," U.S. Under Secretary of State Frank E. Loy said. He added that Latin America, dominated by military dictatorships until a little over a decade ago, now boasted 33 democracies.

Former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell said democracy was the only path to development.

Funding for the conference came from Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Last month, a militant Islamic group threatened to carry out suicide attacks on foreigners, including those attending the conference, if its leader was not set free.

The Aden-Abyan Islamic Army demanded the release of Zein Al-Abidine al-Mihdar, who was convicted with three other men of abducting 16 Western tourists in December. Four of the hostages died during a botched rescue attempt. Al-Midhar was sentenced to death on May 5. Their case is currently under appeal.

YEMEN TIMES

July 1st, 1999

Sanaa Declaration Announced, US First Lady's Speech Heard, Emerging Democracies Forum Concluded, and it is Now Time to Act

Yesterday, the Emerging Democracies Forum ended after two and half days of hard work and fruitful discussions. The last session discussed yesterday was titled "Good Governance," which included the topics of controlling corruption, improving administration, and strengthening the rule of law. In these discussions, several delegation members from different countries raised an important and difficult question "How can we get rid of corruption in an economically weak country?" The answer to that question was quite different depending on who you asked. Some suggested enforcing law and order, some thought the best solution is to issue strict laws that punish corrupt officials, and some said that corruption can only be controlled by implementing transparency in governmental budget proceedings, etc.

Following the final session of the forum, delegate members headed to Dar Al-Riassa to attend the closing plenary. At the start of the plenary, remarks about the forum were given by delegates and representatives from 16 participant countries. Then the Yemeni Prime Minister, Dr. Abdulkareem Al-Iryani read the Sanaa Declaration (see declaration below). Unsurprisingly, all delegation members anonymously approved the Sanaa declaration. Afterwards, the introduction to the remarks by the first lady of the United States was given by Sally Shelton-Colby, Assistant Administrator of the USAID, and Hon. Margaret de Boer, Chairperson, and member of the Foreign Relations Committee from the Netherlands. They both emphasized women's role in society.

After the opening remarks of the closing plenary, a videotape including the statement of Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton was played. In her speech, Mrs. Hillary Clinton supported Yemen's democratization process, and went on to indicate that she considers Yemen to be an example that should be followed by the other countries in the region (see page 6 for full speech). She also stressed women's rights to education, work, and involvement in politics.

With joy at the successful conclusion of the country for touristic purposes.

The representative of Georgia said in his remarks that all of these countries were well on the road to democracy. These countries have their own goals and difficulties, which can be achieved and solved together.

Remarks from representatives of the participating countries were made, which all focused on the emerging democracies experiences in the arena of democratic development, and on the challenges faced by these countries. All of them praised the idea of holding such a forum, and restated its importance to the emerging democracies. The forum is a real indication of the satisfaction of the world with the democratic transition being implemented in these countries.

Hon. Margaret de Boer, chairperson of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Netherlands, also delivered a speech. In it, she

concluded one of the most important international events Sanaa has ever hosted. President Ali Abdullah Saleh then gave the final speech of the forum. In his speech, he indicated that he had carefully followed all of the discussions of the forum and said, "We are calling for the peaceful transfer of power. We should all trust in each other. The government should trust in the opposition parties and the opposition parties should trust the government." The president also emphasized the importance of women's participation in voting highlighted the indispensable role of women in the society. "Men and women working together equally is one of the essentials of a sound and healthy society." She also stressed the importance of equal treatment and opportunity for both sexes. The Assistant Administrator of the US Agency for International Development, Mrs. Shelton-Colby, gave a prelude to the speech of the United States First Lady.

In her speech to the Emerging Democracies Forum through the wonders of technology, video, Mrs. Hillary Clinton thanked the sponsors and organizers of the forum. She praised the work of the forum, and described it as successful. She added that establishing and maintaining a democratic system is a difficult task, not only for the emerging democracies but also the mature ones.

The president of Mali delivered

and in being candidates. "We cannot just keep on saying that women have the right to vote, women have equal rights with men, women have the right to learn, etc. without work. We need to have these things implemented in reality, and not be satisfied with just talk."

On the other hand, the delegation members expressed their satisfaction with the preparations for and the organization of the forum. They expressed their delight at visiting Yemen, although many of them were sad that they were not able to visit a speech in which he elaborated on the trials and challenges of democracy. After that, President Ali Abdullah Saleh delivered a closing speech. He stressed the significance of a peaceful transfer of power between political parties, which requires the existence of a concrete democratic structure.

The forum is finally completed. Discussions and debates have been made, and recommendations have been agreed upon. The most important thing now is implementing the decisions. It is only when we can see that these discussions have resulted in concrete action for reforming the political, social and economic structures of society, that we can believe that this forum has been fruitful. Democracy is not something to talk about, but something to work on. So, this forum can only be a concrete success through continued hard work.

OYEMEN OBSERVER

June 30, 1999

Kofi Anan: "Democracy is a crucial condition to development"

Mr. Fawaz Fokeladch, Assistant Administrator of the UNDP, underlined Yemen's commitment to the democratisation process and the UNDP's commitment for cooperation with governments, civil societies and the private sector to help them in their endeavour. During the opening ceremony of the "Emerging Democracy" Conference Mr. Fokeladch read a message from the Secretary General of the United Nations,

Kofi Anan. In this message Mr. Anan expresses his appreciation of the efforts exerted by emerging democratic nations to deal with the process of transition from centrally-planned to open-market economies and with the hardship of recovering from conflicts. The painstaking process that these nations are undergoing and the political reforms that they are implementing attest to the fact that they recognize that it is the will of the

people that matters. "Democracy is a crucial condition to development" says Anan, and the UN will give its support to all countries committed to the democratisation process, be it through electoral assistance, advising on financial management, monitoring of human rights records or the conducting of educational campaigns. Anan also said that "the UN is the partner as the process moves ahead and others emulate your example".



Special Edition

June 30th, 1999

Japanese Minister to the UN
**“Promoting Democracy is the
key to achieving peace and
stability in the world”**

The Japanese Minister to the UN, Mr. Wataru Nishigahiro, delivered an important speech in the Emerging Democracies Forum. In it, he indicated that the government of Japan decided to contribute to the successful outcome of this forum because Japan believes that promoting democracy is the key to achieving peace and stability in the world. He described and elaborated on the topic of the forum, “Managing the twin transition: political and economic reform in the emerging democracies.” He also stressed that it is the responsibility of the international community to support the emerging democracies. He concluded his speech by saying: “I hope the forum will contribute significantly to the democratization process in participating

countries, increasing awareness on the part of the international community concerning these countries, and further strengthening the support it provides to emerging democracies.... I for my part am convinced that this forum will have a very successful outcome.”

OYEMEN OBSERVER

June 30, 1999

***"There can be no democracy without development,
and no development without democracy"***

The president of the republic, Ali Abdullah Saleh, officially opened the "Emerging Democracies Forum" on the 28th of June. This unique event brought together senior representatives from Benin, Bolivia, El Salvador, Georgia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Jordan, Macedonia, Malawi, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal and Yemen. In the three day summit the delegates will be examining issues vital to the continuation of the democratic process that their countries are undergoing, transitions and challenges. The opening ceremony will be followed by small group discussions in which each country will have the opportunity to put forward and exchange ideas. The topics will focus on political transition, economic restructuring, elections and legislatures, decision making, participation of women and controlling corruption. During the opening ceremony, the president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, reiterated that coordination among all parties present is

essential for a common view and outlook and the need to draw lessons from other countries' experience, especially from those who have a long tradition in democracy. "Democracy is the only means that lead to growth, stability and peace. There can be no democracy without development and no development without democracy." The president also drew attention to the fact that this conference coincides with the 9th Anniversary of the Reunification of Yemen. This attests to the fact that Yemen is a country that believes in dialogue and has put efforts into promoting party pluralism, establishing a fair electoral process, freedom of the press and human rights issues.



Special Edition

June 2001

UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan Sends His Message to the EDF

UN Secretary General, Mr. Kofi Annan, sent a message to the Emerging Democracies Forum in which he expressed his greetings and best wishes for this important event. He indicated in his message that the participating countries in the forum all "share a commitment to political reform and a growing recognition that the will of the people is the well-spring of progress." He also said that: "Democracy is crucial if we are to enjoy a peaceful, prosperous 21st century."

Mr. Annan also stressed that the UN is supporting democratization around the world, adding that the technical assistance programs promote good governance, transparency and accountability as well as the development of free and independent media.

"Democracy, whether at the national or international levels, cannot be created overnight. It is an accomplishment- the fruit of dedication, leadership, and the politics of integrity."

His support for this conference is just another demonstration of how important this conference is, not just to the participants, but to the entire world.



Special Edition

July 29, 1979

**U.S. Under Secretary of State, Frank E. Loy:
"A Functioning Democracy,
by Definition, is Always a
Work in Progress"**

The U.S. Under Secretary of State, Frank E. Loy, made a statement for the opening of the EDF, which started yesterday in Sanaa. In his statement, he said that he was highly impressed by the enormity of the progress that the participating countries have achieved. He added, "Listening to you talk about the challenges you have overcome, and the ones you see in your future, reminds me that my country is also an emerging democracy." He went on to say that the U.S. has grappled with many of the issues faced by the emerging democracies, and the process of improving democracy in the U.S., as everywhere else, is ongoing.

He then mentioned how much democracy has spread throughout the world, and how important it has become in our times. "It is stunning in its scope. Today, more people enjoy the right of self governance than ever before. In the mid-70's, there were some 40 democracies in the world, compared to 120 today."

He closed by saying how much he enjoyed the opportunity to talk to and learn from the other participants in the conference.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1988

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WASHINGTON TALK

Foreign Affairs

How U.S. Political Pros Get Out the Vote in Chile

By BARBARA GAMAREKIAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17 — Politics can be an unsentimental profession, but a few hard-boiled Washington political operatives say it was the most stirring moment of their lives when they helped bring about a victory of democratic forces in a plebiscite in Chile last month.

"In many ways this was the most rewarding experience of my political career," said Frank Greer, a Washington political consultant who has made half a dozen trips to Chile over 18 months. "You saw the tremendous spirit of these people and they created a miracle. We all felt we were a team."

"It is a wonderful thing to work with people and see them gain a sense of freedom they haven't had," said Glenn Cowan, who helped develop a computerized vote counting system that monitored the plebiscite for

tions, but they were able to bring technical expertise and share some of the modern techniques that have been developed in other countries these last 15 years. It was a perfect marriage of their leadership and our experience."

The institute receives 80 percent of its \$1.9 million budget from the National Endowment for Democracy, an organization founded in 1983 by Congress to foster democracy in foreign countries.

Branches for Various Views

The endowment works mainly through private American organizations like the institute and its Republican counterpart, the National Republican Institute for International Affairs. Then there is the Free Trade Union Institute, which is affiliated with the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and the Center for International Private Enterprise, which is affiliated with the United States Chamber of Commerce. The Republican institute ran a political training conference with the University of Diego Portales and the trade union institute worked with Chilean union organizations.

A year ago Congress budgeted \$1 million for use by the endowment to support advocates of Chilean democracy. The Democratic group, which had a long working relationship with several Chilean opposition leaders, was asked by the endowment to administer half of the money.

The balance, said Carl Gershman, president of the endowment, was funneled to community groups in Chile working on getting voters in poor neighborhoods to register. It would help the groups publish instruction manuals for poll watchers and would pay for photographs for voter registration cards for those who could not afford them.

The endowment has been working for three years in Chile to help bring about a peaceful and stable transition to democracy, Mr. Gershman said. "We wanted to lessen polarization and work to strengthen the center," he said.

'Democratic' Is Not Capitalized

The Democratic institute's officers are partisan, but "we don't work with just one party," Mr. Wollack said. "In fact, we have co-sponsored a number of projects with the National Republican Institute, including a joint polling project in Uruguay and joint delegations to observe the Haitian constitutional referendum and the Philippine election."

Brian Atwood, the institute's president, said his institute had invested an additional \$200,000 from its budget in the Chilean organizing effort. Computers were purchased for independent vote counting systems, polls were commissioned, campaign literature



The New York Times: Michael Gershtinger

"I set my alarm for 6:30 the morning of Oct. 6 to hear the news and when I heard the No vote had won, it brought tears to my eyes," Frank Hartwig, a Washington research analyst who spent many weeks in Chile, said of the plebiscite last month.

published and advertising space, all of it helping in a small way to compete with the Government's expensive media blitz.

Mr. Greer and a colleague, Annie Burns, helped the Chileans organize a grass roots registration campaign using modern techniques. An early poll had indicated that the potential vote was split three ways, with one third undecided. "The undecided vote became the key," said Mr. Hartwig. "They had ambiguous feelings about Pinochet, but didn't know about the policies and plans of the opposition."

