

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter



2007–2008



Fellowship Program staff (clockwise from bottom left): director Sally Blair, research and conferences officer Melissa Aten, senior Forum administrator Maria Angelica Fleetwood, program assistant Jessica Martin, and manager Zerxes Spencer.

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Greetings from the National Endowment for Democracy!

On behalf of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, I am pleased to share this 2007-08 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter with you. Now in our eighth year of operation, we are proud to be associated with over 115 alumni, men and women who are dedicating their lives to strengthening democracy around the world.

Established in 2001 by the U.S. Congress in honor of NED's two principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late congressman Dante Fascell, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program is funded by an annual grant from the U.S. Department of State. The program seeks to deepen the knowledge, broaden the perspectives, and strengthen the morale of some of the world's most dedicated democratic practitioners, journalists, and scholars. Fellows are in residence at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED's research and publications arm, in Washington, D.C., which offers a collegial environment to conduct research, exchange ideas with counterparts, and build ties that contribute to a global network of democracy advocates. The program is grateful to NED's Board of Directors, President Carl Gershman, Forum co-directors Marc Plattner and Larry Diamond, and Forum deputy director Diego Abente-Brun for their guidance and support.

In this newsletter, we focus primarily on our 2007–2008 Fellows, to highlight their achievements and publicize their messages concerning the struggles of democrats worldwide. It has been our privilege to support their important work.

Sincerely,

Sally Blair

*Dr. Sally Blair
Director, Fellowship Programs*



This *Newsletter* was produced by Zerxes Spencer, with assistance from Sally Blair, Brent Kallmer, Jessica Martin, Jeffrey Smith, and David Szakonyi. The opinions expressed in these pages are those of the fellows themselves and do not necessarily reflect the views or position of the National Endowment for Democracy or its staff.

Pictured on the cover are the 2007–2008 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows. Top row, from left to right: S. Akbar Zaidi, Angelo Izama, Usam Baysaev, and Alice Verghese. Second row, from left to right: Prem Khanal, Thomas Gallagher, Kate Zhou, and Gia Areshidze. Third row, from left to right: Tihana Bartulac-Blanc, M. Safwat Rashid Sidqi, David Hawk, and Tapera Kapuya. Fourth row, from left to right: Okechukwu Nwanguma, Atef Al-Saadawy, Leila Alieva, and Eddie Jarwolo.

2008–2009 REAGAN-FASCELL DEMOCRACY FELLOWS

Fall 2008

Mr. Jami Chandio (Pakistan)
*Federalism, Decentralization,
and Provincial Autonomy in Pakistan*
Award Dates: January–May 2009

Mr. Suvash Darnal (Nepal)
*Affirmative Action as a Means for Inclusive
Democracy & Conflict Transformation in Nepal*

Dr. Rajesh Dev (India)
*Democracy and Resurgent ‘Traditions’:
A Study in Negotiation*

Lt. Colonel Birame Diop (Senegal)
Reforming Africa’s Armed Forces

Mr. Frederic Loua (Guinea)
*Penal and Judicial Reform
and Democratization in Guinea*

Dr. Ihor Lylo (Ukraine)
*Comparing Government-Media Relations
in the United States and Ukraine*

Dr. Sharon L. Wolchik (United States)
*Democratizing Elections in Postcommunist Europe
and Eurasia: The Day After*



Dr. Dieter Dettke (Germany)
Visiting Fellow
*Transformation Without Power:
European Democracy Assistance after Enlargement*



Spring 2009

Ms. Lila Iril (Algeria)
*The Campaign to Create a Truth and Justice
Commission in Post-Conflict Algeria*

Ms. Niemat Kuku (Sudan)
*Engendering Democracy in Sudan:
Putting Women’s Rights First*

Mr. Antonio Maldonado (Peru)
*The Struggle Against Political and Economic
Corruption in the Andes*

Mr. Gilbert Maondonodji (Chad)
*Building Democracy in Resource-Rich Countries:
The Case of Chad’s Oil Exploitation*

Mr. Anyakwe Nsirimovu (Nigeria)
*Arms Proliferation as a Threat to
Democracy in the Niger Delta*

Ms. Siti Nurjanah (Indonesia)
*The Implications of Radical Islam for
Women in Indonesia*

Dr. Ekaterina Osipova (Russia)
Human Rights and Human Trafficking in Russia

Dr. Enrique Peruzzotti (Argentina)
*Institutionalized Participation and Representative
Government in Latin America*

Dr. Ronojoy Sen (India)
Judicial Activism and Indian Democracy



DEMOCRACY FELLOWSHIPS

For more information on the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program and how to apply for a fellowship, please visit our website at www.ned.org/forum/reagan-fascell.html. The application deadline for fellowships in 2010–2011 is Monday, November 2, 2009.



“Peace versus Justice:
Negotiating an End to the
Northern Uganda Conflict”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

aizama@monitor.co.ug

“The peace process has captured the imagination of ordinary Ugandans, lifting barriers between the relatively safe and prosperous non-Luo civilians in the south and the victims of the conflict in the north.”

AFRICA

Mr. Angelo Izama (Uganda)

“Ending the twenty-year insurgency of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda requires a coordinated response by military, diplomatic, and political actors in the region. As the Juba peace process has demonstrated, success can come on the back of rigorous diplomatic support from local and international partners. Indeed, the peace process has captured the imagination of ordinary Ugandans, lifting barriers between the relatively safe and prosperous non-Luo civilians in the south and the victims of the conflict in the north. For long-term success to prevail, dealing with the LRA must be informed by, and framed within, a wider program of sustainable peace and security in the Great Lakes Region. At a broader level, the United States must invest in a “diplomatic surge.”



