

# *Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter*



*2006–2007*

---

## Inside This Issue

2007–2008 Reagan-Fascell Fellows	3
2006–2007 Reagan-Fascell Fellows	4
2006–2007 Visiting Fellows	22
Alumni News	24

---



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

---

The *Newsletter* was produced by Zerxes Spencer and designed by Sarah Bloxham. We are grateful to Ryan White, Elizabeth Wittke, Alex Bloom, Corey Sobel, Justin Snyder, and Michelle Engmann for their editorial contributions. The opinions expressed in the *Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter* are those of the individual Fellows and do not necessarily reflect the position of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Individuals wishing to apply for a fellowship may visit our website at [www.ned.org/forum/reagan-fascell.html](http://www.ned.org/forum/reagan-fascell.html).

---

Pictured on the cover, in the top row, from left to right: Ali Afshari (Iran), Penda Mbow (Senegal), Le Quoc Quan (Vietnam), Diego Abente-Brun (Paraguay), and Olga Nicolenco (Moldova). Second row, from left to right: Hafez Al-Bukari (Yemen), Nigina Bakhrieva (Tajikistan), Rafiah Al-Talei (Oman), Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Poland), and Bernadeta Killian (Tanzania). Third row, from left to right: Khapta Akhmedova (Russia), John Kollie (Liberia), Ilko Kucheriv (Ukraine), Rahma Hugaira (Yemen), and Jose Luis Gascon (Philippines). Fourth row, from left to right: Thein Lwin (Burma), Nozima Kamalova (Uzbekistan), Raúl Gangotena (Ecuador), Michael Boda (United States), and Raushan Nauryzbaeva (Kazakhstan).

*Greetings from the National Endowment for Democracy!*

*I am pleased to share this Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter with you. Now beginning our seventh year of operation, we are proud of the program's many areas of growth, including our impressive list of alumni, whose continued commitment to the cause of democracy worldwide is an inspiration to us all.*

*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 for fellows to conduct research, exchange ideas with counterparts, and build ties that contribute to a global network of democracy advocates. The program is grateful to the NED's Board of Directors, President Carl Gershman, and the co-directors of the Forum, Marc Plattner and Larry Diamond, for their guidance and support.*

*In this newsletter, we focus primarily on the remarkable fellows who were most recently in residence, to highlight their work and publicize their messages concerning the struggles of democrats worldwide. These voices deserve to be heard: they emerge from years of experience with hard realities and difficult challenges. As you will see, each message is unique and yet familiar, individually distinctive and yet resonant across countries and regions. It is our hope that our alumni network—and others interested in promoting democracy—will benefit from these words.*

*Sincerely,*

*Sally Blair*

*Sally Blair*

*Director, Fellowship Programs*



# 2007–2008 REAGAN-FASCELL DEMOCRACY FELLOWS

The International Forum for Democratic Studies is pleased to announce the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows for 2007–2008. A list of their bios can be found online at [www.ned.org/forum/current.html](http://www.ned.org/forum/current.html).

## Fall 2007

**Dr. Leila Alieva** (Azerbaijan)

*The Impact of Oil in Azerbaijan: From  
Parliamentarism to Super-presidentialism*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Ms. Tihana Bartulac-Blanc** (Croatia)

*Minorities and Elections: Case Studies  
from the Former Yugoslavia*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Mr. Usam Baysaev** (Russia)

*The War in Chechnya: Reflections of  
a Human Rights Activist*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Mr. Angelo Izama** (Uganda)

*Peace versus Justice: Negotiating  
an End to the Northern Uganda Conflict*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Mr. Tapera Kapuya** (Zimbabwe)

*Mobilizing Youth in the Struggle for  
Democracy in Zimbabwe*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Mr. Prem Khanal** (Nepal)

*Political Resistance to Economic Reform and  
Its Impact on Democracy in Nepal*  
October 2007–February 2008

**Mr. Safwat Rashid Sidqi** (Iraq)

*National Reconciliation Through  
Democratization in Iraq*  
October 2007–February 2008



**Dr. Susan Alberts** (United States)

*Subjecting Power to Rules:  
Constitutionalism and Democratic Survival*  
Visiting Fellow, October 2007–June 2008

## Spring 2008

**Dr. Giorgi Areshidze** (Georgia)

*The Business Community and the Color  
Revolutions of Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan*  
March–July 2008

**Dr. Thomas Gallagher** (United Kingdom)

*The Alienation of British-Born Muslims  
from Democratic Processes*  
March–July 2008

**Mr. David Hawk** (United States)

*Leveraging Human Rights and Democratic Openings  
in North Korea*  
March–May 2008

**Mr. Eddie Jarwolo** (Liberia)

*Civic Education and Democracy Building in Liberia*  
March–July 2008

**Dr. Maye Kassem** (Egypt)

*U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Middle East*  
June–December 2008

**Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma** (Nigeria)

*Toward Police Reform in Nigeria*  
March–July 2008

**Mr. Atef Saadawy** (Egypt)

*The Role of the United States in the Transition  
to Democracy in the Arab World*  
June–August 2008

**Ms. Alice Verghese** (Malaysia)

*Documenting Torture in Asia: Methods  
of Data Collection, Analysis, and Distribution*  
March–July 2008

**Mr. Syed Akbar Zaidi** (Pakistan)

*The Democracy Deficit in Pakistan:  
Is Civil Society Responsible?*  
March–July 2008

**Dr. Kate Zhou** (China/United States)

*China's Long March to Freedom: Grassroots  
Liberalization through Individual Action*  
March–July 2008