To woo that vote, a campaign strategy was developed to reach beyond those voters already opposed to the Pinochet regime and get potential voters for whom politics was not a pressing concern.

Mr. Greer told of sitting in on a planning session. It had "the best of Chilean cinematographers, ad executives, producers, all volunteers just like us, and they took it and ran with it," he said. He added that the group produced a 15-minute television program that was allowed to run on Government-controlled television the last 27 nights of the campaign.

"I think the Government was in a state of shock when they saw it," Mr. Greer said, telling about the upbeat political campaign and its jazzy graphics and bouncy campaign song proclaiming: "Happiness is coming! We're going to say no. Happiness is coming!"

"It was criticized by American re-

porters in Chile as a combination of 'Morning in America' and McDonald's commercials," Mr. Hartwig said, "but it was done in recognition of the votes they needed to win, not the ones they could count on."

On the Phone Election Night

Mr. Greer, back in Washington, was in touch by telephone most of election night, conferring with Genaro Arrigada, the Chilean coordinator of the No forces. "It was about 4 o'clock in the morning when Genaro called," he said. "He said, 'Thank you for helping us win back our country.'"

In December, Mr. Arrigada and Sergio Molina, leader of Chile's Committee for Free Elections, are to travel to Washington to accept the institute's Averell Harriman Democracy Award. In a telephone interview, Mr. Arrigada said American support of the 1985 plebiscite had an element of irony for him.

"In 1973 Americans were involved in Chile in covert action," he said, speaking of the actions that ultimately led to the overthrow of President Salvador Allende Gossens. "But in this case, the money we received was not hidden. We made a clear statement about receiving it, it was very above board, known by the Congress of the United States, known by the newspapers. It was a real cooperation in a very open way between people who wanted to obtain common goals."

'It was a perfect marriage of their leadership and our experience.'

found. "You are compensated emotionally. There is an energy to it."

"I set my alarm for 6:30 the morning of Oct. 6 to hear the news and when I heard the No vote had won, it brought tears to my eyes," said Frank Hartwig, a senior analyst for Peter D. Hart Research Associates, a Washington polling organization.

The three men were among a dozen political consultants from this country and Canada recruited by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, an arm of the Democratic Party, to work with the Chilean political coalition that led the campaign to defeat Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

If General Pinochet, who took power in a 1973 coup, had won the referendum, he would have served as President eight more years. Despite fears that it would be difficult to rally a fragmented people who were not used to free voting, 92 percent of Chile's 5.2 million eligible voters registered to vote. The No votes carried 55 to 43 percent.

"Sixteen Chilean political parties of diverse ideologies, ranging from the left to the right, worked together," said Kenneth Wollack, vice president of the institute. "That is what brought victory. The consultants who went down didn't run the campaign. They didn't produce the TV ads or do the polling or run the computer opera-

A Vote for Democracy Abroad

In most repressive countries today, civic activists such as election monitors, labor organizers, independent journalists and human rights groups look to Washington for support. But the Senate may vote any day to end one of their most important lifelines. Judd Gregg, Republican of New Hampshire, has persuaded the Appropriations Committee to recommend that the National Endowment for Democracy's funding drop from \$31 million to zero. The Senate should defy him and vote to preserve an organization whose mission is more vital than ever.

The endowment finances four international affairs institutes, run by the Republican and Democratic parties, the Chamber of Commerce and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. The endowment also gives money directly to organizations abroad that promote the rule

of law and democracy. One of its strengths is that its budget is independent of the State Department.

It is hard to think of a dictatorship whose opponents have not benefited from the endowment. Among hundreds of other projects, it has provided money and advice for village elections and exposure of prison labor camps in China, human rights groups in Sudan, independent broadcasting in Serbia, families of political prisoners in Cuba and the underground labor movement in Myanmar. Augusto Pinochet might still be ruling Chile if the National Democratic Institute had not helped the opposition set up a parallel vote count during the 1988 plebiscite on his rule, which caught Mr. Pinochet's attempt to rig the outcome. The endowment has earned the right to remain healthy and independent.



The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

*NDI's partner
organization*

Winners in Nicaragua

THE EVIDENT winner, by 10 points, in Nicaragua's presidential election is Arnaldo Aleman, a figure of the right who now must try to tame his country's polarized politics. But the real winner may turn out to be ET, or Ethics and Transparency, the name given to the big nonpartisan election-monitoring organization that brought 4,200 Nicaraguans of all stripes together to make sure the proceedings were reasonably fair and to provide a rare Nicaraguan model of a civil society at work.

When Daniel Ortega, the former Marxist president running this time for a democratically elected term, claimed errors in the count, high-visibility international observers—including former president Jimmy Carter and Bush secretary of state James Baker—were there to help head off an incipient crisis. But one important reason the outside observers could have an impact was that the domestic monitors of ET already had established the fairness of the vote. Jimmy Carter and company did not impose an international count; none was made. They confirmed a domestic count made first by Nicaragua's own official

electoral body and then upheld by a citizen group whose broad political base and training gave it a necessary credibility.

Nicaragua, for its inheritance of authoritarianism on the left and on the right, has long been seen as a crucial testing ground for democratic ways. The particular danger is the absence of institutions and habits of a grass-roots civil society able to stir cooperation in public enterprises from below. This is what ET provided. Its success gives Nicaragua a useful foundation on which greater civic participation can now be built.

Like similar projects in other post-Cold War societies, ET is the product of a global democracy-building campaign launched under Ronald Reagan and advanced by his White House successors. In ET's organizing and training, both the Democratic and Republican parties' international wings—using taxpayer money from the Agency for International Development—took part; so did other public and private organizations, American and otherwise. This is one form of internationalism that is bipartisan in word and deed.

The Washington Post

12/9/98

THE WASHINGTON POST

STYLE

A Bit of Good News for Clinton

IRISH From D1

Gerard Adams of Sinn Fein, John Alderdice of the Alliance Party, David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party, Monica McWilliams of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, Gary McMichael of the Ulster Democratic Party and Malachi Curran of the Northern Ireland Labor Party.

More than a thousand Irish and Irish Americans led by former Senate majority leader and peace negotiator George Mitchell—clearly the belated figure of the night—attended the event in the ballroom of the hotel.

"This is a gathering of the clan to celebrate all our hopes for peace in Ireland," said Maryland Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend.

The dinner was the last stop before Norway for Hume and Trimble, who were awarded the Nobel for "their efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Northern Ireland." In 1976, the Nobel Committee awarded the same prize to Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, leaders of a previous Northern Ireland peace movement. But this time, Hume said, is different.

"The most powerful thing that has happened, for the first time in history, is that the people of Ireland—North and South—have spoken on how they wish to share the Earth together," he said. "It's the duty of all democrats to implement the will of the people."

A remarkable thought. But then it is still a remarkable sight to see all these Irish Catholics and Protestants in the same room. Hume and Trimble work hard at maintaining a good relationship, but Trimble and Adams still clash in

public. The glue that held them together long enough to hammer out an agreement was the involvement of Clinton, Mitchell and the American peace team, said honoree Ervine.

"It was quite massive, there's no question about that," he said. "It was very obvious we couldn't create a peace for ourselves. We needed help." Mitchell's dedication and Clinton's commitment and two trips to Ireland helped the Irish take the process to heart. "The more attention is paid to you, the more serious you are in return," Ervine said.

The National Democratic Institute has been working on the Northern Ireland political process for 14 years, and it is testament to the organization's efforts for democracy there that the Irish came to Washington.

Last night's award, named after the late statesman W. Averell Harriman, was bestowed even as the two sides of the Good Friday Agreement found themselves once again in crisis. The problem this month is "decommissioning"—the process of disarmament.

More than 3,000 people have been killed in the conflict during the past three decades, and Protestant and Catholic militias still have vast arsenals. On Monday, Trimble said that the failure of militants to surrender their weapons "is tending to poison the atmosphere" for peace. But he was quick to add that he was optimistic, because only a small handful of extremists were causing the problem, and their attempts to threaten moderates have met condemnation.

"There's no turning back," said McWilliams. "For once we're doing what Americans do: We believe in ourselves."

The focus last night was decidedly upbeat, but realistic about the challenges ahead. "Peace demands justice," said Sinn Fein's Adams. "To come here and celebrate what we've achieved is not enough if we don't face up to what we have to do."

"It does not diminish what they're doing to recognize the difficulties ahead," Mitchell told the audience.

Each honoree was invited to make very short remarks. But getting an Irishman to make a short speech is even more unlikely than a summer day in December.

There was a great deal of thanks for Mitchell, who was almost canonized on site. All the honorees were "so funny, so reasonable" night, said Mitchell, one could conclude negotiating was a piece of cake. "I want you to know it was nothing like this."

Everyone received standing ovations, but the longest was reserved for the president, who was accompanied by the first lady. His remarks centered on the inspiration that any breakthrough in the peace process has on other negotiations around the world. His efforts in Northern Ireland have put pressure on him to bring the same energy to every world conflict. He constantly hears, "Now, you did all that work in Ireland..."

"That's good," Clinton told the crowd. Not so good for him, said the president, but good for peace.

But it was Mitchell who best expressed what a night like this represents. He hoped to take his young son to Ireland one day, and spend a rainy afternoon watching politicians there debate the everyday matters of life and liberty.

"There will be no talk of war, because the war will be long over," he said. "There will be no talk of peace, because peace will be taken for granted."

Last night, that dream seemed possible.

The Washington Post

12/9/98

Away From the Hill, A Peace of Good News

Clinton Honored for Ulster Initiative

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
Washington Post Staff Writer

"Generally, I don't think presidents should get awards, but I like this one a lot," said a beaming Bill Clinton last night.

As well he should. After another day of impeachment hearings, the president received the Harriman Democracy Award for a role of which he is deservedly proud: peacemaker.

But Clinton was just one star in the constellation at the 12th annual National Democratic Institute for International Affairs dinner at the

Omni Shoreham. Also honored were the eight political leaders who earlier this year negotiated the Good Friday Agreement, the historic Northern Ireland peace accord.

The list of Irish honorees was topped by Protestant leader David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party and Catholic leader John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labor Party, both of whom will also receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo tomorrow.

They were joined last night by

See IRISH, D13, Col. 1

Michael Gove looks at the First Minister's unfinished journey from figurehead of Orange resistance to a man forging surprising alliances

Trimble's long march to a new Unionism

IT WAS on the distant veld of a South African game park that David Trimble began the journey in earnest from leader of one tribe to the architect of a new inclusiveness in Ulster. This weekend Northern Ireland's new First Minister faces his first crisis as nationalists and Unionists in his own constituency prepare for confrontation on the Garvaghy Road. But, according to friends, David Trimble's capacity to weather this storm springs, at least in part, from new friendships and new ideas which flourished under the African sun.

Last year Northern Ireland's politicians were flown to a secluded reserve as guests of the South African Government to learn about peace-making the Mandela way. There was an element of patronising naivety about the project.

South Africa had been a state built on repression and the denial of democracy. In Northern Ireland it was the revolutionaries of the IRA who deployed repressive measures when faced with the democratic reality of a majority which wished to stay in Britain. But, although it may have been misconceived in grand terms, the South African conference worked in little ways.

The opportunity for relaxed social contact between moderate Unionists and nationalists away from the Westminster hothouse and the Province's traditional trenches helped new alliances to develop. The germ of an entente between Mr Trimble and Seamus Mallon, the SDLP's pragmatic deputy leader, had already taken root. But aides to the Unionist leadership remark on Mr Trimble's tendency to talk of South Africa as a significant stage in the growth of this new bloom which blended Green and Orange. It was after that trip, according to one, that "he knew common ground could develop between himself and Mallon".

The basis for their coming together, according to another friend, is Mr Trimble's "surprising intellectual curiosity, rare in a politician". Friends describe a man emerging from the bookshop at

Queen's University Belfast with a dozen new works under his arm and a bitter-sweet grin on his face as he contemplated the number of writers with whom he wanted to keep up but the lack of time to do it. Aides say the intellectually confident, yet open, Mr Mallon had all the qualities any politician would need to impress Mr Trimble.

Mr Trimble's new alliances have surprised many observers, who have seen the UUP leader only in high dudgeon and in his Orange sash. When David Trimble first marched into the public eye it was arm-in-arm with Ian Paisley after the Drumcree parade three years ago. Attempts by nationalists to thwart the march had been overcome by Mr Trimble and Mr Paisley. Their unity had delivered an unambiguous victory for a Protestant community that considered itself always on the defensive.