Such a surge would not only involve establishing a system of comprehensive regional dialogues, but also, more specifically, employ the newly created United States Africa Command to move the region toward greater economic and security-related cooperation. ”

—Angelo Izama, February 11, 2008

Mr. Angelo Izama is director of special projects at the *Daily Monitor*, Uganda’s only independent daily newspaper, and a frequent contributor to various other news media, including the Nation, Radio Botswana, Voice of America, and Radio Channel Africa. He has also served as producer and host of top-rated political talk shows at the radio station 933 KFM. During his fellowship, Mr. Izama evaluated the demands for international justice and options for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in northern Uganda, with a focus on the potential role of the United States in mediating an end to the insurgency. On February 11, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Regional Options for Peace in the Great Lakes: The Case of Uganda’s Lord’s Resistance Army.”

Mr. Eddie Jarwolo (Liberia)

“Despite Liberia’s democratic breakthrough in 2005, most Liberians remain unaware of their rights and unfamiliar with how to hold elected officials accountable for their actions. After fifteen years of devastating civil war, more than 100,000 ex-combatants, many of them youth, are particularly alienated from the political process and lack the means to make positive change in society. In order to sustain the democratic momentum of 2005 and strengthen the participation of youth in public life, the government of Liberia must join hands with civil society in making civic education a national priority. Following the lead of organizations such as the National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections (NAYMOTE), civic educators can help Liberians cultivate the habits, attitudes, and commitment necessary to nurture and sustain democracy—through town-hall meetings, student debates, role plays, and other methods of participation. Legislators, policy makers, teachers, school administrators, and the media should all be enlisted in the effort, as should disabled youth, ex-combatants, and other marginalized groups. Only by learning the lessons of tolerance, accountability, cooperation, and respect can Liberians rediscover the meaning of democratic citizenship and play an active part in shaping their country’s future.”



—Eddie Jarwolo, July 10, 2008

Mr. Eddie Jarwolo is founding director of the National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections—Partners for Democratic Development (NAYMOTE) an organization that provides young Liberians the opportunity to participate in decision-making, governance, leadership, and community service. During his fellowship, Mr. Jarwolo examined how civic education can be used effectively to promote democratic growth, particularly in African countries emerging from civil strife. On July 10, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “A New Liberia: Educating for Democracy as a Way of Life.”



“Civic Education and
Democracy Building in Liberia”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

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*“Civic educators
can help Liberians
cultivate the
habits, attitudes,
and commitment
necessary to nurture
and sustain
democracy—
through town-hall
meetings, student
debates, role plays,
and other methods
of participation.”*

AFRICA



“Mobilizing Youth in the Struggle for Democracy in Zimbabwe”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

kapuyat@gmail.com

“Opposition groups and the international community must enlist young Zimbabweans in their cause and identify methods that can transform Zimbabwean youth from tools of oppression into agents of change.”

AFRICA

Mr. Tapera Kapuya (Zimbabwe)

“With 70 percent of Zimbabwe’s population under the age of 30, the country’s youth will play a crucial role in determining how quickly democracy overtakes the authoritarian practices of the ruling ZANU-PF party. While pro-democracy organizations have largely ignored this demographic, the Zimbabwean government has manipulated it to further its own anti-democratic agenda. Recently, the government mobilized over 300,000 youths into militia groups, using them to terrorize progressive political activists and citizens. As Zimbabwe recovers from the chaos of its recent elections, opposition groups and the international community must enlist young Zimbabweans in their cause and identify methods that can transform Zimbabwean youth from tools of oppression into agents of change.”



—Tapera Kapuya, February 14, 2008

Mr. Tapera Kapuya is the coordinator of the South Africa office of the National Constitutional Assembly, a civic movement that campaigns for a new constitution in Zimbabwe. He is former Africa region secretary for the International Union of Students, an umbrella organization representing 125 national student unions across the globe. An original working-group member of the World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD), Mr. Kapuya is currently involved in WYMD’s initiatives to integrate student movements into broader democracy activities. As a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, Mr. Kapuya worked on developing new strategies for involving youth in the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. In anticipation of Zimbabwe’s March 2008 elections, he led two working group meetings at NED, on December 18, 2007 and February 14, 2008, on the theme of “Reinvigorating Zimbabwe’s Democratic Wave.”

Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma (Nigeria)

“Nigeria’s criminal justice system is in dire need of reform. Impunity and arbitrariness mar the performance of law enforcement organs; political partisanship and corruption impede reform efforts; and a culture of violence and intimidation stands in the way of citizens’ access to peace, security, and justice. The state has failed to fulfill its human rights obligations under domestic and international law, paying only lip service to police reform. Civil society organizations must lead the charge in pushing Nigerian leaders to commit to genuine police reform. Progress can only occur in the context of mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation between local communities and the police, with both sides working together to identify and implement concrete measures, including the decentralization of the police force, the separation of the executive branch from the criminal justice system, and the rehabilitation of community-police relations. Unless these reforms are enacted, the Nigerian people’s aspirations for an efficient, democratic, and humane police force will remain an elusive dream.”

