



NDI Reports

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EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM

16 Countries in Transition Share Achievements, Challenges

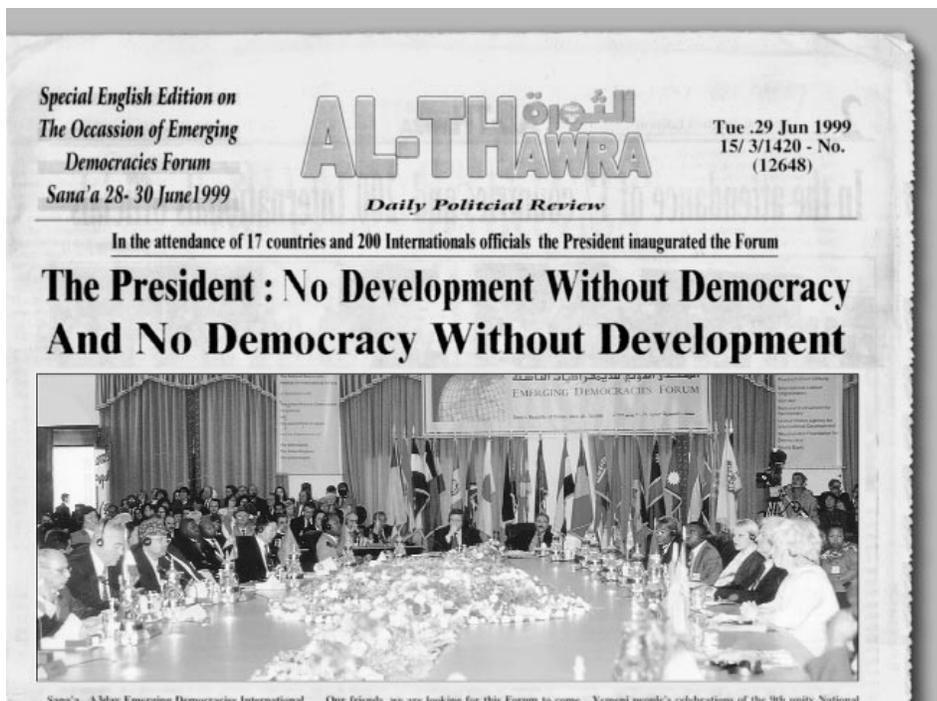
Political and civic leaders from 16 countries on four continents called upon the international donor community and international financial institutions to use democratic criteria and “give priority to those countries implementing political as well as economic reforms” in determining aid, loan and debt 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 of *Al-Thawra* 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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Indonesians Vote for Democratic Change

On June 7, Indonesia conducted its first competitive elections in 44 years—marking another step away from its recent autocratic past and into a new era of democratic transformation. In polling stations spread across 13,000 islands, more than 85 percent of the archipelago's 116 million registered voters defied predictions of election-day unrest to cast their ballots for the national legislature, and provincial and district assemblies.

Weeks after the vote, election officials had not released the official results and blamed administrative procedures, lack of experience and logistical challenges for the protracted ballot tally. When objections of minor political parties prevented the General Elections Commission from completing its work, President B.J. Habibie issued a decree in early August endorsing the final results. They showed the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), led by Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Sukarno—the founder of the modern Indonesian state—gaining a plurality with 34 percent of the vote. Returns gave 22 percent of the vote to the ruling Golkar Party, led by Habibie, which has

“The ‘festival of democracy’ surrounding the June 7 polls must now be followed by actions on the part of Indonesian political and civic leaders to build lasting confidence in the establishment of an open, democratic and effective political process.”

—NDI/Carter Center
Preliminary Statement on the June 7
Elections in Indonesia



Newspaper ad, which appeared two days before the June 7 Indonesian polls, encourages all UNFREL election monitoring volunteers to: Complete the Task, Friends! Guard the 1999 Elections Secure the Nation's Hope. UNFREL, the University Network for Free and Fair Elections, was one of the country's three major domestic pollwatching organizations. The referee's whistle and binoculars illustrate objectivity and transparency.

dominated Indonesian politics for more than three decades under the Soeharto regime. The winner will likely form a coalition with smaller, Islamic-based parties and others in order to gain a majority of a special legislative assembly that will elect the new president.

The world's fourth most populous country began its democratic transition a year ago when a crippling economic crisis provoked a nationwide protest movement against the excesses of the Soeharto government and in favor of far-reaching political reform. Following Soeharto's resignation, there was widespread agreement on the need for a legitimately elected government to address severe financial problems in the sprawling Southeast Asian nation.

Calling the elections, a “first step in the...establishment of fully democratic institutions and processes in Indonesia,” a 100-member election observer delegation cosponsored by NDI and the

Atlanta-based Carter Center characterized the voter turnout as “a truly impressive...commitment to democracy.” Led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, the NDI/Carter Center delegation comprised party leaders, current and former elected officials, election experts, legal scholars, regional specialists and civic leaders from 23 countries. Divided into 42 teams, delegates deployed to 26 of Indonesia's 27 provinces where they observed the voting and ballot counting processes in more than 400 polling stations.

Delegation members found the elections largely peaceful and adequately organized, even in the face of serious time constraints. At virtually all polling stations, observers witnessed scores of citizens watching the balloting and tallying processes with enthusiasm and in a spirit of cooperation. In these respects, according to the delegation, the elections appeared to represent an important step toward establishing democracy in Indonesia and an expression of the will of the Indonesian people for democratic change.

The delegation also reported considerable shortcomings in election administration including a complex tabulation process and limited training for polling officials. Underscored as well was a lack of transparency and a shortage of basic information such as the total number of registered voters and polling stations. With vote tallies just beginning to trickle in when it released its post-election statement, the delegation urged the earliest possible announcement of the results. “A long period of uncertainty over results,” noted the delegation statement, “leads inevitably to loss of confidence in the election process.”