That resolution won Mr Trimble the leadership of Ulster Unionism. Although he won the election as a hardliner, other aspects of his character have come to the fore. When considering how to develop a new Unionist politics Mr Trimble has tended to fish outside the waters familiar to UUP leaders. As a former academic himself, he has taken the time to study the ideas of thinkers such as Henry Patterson and Paul Bew who have explored avenues out of sectarianism for Ulster. Both are "lefties" rather than the traditional conservatives who have tended to nurture Unionist leaders. Their thinking has been reflected in Mr Trimble's strategy of working closely with Tony Blair while distancing himself from the Conservatives.

Confidants remark on the boost to Mr Trimble's authority, which has come from working together with the Irish Prime Minister, Bertie Ahern, and President Clinton. That capacity for statesmanship will be tested in the hours ahead over Drumcree and the months ahead as Unionism contemplates the possible elevation of Sinn Fein politicians to executive office.

It is rare for an Ulster Unionist leader to have so many allies outside his own constituency as Mr Trimble does. But he will need all the friends and authority he can muster if he is to face troubles ahead within that constituency. Hope for the future may have come out of Africa but peace with honour is still under construction in Ulster.

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Memo

To: Senior Staff
The Latin America and the Caribbean Team
From: The Guyana Team
Date: December 1, 1998
Subject: Guyana: Sharing the South African Experience

We are pleased to share with you press coverage of a visit to Guyana by a member of South Africa's National Council of Provinces organized by the National Democratic Institute. During the trip, Mohamed Enver Surty shared his first-hand knowledge of South Africa's constitutional reform process with leaders and representatives of parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties, civic organizations, the media and the general public. In these meetings, Surty stressed the importance of public participation in the constitutional reform process, the need for political leaders to initiate consensus-building, and the responsibility of the media in promoting national consensus on constitutional issues. All parties in Guyana seemed to appreciate the message of hope demonstrated by the South African experience.

Also please find attached a letter to NDI from Guyana's Ambassador to the United States, Odeen Ishmael, commending the Institute for "supporting Guyana's efforts at constitutional reform, and for affording us [Guyanese] the opportunity to meet and share experiences with experts of other countries."

NDI/GUYANA CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM MISSION
NOVEMBER 19 - 26, 1998
SCHEDULE

November 19 (Thursday)

10:20 pm **Senator Mohamed Surty Arrives**
Briefing with NDI staff
Le Meridien Pegasus

November 20 (Friday)

9:00 am **People's Progressive Party/Civic**
-Donald Ramotar, General Secretary,
Freedom House, Robb Street

10:30 am **Mayor of Georgetown**
- Deputy Mayor substituting
City Hall

12:30 pm **Briefing with NDI Contacts (Lunch)**
El Dorado Restaurant, Le Meridien Pegasus

6:30 - 8:30 pm **Civil Society Representatives Roundtable Discussion**
"The Role of Civil Society in Constitutional Reform"
Cazabon Restaurant, Hotel Tower

November 21 (Saturday)

8:30 am **Central Islamic Organization of Guyana**
Thomas Lands, Georgetown

10:00 - 12:30 **Political Party Discussion on Constitutional Reform –**
PPP/Civic

1:00 pm **Guyana Evangelical Fellowship**
Wesleyan Church, Charlotte Street

2:30 - 5:00 pm **Political Party Discussion on Constitutional Reform –**
PNC

6:30 - 8:30 pm

Welcome Reception
Ballet Room, Cara Lodge
Quamina Street, Georgetown

November 22 (Sunday)

7:30 am

Travel to Berbice

1:00 - 3:00 pm

Public Forum
Albion Community Center
Main Building, Albion

4:00- 6:00 pm

Public Forum
New Amsterdam Town Hall
New Amsterdam, Berbice

November 23 (Monday)

1:00 - 3:00 pm

Public Forum
Corriverton Civic Center
Corriverton, Berbice

9:00 pm

Return to Georgetown

November 24 (Tuesday)

9:00 - 10:00 am

The United Force
Mr. Manzoor Nadir
Unity House

10:30 - noon

Non-parliamentary parties briefing
Hibiscus Room, Hotel Tower

12:30 - 2:30 pm

Gender Issues in Constitutional Reform (lunch)
Ballet Room, Cara Lodge
Quamina Street, Georgetown

3:00 - 4:00 pm

Television Show Taping
"Plain Talk with Christopher Ram"
Channel 12 Studios, Robb Street

6:30 - 8:30 pm

Public Forum
"Lessons from the South African Experience"
Rupununi Room, Hotel Tower

November 25 (Wednesday)

9:00 - 11:30 am

Media Roundtable Discussion
"Role of the Media in Constitutional Reform"
Essequibo Room, Le Meridien Pegasus

noon - 1:00 pm

Private Sector Commission Discussion
Offices of Mr. Yesu Persaud
Main Street, Georgetown

1:00 - 1:45pm

Trades Union Congress Excom Discussion
El Dorado Restaurant
Le Meridien Pegasus

2:00 - 3:00 pm

PNC Meeting
- Mr Desmond Hoyte, Leader

3:00 - 4:00 pm

Television Show Taping
Earle Bousquet Host
GTV Studios, Homestretch

5:00 - 6:30

Guyana Human Rights Association Discussion
Human Rights Association Building
Hadfield Street

pm

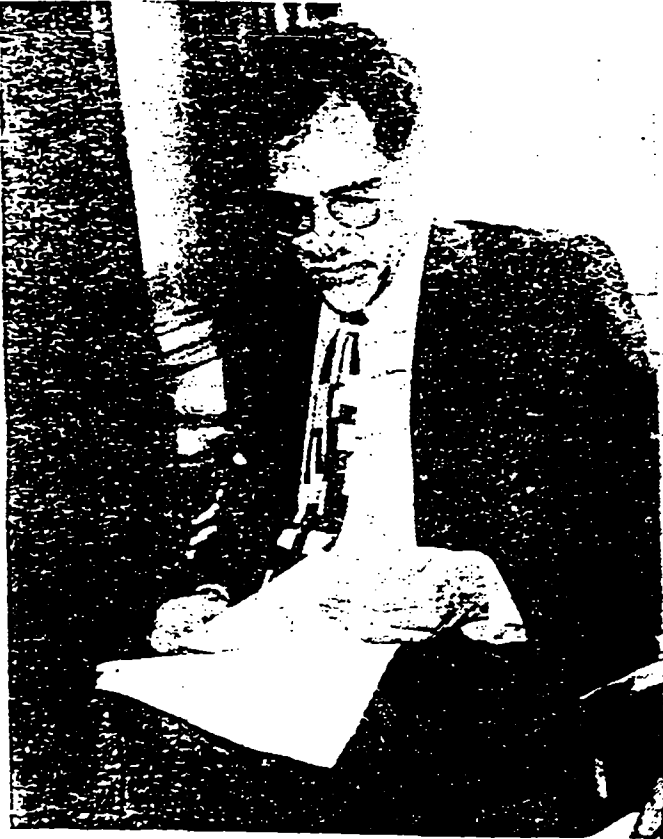
Debriefing

November 26 (Thursday)

6:20 am

Senator Surty Departs
(Flight: BW#484)

NDI hosts visit of South African Parliamentarian



Senator Mohamed Enver Surty

SENATOR Mohamed Enver Surty of South Africa today commences a one-week visit to Guyana sponsored by the National Democratic Institute (NDI). This was announced earlier this week by newly-appointed Director of the Institute, Ms Jean Freedberg.

Senator Surty, who with Malawi Member of Parliament Mr Louis Joseph Chimango visited Guyana in 1996, is described as having special expertise in all areas of constitutional reform, "including the procedural aspects, the actual elements of the constitution and the public participation process".

One of the highlights of Mr Surty's visit to Guyana will be his participation in a media round-table on the topic "The Role of the Media in Constitutional Reform" planned for Wednesday, November 25 in the Hibiscus Room of the Hotel Tower, beginning at 9 a.m.

In her letter of invitation to senior media personnel, NDI Director Ms Freedberg stated: "One of the issues which is always a topic of great interest is the role which the press plays in times of accommodation and change, and certainly in South Africa there was a lively discussion on this topic throughout the process of constitutional reform. The debate continues even today."

A biography sketch of Senator Surty states that he is an African National Congress (ANC) Member of the National Council of Provinces of South Africa (formerly the Senate) of the South African Parliament representing the North-West Province.

The Senator serves on the Constitutional Affairs and Public Administration Committee, Private Members' Legislative proposals and Petitions Committee, and the Security and Justice Committee. He is an alternate member of the Finance Committee and Public Accounts Committee.

On behalf of his party, Surty was responsible for coordinating all submissions on the Bill of Rights to the 1996 Constitution of South Africa and was a key negotiator of this document. He also assisted in the development of Rules and Procedures for the National Council of Provinces.

Senator Surty has a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy and is completing a Master of Law degree with a concentration in constitutional litigation.

The National Democratic Institute has had the privilege of working with Senator Surty on several projects, including a 1996 mission to Guyana to discuss constitutional reform processes.

South African senator for constitutional reform fora

The Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has announced the return to Guyana of South African Senator Mohamed Enver Surty.

According to a release from the NDI, which will host a series of public fora on constitutional reform in Berbice and Georgetown, Surty will be the featured speaker at these events.

While here he is also expected to participate in a wide range of activities, the release said. These include briefings with political parties, various sectors of civil society—trade unions and the private sector among others—religious organisations, women, the media and university students.

The first forum is billed for the Albion Community Centre's main building today from 1 pm to 3 pm and on Wednesday he will address the media on 'The

Role of the Media in Constitutional Reform' in the Essequibo Room at Le Meridien.

Surty is an African National Congress Member of the National Council of Provinces in the South African Parliament representing the North West Province. He was responsible for co-ordinating all submissions on the Bill of Rights to the 1996 Constitution of South Africa on behalf of the ANC, the release said. He also assisted in the development of Rules and Procedures for the national Council of Provinces.

Since 1992, the NDI through its programmes has sought to enhance Guyana's electoral process, strengthen the national assembly, improve the capability of local government officials to effectively govern their communities and to promote citizens' involvement in the democratic process.

South African Parliamentarian calls on Acting Mayor

Senator Mohamed Enver
Surty of South Africa on
Friday paid a courtesy call on

Acting Mayor Mr Robert
Williams.

Senator Surty is on a one-

week visit to Guyana
sponsored by the National
Democratic Institute (NDI).

One of the highlights of
Mr Surty's visit to Guyana
will be his participation
Wednesday in a media
round-table on the topic
'The Role of the Media in
Constitutional Reform'.
The Round Table
discussion will be held at
the Essequibo Room, Le
Meridien Pegasus. The
venue has been shifted
from the Hotel Tower.

In picture, are, from
left Mr Winston Cramer of
NDI Guyana, Nicole
Mladic, NDI Washington,
Senator Mohamed Enver
Surty, Acting Mayor
Robert Williams, City
Councillors, Lewellyn John
and Gwen McGowan, and
Mr Uhlán Leander, Special
Assistant to the Mayor.



GUYANA CHRONICLE
November 22nd, 1998

Constitutional reform must reflect national consensus

By Courtney Jones

South African Parliamentarian Senator Mohamed Enver Surty now on a one-week visit to Guyana under the auspices of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) says any move to reform the Constitution has to entail the full and widest participation of Guyanese.

Accompanied by NDI head in Guyana, Jean Freedberg, Surty told *Starbrook News* during an exclusive interview at the Le Meridien Pegasus Hotel that it is important that the Constitution reflect the national consensus of a country and not its political consensus.

Surty, a top member of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) who was responsible for co-ordinating all submissions on the Bill of Rights to the 1996 South African Constitution said it was "extremely important" to include civic organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the private sector.

"In our experience putting together our Constitution was that each one of the submissions from every different interest group and stakeholder had to be put to all the different political parties and this helped immeasurably in the process," Surty said.

The South African official who represents the North West Province in his country's parliament said that one of the important aspects of forming the new South African Constitution was, apart from the fact that his country had tremendous international support in its effort to change the apartheid system, all the parties had committed themselves to serious dialogue as it related to the need to change the Constitution.

"We committed ourselves to an approach in which the political parties would (have) a broad general agreement. Obviously there were differences, with parties trying to protect their own interests. But there were certain elements that were common to all political parties and we were able to proceed successfully from that basis," he said.

Surty called the process of dialogue the most important feature in framing the new South African Constitution since coming out of that there is a democracy that is vibrant, based on a Constitution that

commands the respect of all segments of the society.

He recalled that it was hard work since the talks were very extensive but at the end the South Africans even those who were suspicious of the process and had deeply entrenched positions, were able to frame a document which every stakeholder, every minority group, every citizen felt reflected his interest and concerns.

According to the South African official, because of the nature of his country over the recent decades, the Bill of Rights deals primarily with the rights of the individual.

"It also deals obviously with socio-economic rights since we believe that the quality of life of our people... could be protected by socio-economic rights," Surty said.

He added that this called for extensive consultations with all the minority groups in order to forge collective rights within the Constitution bearing in mind the fact that the country came from a "very difficult and confrontational past".

