



## IRI Conducts First-Ever Macedonia Election Exit Poll

As Macedonia citizens returned to the polls on September 15 to elect a new parliament for the fourth time since gaining their independence, IRI conducted its largest-ever Macedonian election observation mission and the first exit poll ever conducted in the country.

IRI President George A. Folsom led the Institute's observation team, which included Richard Bennett, president of the Maine Senate; Dino Rossi, state senator, Wash.; and Neil Giuliano, mayor, Tempe, Ariz. The team also

included delegates from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Great Britain and the Netherlands.



Thirty IRI observers monitored 250 polling stations in 45 municipalities. They encountered no major incidents that would indicate the elections

did not accurately reflect the will of Macedonian voters.

"The relative lack of violence and also the effective conduct of the

Macedonian State Election Commission are indicative that democracy is taking seed here," Folsom said.

Although violence was not a serious problem during the voting process, a number of voters were harassed while being interviewed for IRI's exit poll, despite it being permitted under Macedonian law. In several cases, partisans physically attacked exit poll workers or otherwise disrupted proceedings. These incidents, however, did not greatly affect the poll's accuracy.

The exit poll, conducted by BRIMA, the Macedonian member of Gallup International, questioned more than 8,900 voters from 150 polling stations across the country. Poll results almost exactly matched official election results recorded by the Macedonia State Election Commission.

## Djibouti Citizens Learn Democracy through Street Theater

Costumed dancers whirling in time to drums.

Musicians singing about decentralization. It's all in the name of democracy in the East African nation of Djibouti.



The IRI program is a street theater to educate Djibouti citizens about local politics, decentralization and the meaning of democracy. Many are illiterate and live in small isolated towns.

Decentralization has been a priority of the Djiboutian government and was a

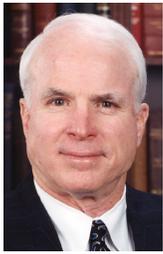
major tenet of the cease-fire agreement signed in 1997.

Drama, comedy and music are employed to explain how to run for local office, what are proper voting procedures and responsibilities of a town council, and how citizens can approach local officials.

Performances are conducted in French and two dialects by local theater troupes trained for the occasion.

At several performances, attendants were visibly engaged and left discussing how decentralization would affect them.

*2002  
Freedom Dinner  
and  
Award Ceremony  
honoring  
Rudolph Giuliani  
Monday, December 9, 2002  
The Capital Hilton  
16th & K Streets, NW  
Washington, D.C.  
For more information,  
please call (202) 682-9024.*



## Message from the Chairman

Strong, stable democracies are not created overnight. Building the foundations upon which freedom rests requires tremendous nurturing and patience – a commitment not only to the celebration of our values on election day, but to their protection and progress every day.

The International Republican Institute has been working for nearly two decades to help democratic reformers lay the cornerstones of democracies.

To help sustain growth in free and representative governments, IRI assists reformers in developing long-term strategies to prolong the momentum of democratic change.

In communications skills, for instance, IRI has been working to train government officials, party leaders and activists with nongovernmental organizations in how to better address the needs of voters and inform the public.

In this edition of our newsletter, we feature a number of our media-related training programs, as well as other communications tools to spread the principles of democracy.

For example, in Djibouti, IRI educates citizens in local politics, decentralization and the meaning of democracy through a street theater program.

In Georgia, IRI sponsored a "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaign with several Rock-the-Vote concerts to encourage young

people to participate in the country's elections.

IRI has been active on many fronts. In Liberia, the Institute helped organize the largest gathering to date of civil society organizations and political parties to improve Liberia's reconciliation environment and election preparations. IRI also participated in election monitoring in Macedonia and Morocco.

Through these programs, IRI works not only to light the flame of democracy but to keep the fires burning.

Senator John McCain  
Chairman, IRI

## IRI Welcomes Four New Board Members

**William J. Hybl** is chairman and chief executive officer of the El Pomar Foundation. He is president emeritus of the United States Olympic Committee and vice chairman of the board of directors of the Broadmoor Hotel, Inc. A former member of the Colorado House of Representatives and special counsel to President Ronald Reagan, Hybl served as vice chairman of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy from 1992 to 1997. Hybl is a member of the International Olympic Committee and the U.S. Olympic Foundation.

