

IRI Advances Democracy,  
Rule of Law, and Free-Market Economics

IRI

*In Russia, dozens of IRI-trained reformist candidates were elected to Parliament.*

*In West Bank and Gaza, IRI-sponsored polls documented public opinion for the first time.*

*In Nicaragua, rival parties joined together with IRI's assistance and found solutions to their nation's problems.*

*In Bulgaria, IRI-trained parties won local elections, defying a national trend.*

*In China, 130 million citizens elected their local governments with balloting procedures improved by IRI.*

*In Cuba, IRI distributed dissident writings and a blueprint for a transition to democracy.*

*In Mozambique, IRI helped once warring factions use dialogue and discussion, not armed conflict, to resolve their differences.*

*In Thailand, women increased by half their representation in Parliament after IRI training.*



● Where IRI Conducted Programs—

<i>Albania</i>	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Nicaragua</i>	<i>South Africa</i>
<i>Bulgaria</i>	<i>Kenya</i>	<i>Oman</i>	<i>Sri Lanka</i>
<i>Burma</i>	<i>Kuwait</i>	<i>Peru</i>	<i>Thailand</i>
<i>Cambodia</i>	<i>Latvia</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Turkey</i>
<i>China</i>	<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>Ukraine</i>
<i>Cuba</i>	<i>Mexico</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>Venezuela</i>
<i>Guatemala</i>	<i>Mongolia</i>	<i>Slovakia</i>	<i>Vietnam</i>
<i>Haiti</i>	<i>Morocco</i>		<i>West Bank/Gaza</i>
	<i>Mozambique</i>		<i>Zimbabwe</i>

▲ Where IRI Maintained Field Offices—

*Tirana, Albania*  
*Sofia, Bulgaria*  
*Phnom Penh, Cambodia*  
*Vilnius, Lithuania*  
*Bucharest, Romania*  
*Moscow, Russia*  
*St. Petersburg, Russia*  
*Bratislava, Slovakia*  
*Durban, South Africa*  
*Johannesburg, South Africa*  
*Kyiv, Ukraine*

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*In certain places in the world, people still fear a knock on the door, risk going to prison for what they believe, and worry that their children will endure a dreary future. IRI's mission is to work so that these people some day might enjoy the same freedoms we cherish as Americans.*

*By aiding emerging democracies, IRI plays a valuable role in helping bring greater stability to the world. Stable democracies not only further the cause of peace and human rights, but also enhance American opportunities for business investment and trade.*

*IRI employs various methods to assist nations as they struggle to advance democracy—*

*Grassroots political training* provides basic instruction in the mechanics of building political parties and conducting campaigns for public office.

*Legislative training* assists newly elected parliamentarians, and constituent programs keep them in touch with the electorate.

*Election monitoring* and pollwatcher training help facilitate free and fair multiparty elections.

*Civic education* encourages citizen participation in the affairs of government. 🍷



## IRI History

President Ronald Reagan's ideas, words and deeds had consequences. His stirring defense of democracy, delivered in his address to the British Parliament at Westminster in June 1982, was one of his most effective addresses and one of the most impressive moments of his presidency. Seven years before that grotesque impediment to human liberty—the Berlin Wall—was breached by the stronger forces of human yearning, President Reagan predicted to a skeptical world the approaching wave of freedom.

“...the ultimate determinant in the struggle... will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve, the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideal to which we are dedicated.”

President Reagan called on Americans to become active participants in the global struggle against tyranny and totalitarianism. This calling, to commit ourselves as a nation, in both the public and private sectors, to assisting democratic development, culminated in the creation of the International Republican Institute, and counterpart organizations representing the Democratic party, business and labor, as part of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Now in its twelfth year, IRI continues to heed President Reagan's call to work so that others throughout the world may have the freedoms, rights, privileges and responsibilities we cherish and enjoy as Americans. ∞

*“We must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings.”*

—President Ronald Reagan,  
address to the British Parliament, June 8, 1982

*“Evil still stalks the planet.*

*Its ideology may be nothing more than bloodlust; no program more complex than economic plunder or military aggrandizement.*

*But it is evil all the same. And wherever there are forces that would destroy the human spirit and diminish human potential, they must be recognized and they must be countered.”*

—President Ronald Reagan,  
Speech to the Oxford Union Society, December 4, 1992



Photo: Ronald Reagan Library



## IRI Leadership

The year President Reagan issued his challenge for Americans to become involved in the campaign for democracy, I was elected to Congress. I never imagined then that a decade later I would lead the organization that carries out President Reagan's challenge.

As IRI goes about its work of providing moral and technical support to freedom-loving people around the world, we also face the difficult task of deciding where to allocate our precious time, talent and limited resources. Throughout the world, millions of people still struggle to build a better life, free of tyranny and oppression, and, in a perfect world, we could support them all.

Realistically, however, IRI has chosen to work in 33 countries with programs tailored to the needs of local pro-democracy activists. In deciding where to work, IRI considers current and historical U.S. national interests, and where we can achieve results that make a difference.

Given these criteria, IRI's current priorities are Russia and Ukraine, followed by Latin America, Eastern Europe, Africa, then Asia and the Middle East.

A new age, as President Reagan foresaw, has arrived. But it is left to us to determine whether it is to be a new age of enlightenment or an age that slips back into the darkness and dictatorship which befell much of this century. It is left to us to consolidate democracy's gains and to advance our noble cause into tyranny's last reserves.

That was President Reagan's vision.  
It is now IRI's mission. ∞

*John McCain*

*U.S. Senator John McCain  
Chairman*



*Photo: Philip Bermingham*

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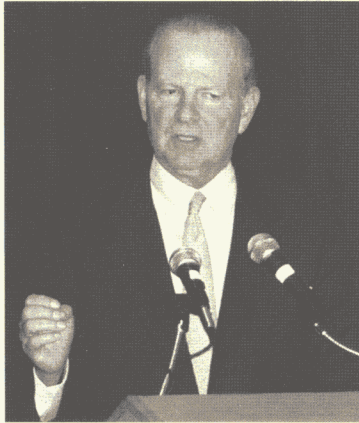
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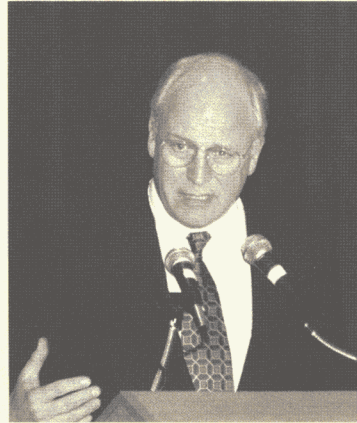
## IRI Forum

The IRI Forum was created as a platform to promote thoughtful foreign policy and national security ideas and alternatives. Launched with the support of the John M. Olin Foundation, the Forum showcases Republican foreign policy talent, and draws a diverse audience from the congressional, business, political, policymaking, and academic communities. It is supported by donations from foundations, corporations, and individuals.