The delegation cautioned that the June polls represented only the first step in a complicated process that will lead to the indirect election of a president, and emphasized the importance of maintaining an open political process.

At stake on June 7 were 462 seats in the 500-member national legislature, of which another 38 unelected seats are reserved for members of the armed forces. In August, members of this newly elected legislature will be joined by 135 represen-

tatives chosen by the provincial assemblies and 65 representatives of so-called “functional groups”—drawn from labor, academic, religious and professional groups—to form a 700-member special electoral college called the People’s Consultative Assembly. The Assembly is scheduled to select a new president by the end of the year. The delegation advocated “fair, inclusive and transparent” rules for selecting provincial and functional representatives to the Assembly and encouraged the election commission to establish these rules as soon as possible in order to provide clarity to the system.

The international delegation complemented NDI’s ongoing program in Indonesia to support key political actors and organizations in their work to advance the democratization process. As the elections approached, NDI focused on working with civic groups to advocate democratic polls and organize a nonpartisan domestic program to monitor the electoral process.

NDI worked directly with three major groups—The Independent Election Monitoring Committee, the University Network for Free and Fair Elections and the Rectors’ Forum for Democracy—to build a nationwide domestic election monitoring network. Indonesia’s far-flung



Leaders of NDI/Carter Center observer delegation to Indonesia’s national polls at a post-election press conference. (L to r): Charles Costello, director of the Democracy Program at The Carter Center; Paul Wolfowitz, former U.S. ambassador to Indonesia; Kim Keun Tae, a member of parliament from the Republic of Korea; President Jimmy Carter; Tokyo Sexwale, former premier of Gauteng province in South Africa; and NDI President Kenneth Wollack.

geography represented a major challenge for managing such an initiative, and NDI helped coordinate the recruitment, training and deployment plans of the national and regional monitoring efforts. NDI assisted the groups with developing a comprehensive program—from designing a joint media campaign for volunteer recruitment to organizing communication networks for collecting polling-day data from across the country. Indonesian

domestic monitoring groups together ultimately trained and deployed more than a half million pollwatchers on election day, and the NDI/Carter Center observer delegation established extensive, formal links with their Indonesian counterparts.

NDI also worked closely with the Rectors’ Forum on the design and implementation a statistically based independent vote tabulation in all 27 Indonesian provinces as a mechanism for verifying the official vote count. Following election day, the preliminary official results that were slowly released to the public, largely converged with the tallies of the independent vote count conducted by the Rectors’ Forum. With delays fueling concerns about vote manipulation and administrative malfeasance, the Rectors’ Forum reports provided objective information that helped calm suspicions about the fairness of the results in a country with a long history of vote fraud.

NDI is also conducting Asia programs in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Nepal and Thailand. A regional program assists the development of an Asia election monitoring network.



Campaign rally in Jakarta.

NDI Responds to Balkan Crisis

Political instability in the Balkans, which ignited the first world war, has returned at century's end to challenge the creation of a peaceful, stable and democratic Europe. Serbia's violent expulsion of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, occurring only three years after the Dayton Accords, precipitated the largest armed conflict on European soil since World War II.

The refusal of Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic to sign a negotiated peace settlement of the Kosovo crisis at Rambouillet, France provoked NATO bombing of military and industrial targets throughout Yugoslavia. Milosevic in turn unleashed a carefully planned military campaign to expel ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, producing a destabilizing refugee exodus into neighboring Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro. Three months of NATO attacks and diplomatic efforts produced a peace deal, paving the way for political settlement that upholds Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, confers substantial political autonomy on Kosovo and defers Kosovo's final political status.

The United Nations and NATO have begun to manage civilian administration and impose security in Kosovo. An uncertain, if hopeful, future awaits the province as thousands of ethnic Albanians return to destroyed homes and ethnic Serbs, fearing retribution, abandon theirs while Kosovar leaders on both sides call for the creation of a multi-ethnic democracy.

While the Kosovo settlement, if successful, will likely be measured in years, the end of the immediate crisis presents opportunities to address many longstanding obstacles to peace, stability, and democracy in and around the former Yugoslavia.

In Serbia, initial nationalistic fervor prompted by NATO bombings has been replaced by demonstrations against the Milosevic regime. Serbia's political isolation and economic ruin, coupled with Milosevic's indictment as a war criminal



Pictured before her evacuation from Serbia, NDI Resident Representative Stephanie Lynn trains young political activists in Palic.

“Only a democratic and stable Yugoslavia can secure stability in the Balkans.”

—Montenegrin President Milo Djukanovic and Serbian Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic
“After the War is Over,”
New York Times

and his inability to rebuild the country, are likely to provoke even more rigorous dissent in the future. Key to Serbia's political fate will be the strength of the political opposition and the role of the influential Orthodox Church, which have called for Milosevic's resignation, as well as potential disaffection of political and military elites.

The pro-Western democratic government of Montenegro is flirting with independence as it courageously fends off Belgrade's attempts to destabilize the smaller Yugoslav republic.

Most observers acknowledge that Balkan peace and stability depend on the development of democratic political systems—particularly in Serbia. In promoting the rule of law, respect for human rights, and broad-based economic growth, democratization in the region is the surest way of resolving the Kosovo crisis and other Balkan conflicts that have threatened the security of Europe.

Every country in which NDI conducts democratic development programs in the region, with the exception of Slovakia, borders Serbia. Since 1997, NDI

has also worked to strengthen Serbia's democratic political parties—the only viable alternative to the Milosevic regime. Through consultations, seminars and workshops, the Institute assisted party leaders and activists in Belgrade and eight other cities with developing the organizational skills needed to compete for public support. The Institute's staff in Serbia, which relocated to Budapest during the hostilities, have resumed their consultations with opposition leaders and local activists, advising on coalition-building, grassroots organizing and articulating an alternative message to extreme nationalism. NDI has also reopened its office in Montenegro to provide political, organizational, and communications support to government and political leaders who still operate under intense pressure from the Belgrade government.