—Okechukwu Nwanguma, June 18, 2008

Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma is program coordinator at the Lagos-based Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN). Previously, he served as head of campaign operations and periodic reports at the Civil Liberties Organization, where he documented cases of human rights abuses in Nigeria. As a student activist at the University of Nigeria, he helped to form a youth group in support of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Since that time, Mr. Nwanguma has emerged as an advocate of civil liberties in Nigeria, risking personal safety as he speaks out against police brutality throughout the country. During his fellowship, he developed a model for police reform in Nigeria. On June 18, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Toward Police Reform in Nigeria: The Role of Civil Society.”



“Toward Police Reform in Nigeria”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

okeynwanguma2002@yahoo.com

“Civil society must lead the charge in pushing Nigerian leaders to commit to police reform. Such reform can only occur in the context of mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation between local communities and the police, with both sides working together to identify and implement reforms.”

AFRICA



“Leveraging Human Rights and Democratic Openings in North Korea”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

hawkdavid@hotmail.com

“A faster approach to economic development would be to . . . adopt a people-centered approach that would look to normalized and guaranteed remittances from Koreans outside North Korea, and unfettered economic activity between North Koreans and the . . . Korean communities in China, Japan, Russia, the United States, and South Korea.”

ASIA

Mr. David Hawk (United States)

“As the six-party talks move forward in seeking the termination of North Korea’s nuclear weapon production programs and facilities, the issue of economic assistance to North Korea will assume greater importance. Will foreign aid to the North encourage economic reform, or will it just prop up a dysfunctional economy? Economists warn that wrongly applied economic aid could actually impede the reform necessary for economic development. Currently, most international projects discussed for North Korea focus on huge, long-term, multi-billion-dollar infrastructure projects, such as light-water nuclear reactors, rebuilding the North’s entire electrical grid, transnational oil and gas pipelines and railroads, and turning fishing villages into ship-building ports, any or all of which will take years to complete. A supplemental and



faster approach to economic development would be to start from the bottom-up, adopting a people-centered approach that would look to normalized and guaranteed remittances from Koreans outside North Korea, and unfettered economic activity between North Koreans and the prosperous, enterprising ethnic Korean communities in China, Japan, Russia, the United States, and South Korea—the other five parties to the six-party talks.”

—David Hawk, July 15, 2008

Mr. David Hawk is a former executive director of Amnesty International USA (AIUSA), who has also served on the board of directors of Human Rights Watch–Asia. In the mid-to-late 1990s, he directed the Cambodia Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. His recent publications include *Hidden Gulag: Exposing North Korea’s Prison Camps—Prisoner Testimonies and Satellite Photographs*. During his fellowship, Mr. Hawk researched human rights and governance conditionalities in bilateral and multilateral aid programs to North Korea. On July 15, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Economic Aid to the DPRK: The Human Rights Dimension.”

Mr. Prem Khanal (Nepal)

“In-depth, massive economic reform, which provides opportunities for local people to raise their overall quality of life, is one of the most powerful means to strengthen democracy in Nepal, and is crucial in preventing the emergence of populist, anti-democratic forces, as well as a return to autocracy. Such broad-based reform requires a multifaceted approach, including public education, a proactive media, and coordinated activism on the part of civil society.”



—Prem Khanal, February 1, 2008

Mr. Prem Khanal is chief of the business bureau at the Kathmandu Post, where he has published more than 250 articles on politics, business, corruption, and economic reform in Nepal. An economist by training, he previously served as research officer for the Institute for Development Studies, in Kathmandu and is the author of several studies on public finance in Nepal. In 2004, his numerous expository pieces on corruption and the misuse of public funds earned him an Outstanding Performance Award from Kantipur Publications, the largest media firm based in Kathmandu. During his fellowship, Mr. Khanal studied political resistance to economic reforms in Nepal since 1990 and the impact of this resistance on democratization in the country. On February 1, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Political Resistance to Economic Reform in Nepal: Conflict and Consequences for Democracy.”



Fellowship Program Director Sally Blair delivers remarks at Prem Khanal’s February 1, 2008 presentation, with Mr. Khanal (left) and NED program director for South Asia Brian Joseph (right).



“Political Resistance to Economic Reform and Its Impact on Democracy in Nepal”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

premkhanal@gmail.com

“In-depth, massive economic reform, which provides opportunities for local people to raise their overall quality of life, is one of the most powerful means to strengthen democracy in Nepal.”

ASIA



“Documenting Torture in Asia: Methods of Data Collection, Analysis and Distribution”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

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“Because an engaged, educated public offers a potent safeguard against abuses carried out with impunity, a far-reaching discussion of torture’s implications for democracy is an essential first step toward publicizing the problem of torture and identifying ways to end it.”

ASIA

Ms. Alice Verghese (Malaysia)

“While public attention in the post 9/11 world has focused on the high-profile use of torture in the interest of national security, most incidences of torture occur in everyday situations, often in countries that consider themselves democratic. In these environments, the majority of torture victims come from economically disadvantaged groups and ethnic minorities, whose systematic victimization leads them to accept their cruel treatment as part of their social identity and lot in life. This culture of tolerance is, in turn, exploited by poorly trained police forces, who resort to torture as a routine means of gathering information.



A responsible society must address this issue and carefully consider the corrosive consequences of torture in a democracy. Because an engaged, educated public offers a potent safeguard against abuses carried out with impunity, a far-reaching discussion of torture’s implications for democratic principles is an essential first step toward publicizing the problem and identifying ways to end it. ”

—Alice Verghese, June 25, 2008

Ms. Alice Verghese is program coordinator for Asia and the Pacific at the International Rehabilitation Council for Victims of Torture in Copenhagen, where she provides training for a network of independent torture rehabilitation centers in Asia. She has previously worked with the World Conservation Union in Pakistan and with Doctors Without Borders in Kenya, where she specialized in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to women and communities with special needs. During her fellowship, Ms. Verghese studied methods of data collection on torture in Sri Lanka and the Philippines and worked on a comparative report on best practices for preventing torture in those countries. On June 25, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Torture, Justice, and Democracy: Myths and Misconceptions.”