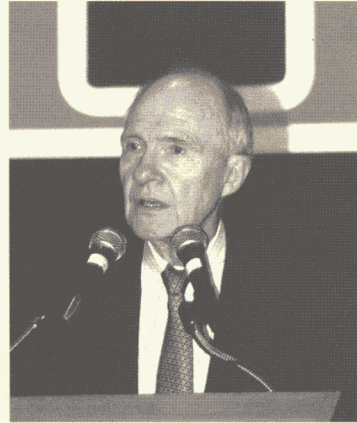
Forum presenters included Bush Administration Secretary of State James A. Baker, III, Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft on "Lessons of the Gulf War," as well as Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Ambassador Richard Armitage, and Ambassador to Germany Richard Burt. ☺



James A. Baker, III



Dick Cheney



General Brent Scowcroft,  
USAF (Ret.)

Photos: Mary LaVor

*"Without presidential leadership at home and American leadership abroad, there can be no effective American foreign or military policy."*

—James A. Baker, III

*"We hear people advocating military force because they can't think of anything else to do. That is exactly the wrong reason for advocating military force."*

—Dick Cheney

## IRI Freedom Award Dinner

The first IRI Freedom Awards were given to two individuals who gave decades of their lives to the pursuit of peace, justice and liberty. For his uncommon political courage in defense of democracy and national reconciliation in El Salvador, IRI honored former President Alfredo F. Cristiani.

For his years of dedicated and tireless service to the people of Nicaragua, Cardinal Obando y Bravo also was honored. Funds from the Freedom Dinner go to support IRI's commitment to advancing democracy. ☺

Right:  
U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich  
(left) and Alfredo Cristiani, former  
President of El Salvador, at IRI  
Freedom Dinner.

*"IRI's assistance to our political and democratic institutions has enabled us to move faster in building a more open Salvadoran society."*

—Alfredo Cristiani, former President of El Salvador

*"IRI gives us an opportunity to reach out all across the planet to those who have won elections, to those who want to win elections, to those who just want to be active as citizens."*

—U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich at IRI Freedom Dinner

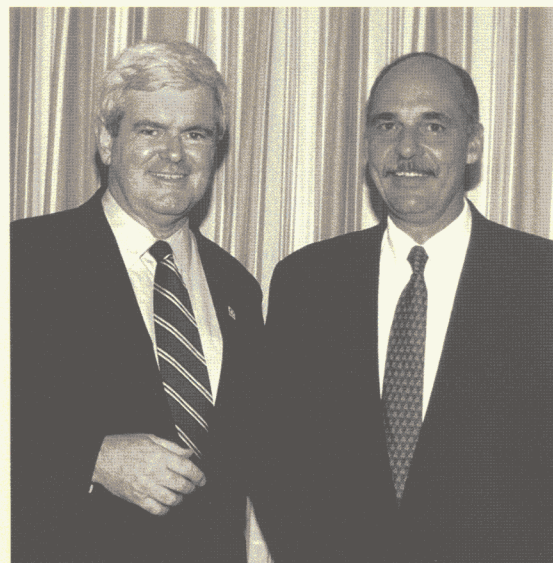


Photo: Mary LaVor



# Russia and Ukraine

## Russia—

Few American foreign policy goals are more important than consolidating Russian democracy. IRI has been working with Russian reformist parties since early 1992. In Russia's first parliamentary election, in December 1993, hundreds of IRI Russian trainees for the first time helped build their parties and worked on reformist campaigns. In the 15 cities where IRI worked, 20 IRI trainees ran for Parliament; 12 won.

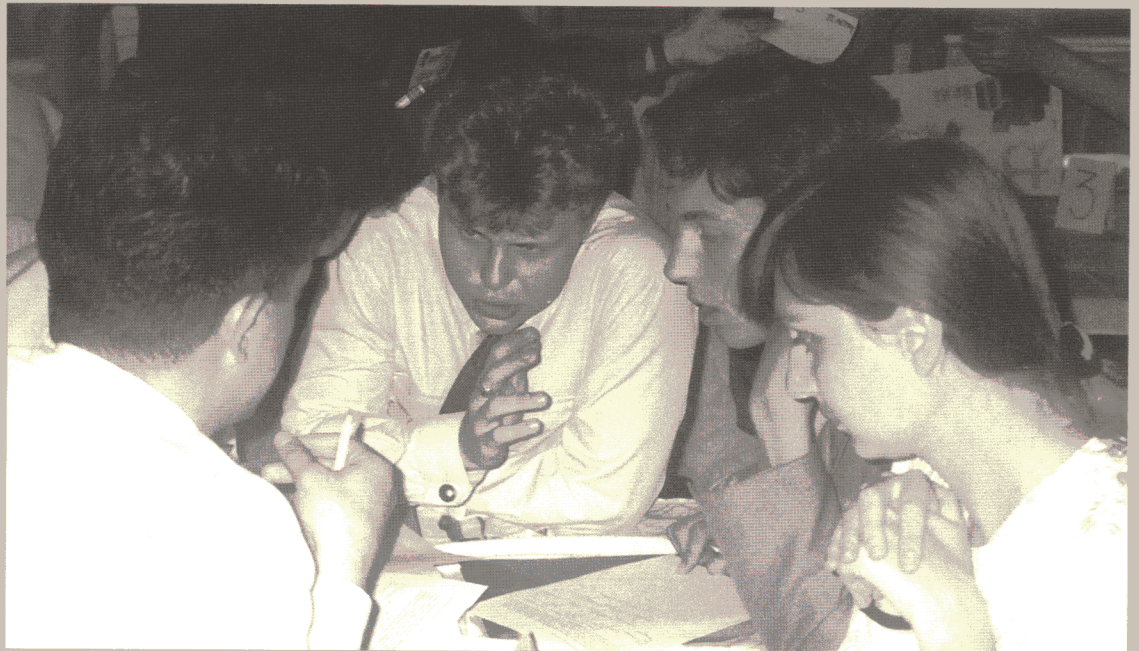
IRI refined and intensified its party-building efforts in the run-up to the December 1995 Duma elections in which over 400 IRI-trained reformists worked on campaigns. Eighteen IRI-trained candidates and another 24 with IRI-trained staff won office in the ten regions where IRI worked. Nationwide, reformers in 1995 won 19 percent of the Duma's single-mandate seats; in areas where IRI trained,

reformers won 49 percent, with communists and nationalists splitting the remainder.