But he noted that the government of President Nelson Mandela went beyond that by forming a special commission for the promotion of language and culture. The object of the commission was to reflect the different racial, cultural and religious groups to be able to deal with issues that are important to the nation "without allowing one particular group to organise everything". Surty said that in his case, he was proud of the fact that he was of Indian extraction, but he was even more proud of the fact that he was a member of the ANC and a South African.

"The sooner your politicians get people from the major racial groups to cross party lines as it were, the better would be the chances of some sort of political solution that is not founded on racial politics," he advised.

In testimony to the role of the media in the whole process of creating a Constitution that had already been used as a model for parties that hampered out the Northern Ireland peace agreement, the South African parliamentarian said that because of the vastness of the country the media had a very pivotal role to play.

He noted that in all aspects of the process of reforming the Constitution, the government had recognised that the role of

the press was critical to the success of the process. Surty said print and electronic media were allowed to record almost all aspects of the deliberations except those that dealt with security matters.

"The press was made to feel that as stakeholders they had a vital role to play in helping in the development of the new South African Constitution and that people all over the country depended on them to be informed about each aspect of the process," Surty said.

In addition, South African officials and representatives of all political parties used the media extensively to keep the public informed on a step-by-step basis of the constitutional reform process.

"Since in our vast country a large majority of people have no access to television, we used our extensive network of rural radio stations very effectively to inform and encourage the participation of people in the process," he said.

Surty noted that a country like Guyana starts out with a series of pluses, including the fact that it does not have a long history of bloody racial conflict, everyone speaks one language, there is religious harmony and a tolerance for different religions.

"Your country needs to build on these and above all, to begin to make serious and committed efforts for meaningful dialogue beginning at the level of your leaders as we did in South Africa.

"The alternative to that is too horrible to contemplate," he said.

Constitutional reform must reflect national consensus

By Courtney Jones

South African Parliamentarian Senator Mohamed Erver Surty now on a one-week visit to Guyana under the auspices of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) says any move to reform the Constitution has to entail the full and widest participation of Guyanese.

Accompanied by NDI head in Guyana, Jean Freedberg, Surty told *Stabroek News* during an exclusive interview at the Le Meridien Pegasus Hotel that it is important that the Constitution reflect the national consensus of a country and not its political consensus.

Surty, a top member of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) who was responsible for co-ordinating all submissions on the Bill of Rights to the 1996 South African Constitution said it was "extremely important" to include civic organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the private sector.

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Senator Mohamed Surty

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Stabroek News- November 25, 1998

Berbicians discuss constitutional
reform

-New Amsterdam turn out poor

By Daniel DaCosta

Groups of interested Berbicians gathered at three separate venues on Sunday and Monday to discuss the issue of constitutional reform with South African senator Mohamed Enver Surty.

The three public fora were held in New Amsterdam and Albion on Sunday and at Corriverton on Monday.

In his presentation at the New Amsterdam Town Hall forum, Surty shared with the gathering aspects of the process which led to constitutional reform in South Africa.

Surty said that one of the stated objectives of the South African constitutional assembly was that the process of Constitution-making had to be transparent, open and credible. Moreover, the final Constitution needed to have an enduring quality and should enjoy the support of all South Africans irrespective of ideological differences. It insisted that the new Constitution should be the product of an integration of ideas from political parties, civil societies and individuals.

The African National Congress (ANC) member of the provincial legislature of the North-West province disclosed that in South Africa bills are not entertained in Parliament unless all the stakeholders are consulted. He opined that Guyanese could agree on the key principles in the present Constitution and look at ways of refining certain sections that many considered necessary. Calling on Guyanese addressing the issue of constitutional reform to "look beyond July 16, 1999," Surty noted that "civil society must recognise that it has an important role to play in the process."

The commitment to reform, he said, should be dependent on the building of a better nation.

The Herdmanston Accord mandates that the constitutional review process should be completed by July 16, 1999 to facilitate the holding of elections by 2001.

Among the panellists at the New Amsterdam forum were attorney-at-law Ramesh Rajkumar and educator Catherine Archer. Issues raised included the need for changes in the local government system, amendments to improve the rights of women and gender equity. Concerns were also raised over public participation opportunities, the composition of the commission and the scope of its representation. According to one participant public hearings must be convened in all the regions to facilitate submissions by individuals and interest groups. Another concern was the likely treatment of submissions to the commission and the time frame for public hearings.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
(NDI) Country Programme Director, Dr Jean Freedberg, also gave an insight into the work of the institute in Guyana and the reason behind the convening of the fora.

The fora were organised by the institute in collaboration with three local committees, members of which expressed disappointment at the level of interest exhibited by members of the public, and in particular interest groups, service organisations, members of the business community, the media and the local bar. Approximately 30 individuals attended the New Amsterdam Town Hall forum.

Guyana Chronicle- November 26, 1998

Senator warns media against creating divisions

by Michelle Elphage

SOUTH African Senator, Mr Enver Surty wrapped up his visit to Guyana yesterday stressing the "enormous" responsibility placed on the shoulders of the local media as the country goes to the Constitutional Reform table.

The Senator, a lawyer by profession, warned against the media creating divisions in the society whilst pushing the Constitutional Reform process.

Surty, whose one-week visit was facilitated by the local arm of the Washington-based National Democratic Institute (NDI), held a forum with media personnel, mainly managers and editors, on the role of the media in Constitutional Reform, based on his country's experience.

"I do believe that you've done exceptionally well in terms of my limited assessment. And I do believe it becomes even more significant...that you push forward this process by not engineering a division, but to promote the way to a consensus amongst political leaders and amongst political parties," Senator Surty told the gathering.

A member of South Africa's ruling African National Congress (ANC), Mr Surty indicated that his country's media did a good job of putting out diverse opinions during the Constitutional Reform process there, by allowing politicians and civil society to air their views.

"They provided a platform for political debate between political opponents. They provided a platform for debate between political opponents and civil society, on the radio, on television and through the media. They provided two points of view regarding different issues because different people had different

views...as to issues in the Constitution," he said in a brief presentation before fielding questions and clarifications from those present.

"It allowed both political parties and civil society and different political parties, to reflect their views. And this diversity of opinion as it emerged in the press, is in my mind, perhaps the most significant thing in advancing the freedoms and rights in a Constitution, and making the people aware, not from a particular perspective, not from a particular bias, but from a general perspective, encompassing not one single point of view, but a general point of view."

Senator Surty after the session, told reporters that despite the deep-seated racial divide, that existed in his country, the process was moved forward because of the "total commitment" to peace by everyone.

"There is a commitment, a total commitment to peace, not only for Black South Africans, but for South Africa on the whole as a nation.

"Any commitment to seek a peaceful resolution to your problems...I think the magnanimity of South Africans...and South African leaders has been a very, very important aspect of achieving that particular goal," the Senator intimated.

He explained that the race issue is always kept on the agenda of the ANC and he disclosed that just ten days ago, Deputy President Mr Thabo Mbeki spoke to the party on 'Reconciliation and Nation building,' "not because there were any racial problems, but to set the ground for the next year. To say to us, this is the spirit in which we should enter the next year".

The Senator acknowledged that there is a fringe group among the white South Africans, but said in his opinion, they do not represent the majority of their race.

"None of the opposition parties, none of them, were able to say that the ANC has reneged on its commitment to non-racialism and nation building...The

implementation of its policies on a non-racial basis has been accepted and endorsed by all political parties," Surty stressed.

The Senator indicated that when a society is faced with racial problems, among other differences, there is never an easy solution.

"They've all got to try very hard."

In his presentation, the visiting official also warned against media houses publishing material, that though factual, could create further divides, or lead to misconception by a particular section of society.

Surty stressed that politicians are "obliged" to interact with civil society to give them an opportunity to shape and mould the Constitution, but noted that the final decision is a "political choice by duly elected public representatives".

"A process of Constitutional Reform cannot take place without it being driven by civil society," said Senator Surty who first visited Guyana in 1996.

"I have always been a proponent, and a strong proponent, and I say it without any reservation, of public participation...bearing in mind we went through the most transparent process, I think in the world, in Constitutional legislation and bearing in mind that our legislature currently also exists on the same basis, and it has aspired to continue in that way."

He however said, that he does not underplay the role of political parties who are duly elected representatives.

Senator Surty advised journalists that it is their duty to get both sides of the story, contextualising it within the dynamics of the Guyanese society.

"Is it responsible for a journalist to make such a statement which might have the effect of creating a chasm or a division between people who are trying to evolve the process of democracy and people who are

responsible for this particular process?" he questioned.

"I have no difficulties, but to enlighten you about the responsibility of a journalist, in a very delicate political process...Journalists have told me in this country that anything could happen since 'racial strife is..there'. Do those same journalists...take advantage of a situation like that and put forward a particular view...I am saying that, that is the responsibility that you should carry forward as a journalist. Not on the basis of your reporting only, but your commitment to nation building and reconciliation."

Surty during his visit, met with political parties and civic groups, and also travelled to Berbice, where he held meetings.

The NDI, since 1990, has been working to support the democratic process in Guyana.

The organisation has sponsored visits similar to Surty's, and financed a recent visit by a Guyanese delegation to Ireland, to observe the workings involved in the peace process in that country.

EMBER 26, 1998



Greetings: South African Member of Parliament, Mohammed Enver Surty (second from right) greets Stabroek News reporter, Courtney Jones (right) before his media lecture at the Le Meridien Pegasus yesterday. Also in photo are (from left) Time Out host, Bibi Naraine; NDI Director in Guyana, Jean Freedburg (standing); and Courtney Gibson of the New Nation. (See story on centre pages) (Ken Moore photo)

Media has to take constitution debate to the public - Surty -notes simplicity of South African model

By Courtney Jones

A South African Member of Parliament who was integrally involved in the framing of his country's Constitution says the media can play a very important role in nation building.

Mohammed Enver Surty, a senior member of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) and member of parliament for the North West Province of his country was speaking to members of the local press at Le Meridien, Pegasus Hotel yesterday.

"This is the time in the process of constitutional reform when the media including electronic, print and radio, could optimally use its resources to provide information to the public," Surty said. Surty, whose six-day visit to Guyana, the second in two years, was sponsored by the Washington-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) said all journalists whether from the state or private media had a responsibility in this regard.

He said that in his "limited assessment" local journalists have done exceptionally well, but he cautioned that they must push forward the process of constitutional reform by not engineering any divisions.

"I believe the spirit of journalists here, in general and the media in general, has been a good one. There has been honesty in terms of what they inject and there seems to be an honest assessment of the challenges here and I am confident that you would play a very, very meaningful role in the process," Surty said.

The South African MP disclosed that his country's media have played a vital role in disseminating information relating to the process of making the new Constitution.

"They televised much of the constitutional making process. They provided a platform for political debate between political opponents... and between political opponents and civil society... and in essence provided different points of view regarding the debate....," Surty said.

He noted that this diversity of opinions ultimately emerged in the press and was the most significant thing in advancing the freedom and rights in any Constitution.

But he observed that the South African media were not always free and that sections were used as organs of disinformation and propaganda.

The Constitution of his country, he disclosed, has provisions for the establishment of independent broadcasting. He also spoke of the proliferation of broadcast entities in his country.

However, Surty noted that the Constitution stipulated that these "should reflect the diversity of the views" of the populace adding that the regulation is biased towards the development of local programme content particularly in the areas of education, culture and religion.

"These have become part of the legislation that has been passed governing the establishment of broadcast entities," he said.

The South African official also said the media must ensure that the people are aware of all the issues not from a particular bias or general perspective but encompassing the concerns and "at the same time having the courage to say this is my view."

Surty told the gathering which included *Stabroek News* Editor-in-Chief David de Caires; Guyana Press Association (GPA) President, Enrico Woolford and television commentator, Kit Nascimento that one cannot express his or her view in the particular medium because one owns one facet of the media in any country.

Alluding again to the South African experience, Surty disclosed that there are permanent representatives of all sections of the media in parliament including from all the independent newspapers in the country.

In South Africa, the state does not own any newspaper but operates one radio station.

Surty said the whole arrangement, even though South Africa has 11 official languages, was aimed, successfully, at taking the debates to the public.

"I think this is the task that you have," he told his listeners.

He cited the example of when the report of the much publicised truth and reconciliation hearings were released; it was published in all newspapers and available to all.

"A significant contribution given the fact that the document comprised five reports and its volume was so enormous that it must have taken a special commitment to the freedom of expression and a duty and responsibility to disseminate information in the press," Surty said.

He noted too that a significant fact about the South African constitution was that it was written in

plain language to make it accessible to everybody.

"The best that framers of the Constitution could do is to put the Constitution in very clear language which every person would be able to read without difficulty," Surty advised.