**Robert M. Kimmitt** is executive vice president of Global & Strategic Policy at AOL Time Warner. Kimmitt is a former U.S. ambassador to Germany and served as under secretary of state for political affairs. He was executive secretary and general counsel on the National Security Council staff and also general counsel to the U.S. Treasury Department. A Vietnam veteran, Kimmitt is currently a major general in the Army Reserve. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Academy of Diplomacy.

**Fred Meyer** is chairman of the board of Aladdin Industries, LLC and director of Southwest Securities Group, Inc. Meyer formerly was president and chief executive officer of Aladdin and president and chief operating officer of Tyler Corporation. He served as chairman of the executive committee for the presidential inauguration January 2001 and as chairman of the Republican National Committee Victory 2000 campaign. Meyer served three terms as chairman of the Republican Party of Texas and the Dallas County Republican Party.

**Joseph R. Schmuckler** is chief operating officer of Nomura Holding America, Inc., and president, chief operating officer and board member of Nomura Securities International, Inc. Previously, Schmuckler was a partner at Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc. He is a board member of Empower America and a founding member of Straight Talk America. Schmuckler is a former member of the Board of Governors of the Boston Stock Exchange.

## Changing Cuba From Miami

Orlando Gutierrez left Cuba in 1971 at age five, fearful after guards threatened his family in a forced search of their home. Today, he devotes his career to bringing change to his native country.

As the national secretary and program coordinator of IRI's partner organization, the Miami-based Cuba Democratic Directorate (Directorio), Gutierrez works to rebuild the country's civil society and political culture.

Florida International University students established the Directorio in 1990 as a voice for Cubans inside Cuba. IRI partnered with the organization in 1995.

The Directorio identifies democratic openings throughout the country and builds internal networks of supporters.

"Doing something worthy can't feel free until my country is free or unless I'm doing something to make it free," said Gutierrez. "I am doing God's work and I am motivated to do it...to improve upon Cuba's history."

# International Republican Institute

## IRI Honors Alumni, International Democratic Union

The International Democrat Union's eighth party leaders conference in Washington attracted several heads of state and more than 40 high-ranking representatives from around the world.

IRI held a reception for the twin purposes of recognizing the IDU delegates and honoring the Institute's many alumni. Among the more than 200 persons circulating at IRI's headquarters were IRI Chairman Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., Sen. Bill Frist, R-Tenn., and IDU Treasurer James Irwin.

IDU was founded in the 1980s by former President Ronald Reagan, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The IDU provides a forum to exchange views on matters of policy and organizational interest, and promote democracy and center-right policies around the globe.

IRI alumni work in the Bush Administration, on Capitol Hill and in the private and nonprofit sectors.



George A. Folsom, IRI president; Olin L. Wethington, IRI general counsel; and Peter T. Madigan, IRI board member.



Left to Right: Lim Alaysias Ma (Malaysia); James Irwin IDU treasurer; Thiparat Pimson (Malaysia); Gene Sullivan; Gen. Brent Scowcroft, IRI board member.



Lloyd Pierson, former Africa division director; Jeffrey Krilla, current Africa division director; and Edward Stewart, former Africa division director.

## IRI Programs Help Historic Moroccan Election

For the first time since the accession of King Mohammad VI in 1999, Moroccan citizens elected a new parliament on September 27.

The elections should prove an important benchmark for future political developments in the country.

In preparation for the election, IRI worked to increase citizen participation in the political process and assisted political parties in developing their platforms and campaign strategies for the Moroccan electorate.

Through public forums and opinion polling, conducted in partnership with the Moroccan nongovernmental organization Maroc 2020, citizens, decision makers and their political leaders openly debated the national priorities.

Under the banner "Vision 2020," IRI held public forums in 15 cities including Marrakesh, Fes, Tangier and Oujda. The forums brought elements of Moroccan civil society and political parties together to discuss challenges facing the country.