Recommendations from IRI's election observation missions also helped make Russia's electoral system more impervious to fraud. As *The Washington Times* noted, "Most of the suggestions from a 21-member Republican team monitoring the April 23

referendum in Russia were taken to heart in arranging the December [1993] elections." The IRI team observing that election recommended a further 20 changes to the election law; 12 were contained in whole and six in part in the law governing the December 1995 elections. ☺

*Right:  
Russian youth grapple  
with campaign strategies during  
training session in St. Petersburg.*



*"The Embassy continues to work very closely with IRI's Russia office, and we appreciate IRI's excellent work here. IRI's outreach and training of political party activists...provide a much needed function in Russia's emerging democracy."*

—U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering

*"The report provided by IRI's [December 1993] international observer delegation served as the road map for the CEC in making improvements to the election law for 1995 parliamentary balloting."*

—Alexander Ivanchenko,  
Vice Chairman, Russia's Central Election Commission (CEC)

## Ukraine—

Ukraine, situated between Russia and Europe, is of great geopolitical importance and has made impressive strides in consolidating its democracy. IRI has been working with Ukraine's reform parties since early 1993, when it launched a civic education pilot program that introduced the fundamentals of a democratic political system to community leaders, party members and the general public.

In preparation for the 1994 parliamentary elections, IRI trained more than 200 reformers on the essentials of an effective campaign and conducted pollwatcher workshops in nine cities. IRI also sponsored a 15-member delegation that observed the March election and subsequently submitted 21 recommendations to improve future elections.

IRI's programs have advanced to complement Ukraine's evolving democracy. In 1995, IRI conducted political party and parliamentary training for 800 local level activists in six cities to help establish a broader base for democratic participation, foster, develop and sustain local and regional political parties, and encourage coalition building among reformers. ☺

# Central and Eastern Europe

## Bulgaria—

One of Moscow's closest satellites during the Cold War, Bulgaria became the first nation in Eastern Europe to adopt a post-communist constitution, and the first to hold elections. In 1990, the former communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) handily defeated the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

IRI training helped the UDF win the following year, and enabled one of IRI's trainees, Philip Dimitrov, to be elected Prime Minister.

In 1992, Zhelyu Zhelev, a recipient of two years of IRI training, won the nation's presidential election. Recommendations from IRI's 1992 election observation mission also resulted in major changes in Bulgaria's election law.

Difficulties within the governing coalition resulted in a 1992 vote of no confidence against the Dimitrov government. IRI returned to Bulgaria in late 1993 to counsel democratic parties on campaign techniques. In the December 1994 parliamentary elections, the BSP,

which was expected to sweep the voting, won just 43 percent, and almost a quarter of the winning democratic Members of Parliament were trained by IRI.

In 1995, IRI intensified political party development work in ten targeted cities for October local elections. In non-IRI cities, BSP mayoral candidates took an average of 47 percent of the vote, with opposition candidates receiving just 27 percent; in IRI's ten cities,

however, the democratic candidates averaged 37 percent to the BSP's 36 percent. In municipalities of over 25,000 people, only democratic candidates who had received IRI training won. An IRI Get-Out-the-Vote effort also raised voter participation in the ten cities nearly five percent higher than elsewhere. ☞



Right:  
Get-Out-the-Vote parade for  
Parliamentary elections in Sofia.

*"Each time we had an IRI seminar, we could feel the result... our party adopted the personal approach to voters and a positive strategy outlining our strengths. Going door-to-door as you suggested turned out to be just the right way to establish contact and brought us lots of support. Our success proved that foreign experience can be applied here in Bulgaria to help democratic parties broaden their base."*

—Zradko Kraev, International Secretary,  
Bulgarian Agricultural National Union

*"The heart of our assistance program in Bulgaria is our support for democratic values. IRI's work with democratic political parties has been outstanding and without doubt a critical part of our overall strategy."*

—U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery

## Hungary—

Hungary's nascent democratic parties comprised a ruling coalition from 1990 until 1994, when they were defeated in parliamentary elections by the communist-successor Hungarian Socialist Party. The democrats

became a minority in part because they were not well aware of voter attitudes on economic reform, their parties' likely constituencies, and how to use such information. Upon becoming a minority in 1994 elections, the democrats' alliance fractured.

IRI, in association with Britain's Westminster Foundation, Germany's Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and others, began a program in 1995 to address the democrats' shortfalls. Polling and analysis were provided to the

parties on Hungarian attitudes toward the government's programs. The polling revealed that none of the democratic parties could win by running alone, and the three major parties soon agreed to again form an alliance for future elections. ☞



## Poland—

Poland's bold democratic steps in the 1980s and early 1990s made it a model reform country in Eastern Europe. Following the fall of communism, post-Solidarity parties were the governing political force, and they worked to establish a market economy. In 1993 parliamentary elections, however, communist-successor parties won a two-thirds majority, and in 1995, Aleksander Kwasniewski consolidated their power by defeating Lech Walesa as president.