An NDI assessment mission that visited Kosovo in July found a traumatized population in desperate need of economic and political assistance. Based on the recommendation of that mission, the Institute plans to support the development of political parties as well as establish a civic education program that will help Kosovars gather information about democratic practices and engage constructively in the province's political process.

NDI is also conducting Central & Eastern Europe programs in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania and Slovakia.



U.S. political expert Frank Greer (right) discusses the role of the media during elections at a program for political party officials from southern Africa. Also on the panel (l to r), Amenia Frense, who directs election coverage for the South African Broadcasting Corporation and Mohale Ralebitso, a South African media professional who worked closely with South Africa's Independent Electoral Commission.

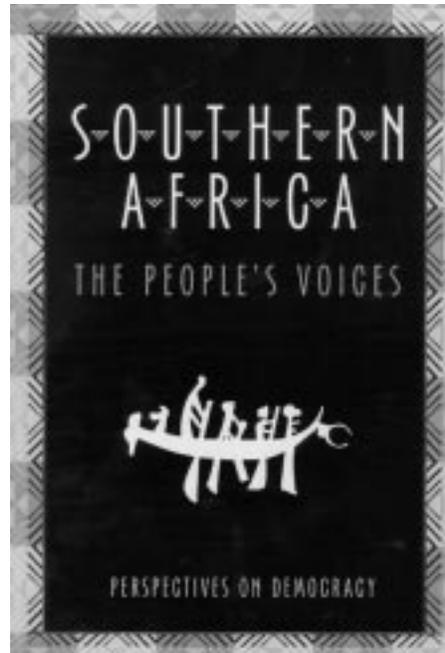
Southern African Democracies Use Elections to Advance Political Transitions

From June 1999 through 2000, nine southern African countries will conduct national elections—a demonstration of participatory democracy unknown only 10 years ago when apartheid, autocratic regimes and civil war predominated. Throughout the 1990s, much of the area experienced profound change as political pluralism replaced authoritarian rule, constitutions were liberalized and historic polls introduced multiparty democracy to half the countries in the region.

The upcoming elections represent a critical juncture in the political development of these nascent democracies, and will test how a range of democratic institutions and processes are functioning. These include the legal framework for elections and related civil and political rights, as well as creating accurate voter registries, organizing meaningful voter education, promoting equitable campaigns, providing unbiased media coverage and establishing effective election administration.

The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) is the focal point for programs to evolve common political values, systems and institutions in its 14 member states. Although originally created in 1992 to generate development through economic integration, SADC has recently focused on promoting elections as avenues for strengthening democratic practices in the region.

Building on these initiatives, NDI and the University of Western Cape convened a forum of political party leaders from SADC countries that are holding elections during the next 18 months. Countries represented included: Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique,



NDI and the University of Western Cape, recently published *Southern Africa: The People's Voices*, a compilation and analysis of public opinion research conducted in eight countries in the region on citizen attitudes toward democratic principles and on voter participation in elections. Findings from this 221-page publication were used during a program for political parties in southern Africa.

Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The forum, held in Johannesburg in March, allowed political party representatives to confer across ideological and party lines on the role parties play in a democratic society. The opening panel analyzed focus group research conducted by NDI in the region to record public opinion on the state of political transformation in their respective countries.

The studies revealed that people are more positive about the political transitions than is commonly believed. Citizens underscored their fundamental faith in the democratic process and their willingness to give democratic leaders more time to deliver on their promises. Program participants learned that parties in most countries were viewed as an important part of the democratic system—providing people a voice in the political process, diversity of expression and freedom of association.

A panel on the role of the media during elections focused on the importance of fairness and unbiased reporting. Party leaders supported a proposal to establish an independent broadcasting commission in each country with regional guidelines for balanced media coverage. Another discussion revealed disparities among countries on how political parties viewed the independence and credibility of their respective electoral authorities. Participants approved a resolution to establish a process to adopt regional election standards including comprehensive electoral boundaries and more transparent administration. “Our struggle for democracy in southern Africa was long and costly,” remarked one participant. “We must take advantage of the opportunity provided here by NDI to create sustainable democratic institutions and practices that will serve the economic and social development of the region.”

NDI is also conducting Southern Africa programs in Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. A regional program supports efforts by governments to combat corruption.

Parliament Contributes to Morocco's "Democratic Experiment"

Morocco recently marked the one-year anniversary of what has been termed its "democratic experiment." The North African kingdom has taken significant steps toward democratic openness, and political observers are cautiously optimistic that the country is on the path to genuine political reform. Pressure is growing, however, for the new government to fulfill expectations that greater transparency, accountability and civil liberties will modernize the country and improve people's lives. Crippling economic and social problems confront Morocco's newly elected Chamber of Representatives, to which the public looks for solutions and evidence that the democratic alternative is working. NDI works with the Chamber to improve the capacity of legislators to be responsive to constituent needs.

Since February 1998, Morocco has been ruled by a reformist government led by long-time dissident Abderrahmane Youssoufi. King Hassan II appointed Youssoufi prime minister after his opposition party won the most seats in the country's first direct legislative elections the previous year. Parties in earlier parliaments, which operated under the strict control of a powerful monarchy, had little need for a defined agenda or popular support, and gradually lost legitimacy with the public.

Today, parties and legislators are increasingly vocal about their need to create a platform, establish a record in the legislature, attract grassroots support and engage Morocco's young, urban population. However, the legislature, a majority of which comprises first-time members, has come under increasing criticism for inaction and the absence of legislation. With the ruling coalition comprising seven parties and seven parties in opposition or non-aligned, the passage of legislation has been hampered by the lack of practical working relationships among parties and the political will to make compromises.

In February, NDI parliamentary experts from Belgium, Canada and Italy

assisted high-level government and opposition lawmakers with drafting legislation and responding constructively to pending bills. Workshops considered various approaches for developing legislation, reaching political compromises with coalition partners, building support for initiatives both inside and outside the legislature, and managing bills to passage. Individual party consultations explored a wide range of issues including potential obstacles in the bill drafting process, the role of oral and written question periods in a bicameral system, coordinating activities as a bloc and organizing public forums to debate legislative initiatives.