Mr. S. Akbar Zaidi (Pakistan)

“Pakistan’s fairest and freest elections, held on February 18, 2008, should have marked a turning point to a more democratic future for a country beleaguered by military rule, corruption, fundamentalism, and economic crises. In the past, a weak and compromising civil society, together with political leaders, worked with dictatorial military regimes, endorsing their ‘liberal lifestyle’ policies. Pakistan’s elite and middle classes likewise failed to serve as the vanguard of a democratic revolution, compelled to choose modernizing, social practices at the cost of democratization.

The United States should seize the opportunity presented by the 2008 elections to back Pakistan’s new leadership and encourage democratic institutions to



take root in the country. By offering clear, unequivocal support to Pakistan’s democratically elected civilian leadership, the U.S. administration will not only strengthen Pakistan’s emerging democracy, but also may find a better way to deal with its war on terror. ”

—S. Akbar Zaidi, July 17, 2008

Mr. S. Akbar Zaidi is an independent researcher who has served as visiting professor of South Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins University–SAIS (2004–2005), as visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (1998), and as associate professor of economics at the University of Karachi (1983–96). One of Pakistan’s most prominent political and economic analysts, he has authored or edited over a dozen books, including *Political Economy of Development in Pakistan* (2007) and *Education Under Globalization: The Case of Pakistan* (2006). During his fellowship, he researched the role of civil society in Pakistan’s democratization process. On July 17, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Why Is Pakistan Not a Democracy?”



“The Democracy Deficit in Pakistan: Is Civil Society Responsible?”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

azaidi@fascom.com

“By offering clear, unequivocal support for Pakistan’s democratically elected civilian leadership, the U.S. administration will not only strengthen Pakistan’s emerging democracy, but also may find a better way to deal with its war on terror.”

ASIA



“China’s Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Liberalization through Individual Action”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

katezhou@hawaii.edu

“For the past thirty years, ordinary Chinese citizens have seized significant freedoms in defiance of their government. From mass rural-urban migrations and the rise of private enterprise to a multifaceted sexual revolution and a deepening engagement with the international community, a proliferation of grassroots movements has revolutionized Chinese society.”

ASIA

Dr. Kate Zhou (China/United States)

“For the past thirty years, ordinary Chinese citizens have seized significant freedoms in defiance of their government. From mass rural-urban migrations and the rise of private enterprise to a multifaceted sexual revolution and a deepening engagement with the international community, a proliferation of grassroots movements has revolutionized Chinese society. Originating as a series of spontaneous, unorganized, non-ideological, and apolitical movements, this grassroots resistance has fundamentally altered key elements of China’s party-state regime and society.

Notwithstanding such progress, the liberalization movement confronts significant challenges, notably a weak rule of law, a lack of unity among the various movements, and a prevailing hypernationalism, which threatens prospects for peace and stability in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang



province and Tibet. These realities have placed China at the crossroads of three possible futures: the rise of a fascist state; a continuation of the status quo; or, most likely, some form of Chinese federalism. Which future will ultimately prevail will depend upon the tenacity of the Chinese people in their struggle for liberalization and how far the state is willing to go to stop them.”

—Kate Zhou, May 15, 2008

Dr. Kate Zhou is associate professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, where she teaches courses on Asian politics, women and development, and political economy. She has devoted over twenty years to studying Chinese politics and is the author of *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People* (1996). During her fellowship, Dr. Zhou completed her book *China’s Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Liberalization through Individual Action*. On May 15, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Liberalization and Authoritarianism in Contemporary China: From the Growth of Grassroots Liberty to Nationalist Furor over Tibet.”

Dr. Leila Alieva (Azerbaijan)

“Does the large-scale development of oil promote or obstruct democratic change? Oil-rich Azerbaijan, with its two major oil booms that led to very different political outcomes, offers an interesting study in contrasts. The first boom, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, led to independent capital, interest groups, and political pluralism, contributing to the creation of a European-style democratic parliamentary republic, the first of its kind in the Muslim world. A century later, in the post-Soviet era of the 1990s, a second boom led the country in a more troubling direction, to super-presidentialism and autocratic rule.

Azerbaijan’s experiences with oil indicate that macroeconomic stability alone is insufficient in supporting the market liberalization brought about by foreign investments. For a state in transition, the large-scale



commercial production of oil is more likely to promote democratic governance if it is accompanied by its transparent privatization and the establishment of an independent judiciary that protects private ownership, the rules of business, and trade.”

—Leila Alieva, February 20, 2008

Dr. Leila Alieva is founding director of the Center for National and International Studies, a Baku-based think tank that provides independent research and policy analysis on a wide range of national and international issues. One of Azerbaijan’s leading social scientists, she was a national observer of Azerbaijan’s presidential and parliamentary elections, in 2003 and 2005, respectively. During her fellowship, Dr. Alieva worked on a monograph concerning oil development, democracy, and state-building in Azerbaijan. On February 20, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “A Tale of Two Regimes: Oil and Politics in Azerbaijan.”