Challenges to Poland's democracy include a disengaged electorate and a proliferating party system. IRI's 1995 Get-Out-The-Vote campaign encouraged participation in the presidential election by over 200 volunteer and 11 youth organizations. IRI also works in concert with the Windsor Group and Britain's Conservative Party on coalition-building efforts among like-minded parties through joint policy initiatives in preparation for the 1997 parliamentary elections. ☞

## Lithuania—

In 1989, Lithuania was the first Soviet Republic to abandon communism. Subsequent parliamentary elections in 1990 resulted in a sweeping victory by *Sajudis*, the reform-oriented, umbrella pro-independence forces. Once independence was achieved, the *Sajudis* coalition began to splinter as voters held them accountable for economic hardship and political instability. The Democratic Labor Party (LDDP), the communist successor party, won the 1992 parliamentary elections by campaigning on

a platform of slower economic reform and better relations with Russia. In 1993, IRI began training political party activists in election campaign techniques. In the 1995 local elections, the reform parties garnered 47 percent of the vote to LDDP's and Farmers Party's 26 percent. Of the 185 municipal candidates trained by IRI, 79 were elected to office, and IRI trainees now sit on 25 of Lithuania's 56 city and municipal electoral councils. IRI now is training parties for October 1996 parliamentary elections. ☞

*"Allow me to express my sincere thanks for the support of IRI in strengthening democracy in Lithuania. The textbook for political parties and your assistance in organizing seminars at Lithuanian municipal and local bodies are of great help to our people entering politics."*

—Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman,  
Homeland Union-Lithuanian Conservatives

## Albania—

Once among the most isolated countries on earth, Albania is now described by U.S. officials as "critical to U.S. policy in the Balkans...[to] anchor a network of security stretching from Macedonia to Romania." Albania's

isolation ended with democratic elections in early 1991, but the Albanian Communist Party handily beat the nascent opposition Democratic Party.

IRI responded with a program of assistance that included party-

building training and communications equipment, enabling democrats to campaign in the country's mountainous rural areas. The Democratic Party beat the communists in a landslide 1992 parliamentary election victory they credit to IRI's assistance.

IRI since has trained the country's parliamentary representatives on constituent outreach, and worked to link party elements with their rural counterparts. IRI's campaign assistance now has resumed in preparation for June 1996 parliamentary elections. ☞

*"IRI has done an outstanding job in Albania helping the most repressive of all former communist countries initiate the development of democratic institutions. Many senior people in and outside of government have expressed their high praise for your program here."*

—U.S. Ambassador Joseph Lake

Right:  
Ghosts of Albania's repressive and dictatorial past, hundreds of thousands of bunkers still mar the landscape. Built between 1978 and 1981, these steel-reinforced concrete structures were supposed to defend against an imagined invasion.





## Romania—

The overthrow of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in December 1989 created a vacuum that was filled by former communist party officials and members of the nomenclature. Romania's first post-communist election in 1990 was a disaster for the country's reemerging democratic political parties, which won only seven percent of the vote.

In the aftermath of these elections, IRI assisted the opposition parties in building their organizations and developing their coalition—the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR). IRI also provided the CDR with equipment to furnish crucial regional campaign communication centers. In the 1992 elections, CDR candidates won mayoral offices in 13 of Romania's 20 largest cities and gained nearly a third of the seats in Parliament.

IRI's subsequent parliamentary program encouraged the modest yet positive steps of drafting and adopting revised parliamentary rules, passage of legislation permitting deputies to open district offices and hire staff, and steps to strengthen the legislative committees. ☺

*Below:  
Students rallying for their  
candidate in central Bucharest.*



## Slovakia—

Since gaining independence in January 1993, Slovakia has faced challenges in establishing a modern democratic government and managing an economic transition. Although the pace of political and economic reform at the national level has been haphazard, many local elected officials are steadfast advocates of democratic change.

In 1994, IRI trained local elected officials in communications, coalition-building, and constituent relations. Fifty-two percent of IRI's trainers running for mayor and 57 percent of those seeking city council seats won their races in Slovakia's November 1994 local elections. In 1995, IRI trained democratic mayors in basic political and governance techniques. ☺

## Latvia—

Given the constant flow of Russians into Latvia during the Soviet era and the deportation of their countrymen to Siberia, Latvians draw their main distinction between Latvian and Russian, rather than communist and non-communist allegiances.

The first democratic elections, in June 1993, led to the formation of a minority coalition government

that many voters believed accomplished little. In the October 1995 parliamentary elections, Independent Andris Skele formed a government from among six political parties in the Parliament. Leading up to these national elections, IRI conducted party training in the countryside, and brought local party activists together to build organizational strength. ☺



## China—

The largest power in an area of growing economic interest to the United States, China has begun a devolution of lawmaking authority to the country's previously rubber-stamp National People's Congress (NPC), and initiated rudimentary elections for local leadership of villages. IRI's programs, designed after consultation with many in the west, support

reformers still in China as they work to advance the rule of law and democratic processes.

Since 1993, IRI has worked directly with the NPC and extra-governmental institutes on the substance of, and process for passing, a number of economic reform laws. IRI was the only western organization assisting the NPC on amending banking legislation. Subsequently, almost a third of the parliament voted to

reject the bill—only the second time in history that so many NPC members had voted against a piece of legislation. IRI also worked with the NPC on bankruptcy reform legislation, which contained the first recognition in PRC history of the individual as an entity.

IRI was the first international organization ever invited to observe China's village-level elections.

IRI's electoral reform recommendations resulted in secret balloting booths and candidate nomination reforms being adopted in 1995 in two "model provinces" of over 130 million people. By the year 2000, the village-level elections process is to be extended across China, allowing over 900 million people to choose their own local government. ∞

*"China remains nominally communist, but the party's pervasive influence is giving way in rural areas to a strange breed of populist, grassroots democracy that in many cases favors upstart politicians who aren't party members... 'Peasants are becoming more aware of their rights, and corrupt politicians are being elected out,' says Washington's International Republican Institute, which is helping to train election officials."*

—The Wall Street Journal

*"China's parliament has mostly been a piece of political theater. But at this year's parliament, the stagecraft failed. In a... setback for the government, delegates balked at a proposed new banking law. First they argued for substantial revisions, including one granting to the NPC a direct supervisory role over monetary policy. That done, 32 percent of the delegates withheld their approval anyway. The NPC may not yet be a real parliament, but neither is it the obedient audience it used to be."*

—The Economist

Below:  
Villagers cast ballots during Beidao township elections in southeast Gansu province.





## Burma—

The source of two-thirds of the heroin entering America, Burma's dictatorship has driven one of Asia's most resource-rich nations into poverty over the last 35 years. The massacre of thousands of peacefully demonstrating students in 1988 forced the regime to call parliamentary elections.