He said that in his country's Constitution one would rarely find a sentence that is more than two lines long. They are short, clear, lucid "so that the ordinary people can sit down and read and understand."

NDI Director in Guyana, Jean Freedberg chaired the proceedings which was also attended by Sunday Stabroek Editor Anna Benjamin; former GPA Head Cecil Griffith; Chartered Accountant and television commentator Christopher Ram, United Nations Consultant, Hugh Cholmondeley; and Mirror Editor Earl Bousquet among others.

Sunday Mirror

Editorial:

Editor: Earl Bousquet.

Tel: 02-62471, 3 Fax: 02-62472

A Step Forward

The consensus arrived at so far regarding composition of the parliamentary select committee on Constitutional Reform has led many to breathe a breath of fresh air.

That this simple agreement should elicit such a response can be seen in two ways. First, it reflects a level of public approval that the two major parties (PPP/Civic and PNC) and their junior parliamentary partners (TUF and AFG) have been able to agree on such an important matter. Secondly, however, it also indicates the seriousness of the situation when it has to take so long for such a simple agreement to be arrived at.

Parliamentarians and Civil Society (including the press) last week benefitted immensely from the second visit here by South African parliamentarian and Senator Mohammed Surty, who has been quite involved in the constitutional reform process in his country. The various addresses and interventions he made here have all underlined just how serious such an exercise is. He noted that even while there were differences of opinion and suspicions between the major parties and races at the beginning, in the end it boiled down to a matter of the political will of the parties and the interest of the people. Throughout the various stages, however, the major parties struggled to come out with a constitution that reflected the new reality in South Africa and which sought to address, as far as possible, all the concerns addressed by those participating in the national debate. At the end of the day, South Africa emerged with a democratic constitution to which the widest cross-section of the society has contributed. Today, they are all happy.

The Guyana experience can be as smooth as that of South Africa, if only the major players express and demonstrate the level of political will seen in the former Apartheid state. But the experience so far has not shown anything near that level of commitment on the part of the major opposition party here.

In the first post-1992 parliament, the PNC gaged in such delaying tactics as to prevent the completion of the mandate for constitutional reform in the first five years of the PPP/Civic administration. In the current parliament, it has taken almost one year for the PNC to agree on a formula that has been on the cards for some time.

Instead of moving to remove obstacles, the major opposition party has been obstructionist in its approach, arguing for example, that lawyers have right to representation on the Constitutional Reform Commission than farmers. This is a country with an agro-based economy where farmers and other agricultural workers form the vast majority of the working people. The contemptuous argument of favouring lawyers over farmers is that the former are better placed to contribute to the debate than the latter — which, in itself, is a manifestation of a serious level of petty arrogance in relation to the intelligence of a large section of the people of this country.

Be that as it may, the agreement on composition of the parliamentary Select Committee is a good start.

The next phase will involve the establishment of the Constitutional Reform Commission itself, which, as with all commissions, will require consultation between the President and the Leader of the Minority. Given Mr Hoyte's still stubborn refusal to accept his constitutional post as Minority Leader, it can be expected that this will create further obstacles in the way of progress on this issue.

We can only hope that someone, somewhere, sometime soon, will be able to inject some sense into his head about the need to accept and fulfil his constitutional responsibility in this regard.

In the meantime, here's hoping that the first forward step in the form of the agreement on composition of the parliamentary Select Committee will lead to the desirable level of cooperation on the part of the major minority party in this national exercise.



EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA

2490 TRACY PLACE N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008
Tele: (202) 265-6900
Fax: (202) 232-1297

November 9, 1998

Mr. Matt Dippell
Deputy Director
National Democratic Institute
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., 5th floor
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Dippell,

I wish to thank you for sharing with me the press coverage of the study mission to Northern Ireland organized by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and which included Guyanese political leaders and representatives of the Trade Union Congress, the Private Sector Commission and legal community.

I am sure that this was a very positive experience for the team from Guyana, since they were able to hear first hand, not only from the President of the Republic of Ireland, but from prominent British leaders of the key issues and challenges facing the negotiators in Northern Ireland.

I wish to commend NDI for supporting Guyana's efforts at constitutional reform, and for affording us the opportunity to meet and share experiences with experts of other countries.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,



Odeen Ishmael
Ambassador

Turning Point on the Caspian

MUCH TURNS on coming elections in Azerbaijan, one of 15 nations to emerge from the collapse of the Soviet Union and one still struggling to find its way. Small but rich in oil, Azerbaijan matters to the United States for more than its energy resources. Fought over by Persia and Russia and more distant empires, it remains the object of competition among surrounding powers. More important, it occupies the middle ground of ideological battles of the day: Muslim but not fundamentalist, autocratic but more open than the Central Asian dictatorships taking shape across the Caspian Sea.

In the first part of this decade, Azerbaijan knew coups and war with neighboring Armenia. It is now ruled by its ex-KGB boss, Heydar Aliyev. Mr. Aliyev, 75, has kept a tight rein on politics and media, tolerating only limited dissent, and he is running for reelection in October. When he visited Washington last summer, he committed himself to "political pluralism" and "free and fair elections."

His government has gone far to meet that pledge. An imperfect election law has been

improved, after he welcomed advice and cooperation from the U.S. National Democratic Institute and similar democracy-building organizations based in Europe. But serious concerns remain about the fair implementation of the law. The central election commission and its local offshoots are too firmly in the grasp of Mr. Aliyev's machine. Two leading would-be opposition candidates remain under criminal indictment. Government censors still meddle in newspapers' coverage of politics. As a result, the five leading opposition parties so far insist they will boycott the election.

Having come this far, it would be a shame, both for Azerbaijan's reputation here and for the long-term prospects for stability at home, if Mr. Aliyev balked at the last few steps needed to ensure a fair election. His emissaries say he is prepared to end all censorship; that would be welcome. He also should find a formula to make all sides feel confident in the commissions that will oversee the election. Then the burden would fall on the opposition to cease its boycott and take its chances with the voters.

Azerbaijan Has Paid Enough
Source: The Washington Times
Date: Friday, August 14, 1998
By Hafiz M. Pashayev

Azerbaijan is one of many nations around the world currently subject to unilateral U.S. sanctions. The recently-appointed Senate Economic Sanctions Task Force is currently reviewing the impact of all U.S. sanctions and will soon make recommendations to Congress. Section 907 represents an excellent example of a U.S. sanctions policy that has no justification in current political or diplomatic reality, and which serves only to interfere with the building of constructive relations between the United States and a key partner nation in a strategically and economically important region of the world.

This month marks the first anniversary of Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev's first official visit to the United States, an event that culminated in strengthening political and commercial relations between our two countries. President Aliyev recently, completed an equally successful official visit to the United Kingdom, which reaffirmed Azerbaijan's growing diplomatic and business ties to the West.

The anniversary of the U.S. visit and the recent UK visit offer an appropriate opportunity to take stock of bilateral and regional relations and interests. Why are Azerbaijan's efforts to build strong ties to the U.S. and Europe significant? The, reason is that the U.S. has vital interests in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus.

First, Azerbaijan and many of its neighbors are former republics. Of the Soviet Union - young, independent nations seeking to develop democratic institutions and free market economies and to address long-standing ethnic and social conflicts. Americans are uniquely able to understand the challenges we face and to lend support. The U.S. will benefit from a Caucasus region characterized by stability, economic cooperation and secure, internationally-recognized borders. Azerbaijan is a small nation surrounded by several large ones - Russia, Iran and Turkey. Stability and security issues have ramifications beyond our own borders.

Second, Azerbaijan and the U.S. are currently cooperating on critical decisions regarding oil pipelines from the Caspian region to the Mediterranean. These decisions will determine who will manage (or possibly prevent) the flow of the Caspian Sea's abundant oil and gas reserves in the 21st century. Both Mr. Aliyev and the Clinton administration are promoting the Baku-Cayhan route that would permit future oil flows to go through Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.

Third, Azerbaijan has instituted a broad program of economic reforms that is yielding impressive results. GDP rose by 9 percent in the first half of 1998. Azerbaijan is openly welcoming U.S. and other Western businesses as partners in its development, not just in the critical energy, sector; but also in construction, mineral exploration, business services and telecommunications.

Fourth, Azerbaijan is demonstrating real progress in developing democratic institutions, with

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multiparty presidential elections scheduled in October. The government has implemented many steps to bring this election into compliance with international standards. Numerous NGOs, including the **National Democratic Institute for International Affairs** and the International Foundation for Election Systems, as well as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) structures, have helped Azerbaijan draft a new election law and will be monitoring the upcoming elections.

Yet problems in the Azerbaijan-U.S. relationship remain unresolved. The most important issue is the lifting of sanctions imposed by Congress under Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act in 1992. These sanctions, resulting from a ten-year-old conflict between Azerbaijan and neighboring Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, bar direct U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan "until it ceases economic blockades and other offensive uses of force against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh." But in reality, no blockade against Armenia exists, Trade regularly flows through its borders with neighboring Georgia and Iran, and an internationally-recognized cease-fire in Nagorno-Karabakh has now been in place for four years. There are no offensive actions on either side.

In fact, about 20 percent of Azerbaijani territory today remains under the control of Armenia. Almost one million Azerbaijani citizens - about 15 percent of the nation's total population - are refugees and displaced persons in their own country, having been dislocated from the Nagorno-Karabakh region and other surrounding regions of Azerbaijan. The task of bringing a peaceful, internationally-recognized solution to this conflict has been made more difficult by the recent change in government in Armenia. Former Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian, who favored a compromise plan supported by the U.S. and the OSCE through the Minsk Process, was forced from the office by Armenian hard-liners earlier this year.

The new Armenian president and Armenian-American lobbying groups are against OSCE's proposed solution to the conflict based on two stages - first, Armenian withdrawal from seven of the eight occupied regions of Azerbaijan, and second, final talks on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh within Azerbaijan. In effect, Armenia is proposing to kill at least to subvert years of negotiations through the Minsk Process, which is co-chaired by the U.S., France and Russia and includes the active involvement of several European nations.

Despite Azerbaijan's commitment to the Minsk peace process and the fact that the Clinton administration supports a congressional repeal of Section 907, U.S. sanctions continue because Congress is under strong pressure from Armenian lobbying groups. Azerbaijan has taken sufficient "demonstrable steps" in recent months to permit the Clinton administration to make a presidential determination, in effect waiving election 907.

Hafiz M. Pashayev is ambassador
of the Republic of Azerbaijan to the
United States

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SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1994

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Observing Dominican Fraud

R EPORTS OF cheating by the incumbent to ensure his reelection in the Dominican Republic pose a challenge to the Organization of American States and the Washington-based National Democratic Institute. Both sent observers to the Caribbean nation's presidential poll last Monday. Having found fraud on a scale that conceivably could affect the results of the election, they and their sponsors now have to figure out what to do.

The immediate answer is that the observers must stick around, keeping the hemisphere's eyes on the government of Joaquin Balaguer who, 87 years old, blind and nearly deaf, has been president for 20 of the last 28 years. The NDI delegation, an international group led by former congressman Stephen Solarz, is pressing Dominican authorities to investigate allegations of irregularities and to devise remedies—perhaps to rerun parts of the election to ensure that the people's will is fairly registered. The official responses given yesterday remain to be tested.

It might help too for the OAS to haul out its bold Resolution 1080, which commits the hemispheric organization to act, and not simply to wring its hands, to prevent despoliation of a member's democracy by coup. The actual language refers to "sudden or irregular interruption of the democratic political process." The resolution is new, and election-observing as a serious

political exercise is also new; a product of the National Democratic Institute's enterprise in the 1980s, so the issue does not seem to have arisen before. But interruption of democracy by fraud, though it may not be "sudden," is scarcely less "irregular" and certainly no more acceptable than interruption by coup. This is not the first time Mr. Balaguer has been accused of winning on the sly.

Win or lose, his long tenure shows that he has had an uncommon hold on the Dominican people. Still, he has been a difficult Caribbean partner. His country occupies half of the island whose other half is Haiti. Professing fear of a flood of Haitian refugees, Mr. Balaguer has been conspicuously uncooperative in enforcing the international sanctions aimed at inducing the Haitian military to relinquish power. Gasoline and other forbidden goods flow practically unchecked across their 170-mile border—to the considerable profit of Dominican businessmen and the Dominican military. Mr. Balaguer has also accused his electoral challenger, Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, of being secretly a Haitian and of being intent on allowing Haiti to take over the whole island. To flout democracy in the Dominican Republic by fraud and to flout political change in Haiti by embargo-busting—is this really the choice of the Dominican people?

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PALESTINE: BUILDING DEMOCRACY AT TH

(Inter Press Service English News Wire)

AMAZARA ANUBANI, West Bank, May 8 (IPS) -- One afternoon, Rinad Qubbaj, a Palestinian activist working with a grassroots organization, turned to the 50-odd women gathered in this tiny West Bank village and proffered a simple question.