With the opening of parliament's new session in April, public and media attention turned to the legislature. On the eve of budget deliberations, parliamentarians from the Czech Republic and Finland described to their Moroccan counterparts details of the budget process in their countries and how to influence the debate. Moroccan lawmakers expressed interest in learning not only the formal procedures, but also the nature of political bargaining during negotiations. Much of the program focused on examining

mechanisms for improving communication—communication between the legislature and the executive branch, between the public and the legislature, among party caucuses and between coalitions.

The NDI experts asserted that enhanced coordination within parties and coalitions would help build consensus on issues, create a united front to advocate positions and bring unity on parliamentary strategy. Opposition members were encouraged to organize themselves more effectively to influence legislation. Without such constructive alternatives, according to the experts, the opposition risked not only legislative defeat, but public discontent as well. Following the formal program, a tutorial on the Finnish parliament's web site provided ideas for developing the Moroccan parliament's Intranet page later this year.

NDI is also conducting Middle East and North Africa programs in Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Yemen.

MOROCCO'S DEMOCRATIC OPENING FELT IN YEMEN

Morocco's democratic opening has begun to influence political development in other countries in the region, mostly recently in Yemen whose nascent multiparty political system has suffered by the decision of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) to boycott elections in the country. The opposition party has claimed that the ruling General People's Congress enjoys unfair political advantages.

To help promote greater involvement in Yemen's political process, NDI sponsored a visit of YSP representatives to Morocco to confer with members of the Koutla coalition, a previously opposition party bloc, led by the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, that gained power in 1997. It was hoped that YSP members could learn from the experiences of Koutla member parties, many of which had also boycotted past elections, but had changed strategies, engaged in the political process and met with unanticipated success.

Through a series of consultations, including an extended meeting with Moroccan Prime Minister Abderrahmane Youssoufi, Koutla leaders encouraged reform elements of the YSP to take the steps necessary to develop into a modern social democratic movement, and to compete in elections as a means of strengthening the party and Yemen's democratic process. Two months after these consultations, the YSP voted to participate in Yemen's first-ever direct presidential election scheduled for September.

Civic Coalition Advances Democratic Process in Kyrgyzstan

While Kyrgyzstan continues to enjoy a reputation as the most liberal of the former Soviet republics in Central Asia, opportunities for citizen participation in public life remain limited. NDI works with emerging civic groups to help open the political process and challenge past practices that have favored government secrecy, centralization and decree.

Kyrgyzstan confronts several complex problems as it seeks to develop its society and nascent statehood. While mostly ethnically Kyrgyz, the country is home to an influential Uzbek population that is concentrated in the densely populated Fergana Valley. The Valley extends deep into Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, countries with which many Kyrgyzstani inhabitants, despite their formal citizenship, closely identify. Economic hardship has created conditions that have the potential to threaten the state's integrity and security. To control the situation, the regime has arrogated to itself increasing powers. Civic groups, in contrast, have sought to address the problem by promoting public participation in reforming the political process.

NDI works with the newly created Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society, a group of nongovernmental organizations founded to provide citizens a political voice. Programs have focused on strengthening the organizational capacity of the group, which was formerly a loose forum of civic associations. NDI assisted the Coalition with creating a broad-based advisory board that includes parliamentarians and representatives from each of Kyrgyzstan's six regions, producing a newsletter with submissions from across the country and training staff members to carry out its mission in local offices. While the Coalition once functioned primarily to convene internal discussions among its member groups, NDI has helped it develop outreach, training and advocacy skills to influence public policy.

The Coalition frequently convenes town meetings to familiarize citizens with the legislative process, announce new initiatives, solicit public input into parliamentary debates and, during elections, conduct forums to question candidates.

In June, more than 400 citizens attended the country's first public hear-

ing on the budget process, which had been preceded by extensive NDI training for Coalition members as well as Coalition training for government officials who had never before participated in such an event. The Coalition has been the only organization to sponsor these forums, which routinely attract state television coverage. The Coalition has also conducted workshops that alert municipal officials to the benefits of resolving issues in partnership with local residents, and educate citizens about their rights in the administration of their communities.

To extend civic education to the widest audience possible, NDI has joined with the Coalition to produce "Our Time," a weekly public affairs program that is broadcast on independent television. Featuring panelists with opposing opinions and an assertive facilitator, a format familiar to American audiences but innovative for Kyrgyzstan, the show has addressed such issues as political parties, ethics and corruption, regional politics, and electoral processes in Kyrgyzstan. President Askar Akaev's secretary recently reported that the president watches the show each week.

The Coalition has also managed to create an opening to allow citizen participation in the parliament. It has organized roundtables in Bishkek that enlist parliamentarians, government officials and civic activists to discuss draft laws. In addition, the Coalition has also submitted its own recommendations on draft legislation to parliament and the president's office including provisions relating to domestic election monitors, pollworkers and ballot security. Recommendations were later included in the election law.



As part of a training exercise conducted in Naryn, Kyrgyzstan by the Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society, city government officials develop a mock strategy to increase citizen participation in the budget process. Different plans, developed in small group workshops, were later presented to participants at a larger gathering, which included the vice-governor, mayor and municipal department heads.

NDI is also conducting Eurasia programs in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine.

NDI Launches Political Party Leadership Program in Latin America

Creating open and accountable political parties that can effectively debate public policy issues remains a challenge in Latin America where citizens are viewing parties as ineffective, corrupt and out of touch with their constituencies. This loss of confidence in parties has led to the emergence of those populist leaders who have threatened democratic institutions and processes. NDI has developed a long-term regional initiative—the Leadership Program—to foster relations among parties in the hemisphere, and promote political party reform and renewal.