IRI-supported public opinion polls provided additional feedback to political parties and candidates about constituent priorities.

The incoming parliament faces several challenges including overcoming public cynicism of the political process and addressing the priorities expressed by the public in a way that advances democratic governance.

IRI continues to engage political parties and the electorate as they work to improve Morocco's political systems.

## Modern Communications for the

Marguerite H. Sullivan

In emerging democracies – in societies where information may have been repressed for decades – being open with the public through the press and giving out reliable information in a systematic and responsive fashion is a new role for government.

The role is a crucial one. In a democracy, citizens must have factual, credible information to make informed choices. They get that information from a free press, which serves as the citizens' watchdog over government.

The government press operation is the daily conduit through which the press gets much of its information on the workings of the government. Explaining how government programs and policies affect citizens is the major role of an effective government press office.

### An Effective Press Office

In a perfect model, the press secretary for an administration or agency is a part of the senior executive team, has authority, participates in important meetings, and can talk to the media on the record for the president or agency head. An effective press secretary also provides critical advice to government officials on how the media will likely report on new policies.

Typically, press secretaries react to media requests and are also proactive in getting their messages to them. Media needs – such as releasing news before deadlines and distributing full information in written form – are accommodated as much as possible.

Message development and release is well coordinated among government agencies and with the central executive office, whether the unit of government is national, state or local. Government officials try to remain consistent in their message and do long-range strategic message planning as well as daily media response and crisis communications.

In trainings around the world, IRI's volunteers and staff pass along techniques to replicate this ideal model. In their work, they have encountered many of

the same self-defeating practices that they are trying to change.

### Problems are Similar Worldwide

Government officials often either don't establish a spokesperson's job at all, or simply add those duties to an already overburdened staff member. One result: press inquiries are answered late or not at all.

When the spokesperson's position is established, the role often has insufficient authority and few resources. If the press secretary is not a participant



IRI's communications training in Serbia.

in policy making, he will not fully understand the context of decisions to effectively explain them to the press. As a result, the spokesperson will lose credibility and the press will go elsewhere for information.

In one new government, an important minister had his chief of staff as a point of contact for the press, but stipulated that only he, the minister, could talk to reporters. When a journalist called a deputy minister asking how many visitors had entered the country the previous year – a simple fact readily at hand – the deputy minister had to direct the reporter to the chief of staff, who in turn routed the caller to the minister. Since the minister was out of the country, he did not return the call for several days. By that time, a story

had been written that made the government appear unresponsive.

Sometimes ministers act as their own press secretaries, often with serious consequences. One prime minister continually bypassed his press secretary and gave his cell phone number to a few selected reporters. This backfired when the prime minister made a flip comment to a reporter about a recent bank failure possibly expanding to other financial institutions. The journalist immediately reported that the prime minister predicted additional banks could close, throwing the country's banking systems into chaos. The press secretary was left to explain the misstatement, and it was several days before financial systems stabilized. In the meantime, the public's confidence in the government had been shaken. The crisis could have been prevented had the press secretary been able to prepare the prime minister on the topic and work with him on answers.

### Need for Coordination

Often there is little coordination between ministries on issues. The result: conflicting messages are given. This leads to public confusion and loss of confidence in the government. A policy matter that might easily have been resolved internally instead plays in the press as a conflict between two agencies.

Government officials frequently don't understand the mechanics of news. They may release news after reporters' deadlines and not provide enough information. For example, in a Balkan state, reporters complained that the government press office announced a meeting between the prime minister and a visiting head of state without accompanying facts, such as why and where they met, for how long, and what was the outcome.

Since the government spokesperson was barred from the meeting, he was unable to give additional facts, and reporters went elsewhere for information, some of which the government said was incorrect.

## World's Emerging Democracies

When important news is not released in written form – on paper or online – the odds of misinterpretation increase.

In Central Europe, a government announced complicated and stringent economic measures, including tax increases, at a press conference. Only afterwards did the press staff write the news releases and fact sheets. By the time they were distributed, the press had already reported the new measures – in many cases incorrectly. A press release or fact sheet distributed during the press conference could have prevented this from happening.