"If you want to build a new health center in your village," she asked, "what steps do you take? How do you get the Palestinian government to finance it?"

Drawing on tradition, some of the women said they would go to the village elders. Some said government institutions like the ministry of health or the Palestinian legislative council would be the best address. Others, taking their cue from the Palestinian uprising against Israeli rule, thought the villagers should stage a demonstration.

Finally, Qubbaj steered her audience toward the idea of gathering signatures for a petition.

But more important than the answer, she says, is the purpose of the question -- to get Palestinians in towns and villages across the West Bank and Gaza to realize that they already hold political power in their hands; they just have to know how to use it.

"We try to make them aware that they can go to their legislative council members, to their government and get what they want," said Qubbaj. "Our purpose is to let them know that they can shape their own government."

Under the auspices of a U.S. organization called the National Democratic Institute, Qubbaj and 21 other Palestinian moderators hold over 400 civil forums every six weeks.

Topics range from the rule of law under the Palestinian Authority to the role of political parties to the relationship between parliament members and citizens.

It is one of many programs funded by NDI that is designed to spread democratic ideals in countries from Nicaragua to Namibia to Armenia. Alongside the civic forums in the West Bank, NDI runs a program to assist Palestinian legislative council members to draft legislation. And prior to the first-ever Palestinian elections, NDI held voter-awareness forums.

The current civic forum sessions, segregated by sex, are held in school houses and community centers that are accessible to the general public. Organizers estimate as many as 8,000 Palestinians have participated since the program began in 1995.

With 70 percent of the Palestinian population living in villages, moderators often travel to remote parts of the West Bank and Gaza, like Amazara Anubani, where this forum was held, to spread their message.

That usually means confronting audiences, especially female audiences, with limited exposure to the workings of government.

In Amazara Anubani, for instance, where the average age of marriage among women is 18 and only about a third had graduated from secondary school, none had direct experience with government ministries or parliament.

To get around the participants' lack of knowledge, moderators try to bring their points home by comparing them to the aspects of the villagers' daily lives.

During this forum, for instance, which was about the government budget, Qubbaj began by asking women how they budget their own households before moving on to the bigger issue of government income and expenditures.

"It's important to make the issue seem as accessible as possible to them," said Qubbaj. "So we look for ways to make a complicated topic simpler."

One thing moderators don't bring up: the shortcomings of the Palestinian Authority government since it was set up in 1994 as part of the Oslo peace accords signed by Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

During forums on the rule of law, for instance, no mention was made of the chaos that has arisen because there are 12 competing Palestinian security forces without clearly defined jurisdictions roaming the West Bank and Gaza.

The chaos has led on occasion to repeated arrests and interrogation of the same suspect by different branches of the security services. At least 12 Palestinians have died while in police custody. Even NDI employees have felt the brunt of police action, including unsolicited visits by the Palestinian secret police to forums.

Still, NDI members say they shy away from addressing specific problems with the government during sessions. "Our job is to concentrate on general issues about democracy and the rule of government," explained Miral Assuli, a program assistant at NDI.

"If specific cases of government corruption or bad police conduct come up, we steer away from them," she added. "We want to stay neutral."

Sometimes the desire to stay neutral can make for awkward situations. During a forum on the function of the Basic Law, or constitution, moderators didn't discuss the most lively issue, that Palestinian President Yasser Arafat has been trying to curtail efforts by the legislative council to draft a basic law that council members say will limit his power.

But just by increasing public awareness, the civic forum may work to promote change, say human rights activists; the more people understand the democratic process, the more likely they are to demand that some power be wrested away from Arafat, they say.

"People will not say silent forever," predicted Shawqi Issa, a Palestinian human rights lawyer who works with a Jerusalem-based organization called the Land and Water Establishment. "The more they understand the political process, the better the chance that they will act."

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Deborah Horan , PALESTINE: BUILDING DEMOCRACY AT THE GRASSROO

New Search

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Rector's Forum sets up parallel vote tabulation

By M.M.I. Aliyari

"This method will be a complementary method and enables election monitoring by, at the same time, conducting scientific tests," he said in Bandung on Thursday.

The PVT is a common statistical sampling method. Its superiority lies in its scientific analysis, for example with the help of the cross correlation method.

Apart from quantitative calculations in the form of compilation and tabulation of data, the forum's PVT method will also feature a qualitative interpretation of data already obtained.

Nevertheless, a statistician from ITB's mathematics department, Ms. Dumarisa Tanapubolon, who will head the PVT program for the Rectors Forum, said there were shortcomings in the method to be used in the upcoming elections.

"As one of the statistical tests, PVT will not be entirely perfect. However, as a scientific tool, this method will be very useful to provide a track record and new data to be used in the analysis of the next general election," she said.

The PVT method has been applied in more than 20 general elections in countries such as Chile, the Philippines, some African states, and Cambodia.

"The result obtained from PVT in the Philippines when Corason Aquino won the elections, was quite significant with ballot counting being undertaken by Comelcor and Nandapel," Dumarisa said.

PVT has stimulated the interest of academics joining the Rectors Forum. It was introduced here by the National Democratic Institute from the United States, which has extended technical assistance to poll monitoring agencies.

"It seems that a scientific method like this is quite relevant to us at the Rectors Forum," Hendrajaya said.

However, a dilemma caused by a limitation in the application of PVT has arisen.

Data from local polling stations (TPS) for the elections is meager, while their presence is important to determine the design of the survey and the sample to be collected.

"Data from the 1997 elections is not relevant any more. However, as the data we really need is not available, we have to use various assumptions to be able to draw up a survey and sampling design," Dumarisa said.

Out of a total of 328,000 TPS already decided upon, the Rectors Forum has agreed to collect random samples from 8,940 TPS.

"There are usually two methods for the design of the survey and the sample. Under the first method, determine first the margin of error and then the size of the sample. Under the second method, it is a reverse process: determine first the size of the sample and then the margin of error," Dumarisa said.

After considering a variety of constraints, such as financing, human resources, and

available equipment, the Rectors Forum opted for the second method.

"We determine first the size of the sample and then calculate the margin of error. Besides it is not possible for us to collect a sample from all TPS. We have found, finally, that the margin of error is quite small, namely zero point such and such," Dumarisa said.

It is true that the number of TPS used as a sample is small. However, the Rectors Forum's PVT method uses individual voters as sample units. With the assumption that one TPS will serve some 500 voters, some 400,000 samples will be obtained.

Isolated areas

According to Hendrajaya, the Rectors Forum will try to cover areas that other monitoring agencies are unable to cover, especially considering that the random sample for PVT has already been obtained. Although a TPS is located in a remote place, it must be visited to ensure that the result of PVT will be accurate.

Once a TPS has been included in the sample, it must be monitored, no matter how difficult it is to get there, he said.

Provinces considered difficult to reach are Maluku, Aceh, East Timor and some other provinces whose territories are separated by the sea. However, Hendrajaya remained optimistic, saying the forum had recruited at least 230,000 volunteers to monitor the elections.

In addition, at least 270 universities are associated with the forum. Data from them will be fed into computers and sent to processing centers in Bandung and Jakarta.

"This data may be sent through facsimile or the Internet. Currently, approximately 34 universities have been linked up to the educational Internet managed by ITB with the assistance of a satellite owned by Japan," said Besaid, who is responsible for the computer network at the Rectors Forum.

"Universities not associated in the Internet will have to rely on public Internet networks such as Wasantana Net or other Internet Service Providers," he said.

To secure the data, 120 facsimiles at Wisma Antara will adopt a closed user-group system so that other parties cannot interfere. Data sent through the Internet channel will be encrypted first to prevent decoding by other parties.

It is on the basis of these preparations that the Rectors Forum predicts they can release estimated vote results eight days after the polling date.

Data discrepancies

A problem may arise if the estimate made on the basis of PVT methods differs markedly from the calculation made by the General Elections Commission (KPU) or other poll watchdogs undertaking ballot counting.

Hendrajaya emphasized that the results of the PVT calculations will only be used only as a means of comparison.

"Certainly PVT-based calculations cannot be claimed or made a political instrument by the losing parties. To avoid this possibility, until the issuance of the official result by KPU,

PVT-based calculations will only be in the form of compilation and tabulation data, along with some explanations but without a conclusion."

Earlier, executive director of the forum Sudjana Sapte said the result of the calculations would be the same as those obtained by KPU only if a computer network was allowed access to KPU's computer network.

"It is always possible that calculation results may differ from those issued by KPU. Therefore, an election monitoring agency must acquire data-processing capability on a par with that of KPU, so that a check may be run to find out whether the KPU data is correct or otherwise," he said.

According to Sapte, KPU would stand by their result, while monitoring agencies would have to verify their results.

He acknowledged a problem might arise if verification of KPU results led to the discovery of discrepancies.

The question is whether an

election monitoring agency has to immediately expose this discrepancy to the public, at the risk of sparking chaos.

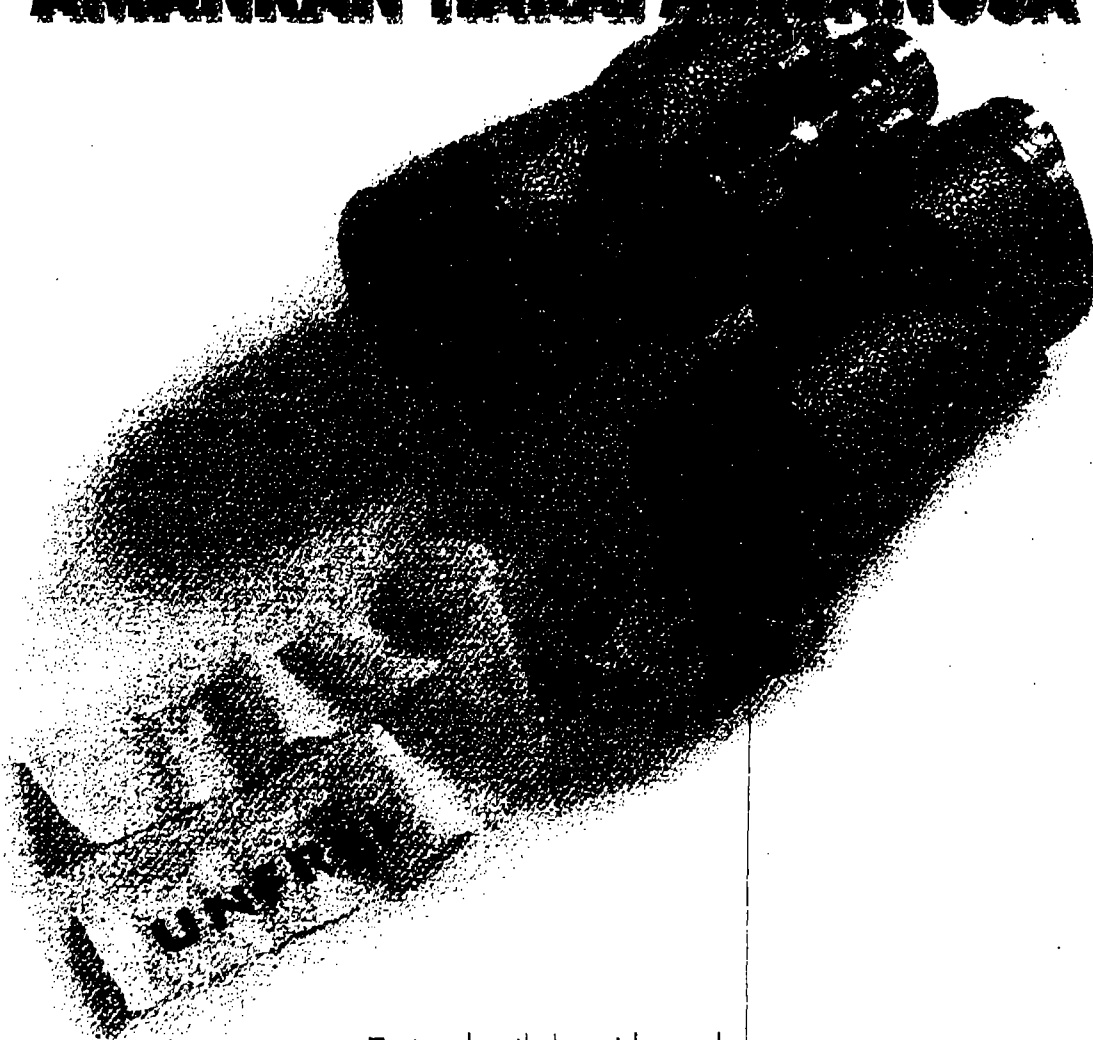
"It is at this juncture that a poll watchdog should assume its responsibility and act with great caution. We must weigh carefully whether or not it is for the good of the society if we, the intellectuals joining the election monitoring agency, divulge the discrepancy to the public. Who will be responsible if this exposure leads to social turmoil?"