## 2006–2007 REAGAN-FASCELL DEMOCRACY FELLOWS



*Political Identity and  
Democratic Consolidation  
in Tanzania*

March–August 2007

Email: bernadetak@yahoo.com

*“At issue in Zanzibar is not merely the quest for political power by leaders seeking the legitimacy to rule, but also their need to re-construct state identity along racial lines and to re-negotiate state sovereignty vis-à-vis the Union with Tanzania.”*

# AFRICA

### Dr. Bernadeta Killian (Tanzania)

“Unlike in mainland Tanzania, the struggle for political power in the islands of Zanzibar has largely been shaped by the politics of identity based on race. Despite a common language (Swahili), religion (Islam), and a high rate of intermarriage among the islands’ multi-racial communities, racial labels of “Africans” vs. “Arabs” are widely used during election season, and interethnic conflicts often culminate in political stand-offs and violence. Why do Zanzibar’s elites politicize racial identities, particularly at election time? Why have competitive multiparty elections in 1995, 2000, and 2005 resulted not in strengthening democracy, but rather in derailing it? At issue in Zanzibar is not merely the quest for political power by leaders seeking the legitimacy to rule, but also their need to reconstruct state identity along racial lines and to re-negotiate state sovereignty vis-à-vis the Union with Tanzania. Unlike in the mainland, the challenge to Zanzibar is not just to hold free and fair elections, but also to design a political system that ensures broad-based representation of all relevant groups and provides incentives for coalition-building, moderation, and compromise. There is also a need to bring ethno-racial considerations and their implications to the negotiation table.”



—Bernadeta Killian, June 28, 2007

**Dr. Bernadeta Killian** is senior lecturer in the department of political science at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She is also Zanzibar coordinator at Research and Education for Democracy (REDET), a research and advocacy program based at the University of Dar es Salaam. She has previously served as coordinator of the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee in Zanzibar. During her fellowship, Dr. Killian used previously collected survey data to write an article on political identity and democratic consolidation in Zanzibar and expanded into book form her dissertation on democratization in Tanzania. On Thursday, June 28, 2007, she gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Identity Politics in Zanzibar and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation in Tanzania.”

## Mr. John Oliver Kollie (Liberia)

*“During Liberia’s fifteen-year civil war, the media was divided along ethnic, political, and sometimes tribal lines. By publicizing allegiances, the media breached standards of ethical journalism and propagated a win-lose, “winner-take-all” mentality, raising the stakes of the conflict. In my view, the media has to be balanced and objective. Furthermore, if properly used, the media can contribute positively to reconciliation and democracy in post-conflict societies. My experience working as a journalist and now a peace media practitioner has revealed that peace-oriented journalism is crucial in advancing Liberia’s democracy; it helps to change the minds of people who think that conflict should be resolved on a win-lose basis. Advocating for reconciliatory democracy, where winners do not ‘take all,’ helps to foster a culture of collaboration in divided societies.”*

—John Kollie, November 30, 2006



**Mr. John Kollie** is a journalist who has served as senior producer with the Search for Common Ground in Liberia and Liberian correspondent for the English-language service of Radio France. The producer of two radio shows, “One Step Beyond” and “Policy Issues,” Mr. Kollie works to create space for Liberians of diverse backgrounds to discuss critical issues relating to the future of their country. During his fellowship, he researched the role of the media in promoting peace and good governance in post-conflict settings and worked on a paper documenting his findings. On Thursday, November 30, 2006, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “The Role of the Media in Fostering Peace and Good Governance in Liberia.”



*The Role of the Media in  
Fostering Peace and Good  
Governance in Liberia*

October 2006–February 2007  
Email: jkollie2001@yahoo.com

*“My experience working as a journalist and now a peace media practitioner has revealed that peace-oriented journalism is crucial in advancing Liberia’s democracy; it helps to change the minds of people who think that conflict should be resolved on a win-lose basis.”*

# AFRICA

## Mr. Jose Luis Gascon (Philippines)



*Reconsolidating Philippine  
Democracy: Constitutional  
Continuity and Change  
March–July 2007*

Email: [chito.gascon@gmail.com](mailto:chito.gascon@gmail.com)

*“To prevent the current democratic downturn from becoming a descent into authoritarianism, the Philippines must . . . ensure credible elections, find peaceful means to resolve its violent conflicts, and expand political participation to all sectors of society.”*

# ASIA

*“Two decades after the People Power movement toppled the Marcos dictatorship, the Philippines finds itself in a democratic recession. Widespread corruption, marred elections, extrajudicial killings, and low public support for political institutions all threaten one of Southeast Asia’s few democracies. What accounts for this democratic deficit? While structural, institutional, and societal forces are all to blame, equally significant has been a misguided focus on “good governance” over democracy, resulting in the public’s alienation from the political process. To prevent the current*



*democratic downturn from becoming a descent into authoritarianism, the Philippines must enact a series of wide-ranging reforms. At a minimum, it must ensure credible elections, find peaceful means to resolve its violent conflicts, and expand political participation to all sectors of society.”*

—Jose Luis Gascon,  
July 17, 2007

**Mr. Jose Luis Gascon** is executive director of LIBERTAS (Lawyer’s League for Liberty), a Manila-based network of civic-minded legal professionals committed to reforms in the justice sector and the promotion of freedom, equality, and the rule of law in the Philippines. He also lectures in the political science departments of Ateneo de Manila University and De La Salle University, and is corporate secretary of the International Center for Innovation, Transformation, and Excellence in Governance (INCITEGov). The youngest member of both the 1986 Constitutional Commission and the first Congress following the end of martial law, Mr. Gascon has also served as a peace negotiator and undersecretary of education. During his fellowship, Mr. Gascon examined the challenges of Philippine democracy, with a particular focus on the strengthening of political institutions. On Tuesday, July 17, 2007, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Democratic Recession in the Philippines: What Went Wrong?”

