

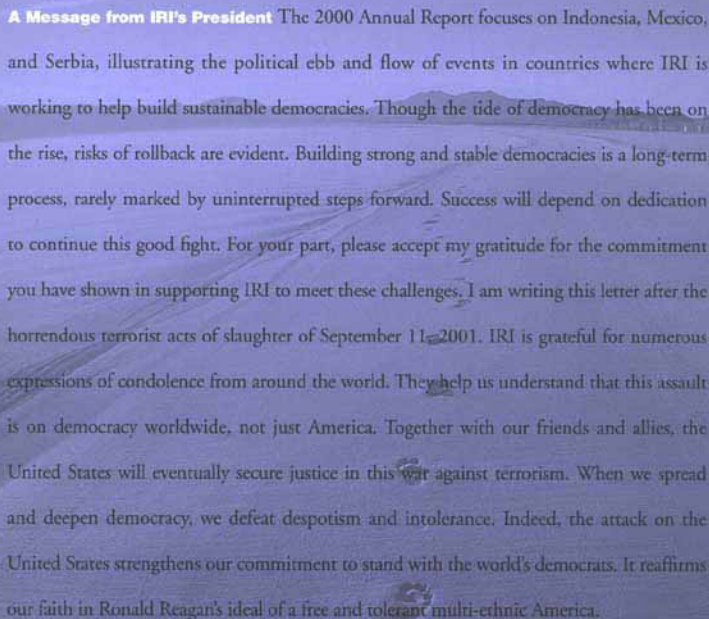
# IRI

The Ebb and Flow of Democracy



**A Message from the Chairman** As the wave of democracy spread throughout the world in 2000, the International Republican Institute was on the ground to offer substantive support, training and American values. We work in countries that are important to America's interests, and in which we can succeed and make a difference. In 2000, democratic reformers made progress towards free markets, economic growth and freedom from oppressive governments. IRI helped with training and programs in Mexico and was there to observe the ground-breaking transparent election process that changed political party control of the presidency for the first time in 71 years. In other more turbulent countries, IRI continued its important work with courageous men and women to develop legislative, judicial and other responsible programs laying the foundation to wash away dictatorship and communism. It remains a privilege for me to serve as Chairman of the International Republican Institute. We advocate America's commitment to help bring "liberty and justice" to all. As our visionary founder President Reagan stated, "When freedom wins, America wins."