"So, the exposure of discrepancies in data must be weighed very carefully because this may also enhance the community's confidence in the credibility of poll watchdogs," Sapte said.

If contradictory data stems from foul play, the situation will be of great concern. Should this scenario play out, election monitoring agencies must not stay silent, especially now that there are 48 parties which must be ranked according to the percentage of the vote won.

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Activities to Promote Women's Political Participation

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to promoting the equitable participation of women in politics and government. Support for increased participation of women in political leadership is consistent with NDI's mandate to strengthen the inclusive nature and representative character of democratic institutions world wide. NDI organizes programs devoted to encouraging and enabling women to assume responsibility for their own increased participation in political processes and makes the participation of women a focus of all its programs.

Civic Participation Formal legal structures that restrict women's right to political inclusion are no longer the greatest obstacle to women's participation. Although legal frameworks grant women equal rights, women often do not know their rights or understand the connection between the exercise of their rights and policies that affect their lives. In situations where women have a limited understanding of the political process, NDI programs work to inform women and motivate them to participate by voting, expressing their views or mobilizing to present an alternative view. NDI civic education programs in Nepal and Mozambique have reached out to women voters to inform and involve them in the electoral process in those countries.

NDI civic organizing programs also seek to increase women's ability to understand political issues so they may effectively participate in the political process. By providing women with skills in advocacy, coalition building, public speaking and developing organizations, the Institute's programs work to build the capacity of women to involve themselves in the political arena.

NDI programs that have made significant efforts to increase the civic participation of women include Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nepal, and the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Political Leadership In other situations, women have begun to articulate their views through women's organizations or civic groups. In their new roles as civic leaders, however, some women may lack the skills and the access necessary to promote their causes to the public. Other women may be aspiring political candidates but lack the perception of themselves as electable. NDI programs often seek to

encourage women leaders to engage in elective politics in order to pursue change from inside the system. By encouraging activists to participate as candidates for office, NDI helps women develop electoral legitimacy. Candidate training programs focus on campaign planning, message development, image enhancement, media relations, fundraising and campaign management. Because NDI trains leaders who are among the first women in their country to seek elective office, political leadership programs work to maximize networks of support between prospective women candidates. NDI programs also provide advice to political parties in need of increasing their portion of the women's vote, women membership and women candidates.

NDI has conducted programs to encourage women's political leadership in Argentina, Chile, Croatia, Jordan, Kenya, Nepal, and regional programs in Central and Eastern Europe.

Governance Skills Finally, once women gain elective office they are often challenged by unfamiliar procedures and unwelcoming environments. Rather than being viewed as political activists, women are often judged as representatives of their gender. It is important that the few women who reach elective office will be equipped with the skills to work effectively within deliberative bodies and political parties. NDI conducts programs that reach out to elected women by proving substantive skills such as bill analysis or bill drafting or even offering advice to elected women about attaining leadership positions within a legislature or political party.

NDI has conducted programs in Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, and in the Central and Eastern Europe Region to provide political legislative skills to elected women.

For further information contact Marissa Brown, Senior Program Officer for Programs in Local Governance.

Updated September 1997

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Promoting Women's Political Participation

Program Overview

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is committed to promoting the equitable participation of women in politics and government. Support for increased participation of women in political leadership is consistent with NDI's mandate to strengthen the inclusive and representative character of democratic institutions worldwide. NDI organizes programs devoted primarily to encouraging and enabling women to assume responsibility for their own increased participation and makes the participation of women as participants and presenters a facet of all its programs.

To date, NDI's programs to enhance women's political participation range across the spectrum of NDI program activities. This paper summarizes NDI's women's programs which address issues in election processes, democratic governance, political party building and civic participation.

- 1996-

Argentina: Strategizing with Women Leaders

Argentina has a law requiring political parties to place women on their electoral lists in such a way that 30 percent would be elected to the national legislature. Since 1993, NDI has supported the efforts of various women's organizations to prepare women to assume leadership roles in this environment. As a follow on to NDI's 1993 and 1994 programs on women and political leadership, NDI sent Amy Conroy, former executive director of the Women's Campaign Fund, to Argentina in March 1996 to discuss issues regarding women's political participation. NDI coordinated program activities with the Foundation for Women in Equality (MEI) in Buenos Aires and the Institute of Women's Training Research and Participation (IFIM) in Mendoza. In Buenos Aires, women civic and political leaders met with the NDI team to exchange information on developing long-term strategies to access leadership positions. The Argentine officials shared their experiences on negotiating within their political parties and obtaining positions of leadership. Conroy provided comparative information on strategic planning and coalition building with a long term perspective. In Mendoza, NDI worked with local women leaders to assist them in defining the steps to create a strategy for political advancement. In a seminar "Women and Political

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Leadership" the participants held group discussions about concrete methods to become more effective in politics and to gain powerful positions in their political parties and in elected office. Participants agreed that the ideas presented by the NDI expert would prove valuable in increasing the effectiveness of their future political work.

Croatia: Talking about Women's Participation

In March 1996, NDI conducted a one day seminar for prospective women candidates in local and state elections in Croatia. International experts, specializing in electing women, met with 35 women from throughout Croatia, representing the major political parties. The participants discussed the basic structure of a political campaign, message development, materials development and fundraising. Following the seminar, the women participants formed a loose coalition, despite their differing party affiliations. This association enhances contacts across party lines while promoting the participation of women in electoral politics.

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Kenya: Bringing Women's Political Participation to the Grassroots

Building on several years of programming in Kenya, NDI's work in 1996 attempted to educate and motivate Kenyan citizens regarding the inclusion of women in political processes. By helping women engage in the political process, NDI helps sow the seeds of fundamental political change in a country where a small oligarchy has long dominated political space. In cooperation with domestic groups loosely organized in a coalition to support women's participation and prospective women candidates, NDI conducted 12 seminars in locations throughout Kenya. The seminars relied mainly on Kenyan experts and touched on issues of interest to the communities they addressed, including women's legal rights, women's empowerment, campaign preparation and advocacy. Throughout this program, NDI has identified and provided continued advice and technical assistance to 40 prospective women candidates from all the major political parties. In addition, several program participants who do not intend to seek election have developed and begun to utilize organizing and advocacy skills to promote women's involvement in politics.

Malawi: Multiparty Legislative Action

In a legislature characterized by divisiveness and political acrimony, the Malawi Parliamentary Women's Caucus is a multiparty forum that effectively brings together MPs from different political

parties to address legal reforms that improve the status of Malawian women. Since the formation of the Women's Caucus, NDI has provided assistance to the group by drafting by-laws, compiling recommendations for legal reform and advising on moving those reforms through the legislative process. After the Caucus submitted recommendations to the legal draftsman, NDI sponsored special meetings of the Women's Caucus to hear the opinions of experts in the areas of: inheritance, citizenship, marriage, divorce and affiliation. Following that meeting, the women agreed upon recommendations on the wording of all proposed amendments and submitted the proposed amendments to the legislature.

Malawi: Encouraging the Appointment of Women Decisionmakers

After meeting with the government and learning that one reason for the paucity of women in decision making positions in the government had to do with a lack of qualified women to appoint, Women's Voice, a women's organization in Malawi, decided to develop a directory of qualified professional women in Malawi. NDI provided technical assistance and support for this directory that contains more than 400 resumes of women organized by expertise, from a wide variety of professions and from throughout Malawi, willing to accept public appointments. The directory and the resulting publicity around its distribution has helped more women gain appointed posts throughout the Malawian government.

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Jordan: Building Political Leadership Skills

As attitudes toward women's involvement in political affairs gradually liberalize in Jordan, new efforts are underway to encourage female political participation. While increased media attention accompanied the election of the country's first woman parliamentarian in 1994, most women have had little exposure to the skills needed to seek elective office. In

anticipation of parliamentary elections in 1997 and in response to requests from Jordanian women's groups, NDI co-sponsored a program in Amman with two national membership organizations representing different sectors, the Jordanian Women's Union and the Jordanian National Forum for Women. The seminar provided women with practical information on organizing a successful political campaign. Following the program in Amman, NDI invited six Jordanian women who are likely to run in 1997 to observe the campaigns of female candidates in the U.S. The women studied press relations, public rallies, fundraising events and get-out-the-vote efforts

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in Maine, Pennsylvania and Minnesota.

Namibia: Forming a Women's Caucus

The women parliamentarians in Namibia, 19 percent of the Members of Parliament, expressed an interest in forming a women's caucus. The intention of this caucus was to promote a greater degree of gender sensitivity during the developing process of policies and legislation. The objectives of the women's caucus would include developing a more gender sensible environment within political institutions and advocating on behalf of women. To address the initial needs of the caucus, NDI conducted a one-day workshop on caucus structure and policy-making in July 1996. The women discussed how to build a structure that will create channels of communication between parties, non-governmental organizations, unions and associations. Another topic raised was how to develop skills necessary to fully participate in debates on women's issues. The workshop had a high attendance and the participants left energized.

South Africa: Building Women's Skills for Effective Governance

Northern Cape and KwaZulu- Natal

South Africa boasts one of the highest rates of women's participation in its legislatures; 25 percent of national legislators are women. Yet elected women legislators, who often have the same qualifications and experience as male legislators, are judged, unlike their male counterparts, as representatives not only of their parties but of women. As a result, they face considerable pressures to participate effectively in the democratic governance of their country. In response to requests from these women, NDI has sought to support the development of legislative skills. In the Northern Cape province, NDI organized programs addressing media relations and constituent communications for women legislators. In with KwaZulu-Natal, NDI organized three seminars to strengthen the legislative capacity of KwaZulu-Natal's women MPs. The seminars focused on different skills the women felt were necessary to their success in the legislature, including bill analysis, amendment drafting, research, presentation, scheduling and debating skills. In both places, women legislators have decided to continue their activities.

- 1995 -

Kenya: Supporting Women's Political Participation

NDI's 1995 program built upon NDI's two years of

work with women leaders in Kenya. In preparation for Kenya's 1997 national elections, NDI worked with a variety of women's groups and nongovernmental organizations to organize training seminars for a core group of approximately 100 political activists - women who intended to be candidates and people who intended to support their campaigns. The program was designed to develop a cadre of political professionals by providing practical assistance and a forum for the exchange of information. The series of five seminars, conducted periodically over six months, addressed issues such as volunteer recruitment and organization, fundraising, voter communication and use of the media. NDI hopes to continue this program by providing further advice to women candidates and expanding the number of women capable of engaging in electoral politics through a train-the-trainer methodology.

Malawi: Women's Advocacy for Inclusion

In order to maximize the participation of women, in addition to other minority groups, in Malawi's constitutional review process, NDI worked with several women's organizations in 1995 to complement its earlier work with women in political parties. NDI provided logistical and technical assistance to the nonpartisan Society for the Advancement of Women - a group that organized a meeting for 40 women leaders to discuss the draft constitution. At the meeting, NDI distributed copies of the draft constitution. The Institute also helped participants organize a drafting committee that prepared a position paper with suggestions for strengthening the constitution's provisions concerning women. Chief among those concerns was the need to retain a provision in the draft constitution that created a senate with reserved seats for women. The women also adopted a strategy that included publicizing their concerns, lobbying political parties, and ultimately making an alliance with traditional authorities. Partially as a result of these efforts, the constitution adopted in May 1995 contains a provision guaranteeing representation for women and traditional authorities in a senate.

In May 1995, NDI co-sponsored a one-day workshop with the National Commission on Women in Development for women legislators to discuss the feasibility of forming a women's caucus. International trainers from South Africa and the United States addressed strategies to overcome the obstacles presented by the tradition of a male-dominated legislature. The conference addressed multiparty cooperation among women in parliament and the organization and education of women to assume political leadership roles. Following the conference,

the Malawian women legislators agreed that a women's caucus should be formed and set a date for the first meeting.

West Bank and Gaza Strip: Encouraging Women's Participation in Democratic Politics

Building on NDI's 1994 program of workshops encouraging women's participation in politics, organizing election campaigns and fostering awareness of women's political rights, NDI organized a program with the Jerusalem Center for Women, a Palestinian women's organization. Approximately 100 women attended monthly workshops, led by Palestinian and international women activists, on principles of democracy and elections, with attention to issues of particular concern to women. Following these workshops, each of the women organized follow-on discussions with other groups of women. The NDI-JCW program worked to achieve two goals. First, through the follow-on discussions, the program increased awareness among Palestinian women of the roles they can play in a democracy. Second, by attending the monthly training sessions and conducting the follow-on workshops, the 100 women participants improved and tested their own leadership and organizational skills.