In 1989, the National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, won 392 of 485 seats; the regime won 10. Rather than concede power, the regime arrested hundreds of NLD officials, including elected members of parliament, and drove thousands of others into exile.

In 1991, IRI began working with the remnants of the NLD in the Liberated Areas (NLD/LA) on peaceful political methods to restore Burma's democracy. Initially, IRI's program helped the fleeing democrats organize as they formed the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma in exile, and began telling their story to the rest of the world.

Since 1994, IRI has helped the NLD reconstitute an underground political network within Burma and trained activists in peaceful, nonviolent resistance to the regime. In 1995, IRI's assistance also enabled the NLD/LA to open an office on Burma's western border to better coordinate political activity among refugees there. ☺

*"Thanks to IRI assistance, the NLD/LA is back on its feet, organizing and recruiting new members... When the people rise up again, and our elected representatives are finally seated in Rangoon, it will be with great pride that I will tell my countrymen how, during our darkest hours, the American people, through IRI, stood by our side and helped bring about the dawn of our new democracy."*

—**Sein Winn, Prime Minister,**  
**National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma**

*"Thank you, thank you, thank you for all your organization is doing. Our struggle for democracy will not be easy, but I know that we will win."*  
—**Nobel Peace Prize Winner Aung San Suu Kyi**

Right:  
IRI-trained activists on  
Burma-India border display poster  
of Aung San Suu Kyi.



## Sri Lanka—

Sri Lanka has been engulfed in a civil war for more than ten years. As the country strives to resolve the conflict, a new generation of political leaders has an opportunity to broaden voter participation and consolidate Sri Lanka's democracy. Since 1994, IRI has worked with Sri Lanka's political parties to improve their professionalism and move away from more "traditional" political techniques—violence, intimidation, and vote-buying.

IRI training has improved Sri Lanka's political parties' ability to gauge public opinion and incorporate these findings into party platforms and campaign messages, and to develop a national campaign strategy in preparation for the next elections. ☺

## Vietnam—

Following the promulgation of Vietnam's 1992 constitution, the National Assembly was given an increased role in the overall governmental structure, including the authority to oversee government activities and draft and amend new legislation. In 1995, IRI began a program with Vietnam's National Assembly to assist the Assembly to more effectively and fully execute its constitutional responsibilities. The program,

which provides technical assistance to the Assembly, is supported by a group of American corporations committed to supporting the rule of law in Vietnam. In the program's first year, IRI sponsored symposia on banking reform, taxation, and the budget process in Hanoi, and hosted the first-ever National Assembly delegation to the United States to learn about congressional lawmaking procedures. ☺



### Thailand—

Thailand is a longstanding U.S. ally in the fastest-growing economic region on earth, Southeast Asia. Thai women are becoming active leaders in business and in the community, but traditionally have not been involved in politics and government.

In 1994, IRI helped establish the Thai Women In Politics Institute (WIP), an organization committed to the preparation and promotion of women in the electoral process. IRI's long-term goal is to see WIP develop into a self-sustaining

campaign management and candidate training school for women—the first of its kind in Southeast Asia.

Since early 1995, IRI/WIP has trained over 250 women in Bangkok, Korat, and Chiang Mai. Of the 17 IRI trainees who competed in the 1995 parliamentary election, eight were elected, increasing to 24 the number of women Members of Parliament. Sixty-five IRI trainees have declared their intention to run in the 1996 provincial council races. ♡

### Mongolia—

Located between China and Russia, Mongolia is the only Asian state that has made the transition from communism to democracy. However, Mongolia's formerly communist ruling party, the Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party, still dominates politics, having won 71 of 76 parliamentary seats in 1992 elections.

Since 1992, IRI has prepared the country's two major pro-democratic parties, the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP), for their second democratic parliamentary election, scheduled for

June 1996. With IRI assistance and encouragement, the parties formed a coalition to contest the upcoming elections. With the success of the Republican "Contract with America" in mind, the parties then developed a platform based on proactive proposals for change. IRI also helped the parties develop a national communications strategy that will allow them to get their platform to Mongolia's urban and rural populations. ♡

### Cambodia—

Cambodia has endured one of history's worst genocides, two civil wars, and a Vietnamese occupation—all in the three decades that ended with a peace agreement in late 1991.

In early 1993, IRI began working to build Cambodia's noncommunist resistance into a political party, and to ensure voter participation in national elections.

The democratic parties trained by IRI won 69 of 120 seats in the April 1993 balloting, and IRI's voter education program was credited with making "a unique and significant contribution" to the 95 percent voter turnout. After the elections, IRI worked to strengthen Cambodia's main political parties, and trained women planning to campaign in 1997 local elections.

IRI's current program continues the Khmer Women in Politics Network, but political party work is now focused on nonelected groups, including Sam Rainsy's Khmer Nation Party. ♡

*Right:  
Participants in IRI's Khmer  
Women in Politics Network gather  
to discuss their role in Cambodian  
democracy.*





## Mozambique—

One of the bloodiest conflicts in southern Africa, Mozambique's 20-year civil war left more than a million people dead. A 1992 ceasefire signed by Mozambique's two warring groups, FRELIMO and RENAMO, called for elections, but such deep distrust existed that renewed warfare could have resulted from a flawed contest.

IRI concluded that two factors were critical. First, the balloting process itself had to be free of fraud, and seen as such by both sides. Second, both warring factions needed a better understanding of their roles and responsibilities in a multi-party democracy.

Prior to the October 1995 elections, IRI worked with the two major parties and other smaller parties on

formulating post-election parliamentary strategies. RENAMO participants later told IRI that the training had helped frame their party's decision to stay in the election process during some tense periods, and not to renew the civil war. IRI also trained Mozambicans from all parties on pollwatching, and distributed an illustrated pollwatcher manual.

IRI's ballot security program resulted in over 32,000 Mozambicans' observing the balloting at almost every one of the country's 7,000 polling stations; the organization overseeing the elections termed the training manual "invaluable." Since the election, IRI has continued to work with the parties on parliamentary procedure. ∞

*"IRI's consultations with Mozambican political parties and the timeliness and effectiveness of the ballot security/pollwatcher training program played a critical role in ensuring the successful outcome of Mozambique's first multiparty elections. IRI's follow-on consultations for the three parliamentary benches of the newly elected Assembly...have confirmed IRI's reputation for delivering quality programs."*

—U.S. Ambassador Dennis Jett

## South Africa—

The anchor of a region with enormous economic potential, South Africa's peaceful transition from apartheid to multiparty democratic rule has been described by some as a "miracle." For the transition to continue, however, the multiparty system

must be strengthened and become more competitive. Parties' internal organizations and activities will have to become more efficient, and public policy positions need to be developed that reflect not only the parties' constituencies, but also the broad range of national interests.