## Dr. Thein Lwin (Burma)

*“Democracy cannot move forward in Burma without comprehensive education reform. I propose a decentralized educational system, in which “thinking classrooms” encourage students and teachers to promote critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and democratic citizenship. We must introduce compulsory nine-year education throughout Burma and provide training and professional development for teachers, both to ensure quality education and to build local capacity. Only then will we be able to prepare future generations for the demands of democratic citizenship.”*

—Thein Lwin, July 10, 2007

**Dr. Thein Lwin** is director of the Teacher Training Center for Burmese Teachers, a nonprofit educational organization that seeks to transform the quality of education in Burma through ongoing countrywide teacher training programs. A leading proponent of the importance of education in promoting democracy, he holds a doctorate in education from the University of Newcastle, U.K. Dr. Lwin has previously also served as academic coordinator of the Burmese National Health and Education Committee, an umbrella organization of Burmese exile groups. During his fellowship, Dr. Lwin studied educational reform within the context of political transitions, focusing on the role of classroom-level instruction in facilitating democratic change.



On Tuesday, July 10, 2007, he gave a presentation at NED, entitled “Education and Democracy in Burma: Decentralization and Classroom-Level Educational Reform.” On September 9, 2007, he presented his report, “Education and Democracy in Burma: Decentralization and Classroom Level Educational Reform,” to Burmese media, NGOs, and women’s groups in Chiang Mai, Thailand. Written during his fellowship at NED, the paper focuses on the ways in which classroom instruction can facilitate democratic change in Burma.



*Education and Democracy  
in Burma*

March–July 2007

Email: [edubur@gmail.com](mailto:edubur@gmail.com)

*“We must introduce compulsory nine-year education throughout Burma and provide training and professional development for teachers, both to ensure quality education and to build local capacity. Only then will we be able to prepare future generations for the demands of democratic citizenship.”*

ASIA



*Promoting Democracy in Vietnam:  
The Role of Civil Society  
October 2006–February 2007*

*“[A] thousand-mile journey starts with a single step. The initial steps are always the hardest, but they must be taken in order to encourage others to join in the journey and point Vietnam in the right direction.”*

ASIA

## Mr. Le Quoc Quan (Vietnam)

*“There is a proverb that says a thousand-mile journey starts with a single step. The initial steps are always the hardest, but they must be taken in order to encourage others to join in the journey and point Vietnam in the right direction. In the long term, a free, democratic Vietnam will promote peace and stability in the region. The United States should support Vietnam through peace, education, knowledge and civil rights.”*

—Le Quoc Quan, February 1, 2007



A lawyer by training, **Mr. Le Quoc Quan** has worked for the past seven years as a local governance consultant to the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, UNDP, and the Swedish International Development Agency. An active participant in Vietnam’s struggle for democracy, he has been vocal in his defense of religious freedom and political pluralism, both as a law student and legal advocate, and in his writings for the BBC and several Vietnamese newspapers. He is founder of Vietnam Solutions, a firm that provides consulting services on local governance, poverty reduction, and grassroots democracy for development projects in Vietnam. During his fellowship, Mr. Quan examined successful democratic transitions and considered how civil society might contribute to the democratization of Vietnam. On Thursday, February 1, 2007, he gave a presentation at NED, entitled “Civil Society and Democracy in Vietnam.”\*

\* See p. 26 for details on Le Quoc Quan’s imprisonment in Vietnam and his subsequent release.

## Dr. Khapta Akhmedova (Russia)

*“Suicide terrorism in Chechnya may be attributed to a population traumatized by war and vulnerable to the lure of Salafi jihadist ideology. The most effective method for preventing further suicide attacks would be to provide mental health services to Chechen youth, while dismantling the financial networks of militant Salafis operating in the region. There should also be a comprehensive strategy to eliminate corruption in law enforcement, government, and the military. Finally, respect for human rights must go hand in hand with the effort to combat terrorism, or else authorities run the risk of encouraging further recruitment into jihadist groups and increasing popular support for their ideology.”*

—Khapta Akhmedova, July 2, 2007

**Dr. Khapta Akhmedova** is professor of psychology at Chechen State University and head of the Mental Health Center for Peace-building, a nongovernmental mental health center that promotes peace-building. A native of Chechnya, she has worked tirelessly in the face of war to apply her expertise in psychology in support of a peaceful and democratic solution to the Chechen conflict. Her research has focused on what lures individuals to join terrorist groups and to engage



in the kinds of suicide attacks Russia has witnessed in recent years. Her many publications include writings in Russian, French, and English on terrorism, fanaticism, and postwar rehabilitation. During her fellowship, Dr. Akhmedova worked on a book on suicide terrorism in Chechnya, including measures that can be taken to end it. On Monday, July 2, 2007, she gave a presentation at NED, entitled “The Genesis of Suicide Terrorism in Chechnya.”