“The Impact of Oil in Azerbaijan: From Parliamentarism to Super-presidentialism”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

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“The large-scale commercial production of oil is more likely to promote democratic governance . . . if it is accompanied by its transparent privatization and the establishment of an independent judiciary that protects private ownership, the rules of business, and trade.”

EURASIA



“The Business Community
and the Color Revolutions of
Georgia and Ukraine”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2008

gia.areshidze@gmail.com

“If international donor organizations are to make a meaningful contribution to deepening democracy in Georgia, they must balance policies aimed at strengthening the state with active support for civil society.”

EURASIA

Dr. Gia Areshidze (Georgia)

“To many, the 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia represented high hopes for democratic progress. What most observers once hailed as a democratic opening, however, has turned out to be a closing of Georgia’s democratic space. As state capacity has grown, President Mikheil Saakashvili has successfully wielded it to bring about improvements in the areas of economic development and counter-corruption. Yet as the violent dispersal of peaceful protests and the imposition of the state of emergency in November 2007 bear witness, these ad-



advances have come at the cost of political pluralism, a free media, and a once vibrant civil society. To restore the balance of power in government and roll back the hyper-presidentialism that has taken root in the years following the Rose Revolution, Georgia must repeal the constitutional amendments passed by the ruling regime. If international donor organizations are to make a meaningful contribution to deepening democracy in Georgia, they must balance policies aimed at strengthening the state with active support for civil society.”

—Gia Areshidze, June 4, 2008

Dr. Gia Areshidze is director and senior fellow at the Partnership for Social Initiatives, a Tbilisi-based NGO devoted to developing ideas and policies for the consolidation of liberal democracy in Georgia. He is also director of the Orbeliani Center for Advanced Strategic and National Security Policy, which publishes the annual *Demographic Yearbook of Georgia*. He has been a prominent member of the Georgian business community, helping to establish one of the country’s largest private banks, as well as the Association of Banks of Georgia. During his fellowship, Dr. Areshidze examined the role of the business community in the recent color revolutions of Georgia and Ukraine and developed a general vision of the business sector as an engine of democratic change in transitional societies. On June 4, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “State Building versus Democracy in Georgia: Origins and Outcomes of the Rose Revolution.”

Mr. Usam Baysaev (Chechnya)

“Since 2003, the Kremlin has shifted its strategy in Chechnya from conventional warfare to “Chechenization.” Reminiscent of the Stalinist purges of the past, this brutal initiative centers around the personality cult of Moscow-appointed president Ramzan Kadyrov and his recruitment of criminal gangs to terrorize Chechen civilians. The policy, coupled with a sense of abandonment and betrayal by the West, has radicalized ordinary Chechens, swaying them away from West-leaning nationalism and toward jihadist extremism. The recent declaration by Chechen Islamists of the establishment of a United Caucasian Islamic Emirate should come as no surprise to anyone following events in the region. To stem the tide of radicalism and restore Chechnya’s faith in democratic values, the international



community—including the UN Human Rights Council and the European Union—must push for Russian war criminals to stand trial and send a clear signal to Russia that its violation of Chechen human rights will not go unpunished. ”

—Usam Baysaev, January 15, 2008

Mr. Usam Baysaev is a journalist and human rights worker who has monitored and reported on the crisis in Chechnya from the onset of the second Chechen war. As a member of the Human Rights Center Memorial, he documents human rights violations and compiles the center’s “Chronicle of Violence,” a monthly account of war crimes and human rights violations perpetrated in Chechnya. Mr. Baysaev also serves as a freelance writer and Chechen desk correspondent for Radio Free Europe. During his fellowship, Mr. Baysaev worked on a book analyzing social and political developments in Chechnya since 1996. As the reflections of a human rights activist, the book dispels popular myths concerning Chechnya, offers an analysis of the legal aspects of the Chechen conflict, and focuses on the human dimension of war. On January 15, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Putin’s Campaign Against Chechen Society.”



“The War in Chechnya: Reflections of a Human Rights Activist”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

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“The policy [of Chechenization], coupled with a sense of abandonment and betrayal by the West, has radicalized ordinary Chechens, swaying them away from West-leaning nationalism and toward jihadist extremism.”

EURASIA



“Minorities and Elections:
Post-Yugoslav Case Studies”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

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“All the countries [of the former Yugoslavia] have made significant efforts in integrating minorities into their societies. Motives have ranged from international pressure . . . to a genuine desire for minority participation as a tool of democratic transition.”

EUROPE

Ms. Tihana Bartulac-Blanc (Croatia)

“How ethnic minorities are protected in electoral processes is the subject of vigorous debate. The countries of the former Yugoslavia have been accidental laboratories for these theories: the conflicts of the 1990s have put pressure on these fledgling multi-ethnic democracies to integrate and reassure minorities within their borders. While the successful integration of minorities in post-Yugoslav jurisdictions varies from purely nominal protections to highly open and inclusive systems, a number of common features are clear. For example, most countries have chosen systems of proportional representation (PR) given their multi-ethnic composition and the conventional wisdom that PR works better for inclusion of small minority groups. Indeed, while their motives vary, all the countries have made significant efforts in integrating minorities into



their societies. Motives have ranged from international pressure and a strategic attempt to remove an important source of protracted conflict, to a genuine desire for minority participation as a tool of democratic transition. One of the most compelling motives has been the desire to join the

European Union, despite the fact that this remains little more than a distant possibility for some countries. ”

—Tihana Bartulac-Blanc, December 11, 2007

Ms. Tihana Bartulac-Blanc is associate director of American University’s Center for Democracy and Elections Management. Formerly affiliated with IFES’s Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance, she advised the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq in the run-up to the country’s first post-war elections in 2004–2006. Ms. Bartulac-Blanc devoted her fellowship to studying how ethnic minorities are protected in electoral processes, focusing on the countries of the former Yugoslavia as case studies. On November 14 and December 11, 2007, she led two roundtables at NED entitled “New Borders and Anomalies in the Balkans: Croatia’s Diaspora Constituency.”