Before and after the historic 1994 elections, IRI worked to strengthen the capability of political parties to engage in effective and peaceful political activities. IRI has trained leaders from most of South Africa's political parties, and has conducted training for newly elected local

government councillors and local candidates. In addition, IRI in 1995 engaged top U.S. policymakers and analysts to contribute their experience and counsel on the fundamental constitutional issues confronting the new South Africa. ∞

*"We as South Africans cannot thank you enough for all that the IRI did to help us in going through the first democratic election in our country."*

—Chief Buthelezi, President, South African Inkatha Freedom Party

*"Special thanks for special friends...you and your IRI colleagues laid the groundwork for all we had to do in a short space of time. Thank you for not giving up on us and for constantly offering support."*

—A.J. Konigkramer,  
Inkatha Freedom Party National Campaign Manager



Right:  
South Africans gather at rural  
polling station in 1994 elections.



## Kenya—

Kenya's importance to the United States has been underlined in countless humanitarian efforts. After nearly three decades of failing to establish democracy, internal and international pressure forced the repeal of the law mandating single-party politics and installed multiparty elections in December 1992.

An IRI observation team provided timely analysis of the pre-election environment and the conduct of balloting. Over the next two years, IRI trained political parties on organizational and campaign skills, and parties' and nongovernmental organizations on pollwatching. This training resulted in the opposition parties' recovering from early losses in special elections and winning the majority of those elections since 1994.

IRI continues to provide assistance to the Kenyan League of Women Voters to make it a more effective provider of civic and voter education. In 1995, the League provided training materials and techniques to more than 21,000 Kenyan women.

As a result, women increasingly are supporting female political candidates and public officials and taking a more active role in local political and economic affairs. ☞

*"As a result of IRI's pollwatcher training, my party developed a special anti-vote fraud team of about 150 observers who have been used in recent by-elections to prevent the ruling party from rigging (the ballot)."*

— *The Honorable Peter Ndigwa,*  
*Member of Parliament, Democratic Party of Kenya*

*"African women are still years from political equality with men...but for the first time, women have gotten a foot in the door to political power. Civic education of Africa's women has become a top priority for political activists. The League of Women Voters, for example, has held dozens of workshops in rural Kenya to help women understand the procedures and philosophical underpinnings of a multiparty system."*

— *The Washington Post*

*Right:*  
*Women rally for their candidates during Kenyan League of Women Voters program in Kirinyaga.*



## Zimbabwe—

The lack of a vibrant political opposition and public watchdog organizations in Zimbabwe allows the ruling party there to govern and administer elections with little opposition or oversight.

IRI provides support to the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association (Zimrights), as it advocates democratic reforms and a more transparent political system. Zimrights recruited, trained and deployed 200 pollwatchers for the March 1996 presidential elections,

forming the core of a permanent nationwide network of election monitors. Zimrights also identified and supported Zimbabweans seeking legal redress on electoral issues, and gathered, disseminated

and provided recommendations for constitutional and legislative reforms. ☞



## Nicaragua—

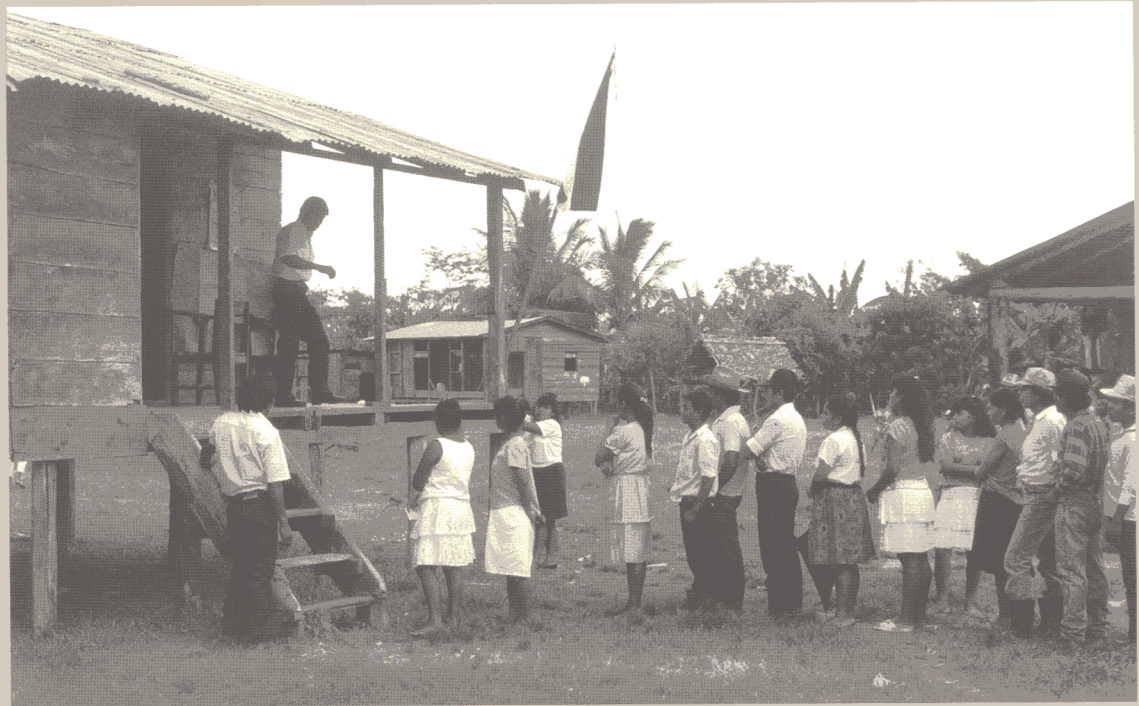
A focus of intense U.S. activity during the 1980s, Nicaragua cast off its Sandinista dictatorship in 1990. IRI began its programming there in 1986, and went on to advise 14 opposition political parties in their efforts to form a coalition—UNO—to challenge Sandinista rule. IRI also helped produce television ads informing Nicaraguans that their vote was secret. This program was credited with increasing voter registration, and was cited by many observers as a key reason for voter confidence in casting ballots against the Sandinistas.