U.S. Senator John McCain  
*Chairman*

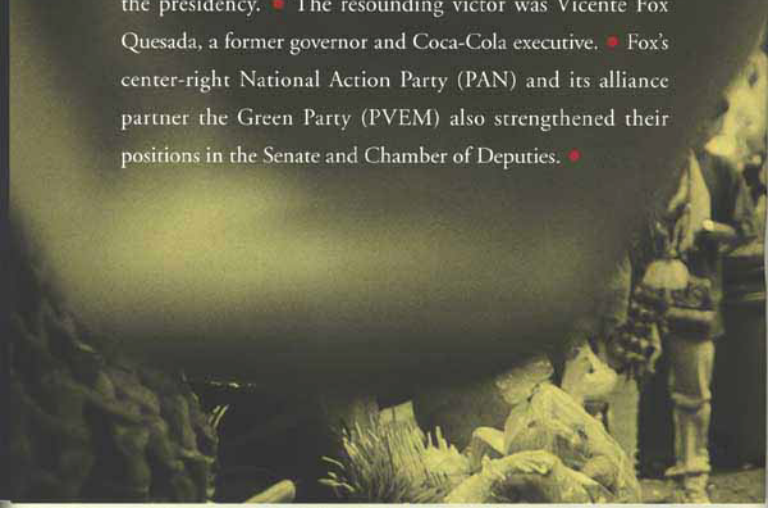


**A Message from IRI's President** The 2000 Annual Report focuses on Indonesia, Mexico, and Serbia, illustrating the political ebb and flow of events in countries where IRI is working to help build sustainable democracies. Though the tide of democracy has been on the rise, risks of rollback are evident. Building strong and stable democracies is a long-term process, rarely marked by uninterrupted steps forward. Success will depend on dedication to continue this good fight. For your part, please accept my gratitude for the commitment you have shown in supporting IRI to meet these challenges. I am writing this letter after the horrendous terrorist acts of slaughter of September 11, 2001. IRI is grateful for numerous expressions of condolence from around the world. They help us understand that this assault is on democracy worldwide, not just America. Together with our friends and allies, the United States will eventually secure justice in this war against terrorism. When we spread and deepen democracy, we defeat despotism and intolerance. Indeed, the attack on the United States strengthens our commitment to stand with the world's democrats. It reaffirms our faith in Ronald Reagan's ideal of a free and tolerant multi-ethnic America.

George A. Folsom  
*President*

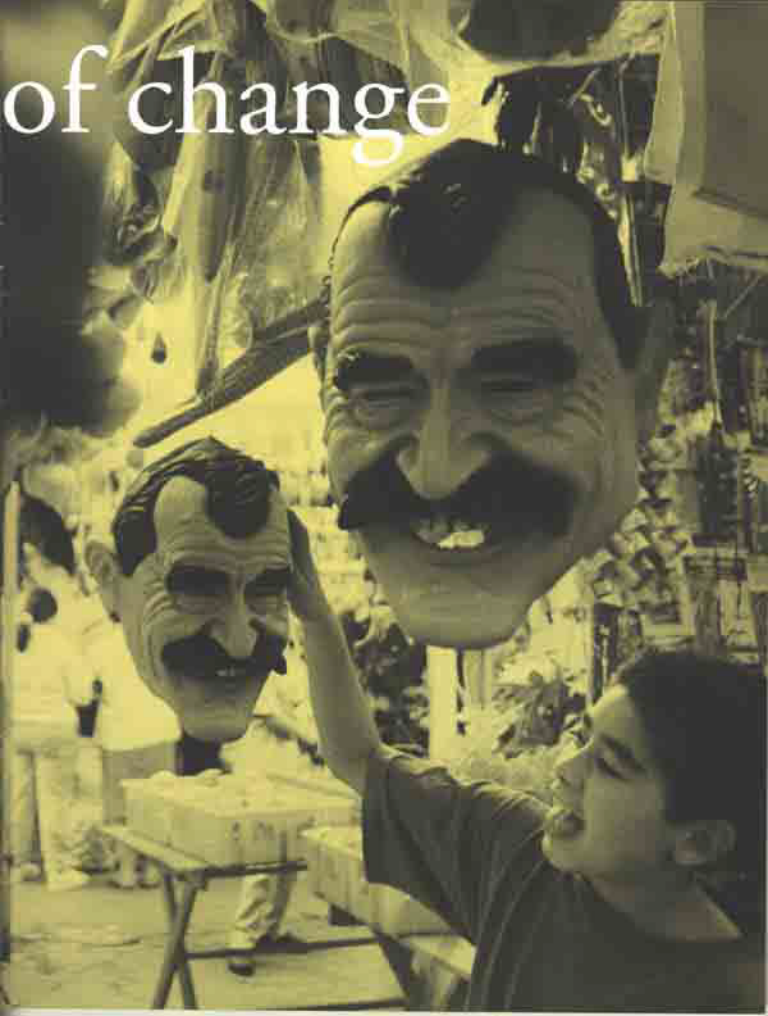
# peaceful wave in Mexico

Mexican citizens changed the political tide of their country on July 2, 2000, when they mobilized en masse to vote the first change in party presidential control in 71 years. • For the first time, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) did not win the presidency. • The resounding victor was Vicente Fox Quesada, a former governor and Coca-Cola executive. • Fox's center-right National Action Party (PAN) and its alliance partner the Green Party (PVEM) also strengthened their positions in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. •





of change



“The results signify an historic opening of the Mexican political system,” said former U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker, III.