Dr. Thomas Gallagher (United Kingdom)

“Young British-born Muslims are suspended between two worlds: one represented by their religious elders (imam) and extended family, and the other, by an intrusive, materialistic culture. Such suspension can, on occasion, result in cultural confusion and rootlessness, known in sociology as anomie. It is thus hardly surprising that Islamic fundamentalist preachers and political agitators—who offer the warm embrace of an international religious fellowship—can appear inspirational to emotionally vulnerable Muslim youth. Unfortunately, the multicultural approaches adopted by the British state to engage with new Britons have only encouraged the rise of insulated communities that thrive on mutual distrust. The government’s opportunistic, short-term approaches to integration—particularly in the fields of education and economic policy—need to be set aside. Efforts must instead be directed to promoting a sense of citizenship based on a clear set of rights and duties that transcend sectional loyalties. Unless that happens, it is likely that significant numbers of young Muslims will continue to give their primary allegiance to politicized forms of Islam.”

—Thomas Gallagher, June 5, 2008

Dr. Thomas Gallagher is chair in ethnic conflict and peace studies at the University of Bradford, in England. His research centers on inter-ethnic relations in Europe, the impact of identity conflicts on representative government, and the role of ethnicity in shaping politics. He is the author of six books, including *Theft of a Nation: Romania Since Communism* (2005) and *The Balkans Since the Cold War* (2003). During his fellowship, Dr. Gallagher explored the origins, effects, and implications of British-born Muslims’ alienation from British state and society. On June 5, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Missing British Dream? A Fractured Democracy Faces Muslim Discontent.”



“The Alienation of British-Born Muslims from Democratic Processes”

Dates in Residence:
March–August 2008

T.G.Gallagher@Bradford.ac.uk

“The multicultural approaches adopted by the British state to engage with new Britons have only encouraged the rise of insulated communities that thrive on mutual distrust. . . . Efforts must instead be directed to promoting a sense of citizenship based on a clear set of rights and duties that transcend sectional loyalties.”

EUROPE



“The Role of the United States in the Transition to Democracy in the Arab World”

Dates in Residence:
June–September 2008

asaadawy@yahoo.com

“The United States should make a clear distinction between ‘regime change’ and ‘democracy promotion’ and acknowledge that peaceful means are the only legitimate methods for building democracy.”

**MIDDLE
EAST**

Mr. Atef Al-Saadawy (Egypt)

“In the aftermath of 9/11, the United States made democracy promotion in the Arab world a central objective of its foreign policy. At the heart of this commitment lay a series of initiatives—among them the Middle East Partnership Initiative, the Middle East Free Trade Area, and the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative—aimed at fostering democracy in the broader Middle East. Despite these efforts, the region still suffers from the lowest levels of democracy and human rights in the world.

As the United States prepares for a new administration in 2009, it should reevaluate its strategies for promoting democracy in the Middle East. The United



States should make a clear distinction between ‘regime change’ and ‘democracy promotion’ and acknowledge that peaceful means are the only legitimate methods for building democracy. It should accept democratic outcomes in transitional countries, even when such results conflict with its short-term interests. It should reorganize and consolidate its democracy assistance programs and increase their budget. Above all, the United States should work to improve its image abroad and take genuine steps toward regaining credibility among the Arab peoples. ”

—Atef Al-Saadawy, September 19, 2008

Mr. Atef Al-Saadawy is managing editor of the *Democracy Review Quarterly*, a publication of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo. He is also a researcher with the Arab Reform Forum at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and a contributor to Oxford University’s Project for Democracy Studies in the Arab countries. During his fellowship, Mr. Al-Saadawy examined U.S. approaches toward democratization in the Arab world, comparing rhetoric, strategies, obstacles, and outcomes. On September 19, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: New Ideas for U.S. Policy.”

Mr. M. Safwat Rashid Sidqi (Iraq)

“Despite limited success, progress on comprehensive national reconciliation in Iraq remains unsatisfactory. While a great deal of work is being done, efforts to reconcile differences among Sunnis, Shiites, and Kurds suffer from the absence of coordination at the local, regional, and international levels. What is needed is the creation of institutional mechanisms such as an Iraqi National Political Charter, a Regional Pact, and an International High Commission for Iraq, not only to provide common ground for the discussion of contentious issues, but also to integrate the efforts of all stakeholders. Supported and strengthened by the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Conference, and the Arab League, these broad-based initiatives would be crucial to the advancement of national reconciliation in Iraq.”



—M. Safwat Rashid Sidqi, February 7, 2008

Mr. M. Safwat Rashid Sidqi is a former election commissioner with the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, a government body established to oversee elections throughout Iraq. As co-founder of the Kurdistan Human Rights Organization (KHRO), Mr. Sidqi has helped to document and monitor human rights violations in Iraqi Kurdistan and mediate conflicts between the region’s two former rival political parties. A lawyer by training, he has also worked with the Bar Association, the Jurists Union, and the KHRO to reverse gender discriminatory articles in Iraq’s legal code and promote the rule of law in post-Saddam Iraq. During his fellowship, Mr. Sidqi completed a study of Iraq’s prospects for national reconciliation through democracy. On February 7, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Prospects for Iraqi National Reconciliation: Searching for a Plan.”