Following UNO's victory, IRI worked with the victorious coalition on democratization and economic liberalization, institutionalizing such efforts by helping create Grupo FUNDEMOS in 1993. This organization quickly gained a reputation for credibility, independence and nonpartisanship on sensitive issues such as property rights, the military code and constitutional reforms. In 1994, Grupo FUNDEMOS political party training, offered to all of Nicaragua's political parties, initiated the unification of the country's leading Christian

Democrat and Liberal Parties. In 1995, Grupo FUNDEMOS was the site of a Liberal-Conservative-Resistance Party accord on constitutional reform. IRI also works with Hagamos Democracia, a group dedicated to furthering citizen input into legislative initiatives. IRI assisted in the drafting of the regulations that for the first time in history give Nicaraguan citizens the right to introduce a law or amendment to the National Assembly.

IRI has also worked to increase pluralism on Nicaragua's minority Miskito-populated Atlantic Coast. Before the 1994 elections, IRI organized candidate forums for the Autonomous Regional Council, helped produce radio messages urging residents to vote, and subsequently issued an election observation report recommending changes in apportionment, ballot adjudication, and other needed reforms to ensure free and fair Presidential elections. IRI has since recommended political party training for 1996 Presidential elections. ∞

Right:  
Voters queuing for  
Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast  
Autonomous Regional Council  
elections.



*"My visit to the Institute...was an appropriate occasion for me to personally express to you our confidence in its programs that serve to consolidate democracy in Nicaragua."*

—Arnold Aleman, Mayor of Managua,  
Leader of Nicaragua's Liberal Party, and 1996 Presidential Candidate

## Cuba—

The last remaining totalitarian regime in the western hemisphere, Cuba's communist government has resisted 36 years of efforts to increase democracy and human

rights on the island. In 1995, IRI released the *Cuba Transition Resource Guide: Preparing for Freedom*—a comprehensive guide to planning for the post-Castro transition and recovery. The guide

and IRI's *Dissenting Voices*, a bilingual newsletter of articles and information by and about the country's persecuted human rights community, are distributed

widely on the island and to the international community. IRI also continues to distribute material and provide moral support to dissident organizations and activists inside Cuba. ∞

*"I want to commend IRI for its outstanding efforts in assisting emerging democracies abroad—not just in Cuba but in other places."*

—Jeb Bush



## Peru—

In conjunction with three Peruvian organizations, IRI trained more than 1,800 university students on the importance of civic responsibility and pollwatching in the months leading up to the April 1995 Presidential elections. Those students in turn trained nearly 9,000 others who participated in a nationwide election observation. IRI also disseminated 70,000 news-

paper inserts designed to educate important segments of Peruvian society on basic principles of democratic governance. IRI-sponsored focus groups and a nationwide poll yielded valuable information on issues important to the electorate. IRI also published the political party platforms, and hosted a public debate in Lima among ten leading congressional candidates. ∞

## Venezuela—

Low voter turnout, military coup attempts, the 1994 suspension of constitutional guarantees, and the government's inability to reform the economy reflect Venezuela's fragile commitment to democracy. In 1995, IRI conducted a major regional conference and three follow-up workshops designed to promote and sustain support for economic reforms and democratic principles.

The conference and workshops, which addressed social benefits of economic modernization, the inflation crisis, welfare and social security, and liberalization of the petroleum industry, resulted in specific proposals to remedy these critical issues. IRI has now begun a long-term project to promote Venezuela's democratic culture. ∞

## Haiti—

The 1994 restoration of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power by U.S. forces and subsequent elections afforded Haiti an opportunity for reconciliation and a chance to join the family of democratic nations.

IRI's Haiti program was designed to provide early warning to U.S. and Haitian policymakers of election problems that could hamper the development of democracy. Despite the timely information

provided by the Institute, June 1995 parliamentary balloting was found by an IRI observer team to be badly flawed. IRI's post-election report detailed steps needed to render future elections more free and fair. IRI strengthened its pre-election reporting ability in the months before the December elections, and many of IRI's administrative recommendations were found to have been implemented in an election that was otherwise flawed by intimidation and low voter turnout. ∞

*"IRI documented dozens of shortcomings in the months and weeks leading up to the election. The election observers have left the country, but IRI is still on the ground asking the tough questions. IRI deserves credit for its honest and serious effort to expose flaws in the Haitian election process."*

*—Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole*

*"In my view, if U.S. and Haitian policymakers had followed IRI's wise counsel and listened to legitimate Haitian democrats earlier, this process would have been freer and fairer."*

*—Representative Ben Gilman,  
Chairman, House International Relations Committee*

## Mexico—

Mexico's advances in democratic governance over the past decade remain challenged by a very fluid political and economic landscape. The traditional role of the media as a check on the government is compromised in Mexico by a lack of objectivity and often unreliable information. Working with the Centro Cívico de Solidaridad (CECISOL),

IRI is bringing the issues of accuracy, ethics, and accountability in the media to the public through civic leadership training. This effort, conducted throughout Mexico, will help local civic groups influence the public agenda by bringing issues to the forefront of political debate. ∞

## Guatemala—

Guatemala's 1995 elections presented an opportunity to conduct a multifaceted democratic and political education effort. IRI's pre-election program helped Guatemalan voters learn about the candidates and their positions on a range of issues confronting the country. Together with grantee Instituto Pro Democracia y Desarrollo (IDE), IRI sponsored televised congressional candidate debates throughout the country, the first time such debates had been held outside the capital city.

IRI also sponsored a Political Party Information Center in Guatemala City that increased the ability of candidates and parties to distribute their platforms and to discuss issues directly with voters. In addition, IRI also assisted a local organization—APOLO—in its grassroots effort to increase government accountability. ∞

*Below:*

*APOLO volunteer encourages fellow Guatemalan to be active in civic affairs in Quetzaltenango.*



# Middle East and North Africa

## West Bank and Gaza—

For decades, successive American administrations have realized that a resolution of the Palestinian issue was a key to Middle East peace. The process begun by President Bush and Secretary of State Baker in 1992 culminated in the Declaration of Principles, which grants self-rule to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

Bridging the gap between the Palestinian National Authority, which has never governed, and Palestinians, who have had little input into policy, is fundamental to the success of the peace plan. IRI helped found and funds the Center for Palestinian Research and Studies' public opinion polls in the West Bank and Gaza.