Frequently, governments communicate only reactively, in a crisis mode. Little attention is given to being proactive, developing a strategic media plan, sticking to message and explaining to the public the government's plans and policies, and what they mean to citizens' futures. The government doesn't communicate its road map of what citizens should expect to get to a better future. Even with reform governments, a destructive cycle can set in: governments are voted in on a reform agenda, tackle tough issues but don't communicate them. The public sees no results of reforms, faces deteriorating living standards and votes the government out.

### Know the Role of Reporters

Politicians in countries without a history of democracy often have a basic misunderstanding of the news business. They complain because reporters don't run their news releases verbatim, not understanding that good reporting means balanced reporting, which means getting opposing views.

The message that IRI passes on: Know that reporters are not, and should not be, beholden to governments. Their job is to make certain that governments do their jobs honestly and above board.

*Marguerite H. Sullivan, IRI vice president for communications and external affairs, wrote "A Responsible Press Office: An Insider's View," which was published by the U.S. State Department's Office of International Information Programs and translated into many languages.*

### Indonesia

For political parties in Indonesia, a country spanning about 13,000 islands, three time zones and some 300 different ethnic groups, internal communication can be a severe problem.

While the national government has introduced decentralization to give more control to local governments, centralized power is still the model among Indonesia's more than 200 political parties. Too often decisions take months to move through the chain of command.

In Bali, for example, President Megawati's Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P), recently lost an election for bupati, or mayor, in a remote county despite its being a PDI-P stronghold. This occurred, in part, because approval by party leaders in Jakarta of the candidate selection process took four months to reach Bali.

Communicating with grassroots activists can be equally challenging as not all citizens have phones, and some live in areas where rivers may be the primary means of travel. IRI has been working with party leaders to help them devolve decision-making and develop more efficient communication.

In May, IRI staff trained activists in the East Javan Partai Keadilan (PK), or Justice Party, a group of devout Muslim student intellectuals seeking to move beyond its base and broaden its support at the grassroots. The training showed PK activists how internal communications work well in other democracies and how to adapt these techniques to Indonesia.

### Croatia

Eleven broadcast journalists from IRI's Young Croatian Journalist Club recently returned from the BBC's Training and Development Center in London, where they learned the latest radio and broadcast technologies and produced material using the facility's newest technology.

The group met senior BBC directors, editors and producers, and were trained in research, news writing and editing for radio and television.

At the end of the two-week workshop, participants produced half-hour radio broadcasts using digital equipment.

The group now faces the challenge of implementing their new skills. Each participant is to create a plan to help improve the country's broadcast journalism.

The Young Journalists Club strives to improve the depth and quality of political reporting in Croatia. IRI trains and assists club members in developing their technical and news-reporting skills and perfecting their editorial judgment. The club has doubled from 20 to 40 members since it began in 2001.

### Venezuela

Political parties in Venezuela have historically been dominated by an urban elite unable to relate to the electorate. Recently, however, parties have emphasized improving that relationship through effective communications.

IRI has conducted political communications seminars for democratic political parties in Caracas to help improve the disparity between Venezuelan political parties and their constituents.

IRI trainer Michael Collins, a public relations executive, former reporter, campaign consultant, and the longest serving spokesperson of the Republican National Committee, helped representatives from traditional and new political parties define their target audiences and develop effective messages to reach them.

Collins also trained Venezuelan media on skills in political writing and interaction with political leaders.

IRI continues to work with the political parties to implement these new strategies.

## Xie Lihua — Empowering China's Rural Women



"If you want to change China, you must first change the rural areas. If you want to change the rural areas, you must start with rural women."

This motto has guided Xie Lihua since she founded the nongovernmental organization Rural Women Knowing All in 1993.

To her, the rural women's movement is a crucial component of the larger struggle for democracy in China. Rural Women Knowing All sponsors literacy classes and publishes the only magazine in China targeted toward rural women.