**Former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, III and U.S. Rep. David Dreier congratulate Mexican youths for their participation in election day activities.**

IRI's 43-member election observation delegation, led by former U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker, III, U.S. Congressman David Dreier, and San Diego Mayor Susan Golding, witnessed the historic event and observed very few consequential violations of election laws or procedures. The mission concluded that Mexico's electoral institutions made tremendous progress toward winning the confidence of voters.

Mexico's political parties furthered the democratic transition by graciously accepting the results and pledging to work together amicably to ensure a smooth transition. This calmer political environment, coupled with a relatively stable peso, resulted in the first election not plagued by economic woes in over 20 years.

“The results signify an historic opening of the Mexican political system,” said Secretary Baker. “This opening, for which outgoing President Ernesto Zedillo deserves much credit, will prove as important for Mexico as the liberalization of the country's economic system. The country is poised to play an even greater role on the world stage.”

IRI worked closely with a Mexican civic group, the National Women's Civic Association (ANCIFEM) to educate voters, primarily in indigenous communities, about the offices up for election, and their rights and duties as voters. IRI also provided technical training for female campaign managers and candidates for elected office. Two dozen graduates from the courses were elected to local positions, and ANCIFEM ultimately deployed over 1,500 election observers across the country.

National and international observers played a key role in encouraging transparency, deterring irregularities and fraud, and increasing citizen participation and confidence in the integrity of the electoral process.

**A Mexican get-out-the-vote poster (left) encouraging citizens not to be “puppets,” but to vote their conscience.**

**Then President-elect Vicente Fox addresses members of the international press.**





A person is shown from the chest up, holding a newspaper. The word 'KOD' is printed on the newspaper. The person's face is partially visible on the right side of the frame. The entire image has a blue tint.

# Election turns

Following nearly a decade of war and economic turmoil, the year 2000 brought a long-awaited breakthrough for democracy in Serbia. • The tides of turbulence shifted toward hope for peace in the Balkans. • Overcoming Slobodan Milosevic's legacy of war, corruption and economic decay will require years of energy and dedication from all quarters of Serbian society. • But, with new political leadership in place, the rebuilding process can finally begin. •

# Attitude in Serbia





IRI will continue to work with Serbian political and civic leaders committed to the goals of peace, prosperity, and democracy in Serbia.



**Thousands of university students carry a banner reading "He's finished," referring to Yugoslav then-President Milosevic.**

On October 6, 2000, half-a-million Serbs took to the streets of Belgrade to demand that Milosevic acknowledge and respect the first-round victory of Democratic Opposition Party presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica. Vote monitoring and parallel vote-counting done by Kostunica and Democratic Opposition Party supporters enabled the Serbian public to block Milosevic's efforts to force the election into a second round.

IRI was instrumental in the monitoring and parallel vote-counting. More than 15,000 opposition party polling station workers participated in IRI-sponsored training programs, and IRI worked closely with the Democratic Opposition Party on the complex design and implementation of the parallel vote-count.

IRI's long involvement in Serbia has assisted a broad range of Serbian democratic political parties, helped strengthen party structures, and supported development of student organizations committed to a democratic society. IRI helped Otpor, a student movement that evolved into the nation's strongest voice against the Milosevic regime's repression, intimidation, and corruption. With support from IRI, Otpor's get-out-the-vote campaign encouraged masses of young people, particularly first-time voters, to go to the polls, contributing strongly to the 78 percent voter turnout.

IRI will continue to work with Serbian political and civic leaders committed to the goals of peace, prosperity, and democracy in Serbia. They, and the Serbian people, have demonstrated the political will necessary for fundamental regime change. IRI also will continue its work in neighboring Macedonia, Croatia, and Albania.