An intensive two-week leadership development seminar last March kicked off a year-long program of workshops, exchanges and training activities to expose the participants and hundreds of their colleagues to political party organization including methods of planning, message development and public outreach. The program also seeks to establish a regional network of reform-minded young leaders to promote modern, representative and responsive political parties.

Thirty core participants were selected through a competitive process based on political experience, demonstrated leadership in political and community activities, and long-term commitment to strengthening their parties. Participants, ranging in age from 25 to 35, included members of congress, city council members, press secretaries, legislative advisers and grassroots leaders from Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay and Venezuela. They were joined by five U.S. colleagues from the Democratic and Republican parties.

Drawing on Latin American, European and U.S. political party experts, NDI helped the young politicians develop leadership skills in areas such as negotiation, strategic planning, crisis management and communication to apply to their own party strengthening efforts. They also explored mechanisms to democratize parties and expand their outreach.

Introductory discussions focused on the role of political parties in democracy, the effects of the end of the Cold War on party ideology, the crisis of confidence in political parties and models for political party “renewal.” In discussing the latter topic, speakers emphasized that renewal or party development is not something

“In the weakest democracies, a considerable percentage of the population questions or rejects the legitimacy of political parties, putting into question support for the democratic system.”

—Arturo Valenzuela,
Director of Latin American Studies,
Georgetown University

to undertake only when a party is “on the ropes” or otherwise in trouble. Rather renewal should be a part of each party’s growth and maturation process. It should not be viewed as a sign of weakness, rather a mark of success—an ongoing process of looking for ways to grow more relevant and more engaged with the party membership and the public at large. “There is no reason why political parties,

even the most successful, should stand still,” noted Ivan Doherty, NDI’s director of political party programs, who once served a secretary general of Ireland’s Fine Gael party.

Nick Smith of the British Labour Party described how his party won its largest majority ever in 1997 after suffering almost 20 years of voter rejection. Success involved a long-term process of change that was based on “a large listening exercise with voters.” Michael O’Reilly with Fine Gael in Ireland likewise recounted the renewal efforts in his party that also included party meetings around the country and talking to “the whole spectrum of society to get a sense of what they thought of Fine Gael, what they thought we should be doing, where we should be going.”

Speakers also included Mexican political scientist Jorge Castañeda; U.S. Senators Christopher Dodd and John McCain; former vice presidential candidate and NDI board member Geraldine Ferraro; former Colombian presidential candidate and foreign minister Noemi Sanin; and former White House press secretary Mike McCurry.

The two-week seminar launched 12 months of activities with the emerging leaders and their colleagues in each of the four countries. Participants will now draw on their new skills and NDI’s international network of volunteer experts as



U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd meets with program participants in Latin America Leadership Program.



Participants in Latin American Leadership Program.

they implement party strengthening projects of their own design—from enhancing the political participation of women and indigenous citizens in Guatemala and promoting youth participation in political parties in Mexico, to building the training capacity of local branches of political parties in Paraguay and Venezuela. These activities allow the program to reach a broader audience within the parties and to build consensus about potential initiatives to strengthen the parties.

Evidence of the program’s impact is already emerging. Through an active alumni e-mail network, participants are communicating with each other about their projects and soliciting advice on party building strategies. They are also exposing their colleagues to strategies learned at the seminar. For instance, participants Edgar Alvarado of Mexico’s National Action Party, and Jorge Millan, deputy and president of the youth sector of Venezuela’s Democratic Action Party, returned home to present the renewal strategies of Ireland’s Fine Gael party to the leadership of their parties during national committee meetings on strengthening party ties with citizenry. According to Millan, the approaches described at the Leadership Program reinforced many of the reform ideas being considered by his party.

In Paraguay, Fernando Camacho, a member of the National Encounter Party and co-founder of the Youth for Democracy movement, told NDI that the negotiation skills he learned at the training

seminar helped him secure the protection of pro-democracy activists when he led mediation efforts with senior government officials during the recent political crisis in his country. Following their participation in the Leadership Program, two other Paraguayan Leadership Program participants were appointed to government positions normally reserved for more senior party leaders. (Also see separate box.)

NDI will continue working with the political leadership alumni network through periodic training activities with the young leaders and their parties. For example, in Guatemala, NDI will assist one party’s newly formed training committee to establish a leadership development program for its activists. In Venezuela, the Institute will conduct training workshops on membership development and constituency outreach. NDI also is planning to create an “on-line” system for political resource materials.

Next spring, NDI will host the second Leadership Program in Washington, D.C., inviting a new group of emerging political party leaders from Mexico and Venezuela. They will be joined by young party activists from Bolivia and Colombia.

NDI is also conducting Latin America & Caribbean programs in Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela.

GUATEMALANS PUT NEW POLITICAL PARTY SKILLS TO WORK

Applicants to the Leadership Program were required to propose a party building project to carry out following the initial program. During their stay in Washington, D.C., participants met one-on-one with experts to better develop the project, draw-up a budget and create a time-line. Many of the proposals have begun to materialize. Below are examples from Guatemala.

Ruben Meija, press secretary for Guatemala City’s mayor and governing party presidential candidate, formed a working group of young colleagues to develop new party efforts to reach out to youth and women. The group, known as the “G-10,” comprises young party members between the ages of 25 and 29, who have been party activists for at least 10 years and currently hold positions within government ministries.

Mariela Chojlan Cojulum, coordinator of the Quetzaltenango Women’s Secretariat of the New Guatemalan Democratic Front, is working with NDI advisers to develop a regional “train-the-trainers” project to help prepare women and youth in her party for the upcoming elections, as well as to develop a national agenda for youth and women for presentation to the Front’s executive committee.

Haroldo Quej Chen proposed to strengthen his party’s capacity to reach out to indigenous communities by translating the party platform and organizing manual into the country’s major Mayan languages. He has already convinced his party leadership to finance the production of thousands of manuals in four indigenous languages. Quej Chen is now using the new materials, in conjunction with an NDI party training manual and skills acquired in the Leadership Program, to conduct workshops in indigenous communities in Baja and Alta Verapaz.