The organization also founded a club to provide support and legal advice to women who have migrated from the countryside to the cities. It runs a micro-credit program to help rural women improve their economic circumstances.

IRI is working with Xie's organization to increase rural women's political participation by identifying women who are already informal leaders in their villages and training them in public speaking, developing campaign platforms, running for election and good governance.

Goals of the project include promoting rural democracy, making local elected leadership more representative and helping women participate actively in the decisions that affect their communities.

The project is run out of the Practical Skills Training Center for Rural Women in Changping County, Hebei. In 1998, Xie leased the site, formerly a ramshackle and bankrupt shoe factory. She is slowly renovating it with small donations from Chinese and foreign organizations.

Xie's crusade to empower rural Chinese women is only the latest manifestation of a life of political activism. Like many who grew up during the Cultural Revolution, Xie inherited a suspicion of

political movements that were orchestrated by political leaders. She developed an enduring respect for the resourcefulness and resilience of ordinary citizens. Xie later spent eight years as a journalist for the China Women's News. The work gave her the opportunity to learn first-hand about the concerns of rural women, who make up 70 percent of China's female population.

Xie Lihua is part of a new generation of Chinese activists. She does not consider herself a dissident and is skilled at maneuvering within the confines of the Chinese legal system. Her relentless efforts on behalf of women's rights, democracy and the rule of law, however, mean that she is often at odds with the Chinese power structure, which is still uneasy with independent organizations and individuals.

Xie is unfazed by the fact that she is periodically harassed and criticized. Whether government officials realize it or not, she says, "China needs people who dare to act and turn their dreams into reality!"

## IRI Helps Organize Landmark Liberian Conference

In Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso last July, IRI helped organize the Liberian Leadership Forum, a gathering of 14 civil society organizations and 10 Liberian political parties, including the armed rebel group, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD).

Jeffrey Krilla, IRI's Africa division director, opened the conference, which drew international observers from the Economic Community of West African States. Amos Sawyer, Ph.D., former president of the interim government of Liberia, chaired the conference.

Other members of the IRI delegation included Kenneth Brown, former U.S. ambassador to Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana



Kenneth Brown, former U.S. ambassador; Mary Angelini, Nigeria country director; James Viray, Liberia program officer; and Jeffrey Krilla, Africa division director.

and Congo-Brazzaville; Mary Angelini, IRI's country director in Abuja, Nigeria, and James Viray, IRI's program officer for Liberia.

During the conference, LURD expressed a willingness to negotiate a cease-fire and disarmament without

the removal of Liberian President Charles Taylor and agreed to the intervention of a peacekeeping force.

Conference recommendations highlighted ways to improve Liberia's election preparations, reconciliation environment, humanitarian efforts, economic conditions and security.

"We were impressed with the level of commitment that the participants showed in reaching a consensus on each of the conference's recommendations," Krilla said. "Whether or not Liberian President Charles Taylor takes the necessary steps to create a more tolerant political environment will determine if some of the recommendations can be realized."

## IRI-Georgia Website Spreads Democracy

Georgian citizens now can view an IRI-Georgia website that is dedicated to the country's political landscape and for many is their best means of accessing objective political information.

IRI Chairman Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., unveiled the website at the U.S. Embassy in Tbilisi on August 19.

The website is located at [www.iri.org.ge](http://www.iri.org.ge).

It is the first of its kind created by an IRI field office and is available in English and Georgian.

Designed and maintained by IRI's Georgia office, the site showcases IRI programs and provides a convenient repository of information for political parties and Georgian voters.



Website users can find information on Georgian political parties and their leaders, learn about the composition of the Georgian Parliament and read explanations of its committee structure and functions. They can also learn about upcoming legislation.

The site also contains information for Georgian political parties, which often do not have access to information such as electoral data or accurate media lists. IRI-Georgia plans to post such information to

help political parties more effectively compete for votes.

"This is a significant step towards the advancement of democracy in Georgia," Sen. McCain said. "Better informed citizens are important in democracies, and having this information on the political process is a big step towards this goal."