*The Psychology of  
Suicide Terrorism in Chechnya  
March–July 2007*

*“[R]espect for human rights must go hand in hand with the effort to combat terrorism, or else authorities run the risk of encouraging further recruitment into jihadist groups and increasing popular support for their ideology.”*

EURASIA



*Democracy in Tajikistan:  
The Role of Nongovernmental  
Organizations*  
March–July 2007  
Email: nbakhrieva@gmail.com

*“The international  
community should  
develop a long-term  
strategy to help Ta-  
jik civil society find  
its voice—one that is  
strong, independent,  
and able to engage on  
an equal footing with  
the government.”*

EURASIA

## Ms. Nigina Bakhrieva (Tajikistan)

*“Tajikistan is still recovering from a devastating civil war, one that claimed tens of thousands of lives and ended in a peace agreement in 1997. Where nongovernmental efforts were once directed toward humanitarian relief, Tajik NGOs are now turning their attention to the promotion of civil and political rights. But they are caught between an all-powerful state unwilling to undertake political reforms and a weary population reluctant to provoke further conflict. In focusing their aid efforts, international organizations must take this post-war reality into account and recognize that Tajik NGOs have unique priorities at this time. Understanding this historical and political context, the international community should develop a long-term strategy to help Tajik civil society find its voice—one that is strong, independent, and able to engage on an equal footing with the government.”*

—Nigina Bakhrieva, June 6, 2007



**Ms. Nigina Bakhrieva** is founder and director of the Bureau on Human Rights and Rule of Law, a Dushanbe-based NGO working to promote human rights, press freedom, and the rule of law in Tajikistan. One of her country's leading human rights activists, she has collaborated with and provided training for lawyers, judges, and NGO practitioners throughout Central Asia in the areas of judicial reform, human rights, and capacity building. Prior to joining the nongovernmental sector, she taught civil, commercial, and private law for six years as assistant professor of civil law at Tajik State National University in Dushanbe. During her fellowship, Ms. Bakhrieva examined the emergence of nongovernmental organizations in Tajikistan and the challenges they face in promoting democracy. On Wednesday, June 6, 2007, she gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “NGOs and War: The Case of Tajikistan.”

## Mr. Ilko Kucheriv (Ukraine)

*“Ukraine is at a crossroads and must decide whether its future lies eastward toward Russia, or westward with Europe. Ukraine can no longer remain neutral on this question. This will not just influence Ukraine, but also Europe at large. If Ukraine joins the Euro-Atlantic community, it will pave the way for democratic change in Russia and other post-Soviet countries. Membership in this community will increase, secure political stability in Europe, restrain Russian expansionist ambitions, and preserve the established and internationally recognized borders in the area. On the other hand, if Ukraine joins Russia, an authoritarian regime will be established in Ukraine, and the world will likely face the prospects of the reincarnation of the Soviet Union. The 2008 Russian presidential elections make this matter all the more timely.”*

—Ilko Kucheriv, January 17, 2007



Mr. Ilko Kucheriv is founder and director of the Kiev-based Democratic Initiatives Foundation, a leading think tank that focuses on deepening democracy in Ukraine. Since its founding in 1992, Mr. Kucheriv and his institution have engaged in research and debates concerning public attitudes to political, social, and economic issues. They have commissioned exit polls for major Ukrainian elections, including the 2004 presidential elections, in which massive electoral fraud led to the Orange Revolution. During his fellowship, Mr. Kucheriv developed a communications campaign aimed at introducing Ukrainian citizens to the Euro-Atlantic movement and at helping them better understand and embrace Euro-Atlantic values. On Wednesday, January 17, 2007, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Embracing Euro-Atlantic Values: NATO Membership and the Future of Ukraine.”

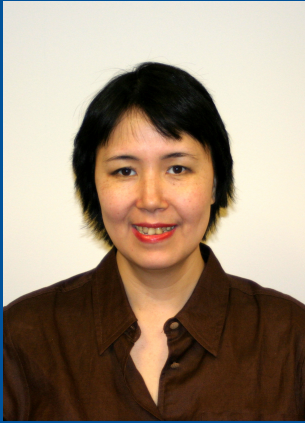


*The Next Step for a Democratic Ukraine: Embracing Euro-Atlantic Values*  
October 2006–February 2007  
Email: [ilko@dif.org.ua](mailto:ilko@dif.org.ua)

*“Ukraine is at a crossroads and must decide whether its future lies eastward toward Russia, or westward with Europe. . . . If Ukraine joins the Euro-Atlantic community, it will pave the way for democratic change in Russia and other post-Soviet countries.”*

# EURASIA

## Dr. Raushan Nauryzbayeva (Kazakhstan)



*Public Interest Lobbying  
as an Instrument of  
Democratization in Kazakhstan  
March–July 2007  
Email: rnauryzbayeva@mail.ru*

*“The government of  
Kazakhstan must sup-  
port the advancement  
of public interests,  
such as women’s rights  
and the environment,  
through increased rule  
of law and freedom of  
speech.”*

EURASIA

*“Civil society in Kazakhstan is growing in strength and influence. Nevertheless, public interest advocacy groups are still in the early stages of development and cannot move forward without an improved legal environment. The government of Kazakhstan must support the advancement of public interests, such as women’s rights and the environment, through increased rule of law and freedom of speech.”*

—Raushan Nauryzbayeva, June 21, 2007



**Dr. Raushan Nauryzbayeva** is executive director of the Development of Civil Society, a public foundation that implements projects on human rights, ecology, and civic education in Kazakhstan. She is also president of the Alumni Research Association (ARA), a network of individuals who have held fellowships with such institutions as IREX and the Fulbright program. She has served as deputy vice-rector of the Kazakh State Legal Academy (2000–2001) and as senior lecturer of law both at Kazakh State (1995–97) and at Kunaev University (2000–2001), where she has taught courses in constitutional and human rights law. During her fellowship, Dr. Nauryzbayeva focused on how to educate and train local Kazakh NGOs to advance their causes through participation and dialogue with governmental institutions. On Thursday, June 21, 2007, she gave a presentation at NED, entitled “Advocating for the Public Interest in Kazakhstan.”