IRI's current programs target assistance to the leadership of the new Serbian government, the newly elected local governments, and Serbia's still-vibrant civil society. The struggle is far from over, and many tremendous challenges remain. A broad, deep and sustained effort may very well be required by the international community. Working with these and other groups, however, IRI is confident that the challenges that lie ahead can be met and successfully overcome.

**Opposition demonstrators wave the Serbian flag in front of The Yugoslav Parliament building during a rally in Belgrade in October 2000.**





“A prime example of a new kind of state: the ‘messy state.’” •

That's how foreign affairs writer Thomas Friedman described Indonesia in a *New York Times* column on October 3, 2000.

• His evidence: a wave of political and social crises, scandals, chaos, corruption, and economic catastrophe as Indonesia attempts to climb out of authoritarianism and economic collapse. •

# Taking the helm

A photograph of Megawati Sukarnoputri, a prominent Indonesian opposition figure and presidential candidate, speaking at a rally. She is wearing glasses and a dark jacket, with her right fist raised in a gesture of solidarity. The background shows a large crowd of people and flags, all under a red color overlay.

# in Indonesia

Prominent Indonesian opposition figure and presidential candidate Megawati Sukarnoputri shouts "Merdeka!" (Freedom!) at a PDI Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) rally in Soreang, Indonesia. She won the presidency in 2001.





**Ballot boxes for the Indonesian parliamentary elections, mostly held outdoors.**

After 35 years of the repressive Suharto regime, no one expects Indonesia's democratic transition to be smooth. Strong forces threaten this newly democratizing country. It is not certain that Indonesia will continue to progress toward a consolidated democracy, reverse its economic decline, or resolve its ethnic and sectarian problems.

The contradictions in this society may, in the short term, be exacerbated by democracy. Accordingly, development of strong democratic institutions is vital to the resolution of these contradictions. The barriers to democracy, economic growth and community reconciliation should not be underestimated, but neither should the determination of the Indonesian people to overcome them.

In this, one of the world's most challenging environments, IRI continued its work to bring about democratic reform. IRI's training for elected officials focused on the legislative process as a means through which good governance is implemented. IRI's work in communications and organizational skills benefited a new generation of political party leaders.

Besides efforts on the federal level, IRI worked with local officials in many remote provinces in an effort to bring about greater democracy, transparency and accountability. IRI's programs to strengthen political parties and local legislative bodies focused on seven provinces. IRI continues to receive many requests from provincial governments to do even more and is exploring new programs in the wake of the new administration of President Megawati.

IRI also sees great promise for women in Indonesian politics. It is working with major political parties in an effort to increase women's participation at the provincial and local level especially in the 2004 elections.

The barriers to democracy, economic growth and community reconciliation should not be underestimated, but neither should the determination of the Indonesian people to overcome them.

**Students demonstrating in the streets of Jakarta, Indonesia during the parliamentary elections.**



# IRI 2000 Programs

## **Albania**

Focusing on the institutional development of the Albanian Parliament, IRI trained staff of newly created district offices, helped key parliamentary committees draft legislation, and assisted in the publication of a Citizen's Guide to Parliament and a Parliamentary Review.

## **Azerbaijan**

Prior to the November parliamentary elections, IRI organized nonpartisan campaign and regional seminars aimed at developing the skills of party activists and strengthening political parties' local organizations.

## **Belarus**

IRI conducted its first in-country training through a series of regional party building seminars for hundreds of participants, many of whom were expected to play active roles as party volunteers, regional campaign managers, and press secretaries, in preparation for the September 2001 presidential election campaign.

## **Bulgaria**

IRI supported national policy forums on key social and economic reforms and candidate selection processes for the June 2001 national parliamentary elections through privately funded grants to IRI's Bulgarian partner organization, the Political Academy for Central and South East Europe (PACE).

## **Burma**

IRI continued its support for the Burmese pro-democracy movement and began a new effort to provide organizational training for exiled Burmese political organizations. The first workshop on political skills involved leaders from over 20 political organizations.