## Rock the Vote



IRI-sponsored "Rock the Vote" concerts, held in eight cities in Georgia two weeks before local elections. The events drew nearly 100,000 attendees. Voter turnout was considerably higher in the cities where IRI held the concerts than in those where it did not.

IRI election observers said that elections were not hampered by fraud, although there were numerous errors in voting lists.

## Institute Honors Democracy Leader Sam Rainsy with Award

IRI Chairman Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., called Cambodian opposition leader Sam Rainsy a "genuine hero for the whole world" when presenting him with the "IRI-Heritage Freedom Award" on September 5 at a Capitol Hill ceremony.

The award, presented jointly by IRI and the Heritage Foundation, honored Sam Rainsy's tireless efforts to bring democratic reform to Cambodia despite multiple assassination attempts and constant intimidation of his party by the government.



IRI Chairman Sen. John McCain, presents Sam Rainsy with the IRI-Heritage Freedom Award.

Sen. McCain commended Sam Rainsy and his party for their stance on human rights and the rule of law and restated

his commitment to supporting democratic change in Cambodia.

In acceptance, Sam Rainsy condemned the Cambodian government for its failure to prevent organized crime, human and drug trafficking, and illegal logging.

Sam Rainsy predicted significant growth in his support and was optimistic that

the July 2003 parliamentary elections would bring positive change to Cambodia.

Sam Rainsy, a member of the Cambodian parliament and former finance minister, began the Khmer Nation Party political party after being expelled from the Funcinpec Party in 1994 for exposing government corruption. IRI has worked with Sam Rainsy since 1996.

To prepare for next summer's elections, IRI will provide campaign training for democratic political parties and support efforts by Cambodian civil society to bring democratic change to Cambodia. IRI will monitor the elections and report on Cambodia's political climate.

## IRI Staff Moves

**Laura Mozeleski** to chief of staff. Mozeleski served most recently as deputy director of the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) division, where she worked for four years on Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua and Venezuela. Prior to joining IRI, Mozeleski was a communications associate with the National Association of Wholesaler-Distributors. She replaces Katie Uhre, who left IRI to pursue a graduate degree at the London School of Economics.

**Brian Dean** to director, LAC. Dean joined IRI in 1999 as resident program officer in Guatemala, where he oversaw IRI political party building activities in Lima, Peru. Prior to joining IRI, Dean

was chief of staff to Rep. James Sensenbrenner, R-Wis. He succeeds Michael Wilson, who left IRI for the private sector.

**Daniel Calingaert** to director, Asia. Calingaert most recently served as deputy director of the Central and Eastern Europe division. Before joining IRI, Calingaert worked for the Civic Education Project and was a consultant at the RAND Corporation. He is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Calingaert replaces Elizabeth Dugan, the new senior advisor to the assistant secretary of State for democracy, human rights and labor.

**Lisa Bedolla** to deputy director, LAC. Bedolla succeeded Laura Mozeleski as

deputy director for the LAC division. Bedolla most recently served as a LAC program officer specializing in Peru, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Argentina. Prior to joining IRI in 2000, Bedolla was director of the Hispanic Council on International Relations (HCIR).

**Alma Lopez** to director, Administration. Lopez joined IRI from the Nature Conservancy, an environmental protection advocacy group based in Arlington, Virginia. Over her 21 years with the group, Lopez served as director of operations for the Nature Conservancy's international program, where she managed the program's administration. She replaces Harry Dorcus who left IRI to be chief financial officer at Counter-part International.

The International Republican Institute (IRI) is a nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing democracy worldwide.

(202) 408-9450  
(202) 408-9462 Fax  
E-mail: [iri@iri.org](mailto:iri@iri.org)  
Website: [www.iri.org](http://www.iri.org)

IRI maintains offices in a number of countries including: Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Croatia, East Timor, Georgia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Kenya, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mongolia, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, South Africa, Turkey, Ukraine and Venezuela.

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Production and Design: Jeri Clayton  
Editorial Consultant: Janet Staihar

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**International Republican Institute**

1225 Eye Street, N.W.

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