Dr. Harold Crouch, senior fellow with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at Australian National University, answers question after delivering keynote address on civil-military relations in Asia at Manila conference. To his right is Dr. Carolina Hernandez, president of the Institute for Security and Development Studies, which cosponsored the program with NDI.

NDI Launches Civil-Military Relations Initiative

During the past 15 years, democratic transitions have begun in dozens of countries where the military had previously influenced politics and controlled national security affairs. These emerging democracies often encounter special obstacles when political leaders do not possess the expertise and oversight mechanisms necessary to manage national defense. Likewise, military officials in such settings may also lack an understanding about the proper role of the armed forces in a democracy and, therefore, are reluctant to relinquish their autonomy.

Overcoming such a legacy remains an ongoing challenge as military resurgence into government affairs has slowed or reversed democratic gains. The promotion of healthy civil-military relations involves moving from adver-

“Civilian supremacy’... is not an inevitable by-product of a transition to democracy, but rather it is achieved by the deliberate efforts [of] civilian politicians...as the Greek and Spanish experiences demonstrate.”

— Dr. Kie-Duck Park,
Sejong Institute, South Korea

sarial to cooperative relations, and building mutual respect and trust through dialogue and education.

NDI has recently expanded its civil-military programs, working with a coalition of leading international organizations to increase the availability of practical information about civil-military relations

and security affairs to elected officials and defense professionals. The global initiative builds upon and complements NDI’s ongoing work with legislatures, civic organizations and political parties in 35 countries around the world.

This new, NDI-led effort, called the Partnership for Democratic Governance and Security, comprises a network of organizations and defense experts dedicated to improving civilian capabilities to direct, manage and oversee security issues. Programs sponsored by the partnership are coordinated by a coalition, which includes: the Center for Civil-Military Relations of the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California; the Institute for Security and Development Studies (ISDS) in the Philippines; Regional Security Strategies in the Year 2000 in Buenos Aires; and the University of Torcuato di Tella, also in Buenos Aires.

The partnership launched its inaugural program in March with a seminar in the Philippines. Hosted by NDI and ISDS, the program brought together authorities in civil-military relations

WEST AFRICAN LAWMAKERS SEEK ENHANCED ROLE IN MILITARY OVERSIGHT

Many West and Central African countries endured decades of military rule following independence in the early 1960s. Thirty years later, the autocratic regimes of Africa's military leaders began to falter as multi-party elections ushered in new democratic political systems throughout the continent.

The legacy of military dominance, however, continues to imperil sustained civilian rule in the region as evidenced by recent *coups* in Niger and Guinea-Bissau, military regimes in Togo and The Gambia, and continued unrest in Congo-Brazzaville and Sierra Leone. Nigeria represents a hopeful development where sufficient political will exists to undertake the transformation from military to civilian rule. Likewise, Benin and Mali have made progress with dispersing political power previously held almost exclusively by the military.

Increasingly, national legislators in these countries have begun to seek a larger role in overseeing the armed forces. As members of a democratically elected institution with a constitutionally defined function in defense policy, they are poised to strengthen civilian authority in the post-transition period. Yet, lawmakers face many challenges in exercising civilian oversight including a lack of expertise in military issues and little communication with their military counterparts. In addition, few legislators possess experience with drafting legislation since earlier parliaments "rubber stamped" initiatives forwarded by a presidency that was often indistinguishable from the military.

In April, NDI and the National Assembly of Senegal brought together lawmakers and senior military officers from Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali and Senegal to examine mechanisms for strengthening legislative leadership in security and defense affairs. During the program, held in Dakar, an international panel of parliamentary and military experts evaluated issues that legislators face when managing civil-military relations in democratic societies. Topics included analyzing the military budget, legislative-executive relations and creating channels of communication between the legislature and the military.

Also during the program, legislators—many of whom had never before met with military officers in a professional setting—shared their success stories and the challenges that remain. Parliamentarians from Mali described their country's newly adopted code of conduct for the armed forces, and Ivorian legislators learned about the function and performance of a defense committee, which does not exist in their National Assembly.

Participants concluded the program by drafting a series of recommendations to strengthen civil-military relations. Proposals included: creating a public liaison office within the armed forces; developing a code of conduct for political leaders as well as for the armed forces; increasing civic education for civilians and military personnel; and enacting legal reforms to foster transparency.

from Australia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand to examine the relationship between civilian institutions and the military in these countries.

Throughout the program, experts from democracies that have successfully integrated the military into civil society exchanged comparative information and diverse experiences about effective democratic, civilian control of the armed forces in their countries. Specialists included current and former government officials, active and retired members of the armed forces, scholars, and leaders of nongovernmental organizations.

The agenda focused on case studies of several of the region's most important transitions from authoritarian rule to

democracy, including the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand. Examined as well were Indonesia's unfolding democratization process, as well as developments in Cambodia, Malaysia and Taiwan.

Participants at the seminar agreed that the military's acceptance of civilian control is directly related to its perception of the capacity of elected officials to govern. Political leaders were advised to develop and nurture relationships with the military that would both increase their expertise and, by so doing, ease military apprehensions about their ability to understand and provide leadership on security related issues.

Attention to these matters—particularly enhancing the qualifications of civilian institutions to oversee the armed forces—was seen to have significantly

reduced the threat of *coups* in many nations that only recently experienced military rule. Recognized as well was the capacity of Asia's newest democracies to prevail during the region's recent economic crisis, suggesting that the threat of political intervention by the military appears genuinely diminished.

No one, however, conceded that the work was finished. Healthy civil-military relations, according to experts, do not necessarily translate into perfect harmony between elected governments and the armed forces. Legitimate disagreements will continue to arise about such matters as military budgets and personnel mission issues. The challenge remains to conduct these debates respectfully and confine them to the political arena.