## Ms. Olga Nicolenco (Moldova)

*“I am proud to declare myself a feminist and to defend the civil and political rights of women. Today we need to develop and change humanitarian forms of feminism into political and administrative feminism. The first step on this road is to help women actually see and acknowledge the old, discriminatory models of political life, and then convince women to reject them. Personally, I believe that social change for women in Moldova should start with political elites, as represented by the present communist government. There is only one woman in government today, which is unacceptable for a country that claims to be a democracy. Of course, women’s involvement in politics will not be a guarantee of perpetual success. There will be achievements, and there will be mistakes. Yet, the present lack of representation at the local, national, and international level is certainly a big loss and deserves to be rectified.”*

—Olga Nicolenco, January 25, 2007

**Ms. Olga Nicolenco** is head of the Chisinau chapter and permanent bureau member of the center-right Social-Liberal Party (SLP), one of Moldova’s most forward-thinking, democratically minded political parties. A staunch proponent of democratic freedoms and social equality, she has been instrumental in the establishment of the SLP’s women’s caucus and in an educational campaign to deliver children’s books to schools and kindergartens in the breakaway Transnistria region of Moldova. In November 2005, she became her party’s candidate to run for mayor of Chisinau, the only woman on the ballot. During her fellowship, Ms. Nicolenco developed strategies to increase women’s involvement in local public administration in Moldova. On Thursday, January 25, 2007, she gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Women and Power: The Case of Moldova.”



*Promoting Women’s  
Involvement in Moldova’s  
Local Public Administration  
October 2006–February 2007  
Email: olga\_nicolenco@yahoo.com*

*“Today we need to develop and change humanitarian forms of feminism into political and administrative feminism. The first step on this road is to help women actually see and acknowledge the old, discriminatory models of political life, and then convince women to reject them.”*

**EURASIA**

## Dr. Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Poland/U.S.)



*Civil Society, Religion,  
and Democracy in  
Postcommunist Poland*  
October 2006–February 2007  
Email: jasiewicz@wlu.edu

*“Voting patterns and public attitudes in Poland show that, while there are certain reasons for concern, the popular endorsement of democracy remains robust.”*

# EUROPE

*“With the spectacular defeat of the postcommunist Democratic Left Alliance in a series of recent elections between 2004 and 2006, the balance of power in Poland has shifted toward two rival “post-Solidarity” parties, the conservative Law and Justice party (PiS), currently part of the governing coalition, and the neo-liberal (pro-market) Civic Platform (PO), now in opposition. The once-paramount political cleavage between the post-communists and the post-Solidarity forces has been replaced by another one, between “the liberal Poland” of PO and “the Poland of social solidarity” of PiS. Yet, while the PiS campaigned on a pledge to protect Polish citizens against the vicissitudes of economic transition, the PiS-led government has instead given priority to breaking with the country’s communist past. In the eyes of the opposition, the ruling coalition has shaken the very foundations of democracy by pursuing its goals through undemocratic means and by including in its ranks two extremist parties. The examination of voting patterns and public attitudes shows that, while there are certain reasons for concern, the popular endorsement of democracy remains robust.”*

— Krzysztof Jasiewicz, February 7, 2007

**Dr. Krzysztof Jasiewicz** is professor of sociology at Washington and Lee University, in Virginia. A leading expert on voting behavior and political change in Poland, he was the founder and first director of Electoral Studies at the Institute for Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. For the last thirty-five years, he has taught courses in sociology and comparative politics, with a focus on communism, postcommunism, and European politics, at U.S. and Polish universities. He is the author, coauthor, or editor of over ten books in Polish and English, including *The 1991 and 1993 Elections of the Polish Sejm* (with R. Markowski, 2006). During his fellowship, Dr. Jasiewicz worked on a manuscript on the role of religion as both a facilitator of and a potential obstacle to the development of civil society and pluralist democracy in Poland.



On Wednesday, February 7, 2007, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Poland’s “Fourth Republic”: A New Beginning or an Endangered Democracy?”

## Dr. Diego Abente-Brun (Paraguay)

*“Declining levels of legitimacy, good governance, and socioeconomic performance all point in the direction of a disturbing trend: the quality of democracy in Paraguay is extremely low. The weakness—if not absence—of collective actors has given rise to parties that are clientelistic, rather than issue-based, in nature. For almost one hundred and twenty years, these neopopulist parties have dominated Paraguayan politics, implementing particularistic, pork-barrel, and volatile policies that have, in turn, engendered economic stagnation, high levels of poverty, and profound disenchantment. Between the “rock” of low-quality democracy and the “hard place” of neopopulism stands Bishop Fernando Lugo, a likely frontrunner in Paraguay’s 2008 presidential election. Fears that he may be the next Hugo Chávez are misguided. A Lugo presidency could spur much-needed reform in Paraguay.”*

—Diego Abente-Brun, June 7, 2007

**Dr. Diego Abente-Brun** is currently a Visiting Fellow at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, focusing on projects concerned with comparative democracy and Latin America. He has served as professor of sociology and politics at the Catholic University of Paraguay and as senior research fellow at the Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Economía Paraguaya (CA-DEP), a nongovernmental organization dedicated to the research and study of economic and social issues in Paraguay. In addition to his distinguished record as a scholar and published author, Dr. Abente-Brun has served as a senator (1993–2003), as Paraguay’s ambassador to the Organization of American States (1999–2002), as senior cabinet advisor to the Minister of Finance (2003–2005), and as Minister of Justice and Labor (2002). During



his Reagan-Fascell fellowship, Dr. Abente-Brun explored the variables that may help or hinder the development of quality democratic systems in South America, with a particular focus on the experiences of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay. On Thursday, June 7, 2007, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Dilemmas of Democracy in Paraguay.”