Croatia: Analyzing Women's Roles in Elections

In December 1995, NDI hosted a roundtable discussion entitled, "Women in Politics - The Case of the 1995 Croatian Parliamentary Election." During this roundtable discussion, the participants analyzed the participation of women in the 1995 Croatian Parliamentary Election and examined the position of women within Croatian political parties. Fifty-three women from political parties, the parliament, academia, nongovernmental organizations and the media participated in this thoughtful and constructive discussion. For many of the participants, it was the first time they were brought together for a common discussion. The long-term goal of this roundtable was to work toward getting more women elected in Croatia.

Ethiopia: Learning More About Women's Attitudes

In 1995, NDI embarked on a program to encourage women's participation in the political process. This program complements NDI's efforts to strengthen nongovernmental organizations engaged in civic education and advocacy efforts. In April 1995, NDI conducted a campaign training workshop for women candidates running in parliamentary and regional elections. In May of 1995, NDI staff conducted a

survey in which they interviewed over 400 women in five regions and 13 towns/villages to gauge women's understanding of democratic principles, to identify existing or nascent women's groups, and to assess their interest in focusing on democracy and civic education issues. Based on initial findings of the survey and in cooperation with local civic organizations, NDI began to develop training materials to address the needs of women who wish to learn about their rights as specified in the new Ethiopian Constitution, the Ethiopian Civil Code, and international human rights treaties.

Central and Eastern Europe: Enhancing the Skills of Elected Officials

In Central and Eastern Europe, the tokenism that characterized much of women's participation during the communist era continues to affect public perceptions of the organization of women in political leadership. Since 1992, NDI sponsored a series of conferences to encourage women to establish a political network. The January 1995 conference that NDI co-sponsored with the nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization, Association for Civic Initiative (ACI) in Skopje, Macedonia, was the final stage of the region's Women in Politics program.

The objective of this conference was to provide women in elected office with training on decision making, leadership development and communication skills. The conference brought together 40 women from 13 countries in the region, including participants from Bosnia/Hercegovina, Croatia, Estonia and the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia. The majority of participants were either members of parliament or local government officeholders while a few were members of politically active nongovernmental organizations. Six international advisors led workshops on topics , such as how to determine appropriate policy responses to public issues, how to practice the art of negotiation and form political coalitions, how to reach out to and represent women and other constituent groups, and how to attain leadership positions in one's party or NGO. The agenda also featured group exercises intended to develop strong communication skills in such venues as town meetings and press conferences. Finally, each participant received training in how to plan a training session so as to facilitate training for her female colleagues on the concepts and skills that she learned at the conference. As a result of the conference, intra-country and inter-country linkages have been established between women political leaders.

- 1994 -

West Bank and Gaza Strip: Young Women in Politics

In 1994, NDI began efforts to support and strengthen the prospective Palestinian election process. Many Palestinians including women were eager to become involved in Palestinian self-rule by contributing to the establishment of structures for elections and governance and forming patterns for future relations between the population and their elected representatives. In November 1994, NDI organized a series of four day-long seminars to promote young Palestinian women's political participation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Each seminar was attended by 40 to 50 Palestinian women in their twenties and thirties. The seminars were led by four women trainers from Poland, Romania, Egypt and the United States. These seminars were generally motivational and informational in character. In addition to providing motivation to the women by recounting both the difficulties and the possibilities each trainer had experienced in her own country, the trainers left the women with several ideas for future activities and a promise to return in the coming months to provide more specific training. At these seminars, NDI disseminated literature, translated by NDI into Arabic, about activities to build and strengthen democratic institutions and practices in other countries. Many of the Palestinian participants subsequently organized meetings and discussions of ways to implement what they learned at the seminars and some established a semi-formal network of women activists throughout the Gaza Strip.

Nepal: Women and Voting Rights

In the fall of 1994, NDI, in conjunction with the National Election Observation Committee (NEOC), a coalition of Nepali civic organizations, conducted a program to increase women's political participation in preparation for the November national elections. The program began with a women's workshop at an NDI/NEOC election monitoring conference in October. Following the workshop, representatives from NDI and several Nepali civic organizations formed a committee to design more women's political participation programs. Activities included a women's conference in Kathmandu in November, as well as two regional seminars in Biratnagar and Pokhara in November. Additionally, the committee created and distributed thousands of posters and leaflets designed to get out women's informed votes. Ninety-five women from 35 Nepali civic organizations and the media attended the conference, which culminated in a list of women participants who volunteered to monitor the November elections. A

total of 101 women, representing civic organizations and individuals, attended the regional seminars in Biratnagar and Pokhara. The conference and seminars addressed women's rights in Nepal, getting-out-the-vote, and the importance nonpartisan election monitoring.

Botswana: Election Study Program to Malawi

In October 1994, during the week of Botswana's presidential, parliamentary and district council elections, NDI conducted a study program for five Malawian women leaders. The purpose of the program was to offer the Malawian delegates the opportunity to exchange ideas and information with their colleagues who are at the forefront of the women's empowerment movement in Botswana. The Malawian delegates included the chair of the Malawi Electoral Commission, a leading legal and women's rights advocate, and representatives of the three parliamentary parties. The discussions in Botswana centered around the absence of women in political and civic leadership positions in Malawi. Following the study mission, NDI began a two-year political party and civic organization program in Malawi to provide organizational support and training focusing on issues of democracy and governance. This program will support the efforts of women leaders and women organizations in Malawi as they work to increase their representation and activity in all sectors of political and civic life.

Central and Eastern Europe: Building Skills in Political Leadership

In February 1994, NDI co-sponsored a conference in Bucharest with the Pro Democracy Association of Romania. The goals of the conference were to provide women working in politics training and information on running for and holding elected office and forming and expanding political networks. The conference brought together 45 women involved in politics as party operatives, elected officials and NGO representatives. The countries represented included Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. NDI brought seven international advisers to the conference with expertise in political strategies, campaigns, parliamentary membership, local government membership and the media from the United States, Ireland, Norway and Austria. The agenda featured workshop sessions entitled Running for Elected Office, Holding Elected Office and Political Networks. All participants also attended a media training session. In addition, in small group consultations, advisors and participants discussed individual

situations relating to workshops topics.

Malawi: Determining the Agenda

In January 1994, NDI sponsored an all-parties conference to address issues related to the draft constitution. Women met separately during the conference to identify the most important issues facing women. Approximately 30 politically active women from across the political spectrum brainstormed on issues and debated priorities. The five priority issues identified included educational equality, political participation, economic equality, legal rights and HIV/AIDS prevention. Women then went back to their respective political parties and advocated for inclusion of these concerns in the constitution and party platforms. Subsequently, the women presented these five points to their fellow delegates at the conference and all seven political parties endorsed these concerns. In May 1994, on the day before multiparty elections, Malawi's parliament adopted a provisional constitution which included a provision for a senate with seats reserved for women. In response to a perceived need to allow all segments of society to comment on the constitution, a one-year review period was established in which women played an active role.

Argentina: Women in Local and National Leadership

In October 1994, NDI organized the second in a series of programs to enhance the leadership and lawmaking capabilities of female legislators in Argentina. The October seminar built on recommendations from a November 1993 NDI conference in Buenos Aires that focused on developing strategies to increase women's participation in politics. Both programs responded in part to a 1991 Argentine law that requires female candidates to constitute 30 percent of national political party lists. NDI cosponsored one seminar in Buenos Aires with the Argentine Foundation for Women's Equality, a nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization, targeting women leaders at the national level. Legislators and executive branch officials attended the seminar. The second seminar targeting women at the provincial and municipal level took place in the province of Mendoza with the nonpartisan, nongovernmental Institute for Women's Training, Research and Participation (IFIM). Both seminars focused on women and political leadership in Argentina and included NDI-sponsored international experts from Norway and the United States. The seminars consisted of plenary sessions and working group activities focusing on coalition building, strategies for leadership, strategies for the

passage of legislation, and ways to assist women seeking office on the national, provincial and municipal levels.

Kenya: Women in Politics

In May 1994, NDI placed a field representative in Kenya to assist the development of opportunities for women in politics. The NDI representative conducted extensive research on women candidates from the 1992 elections and participated in a seminar with these women to discuss obstacles to women's political involvement. In August, NDI sponsored a meeting in Nairobi that was attended by approximately 50 women political activists, including two of the highest ranking women in the ruling party and others from the major Kenyan political parties. Throughout the seven-month life of the project, NDI's field representative laid the groundwork for continuing efforts to promote women's participation and election in the run-up to the 1997 elections.

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Argentina: Responding to the New Quota Provisions

In November 1993, NDI conducted a two-day seminar on women in politics. The program was organized in cooperation with the Women's Equality Foundation and the Lola Mora Association, two nongovernmental organizations that promote women's social and political participation. The program provided an opportunity for women from across the political spectrum and throughout the country to exchange ideas and practical knowledge about running for office and participating in political activities. More than 100 women from 18 of Argentina's 24 provinces took part in the seminar. NDI brought two women from the United States and Spain with extensive experience in political organizing to share their experiences as candidates, elected officials and political activists. The information shared during the conference was widely distributed in Argentina and Latin America through a newsletter produced by the Women's Equality Foundation.

Kenya: Getting Women Elected

In October 1993, NDI co-sponsored a four-day conference with the Nairobi-based nongovernmental Education Center for Women in Democracy to provide practical assistance to women seeking greater political participation in Kenyan politics. Six international women political leaders and approximately 40 Kenyan women, including

members of parliament and local elected officials from all major political parties, civic organizers, academics and professional women, shared experiences and technical expertise. During the program, action plans were developed for identifying technical and financial resources for women candidates, creating issue-based campaigns, conducting grassroots organizing and voter education programs and encouraging women who have not done so to consider elective office. NDI expanded this program in 1994 and 1995 to provide ongoing support for women's political inclusion in Kenya.

Yemen: Women and Elections

NDI undertook a series of programs to enhance popular participation in Yemen's first multiparty parliamentary elections. In the weeks leading up to the historic April 1993 parliamentary elections, NDI supported the development of a national network of 4,000 Yemeni volunteers to monitor the elections. Half of the international experts brought to Yemen by NDI were women, and NDI staff consistently encouraged their Yemeni partners to include women as organizers and volunteers. While most of the volunteers were men, women played influential roles in the development of this civic effort and, in several localities, women's participation was quite strong in the monitoring effort.

In a related effort, NDI also organized a pre-election observer delegation, including elected officials and political experts from Bangladesh, Zambia, Turkey and the United States, to conduct a detailed examination of the status of women's participation in electoral processes. This delegation was composed entirely of women and its findings are published as part of a broader NDI review of the political transition in Yemen in 1993.

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Central and Eastern Europe: Women in Leadership - Politics and Business

In November 1992, NDI co-sponsored a conference in Vienna with Project Liberty, an effort of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University to support the development of democracy in Eastern and Central Europe. The program focused on women's leadership in business and politics. The program brought together over 60 high-level women public figures from 17 countries in Europe and the United States to discuss concerns, exchange experiences on the situation of women in public life and develop a network for future support and

consultation. The conference was organized as a series of four small workshops. Each workshop produced an action plan later incorporated into a larger publication on the conference and distributed throughout Europe and the United States. Since the conference, a number of Western funding organizations that were present at the meeting (including the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, the PHARE Democracy Program of the Council of Europe, the League of Women Voters, NDI and Project Liberty) have provided seed grants to emerging organizations in Eastern and Central Europe and/or organized follow-on projects to advance the concepts of women's leadership in individual countries or on the regional level.

Chile: Women Leaders in the 21st Century

Approximately 50 political and civic leaders from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay convened in Santiago, Chile for a conference sponsored by Participa, a Chilean civic organization. The August 1992 conference analyzed strategies for increasing the influence and number of Latin American women in politics. Panelists included political party leaders, government officials, pollsters and leaders of civic organizations. The conference completed the women's leadership program organized by Participa, an organization NDI supported since its initial leadership training conference in 1991.

- Programs before 1992 -

International Institute for Women's Political Participation

In March 1988, political leaders from seven countries announced the establishment of the International Institute for Women's Political Leadership (IIWPL) to enhance the role of women in politics and government. NDI provided material assistance to the new organization during its first three years. IIWPL emphasized the role of women's organizations as a political force and offered practical and educational assistance to women entering civic and political life.

Eleanor Roosevelt International Caucus

NDI organized the Eleanor Roosevelt Caucus as a follow-up to the NDI-hosted workshops at the United Nations' *Forum '85 Women's Conference* in Nairobi. The Caucus aimed to promote the development of emerging democratic female leaders throughout the world. More than 60 participants from 38 countries, as well as 50 official U.S. and international observers, attended the Caucus. The three-day

conference concluded with recommendations for the establishment of a system to provide women with political training, to effectively collect and distribute information, and to monitor the participation of women in political parties.

For further information contact Marissa Brown, Senior Program Officer for Programs in Local Governance.

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