“National Reconciliation through Democratization in Iraq”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–February 2008

safwatrashid@yahoo.com

“What is needed is the creation of institutional mechanisms such as an Iraqi National Political Charter, a Regional Pact, and an International High Commission for Iraq, not only to provide common ground for the discussion of contentious issues, but also to integrate the efforts of all stakeholders.”

**MIDDLE
EAST**

2007–2008 VISITING FELLOWS



“Subjecting Power to Rules:
Constitutionalism and
Democratic Survival”

Dates in Residence:
October 2007–June 2008

susanalberts@gmail.com

“When institutions extend protections to key groups in society, align interest with duty, and encourage negotiation and compromise, they raise the costs of not working within the constitutional framework.”

LATIN
AMERICA

Dr. Susan Alberts (United States)

“Why do some countries succeed in consolidating democracy while others do not? The ability to establish constitutionalism—defined as widespread adherence to a country’s basic democratic rules and procedures—may offer one possible answer. Analyzing political actors’ incentives to play by the rules may help to explain what makes democracy work. While incentives can stem from a variety of sources, those generated by political institutions are powerful predictors of choice. When institutions extend protections to key groups in society, align interest with duty, and encourage negotiation and compromise, they raise the costs of not working within the constitutional framework.

Analyzing Ecuador’s and Uruguay’s experiences with democracy in this way reveals that particular institutional arrangements generate incentives to comply with constitutional constraints in Uruguay, but fail to do the same in Ecuador. This incentives-based approach provides specific guidelines for institutional reform, as well as a general diagnostic tool for those seeking to strengthen democracy. The key question for the democracy promotion community becomes: What motivates political actors to respect and uphold the democratic rules of the game? ”

—Susan Alberts, May 29, 2008

Dr. Susan Alberts is a former U.S. foreign service officer, whose career has included postings in Bombay, India and Washington, D.C. She has extensive experience in government relations and legislative affairs, having served as director of government affairs at the National Association of Arab Americans, as communications director for Senator Tom Harkin and as assistant director of the Hubert Humphrey Fellows Program at American University. Dr. Alberts presented her paper, “Subjecting Power to Rules: Constitutionalism in New Democracies in Latin America,” at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association and has published articles in *Comparative Politics* and *Democratization*. During her fellowship, Dr. Alberts worked on a book project examining constitutionalism and democratic survival. On May 29, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Why Play by the Rules? Constitutionalism and Democracy in Ecuador and Uruguay.”

WORLD MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRACY'S 2008 ASSEMBLY IN KYIV

A record number of Reagan-Fascell alumni attended the World Movement for Democracy's Fifth Assembly, held in Kyiv, Ukraine on April 6–9, 2008. Reagan-Fascell alumni played an active role in all aspects of the Assembly—organizing workshops, giving speeches, participating in panel discussions, attending meetings, and benefitting from the many informal opportunities to interact with democrats in attendance from over 100 countries.



Carl Gershman delivers remarks at the Reagan-Fascell reception in Kyiv, alongside Marc Plattner.



From left to right: Radwan Ziadeh (Syria), Ali Afshari (Iran), and Larry Diamond.

A highlight of the Assembly was the third Reagan-Fascell Alumni Reception, held at the Hotel Rus on April 8, 2008. In addition to Reagan-Fascell alumni, the reception hosted alumni from the Summer Fellows Program of Stanford University's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. Also present were members of the Endowment's Board of Directors and staff, plus representatives from two of NED's core institutes, the Center for International Private Enterprise and the Solidarity Center.

At the reception, Forum co-director Marc F. Plattner delivered opening remarks, commemorating the seventh year of the Reagan-Fascell Fellows



Marc Plattner confers with former fellow Roland Rich, currently head of the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF).

Program. Director of Stanford's CDDRL and former Reagan-Fascell Fellow Michael McFaul spoke about the Stanford fellowship program, and Forum co-director Larry Diamond noted the complementary nature of both programs. NED president Carl Gershman concluded with a tribute to the courage and commitment of the Reagan-Fascell alumni in their struggle to build a more humane and democratic world.



Director of Stanford's CDDRL Michael McFaul speaks with Vandita Mishra (India). Both are former Reagan-Fascell Fellows.

2007–2008 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

In 2007–2008, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program benefited from the many valuable contributions of its three research associates, Michelle Engmann, Justin Snyder, and Corey Sobel.



Michelle Engmann is currently enrolled in a master's program at the London School of Economics (LSE).



Justin Snyder currently works as executive assistant to NED's vice president for program, planning, and evaluation.



Corey Sobel is currently in Thailand on a Duke University fellowship focusing on the rights of Burmese refugees.

ALUMNI NEWS



Mr. Shahin Abbasov (2003–2004)

works as deputy chief of party at the USAID-funded IREX Media Support Project, which implements projects in support of independent media development in Azerbaijan. In 2006, he helped found S&A Partnership Ltd., a consulting company that works with clients from the United Kingdom on business development in countries in Central Asia and the Caucasus. In 2008, he was selected as a Draper Hills Summer Fellow by the Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law at Stanford University.