*Dilemmas of Democracy in Paraguay, Ecuador, and Bolivia*  
March–July 2007

Email: [diegoa@ned.org](mailto:diegoa@ned.org)

*“Declining levels of legitimacy, good governance, and socioeconomic performance all point in the direction of a disturbing trend: the quality of democracy in Paraguay is extremely low.”*

**LATIN  
AMERICA**



*Legal and Institutional Indicators  
of Democratic Governance  
in Central America*  
March–July 2007  
Email:  
ordonez@epfcentroamerica.org

*“Models like the “System of Indicators on Legal and Institutional Governance” will help the international community develop a set of best practices for strengthening the rule of law and promoting good governance in emerging democracies.”*

LATIN  
AMERICA

## Dr. Jaime Ordóñez (Costa Rica)

*“Politics must be understood within the framework of the rule of law. Yet creating laws is not enough—there also need to be institutions that can consistently enforce them. Without such enforcement, laws become irrelevant to citizens in their daily lives. Drawing upon a set of benchmarks and legal frameworks used in a select group of developed countries, the Centro Estudios para el Futuro, in collaboration with eleven other institutions, has identified a set of criteria to measure the efficacy of democratic institutions in Central America. Models like this “System of Indicators on Legal and Institutional Governance” will help the international community develop a set of best practices for strengthening the rule of law and promoting good governance in emerging democracies.”*

—Jaime Ordóñez, June 27, 2007

**Dr. Jaime Ordóñez** is director of Centro Estudios Para el Futuro, a nongovernmental organization that promotes democracy, human rights, and state reform in Central America. He is also director of the department of state theory at the University of Costa Rica’s Law School. From 2000 to 2001, he was Costa Rica’s special ambassador to the OAS. The author or coauthor of over ten books in Spanish, including *Security, Military Forces, and Human Rights in Latin America* (1999), *Democracy Without Rules* (2004), and most recently, *First Central American Report on Good Governance* (2007), he has taught constitutional and human rights law at a number of U.S. universities, including Columbia, Tulane,

and the University of Maryland at College Park. During his fellowship, Dr. Ordóñez finalized a multi-year comparative study of democratic governance in Central America, utilizing indicators of legal and constitutional regulation, political representation, municipal government, and public administration. On November 5, 2007, he was scheduled to give a public presentation at NED, entitled “Rule of Law and Democracy in Central America: The 2007 Central American Report on Legal and Institutional Governance.”



## Mr. Ali Afshari (Iran)

*“Iran’s constitution is one of the largest obstacles to democracy the Islamic Republic faces, yet changing the constitution or the regime alone will not bring democracy to Iran. The dominant non-democratic interpretation of Shia Islam espoused by the state, chronic socioeconomic underdevelopment (especially oil dependence), and a patrimonial and patriarchal culture all serve to perpetuate the authoritarian regime currently in power. Only by understanding the roots of authoritarianism in Iran can we begin to prepare the country for a stable and democratic future.”*



—Ali Afshari,  
February 22, 2007

**Mr. Ali Afshari** is a leading Iranian political activist who has championed the cause of democracy for over a decade. Beginning with his involvement in 1995 with the Islamic Student Association at Amir Kabir University, of which he was the secretary for three years, Mr. Afshari has been a tireless advocate of freedom and human rights in Iran. He has published more than fifty essays, conducted numerous interviews, and delivered over 100 speeches on topics relating to democracy in Iran. Imprisoned in 2000 and 2003 for his political activism, he spent 400 days in solitary confinement. During his fellowship, Mr. Afshari drew upon his experience as an opposition activist to assess the major factors contributing to the lack of democracy in Iran. On Thursday, February 22, 2007, he gave a public presentation at the National Endowment for Democracy, entitled “The Challenge of Democratization in Iran.”



*The Challenge of  
Democratization in Iran*  
October 2006–February 2007  
Email: [aliafsh@gmail.com](mailto:aliafsh@gmail.com)

*“Iran’s constitution is one of the largest obstacles to democracy the Islamic Republic faces, yet changing the constitution or the regime alone will not bring democracy to Iran.”*

**MIDDLE  
EAST**



*Monitoring Freedom of  
Expression in Yemen*

Reagan-Fascell Fellow,  
October 2006–February 2007  
Visiting Fellow, March–July 2007

Email: hafezbukari@yahoo.com

*“Journalists in the  
Arab world need to  
establish an agency that  
monitors press freedom,  
documents press viola-  
tions, and informs fel-  
low journalists of their  
rights, resources, and  
responsibilities.”*

MIDDLE  
EAST

## Mr. Hafez Al-Bukari (Yemen)

*“In most Arab countries, freedom of expression exists in theory only, not in practice. Where some space for dissent or debate exists, journalists face severe penalties for speaking out. I seek to explore ways of monitoring freedom of expression in Yemen and the Arab world. Journalists in the Arab world need to establish an agency that monitors press freedom, documents press violations, and informs fellow journalists of their rights, resources, and responsibilities. In doing so, Arab journalists deserve the support of the international community.”*

—Hafez Al-Bukari, January 11, 2007



**Mr. Hafez Al-Bukari** is chairman of the Yemeni Polling Center, an NGO that fosters political and electoral awareness, and general secretary of the Yemeni Journalists Syndicate. As a veteran journalist and proponent of human rights and press freedom, Mr. Al-Bukari has written numerous articles in Yemeni and U.S. newspapers, including the *Yemen Times*, *Yemen Observer*, the *Washington Times*, and the *National Review*. During his fellowship, Mr. Al-Bukari developed a blueprint for a center that monitors freedom of expression in Yemen and the Gulf region. On Thursday, January 11, 2007, he gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Perspectives on Press Freedom in the Arab World.”

## Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei (Oman)

*“The underrepresentation of women in Oman’s political life is as much a reflection of the country’s culture as it is a barometer of its political liberalization. Socioeconomic, cultural, and religious conditions certainly hinder women’s political involvement, but so does a political system that outlaws political parties, regulates the activities of NGOs, and gives elected officials limited power to shape policy. What is needed for Omani women—and all citizens—is the space and place for a dialogue to emerge about women’s issues, political and human rights, democratic values, and the Omani electoral process. The international community can join the dialogue by exchanging information on the best practices to enhance women’s participation, monitoring and speaking out on Oman’s compliance with international human rights standards, and by supporting indigenous efforts to highlight women’s issues. It is my hope that the discussion fostered by increased freedom of expression and association will lead to serious talk of change within Oman’s government and society.”*

—Rafiah Al-Talei, December 13, 2006

**Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei** is an experienced journalist specializing in media and women’s rights. She has served as editor-in-chief of *Al Mar’ab*, Oman’s only Arabic and English-language women’s magazine; as editor of Oman’s leading daily newspaper, *Oman*; and as contributing editor for the Oman section of Freedom House’s 2005 report on “Women’s Rights in the Arab World.” During her fellowship, Ms. Al-Talei examined the political challenges confronting Omani women today and identified ways to increase their involvement in the political process. On Wednesday, December 13, 2006, she gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Women’s Political Participation in Oman: Roadblocks to Progress.”



Mohamed Al-Yahyai, Rafiah Al-Talei, Amb. Hunaina Sultan Al-Mughiari of Oman, and Azizah Al-Hibri exchanged views at Ms. Al-Talei’s December 13 presentation.



*Promoting Women’s Political Participation in Oman*

Reagan-Fascell Fellow,  
October 2006–January 2007  
Visiting Fellow,  
February–December 2007

Email: [woojod@hotmail.com](mailto:woojod@hotmail.com)

*“What is needed for Omani women—and all citizens—is the space and place for a dialogue to emerge about women’s issues, political and human rights, democratic values, and the Omani electoral process.”*

MIDDLE  
EAST



*Promoting Women's Rights  
in the Arab World  
April–July 2007  
Email:  
rahma.hugaira@yahoo.co.uk*

*“Representatives from civil society, marginalized sectors, and the international community should work together to develop a new ‘civil and social contract,’ one that promotes democracy, good governance, and respect for the rights of women and minorities in Yemen and the Arab Gulf.”*

**MIDDLE  
EAST**

## Ms. Rahma Hugaira (Yemen)

*“The countries of the Arab Gulf, including Yemen, offer no real opportunities to their citizens for political participation. Instead, they enforce a sort of ‘social contract’: let the monarchs have as much power as they want, and in return, they will provide for the peoples’ needs. Unfortunately, women are completely left out of this equation. The coalition of forces responsible for this unspoken contract are conservative tribal elders, religious figures who espouse non-egalitarian interpretations of Islam, and ruling monarchs. Representatives from civil society, marginalized sectors, and the international community should work together to develop a new ‘civil and social contract,’ one that promotes democracy, good governance, and respect for the rights of women and minorities in Yemen and the Arab Gulf.”*



—Rahma Hugaira, July 9, 2007

**Ms. Rahma Hugaira** is co-founder and chairwoman of the Yemeni Female Media Forum, a nongovernmental organization that promotes women’s rights and gender equality in the media throughout the Middle East. One of Yemen’s most respected journalists and a steadfast proponent of women’s rights, Ms. Hugaira has written for numerous Arabic newspapers and magazines, including *Saba News*, *Al-Nas*, *Zabrat Al-Khaleej*, and *Al-Abram*. Among her other affiliations, she is director of the Rights and Freedom Defense section of the Yemen-based Foundation for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedom. During her fellowship, Ms. Hugaira examined the role of women in reform projects in the Middle East. She plans to establish an interactive Arabic-language website that would facilitate networking among women’s rights groups in the Middle East. On Monday, July 9, 2007, she gave a public presentation at NED, entitled “Redesigning the ‘Social Contract’: Toward Political Empowerment of Women in the Arab Gulf.”

## Mr. Michael Boda (Canada/United States)

*“For the past six decades, international and domestic election organizations, the press, and others have been using the term ‘free and fair’ as the baseline for assessing elections. What I’ve found most interesting is not that they’ve been asking whether an election was ‘free and fair,’ but that after all this time, we really don’t yet share an understanding of what this terms means. I’d like to propose an approach that can potentially help us understand better what “free and fair” means in the context of an election: judging by ‘international law,’ an approach that makes use of standards established in the context of public international law in order to analyze elections. The time has come for a new, more rigorous approach to election observation. International legal obligations can provide a meaningful norm for appraising elections and should be used by observers seeking to make a sound assessment concerning the quality of an election.”*

—Michael Boda, February 20, 2007

**Mr. Michael Boda** is an international election consultant and has worked with the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the OSCE, the Carter Center, and the U.S. National Association of Secretaries of State on election standards and administration. Between 1995 and 2000, he served as senior editor



and deputy director of information resources at IFES, where he established and managed three web-based resources, the Administration and Cost of Elections Project, CNN-IFES Election Watch, and Election-Guide.org. During his fellowship, Mr. Boda developed a framework for assessing elections that integrates the theory and practice of election monitoring and administration. On Tuesday, February 20, 2007, he gave a public presentation at the National Endowment for Democracy, entitled “What Is ‘Free & Fair’? International Law as a Norm for Assessing Elections.”