## **Cambodia**

IRI trained 3000 monks, students and women on issue advocacy, local political organization, campaign management, and basic civic education in 19 of Cambodia's 23 provinces and municipalities. IRI also trained Cambodia's increasingly vocal and viable democratic opposition in political party development.

## **Central and East Europe Regional Program**

IRI's Regional Program, headquartered in Bratislava, brought together political and civic leaders from a dozen central and East European countries for training on political party development, political communications, coalition building, and effective use of opinion research in the political process. The year culminated in Budapest with the Second Conference of the Central European Center-Right at which heads of governments and political parties discussed techniques of policy development and political coordination.

## **China**

IRI was the first international organization to observe three consecutive rounds of village elections in the same two counties in Fujian Province. IRI also trained hundreds of election officials and village leaders in six other provinces and worked with Chinese judges on legal issues pertaining to the World Trade Organization. IRI held conferences on the establishment of a second stock market and on employee stock ownership of state enterprises. The latter drew 5000 participants by simulcast.

## **Croatia**

For the new coalition government, IRI assessed the communication departments in government ministries and provided training on developing and implementing a coordinated and effective communication strategy. IRI also sponsored opinion research aimed at encouraging the new government to stay in touch with the priorities of Croatian citizens.

## **Cuba**

IRI and the Miami-based Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Directorate (the Directorio) issued the third edition of Steps to Freedom, an annual publication detailing the increased activities of an expanding pro-freedom movement in Cuba.

## **Djibouti**

IRI supported the Djiboutian Human Rights League to promote human rights issues and worked closely with the Minister of Justice to strengthen the autonomy and effectiveness of the national court system.

## **East Timor**

IRI initiated civic education training in the world's newest country. Working with local, community-based organizations, IRI presented basic information about democratic values and forms of self-government and worked with the nascent political parties and women.

## **Georgia**

Following up on the success of the 1999 youth get-out-the-vote campaign for parliamentary elections, IRI produced public service announcements and held a series of rock concerts to galvanize the youth electorate for the April 2000 presidential election. IRI also conducted campaign academies aimed at developing a core group of activists in each party.

## **Guatemala**

With a focus on ethics and party building, IRI's New Generation Leadership Program trained hundreds of young leaders in an effort to strengthen and democratize Guatemalan political parties and organizations.

## **Haiti**

IRI worked to help political parties and other democratic sectors contend with increasingly difficult circumstances as they promote a positive alternative for the future. IRI also sought to strengthen the linkages between democratic political parties and civil society.

## **Kenya**

IRI trained Kenyans in public opinion polling methodology as part of a larger program to provide the country's civic and political leaders with information and analysis on key issues. As part of the training, IRI sponsored a widely publicized poll on Kenya's governance, corruption, and deteriorating economic situation.

## **Macedonia**

IRI worked with the offices of Macedonia's new President and Prime Minister in an effort to improve political communication and allow the new government to focus on programmatic goals that were the center of its successful 1998 campaign. IRI also sponsored opinion polls and organized roundtables for government spokesmen and the media.

## **Mongolia**

IRI provided technical training to political activists and candidates in anticipation of the parliamentary election. It also sponsored the first-ever multi-party national political conference for women and a nationwide opinion poll of voter attitudes.



### **Morocco**

With the Casablanca-based Maroc 2020, IRI co-sponsored Vision 2020, a series of regional forums that brought business, governmental, academic, and non-governmental representatives together to discuss issues of national and local importance.

### **Nicaragua**

IRI sponsored town-hall meetings at which citizens voiced their concerns to nationally elected officials, and mayoral candidates discussed their platforms in anticipation of the November 2000 municipal elections. Additionally, IRI's partner organization, Hagamos Democracia, compiled an annual legislative report on legislative and voting records of deputies in the National Assembly.

### **Nigeria**

IRI Nigeria conducted training with grass-roots leaders and other reformers striving to implement important political changes in the country's nascent democracy. Through its grass-roots party organization program, IRI worked with thousands of democratic activists, National Assembly members, and women political leaders from all three political parties.