Dr. Fatima Ahmedova (2004–2005)

works at the British Embassy in Moscow. In 2007, her paper “Is the Fight against Corruption Effective in Tajikistan?” was selected as a finalist in the Global Development Network’s Medal Competition for Research on Development. In 2008, the U.S. Department of Defense cited her article “Ethnic and Religious Conflict in the Ferghana Valley” (coauthored with Keith Leitich and published in the Fall-Winter 2001 issue of the *Journal of Central Asian Studies*) in its report *Uzbekistan in Perspective: An Orientation Guide*.



Dr. Khapta Akhmedova (2006–2007)

presented the paper “Resistance to the Ideologies of Terrorism” at the international conference “Terrorism in the Digital Age,” held in Amman, Jordan, in July 2008. She has been awarded a two-week fellowship at the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science to begin in March 2009, where she will conduct cross-cultural research on resilience to psychological trauma.



Mr. Dany Komla Ayida (2005–2006)

continues to work on democratic reforms in Togo and other countries in Africa. He is the CEO of Africa Label Group, an international consulting firm that provides direct assis-

tance, consultancy, and training for development initiatives. Mr. Ayida has travelled extensively—including trips to Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, and Niger—to present reports on topics such as citizen participation, civil society, fighting corruption, and good governance. He has also worked on projects funded by the World Bank and other donor agencies relating to judiciary reform, the improvement of local governance, and anti-corruption programs.



Dr. Michael Boda (2006–2007)

was recently appointed deputy reviewer and director of the *Scottish Elections Review*, where he conducted a sweeping assessment of Scotland’s flawed 2007 elections. His assessment was subsequently published as a report entitled “Scottish Elections 2007: The Independent Review of the Scottish Parliamentary and Local Government Elections.” Dr. Boda continues his consulting practice, working closely with the United Nations, the Carter Center, and a number of other institutions that advocate democracy worldwide. In April 2008, he successfully defended a doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford, entitled “Judging ‘Free & Fair’: International Law as a Norm for Electoral Practice.”



Ms. Olga Gyarfasova (2002–2003)

continues to work at the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), a public policy think tank based in Bratislava, Slovakia. She is currently contributing to a new project, the “IVO Barometer,” which evaluates the quality of democracy in Slovakia on a quarterly basis. The project is being funded by a grant from the Think Tank Fund, affiliated with the Open Society Institute in Budapest. In addition to her research and analytical work, she teaches courses on political sociology and research methodology at Comenius University in Bratislava.



Dr. Baogang He (2002–2003)

continues his work to promote deliberative democracy in rural China. In February 2008, he assisted in the creation of a deliberative forum on participatory budgeting. In July 2008, in collaboration with Beijing University, he organized a citizen jury on China’s New Labor Contract Law in Shenzhen province. He recently completed a book, *Rural Democracy in China*, which was reviewed in the February 2, 2008 issue of *Asian Times*. On March 12, 2008, he gave a talk at NED entitled “Participatory Budgeting in China.”



Dr. Bernadeta Killian (2006–2007)

is associate dean of practical training programs at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. She also serves as a trainer at the East African Youth Academy, where she fosters capacity-building for youth leaders from political parties in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Dr. Killian’s article, “The State and Identity Politics in Zanzibar: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation,” based on her fellowship at NED, was published in the May 2008 issue of *African Identities*.



Ms. Maria Lisitsyna (2003–2004)

is a researcher for Central Asia at the New York office of Human Rights Watch. Her work focuses on Turkmenistan and on the rights of labor migrants from CIS countries who have relocated to Russia in search of employment. In May 2008, she spoke at a briefing entitled “Uzbekistan Three Years After the Andijon Massacre,” organized by the U.S. Helsinki Commission and held on Capitol Hill.



Dr. Thein Lwin (2006–2007)

is currently designing and implementing three education programs aimed at assisting teachers, migrant workers, and children in Thailand and Burma. He was recently awarded a Prospect for Burma Grant, the funds of which he used

to advance the Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking (RWCT) Project, which promotes active learning, critical thinking, and democratic practices in the classroom. He has been invited to speak at conferences throughout the world on his work on “Education and Democracy in Burma,” which he completed during his fellowship at NED. He also published a paper in March 2008 entitled “Education and Democracy in Burma: An Overview of the Current State of Education and Suggestions for the Future.”



Dr. Penda Mbow (2005–2006)

is associate professor of history at Dakar’s Cheikh Anta Diop University. She runs the nongovernmental organization Mouvement Citoyen, which promotes civic participation in Dakar’s low-income neighborhoods by organizing educational campaigns and citizen dialogues. Her article “Que signifie être intellectuel en Afrique? (What does it mean to be an intellectual in Africa?)” was published in the volume *Figures Croisées d’Intellectuels: Trajectoires, Modes d’Actions, Productions*, edited by Abel Kouyouama and published by Karthala in 2007. She has taken a lead role in the “Assises Nationales de Senegal” (National Forum of Senegal), a nationwide conference that brings together leaders and intellectuals seeking solutions to the country’s political, economic, and social problems.



Dr. Raushan Nauryzbaeva (2006–2007)

continues to advocate for the human rights of prisoners and other vulnerable groups in Kazakhstan. In July 2008, she gave a presentation at the “Human Rights and Democracy” Dimension Roundtable, held in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Through her work as executive director of the public foundation Development of Civil Society, she has contributed to the writing of a report entitled “Reproductive Rights of Women in Kazakhstan,” submitted to the Committee on the Status of Women under the United Nations. The report is funded by the Global Fund for Women.

REAGAN-FASCELL *Democracy Fellows Program*

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