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the myriad social, economic and ethnic problems confronting Nigeria, but underscored his commitment “to leave no stone unturned to ensure the sustenance of democracy, because it is good for us, it is good for Africa, and it is good for the world.”

A democratic Nigeria was unimaginable just 12 months ago when the military *junta* exhibited no signs of relinquishing its grip on power. The country’s political fortunes changed dramatically when dictator General Sani Abacha died unexpectedly on June 8. In a surprise move, Abacha’s military successor, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, laid out a 10-month transition plan that allowed for the creation of new political parties and the revival of the country’s civil society. He also released political prisoners, established an independent electoral commission, and set forth a timetable for local, state and national elections.

In a country where multiparty elections had not been held in 15 years, Nigeria faced tremendous challenges in radically breaking with its military past and navigating a successful transition to civilian government. A repeat of fraudulent elections could potentially destabilize both the country and the region.

In December, NDI joined with the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) to organize a nationwide campaign to promote democratic polls and monitor the election process. The TMG, which began as a collection of eight, Lagos-based human-rights organizations, expanded during the course of four months into a diverse, nationwide coalition comprising 64 environmental groups, women’s associations, religious organizations and others. NDI spent four months working with a corps of 500 trainers, who in turn trained more than 11,000 men and women who deployed as pollwatchers to all of Nigeria’s 36 states. The TMG’s post-election statements attracted widespread national and international media attention, and demonstrated how a Nigerian organization could cross polarized ethnic, regional



Members of the Transition Monitoring Group listen to an election official (left) describe the voting process during a training session for TMG monitors before polls in Nigeria.

and religious lines to enhance prospects for credible elections.

NDI, in collaboration with the Atlanta-based Carter Center, also sponsored a series of delegations to examine the political environment before and during local, state and national races. Reports issued by the delegations and extensive consultations undertaken between delegation members and Nigerian political leaders created a heightened dialogue about both a legitimate election process and the sustained commitment necessary for a transition to civilian rule. The joint efforts culminated on February 27, when a 66-member international delegation—led by former President U.S. Jimmy Carter, former Nigerian President Mahamane Ousmane and retired U.S. General Colin Powell—observed the presidential poll. The delegation fanned out across the vast country, monitoring 335 polling stations in 20 of the 36 states.

In its post-election statement, the delegation reported evidence of major irregularities in the process. Delegation members observed turnout at polling sites that was sharply lower than that officially

reported and witnessed situations where inflated tally sheets were substituted for the originals at counting centers. Other observers reported ballot box stuffing and actions by party agents or polling officials that clearly distorted poll results in some localities.

Notwithstanding the electoral violations, positive elements of the process were praised by the delegation as well, including the peaceful conduct of the balloting and the pre-election campaign, the general lack of intimidation of voters and the fair coverage by the Nigerian media. “While we witnessed a number of abuses,” concluded the statement, “the delegation could find no systematic evidence indicating that the abuses would have affected the overall outcome of the elections.”

In its post-election statement, the TMG also noted a high level of misconduct, which it stated could compromise the integrity of the process and potentially erode public confidence in the entire transition to civilian rule. Against this backdrop, the TMG cautioned the incoming government from taking “any triumphalist insistence on



At an NDI-sponsored forum, Nigerian governors-elect are joined by former Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh, South Dakota Lieutenant Governor Carole Hilliard, former Ontario Premier Robert Rae and Professor Fink Haysom, chief legal adviser to then-South Africa President Nelson Mandela.

a ‘winner-take-all’ stance on the basis of a supposed democratic mandate.” Rather, the Group encouraged the government to “make a determined and sustained effort to cultivate democratic norms and values....”

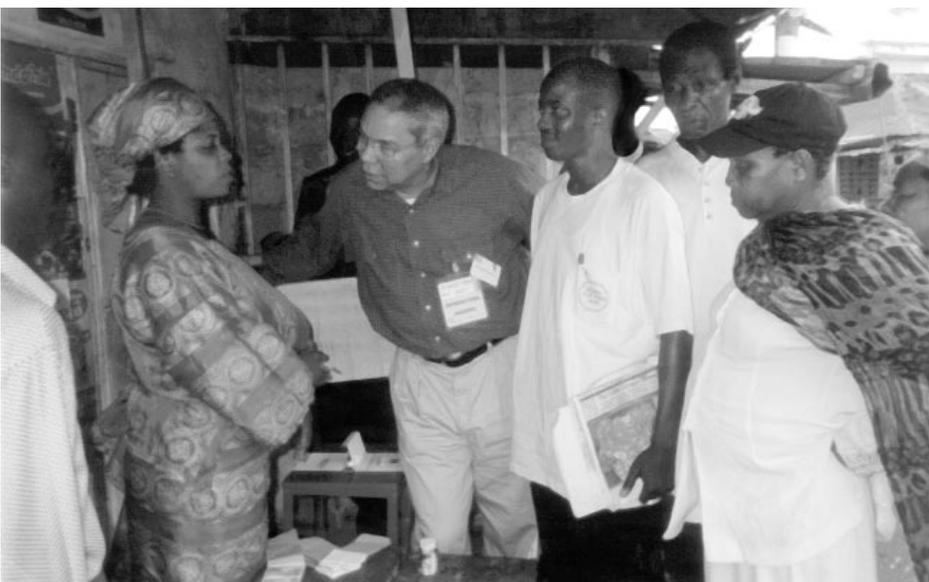
Following the February polls, NDI sponsored a program for TMG members from throughout the country who convened in Abuja to examine the future of the coalition and its role in Nigeria’s new political environment. Leaders of similar coalitions from Bangladesh, Ghana, Mexico and Romania shared

their experiences in converting election monitoring groups into broad-based advocacy organizations that serve as links between citizens and elected officials. TMG members decided to begin working with the National Assembly and other elected officials in formulating policy, mounting civic education programs and monitoring the ongoing transition process.