### **Oman**

At the request of Oman's parliament, IRI worked to strengthen the research and policy analysis capabilities of Omani parliamentary staff. IRI conducted technical training and worked to establish ties between Oman Council staff and parliamentary research professionals from other countries.

### **Peru**

In anticipation of the April 2000 elections, IRI and its partner organization, Foro Democrático, trained nearly 6,000 political party poll watchers, who documented the many election irregularities. IRI organized workshops promoting a democratic transition in the post-Fujimori era and also opened a permanent office in Lima with a party poll-watcher training program as a first effort to ensure fair elections in 2001.

### **Romania**

While continuing to work on political communication and intra-governmental coordination, IRI also focused on the need for political platform development in the 2000 election year. Supported in part by a grant from the U.S. German Marshall Fund, IRI sponsored public opinion polls and focus groups and worked with political parties to encourage constructive, issue-oriented campaigns.

### **Russia**

IRI conducted post-election roundtables with political parties and trained staff of the newly elected State Duma on their roles and responsibilities. IRI worked with youth and women on strategic planning and political activism. IRI held conferences with the Moscow School of Political Studies in Russia on federalism and corruption and organized campaign training for local elections, on primary election systems and single-issue campaigning.

### **South Africa**

IRI worked with local governments to bolster leadership skills, help with financial management, and work on local economic development in the troubled KwaZulu Natal area. IRI also supported the South Africa Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), a non-government organization serving as a "watchdog" against Executive and Legislative branch abuses.

### **Thailand**

IRI provided financial and logistical support to the Thai Women in Politics (WIP) Institute, which trained women at the local level on the decentralization of power under the provisions of the new Thai Constitutional Law.

### **Turkey**

IRI worked to get Turkey's youth involved in the political and civic life of the nation. The core of this program included such activities as social research projects, regional and national youth conferences, and "Gencnet," a youth networking website with information about opportunities in the Turkish NGO sectors.

### **Ukraine**

IRI conducted basic political party building and women and youth seminars in its five new regions in an effort to create a level playing field for pro-reform political parties. IRI also worked with a Ukrainian nongovernmental organization in offering the first-ever training for local elected officials on council procedures and responsiveness.

### **Venezuela**

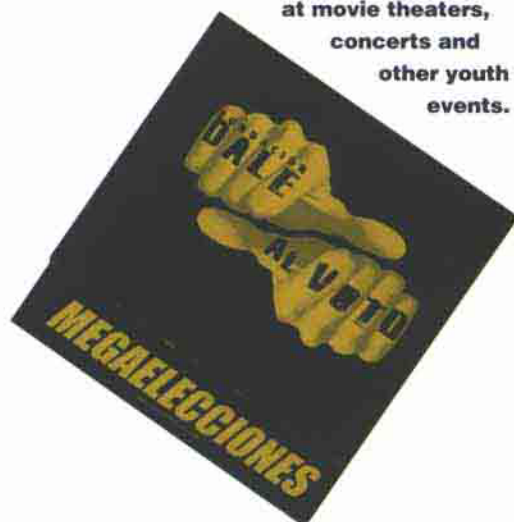
With the collapse of the traditional and other parties, IRI worked with youth organizations and newly evolving political parties and movements to better meet the demands of a citizenry increasingly involved in the country's politics.

### **West Bank and Gaza**

IRI sponsored public opinion polling in the West Bank and Gaza in an effort to keep decision makers informed about Palestinian popular attitudes on a range of issues, including support for the peace process.

**Venezuelan matchbook-sized voter education guide geared to young voters for the July 30, 2000**

**"Megaelections," distributed at movie theaters, concerts and other youth events.**





# IRI Forum: National Security in a Global Era

"My privilege of serving with IRI all these years has been authenticated because we have succeeded. We have been able to spread freedom and democracy in many places throughout the world, but we cannot underestimate the future of our task and the size of it and the fact that those challenges will be very, very significant."