The polling information is used by Palestinian leaders as they learn to respond to constituent concerns, and by Israeli and other regional leaders as they plan new steps in the peace process.

The polls also have been cited extensively by U.S. and international media. CPRS remains the sole credible polling operation in the West Bank and Gaza. ∞

*"The Center for Palestinian Research and Studies' local glow has extended since it opened last September the Surveys and Polls Unit, directed by Nadir Izzat Sa'id... 'Surveys are not part of the Arab tradition' explains this man, 'but since we have started our activities, we're starting to become known'. Known and appreciated, apparently, because the seriousness of the Center has quickly brought it recognition."*

—Le Soir of Paris



Right:  
Palestinian men and women  
line up to vote at Hebron.

## Oman—

Located on the Straits of Hormuz, Oman has seen two decades of remarkable economic and social development, but now confronts a less certain future due to diminishing oil reserves, a severe water shortage, and the absence of a clear political system in place for the future. Led by Sultan Qaboos, Oman is beginning to develop democratic institutions, albeit at its own pace and of its own design. Oman's consultative council, the Majlis Ash'shura, gradually is gaining greater authority and

responsibility in public policy-making. In 1995, an extensive IRI study on public participation and the Majlis Ash'shura found that the process initiated by the government is sophisticated, carefully considered, and intended ultimately to give the people of Oman a direct voice in their government. IRI anticipates building upon the foundation of cooperation between IRI and the Majlis to begin a program of legislative support and exchange. ∞

## Turkey—

A strong U.S.-Turkish partnership is vital to American interests in an increasingly unstable and unpredictable region. A key challenge for Turkey is to continue domestic political and economic reforms that strengthen its secular democracy. IRI programs support civic institutions, decentralization and privatization efforts, and strengthen the major secular political parties in local governance.

In 1995, IRI sponsored nationwide public opinion surveys on local governance issues. The surveys provided valuable information to Turkish mayors on citizen expectations of government, the level of satisfaction with local services, and views on democratic participation. IRI now is building on this foundation by working with the mayors on better governance and increased citizen participation. ∞



## Kuwait—

Its strategic importance to the United States underlined by the Gulf War, Kuwait is one of the few Middle Eastern countries with a written constitution, rights to free speech, and an elected parliament. Since the National Assembly's 1992 restoration, a greater balance exists between the state and society than in other Arab nations.

Beneath the surface, however, tensions remain between some opposition figures who wish to undermine the ruling family's rule, and the ruling family, which has twice dissolved the parliament.

Within months of the war's end, IRI was assisting Kuwait's pro-democratic groups in political techniques, and in their efforts to

ensure that legislative elections were held. In October 1993, opposition parties won 31 of 50 National Assembly seats.

IRI's post-election efforts are designed to further the Assembly's professionalism in their unprecedented involvement in affairs of state. IRI received a grant to host Assembly staff training in the

United States, including exposure to the political and procedural dynamics of Capitol Hill. Structural changes in the Assembly, greater precision in oversight, a measure of coordination between Kuwait's legislature and executive branch, and consideration of legislation to grant women the vote already have resulted from IRI's assistance. ☺

*"IRI has been undertaking valuable programs in Kuwait, programs that fit right in with the goals of our mission...thank you for the role the Institute continues to play in fostering the development of a more open political system."*

—u.s. Ambassador Ryan Crocker

## Morocco—

Morocco, a longstanding strategic ally of the United States, is undergoing gradual political liberalization. King Hassan II is encouraging greater pluralistic political participation and economic liberalization and

decentralization. IRI's program provides management training to local officials and brings elected and appointed local authorities together with citizens and community-based groups to find solutions to local problems. IRI workshops in Benguerir and Meknes have established a basis

for community cooperation and have resulted in public-private partnerships that continue to increase self-reliance and citizen involvement in local government. ☺

Right:  
Moroccan women (with families in background) set off for IRI workshop that encourages citizen participation in local government.



Volunteers are indispensable to IRI's work. Every year, hundreds of citizens devote their time and talent working shoulder-to-shoulder with democratic activists around the world. They find the work rewarding, gratifying, and invigorating.

They serve as trainers, advisors, and election observers. We salute and thank our 1995 volunteers, who collectively have contributed the equivalent of almost nine years of donated service. ∞

***“Congratulations...for the outstanding work that IRI is doing to promote democracy around the world.”***

***—President George Bush***

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*“Ronald Reagan wondered whether we could win the peace after winning the Cold War. I feel a lot better for the answer in the affirmative after working with some of the best professionals on the front lines of this new battle.”*

*—Tony Malandra, San Francisco, California  
IRI volunteer trainer and election observer*

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## IRI Private Donors—

*Since its beginning, IRI has been funded by the U.S. government through grants from the National Endowment for Democracy and competitive contracts awarded by the U.S. Agency for International Development. We now want to change that—to replace federal funds with private dollars. The reasons are simple.*

*First, we've had over a decade of support from the American taxpayer. We're grateful for that generosity, but it's now time to stand on our own.*

*Second, private funds allow us to promote democracy free of red tape—to move quickly during emergency situations and in trouble spots where freedom fighters need our help—and need it fast.*

*Third, it makes sense that an organization that teaches self-reliance and free-market economics ought to practice it.*

*Fourth, we believe our programs are worthwhile, and that others will find them worthy of support.*

*Privatizing IRI won't occur overnight, but 1995 was a good beginning—one that we can and will build on.*

*IRI is deeply grateful to the following foundations, corporations, and individuals for their generous contributions to IRI programs, the Forum series, and Freedom Dinner. ∞*

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*"IRI is now doing marvelous things. It is a very important project. It will become even more important to the degree that we can privatize funding."*

*—General Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.)*

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*“So let us ask ourselves, ‘What kind of people do we think we are?’  
And let us answer, ‘Free people, worthy of freedom and determined not only  
to remain so, but to help others gain their freedom as well.’”*

*—President Ronald Reagan*

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