In April, NDI conducted an orientation program for the 36 governors-elect. Power has long resided in Nigeria’s central government, but political debate

now focuses on federalism and redistributing that authority to regional and local levels. Nigeria’s state governors will play a central role in that debate.

The April program examined issues such as federalism as a constitutional arrangement; the role of the state executive; and inter-party relations. An international panel of state government experts from Canada, South Africa and the U.S. discussed strategies for addressing inequities at the federal level and the value of creating a multiparty governors’ organization that could serve as a forum for sharing advice, discussing issues and deliberating policies. In a private meeting during the conference, the Nigerian governors decided to form a national association, and requested that NDI assist this initiative by providing links between them and their counterparts in other federal systems around the world.



Retired General Colin Powell, a co-leader of the NDI/Carter Center election observer delegation, at a polling station in Lagos, Nigeria.

NDI is also conducting West, Central & East Africa programs in the Central African Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali and Niger. A regional program helps promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.

EMERGING DEMOCRACIES FORUM

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NDI and the government of Yemen convened this unusual gathering of emerging democracies in June that brought together heads of state and government, members of governing and opposition parties, and representatives of labor, business and civic groups from developing countries that have cleared early democratic hurdles, but whose quiet progress is often overshadowed by countries strategically more important or in crisis. While the participating countries—including Benin, Bolivia, El Salvador, Georgia, Ghana, Guatemala, Guyana, Macedonia,



David Morris

Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob.

“There is no one model for democracy, but rather many models and many experiences... as the community of democracies has grown, democratic practice has become inseparable from democratic cooperation.”

—Kenneth Wollack, NDI President

Malawi, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal and Yemen—are establishing a track record of democratic development, the long-term outcome is far from certain.

At the three-day summit entitled “Managing the Twin Transitions: Political and Economic Reform in Emerging Democracies,” participants were able to reaffirm their commitment to continued democratic reform in their countries, share experiences and ideas, and demonstrate to the international community the importance of the transition process in these unheralded democracies. The political leaders analyzed and addressed common challenges faced in difficult democratic transitions, highlighting both the significant achievements and daunting problems of these countries, in an effort to encourage an ongoing domestic and international commitment to the democratic reform process. In the Sana’a Declaration, Forum participants pointed out that



David Morris

Yemen Prime Minister Abdul Karim Al-Eryani and President Alpha Oumar Konare of Mali.

“democratic progress in our states contributes to peace, stability and prosperity both within and beyond our borders.”

In workshop sessions, participants took a close look at the politics of hard choices—the challenges of making economically painful decisions while simultaneously developing multiparty structures, free and fair elections and public participation, including the integration of women into all levels of political and economic decisionmaking. Other topics included economic restructuring, fighting corruption and ensuring freedom of speech and of the press.

Agreement on the contents of the Sana’a Declaration was significant since the document went beyond accepted, broad democratic principles that are commonplace at similar conferences. The document provided specific ways to apply these principles—a “road map for democratic development” is how one participant described the Declaration. Promoting civil society, for example, would include tax-exempt status for civic organizations and legislation that would not restrict the activities of these groups.

“We must continually reaffirm that democratic government as an integral system is the only way for fulfilling the political and economic aspirations of our peoples and for realizing social justice, and that this system is the key to sustainable development.”

—Abdul Karim Al-Eryani, Prime Minister of Yemen



David Morris

Co-chairs of the Emerging Democracies Forum, former Bolivian President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada and former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell.

INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE Emerging Democracies Forum

The Emerging Democracies Forum was a project of NDI and the government of Yemen. It was cosponsored by: the United Nations Development Programme and the government of Japan in partnership with the governments of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, and the Canadian International Development Agency, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, the International Labour Organization, Irish Aid, the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and the World Bank.

Other supporters included: the Arca Foundation, Canadian Occidental Petroleum Yemen, the Occidental Petroleum Company, Yemen Hunt Oil Company and Yemenia Airlines.

NDI would like to thank these organizations, governments and corporations. Without their support and involvement, the Forum would not have been possible.

Implementing procedures to ensure public access to committee meetings and holding public forums would advance transparency in government decision-making. Public confidence in elections would be enhanced by establishing independent election commissions that are nonpartisan or politically balanced.

NDI plans to maintain the network established in Yemen through regional consultations, exchange visits by individual experts, an interactive website

Continued on back page



NDI President Kenneth Wollack and Yemen President Ali Abdullah Saleh.

David Morris

“Human development aims to expand people’s choices for a better life...[T]he most significant choices are those that are guaranteed by the rights and freedoms of expression, organization and participation since they play a crucial role in mobilizing people’s contributions to development and to decisions that affect their life and future.”

—U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan

and other mechanisms that will promote ongoing transfers of ideas and experiences. According to political party leaders in Yemen, the conference has already influenced politics in the Forum's host country. A recent congress of the ruling General People's Congress party elected a female parliamentarian to the party's top committee and 50 women—an increase of 19—to the next highest

“Globalization is no guarantee of continued democratization. These countries merit our respect and our help.”

—Zephirin Diabre, Associate Administrator, United Nations Development Programme

committee. “Yemen must be the first country to follow through on the Sana’a Declaration and its principles,” said one party leader. “This is a direct fruit of the Emerging Democracies Forum.”

“We represent a diversity of democratic experience, but our attendance at this Forum demonstrates the universality of the democratic idea. This group of nations with different traditions, cultures and historical experiences was brought together by a shared commitment to democracy and a belief that the promise of democratic prosperity enjoyed by all citizens is more likely realized in a democratic political environment based on respect for human



rights, popular participation and the rule of law...

As a result of this conference, we hope to establish mechanisms between our countries to continue the sharing of ideas and experiences....We also look forward to working together in a variety of international fora to promote democratic principles and practices. We intend to support the efforts of other countries that are beginning the process of democratic transition.”

—Excerpt from the Sana’a Declaration

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