U.S. Senator John McCain's words opened National Security in a Global Era, IRI's forum held during the 2000 Republican

National Convention in Philadelphia.

U.S. Representatives Porter Goss of Florida and Jim Kolbe of Arizona moderated the session. On the panel were former Secretaries of State George Shultz and Lawrence Eagleburger and former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft. Also on the panel were three who were to join the administration of President George W. Bush: future U.S. Trade Representative

Ambassador Robert Zoellick, future Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, and future Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. They discussed national security concerns touching on every corner of the world. The forum was sponsored by Hollywood producer Robert W. Cort, Ford Motor Company, Texaco Inc., Chevron Products Company, and Bacardi-Martini, Inc.



**Richard Armitage**



**Lawrence Eagleburger**



**Brent Scowcroft**

"The kinds of things these young Americans are doing is truly a new instrument of American foreign policy that didn't exist 20 years ago. They allow us to help shape a democratic future for the world in a way that we couldn't without them."

**Paul Wolfowitz**



**Jim Kolbe**

**John McCain**

**Porter Goss**



**George Shultz**



**Paul Wolfowitz**



**Robert Zoellick**



# Volunteers

IRI utilizes the talents of volunteer trainers and election observation delegates for its missions throughout the world. During 2000, domestic and foreign trainers donated the equivalent of five work years worth \$430,000 to assist in promoting democratic values. Thanks in large part to their efforts, many individuals around the globe are closer to freedom and a better future.

In addition to pre- and post-election assessments and election observations, IRI trainers conducted many grass-roots programs. IRI held training sessions, seminars and workshops in areas such as polling, fund raising, media and communications, governance, campaign strategy, political party development and youth political

**A prominent civil society activist explains reform efforts in Zimbabwe at a November meeting in IRI's Washington, DC office.**



organization. Likewise, IRI trainers participated in conferences that studied federalism, promoted democratic reforms, and fostered women's political leadership.

Volunteer trainers were also used for visiting delegations of young political leaders from IRI program countries, addressing them on such topics as presidential primaries, the U.S. political system and American campaign techniques. IRI is grateful to these volunteers for their contributions.

## 2000 Trainers & Election Observers

Adi Abidin  
Richard Acheson  
Parwez Alam  
Aimar Altosaar, MP  
Anna Andreenkova  
Hans Anker  
Dmitry Antonyuk  
Anne Applebaum  
Kofi Konandu Apraku  
James Arnold  
Delal Baer  
James Baker III  
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Harold Berman  
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U.S. Representative David Dreier  
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State House Speaker Tom Feeney  
Terri Fine  
Nicole Fink  
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# 2000

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Christine Quinn Burt  
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David Israelite  
Barry Jackson  
Hans Jeppson  
Steve Johnson  
Matjaz Kek  
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 Michael Kostiw  
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 Brad Smith  
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Dennis Stephens  
 Andrej Ster  
 K. Larry Storrs  
 State Representative Bill Sublette  
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 Gene Ulm  
 Douglas Underwood  
 Branko Vidrih  
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 Linda White  
 Nelson Wikstrom  
 Angela Williams  
 David Williams  
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 Richard Williamson  
 Jamie Wilson  
 Darryl Wold  
 Ann Wood Schlesinger

**Young monks learning about  
 democracy at an IRI forum  
 in Kampong Thom province,  
 Cambodia.**



# Donors

IRI has developed steady support and private contributions as more and more individuals, corporations and foundations are exposed to IRI's mission. IRI is primarily funded by the National Endowment for Democracy and the U.S. Agency for International Development, but increasingly, IRI hopes to lessen its dependency on federal grants and rely more on the private and nonprofit sectors to supplement its programs around the world.

In 2000, such contributions supported democracy programs and helped IRI continue its work to strengthen the evolution of political parties and other democratic institutions that advocate self-determination, individual rights, the rule of law, and free-market economics. IRI programs in places such as Ukraine, Mexico, China, South Africa, and Slovakia have been greatly enhanced as a result of private fundraising. In 2000, sponsors of IRI also helped support a successful foreign policy forum in July in addition to other educational events and forums.

The IRI Board of Directors and Officers thank these benefactors for their support.

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**Empty classroom with photos of Marshal Zhu De and Lenin on wall, Chitaugou Village, Shanxi Province, China, March 2000.**





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## 2001 and Beyond: A Strategic Vision for the Future

On June 27, 2001, I was elected president of the Institute, an honor for which I am grateful to the entire Board of Directors. We and the nation are fortunate that my predecessor, Lorne Craner, is now Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. I am determined to build on his tremendous legacy, established with the leadership of Chairman John McCain and our dedicated Board. Expanding on their achievements requires a strategic vision composed of three core components. **Personnel.** In three months IRI replenished and expanded its talented and strong management team to help develop and execute this new vision. In October 2001, we established IRI Associates to pay tribute to the fine work of former staff, trainers and consultants and systematically marshal their support for future IRI activities. **Leverage.** The political ground shifted in the United States with the election of President George W. Bush. Accordingly, IRI is developing solid relationships with key players in his Administration and the 107th Congress, many of whom are IRI alums. Although we are an independent entity, it is indisputably incumbent upon all of the institutes within the National Endowment for Democracy family to have an accurate understanding of the democracy building priorities

of the Bush Administration. At this, Freedom Dinner, I want to especially congratulate Vice President Dick Cheney and The Honorable Lynne Cheney for their lifetimes of democratic achievement that merit IRI's 2001 Freedom Award. **Ideas.** The traditional IRI priorities of party building, communications, women's and youth leadership, and training of legislators, local government officials, and civil society remain critical. Yet the international political marketplace for IRI's work has become substantially more complex. Many democratic political parties are failing to meet voters' expectations and are being voted out of power. In some cases, their fragmented, politically unwieldy coalitions must compete in an environment that includes media still dominated by the state, the post-communist left, or populists. This gives rise to the danger that rollback, particularly in Eastern Europe and Latin America, can threaten major foreign policy interests of the United States. Political and economic instability in other countries is aggravated by the collapse of traditional political parties, corruption, the politics of culture, religion, ethnicity and globalization, and the illicit drug trade. To proactively address this more complex environment, I have asked Marguerite Sullivan, Vice President for Communications and External Affairs, and Georges Fauriol, Vice President for Strategic Planning, to take the lead with the programmatic directors to develop new instruments and strategies.

George A. Folsom

*President*





### **In memory of John Alvis**

John Alvis was the resident program director for IRI's programs in Azerbaijan and Georgia until his death in November 2000.

John, 36, lived in Dallas before he joined IRI in 1998. He had served previously as a volunteer trainer in Albania, Mongolia, and Russia.

He was dedicated and passionate about his work. In Georgia, he worked tirelessly with parties to democratize their internal party structures. John was particularly proud of his work in getting youth involved in politics, especially the Rock-the-Vote campaigns for the Georgian 1999 parliamentary and 2000 presidential elections.

In Azerbaijan, John was committed to the ideals of democracy. He worked closely with parties to help them realize their potential as political forces. In the months prior to the 2000 parliamentary elections, he traveled around the country teaching local party organizations the keys to political success.

John understood that success in democratic development can only be realized through long-term commitment and a larger vision of the future. He leaves a legacy of dedication to democracy that will have an impact for years to come.

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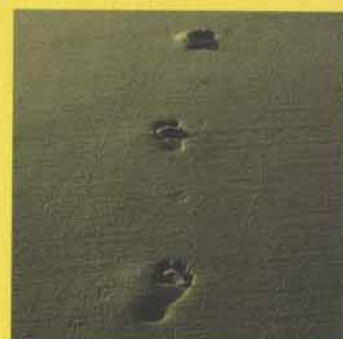
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