*Beyond Free and Fair:  
International Law as a Standard  
for Evaluating Elections*  
October 2006–February 2007  
Email: michael.boda@gmail.com

*“The time has come for a new, more rigorous approach to election observation. International legal obligations can provide a meaningful norm for appraising elections and should be used by observers seeking to make a sound assessment concerning the quality of an election.”*

# NORTH AMERICA

## 2006–2007 VISITING FELLOWS



**Mr. Jared Genser** (United States)

*The Fifth Freedom: Inspiring Stories of Human Rights Defenders*

Visiting Fellow (nonresidential), October 2006–July 2007

**Mr. Jared Genser** is a human rights lawyer currently working with the law firm DLA Piper, LLP. He is the founding president of Freedom Now, an NGO whose mission is to improve respect for human rights by securing the release of prisoners of conscience through legal and political advocacy efforts. During his fellowship, Jared worked on a book entitled *The Fifth Freedom: Inspiring Stories of Human Rights Defenders*, a narrative account of individuals who have sacrificed their freedom to promote democracy and human rights around the world. He has served as pro bono counsel for the individuals to be featured in his book, having assisted in securing their releases from prison.



**Ms. Nozima Kamalova** (Uzbekistan)

*Civil Rights and the War on Terror in Uzbekistan*

Visiting Fellow, April 2006–September 2007

**Ms. Nozima Kamalova** is founding chair of the Legal Aid Society of Uzbekistan (LAS), a leading Uzbek NGO that safeguards and promotes the rule of law and human rights in Uzbekistan by investigating high-profile human rights abuses and providing free legal services to the poor. A highly respected human rights attorney who has been on the frontlines of the struggle for human rights and democracy in Uzbekistan, Ms. Kamalova has been instrumental in the revision of several Uzbek laws related to torture and human rights. As a Reagan-Fascell Fellow, Ms. Kamalova explored the impact of security measures in the “war against terror” on democratic freedoms and civil rights. As a Visiting Fellow, she conducted research at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in the spring and summer of 2006 and spent the academic year 2006–2007 as a “Scholar at Risk” at Harvard University’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She is currently a Visiting Scholar at Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, where she continues her research and writing on the war on terror and human rights.



**Mr. Manouchehr Mohammadi** (Iran)

*The Student Movement in Iran: A Historical Perspective*

Visiting Fellow, October 2006–May 2007

**Mr. Manouchehr Mohammadi** is a prominent democracy activist who has been at the forefront of the student movement in Iran for more than a decade. He has served as secretary general of the National Association of Iranian Students and has helped to organize a number of other student groups, including the National Union of Students and Graduates, the Organization of Iranian Intellectual Students, and the Students’ Defense Committee for Political Prisoners. For his involvement in the student uprisings of 1999, he was sentenced to death by the Iranian regime (subsequently reduced to a jail sentence of up to fifteen years). In 2006, after seven years in Iran’s notorious Evin prison, Mr. Mohammadi obtained political asylum in the United States. During his fellowship, Mr. Mohammadi examined the history and future prospects of the student movement in Iran.



**Dr. Andrei Piontkovsky** (Russia)  
*Russian Political Elites and the Challenge of the 21st Century*  
Visiting Fellow, March 2006–present

**Dr. Andrei Piontkovsky** is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. From 1994 to 2005, he served as director of the Center for Strategic Research in Moscow, a Russian think tank that endeavors to support Russia’s political development through research and consultation on a wide range of reform issues, from the rule of law to economic policy. One of Russia’s foremost political commentators, Dr. Piontkovsky has been a consistent and outspoken critic of Putin’s model of “managed” democracy. In the summer of 2007, he returned to Moscow to face prosecution under newly expanded “extremism” legislation for his published criticism of the Putin regime’s consolidation of executive power. The *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Post* recently published articles on the Russian government’s harassment of Dr. Piontkovsky.



**Ms. Nilofar Sakhi** (Afghanistan)  
*Challenges Confronting the Women’s Movement in Afghanistan*  
Visiting Fellow, January–March 2007

**Ms. Nilofar Sakhi** is executive director of Women Activities and Social Services Association (WASSA), an Afghan NGO that seeks to promote women’s empowerment through capacity-building workshops, seminars, and other activities. A leading advocate for women’s education and empowerment in Afghanistan, she spent the academic year 2006–2007 on a Fulbright fellowship at Eastern Mennonite University, in Virginia, where she pursued a graduate degree in conflict transformation. During her fellowship, Ms. Sakhi examined the challenges confronting the women’s movement in Afghanistan and gave a public presentation on the topic on March 8, 2007.

## 2006–2007 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

During the 2006–2007 fellowship year, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program benefited from the contributions of three talented research associates, Alexandra Bloom, Ryan White, and Elizabeth Wittke.



**Alexandra Bloom** is currently enrolled at the Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies, in Washington, D.C.



**Elizabeth Wittke** is completing her master’s degree at American University’s School of International Service. She is spending the fall of 2007 studying Arabic in Jordan.



**Ryan White** is currently pursuing a graduate degree at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs, in New York City.

## ALUMNI NEWS



### **Dr. Baogang He (2002–2003)**

has been engaged in several projects promoting deliberative democracy in China. In collaboration with Stanford University's James Fishkin, he organized the first deliberative polling in China. He has also organized four experiments in deliberative forums in villages, townships, and factories. His book, *Rural Democracy in China*, a part of which he wrote while a Fellow at NED, is slated to be published in November 2007, by Palgrave Publishers. "I am pleased to say that my stay in NED has had a concrete result," he said.



### **Ms. Luz Maria Helguero (2002–2003)**

who spent her time at NED developing a training program to strengthen the accuracy, integrity, and professionalism of the Peruvian regional media, recently established the citizen news blog *Gua 3.0*. The blog, the first of its kind in the region of Piura, offers easy access to a public forum where citizens may participate in political and social exchange. It is administered by the newspaper *El Tiempo*, where Helguero is executive director.



### **Dr. Marek Kwiek (2002–2003)**

recently published *The University and the State: A Study into Global Transformations*, part of which was written during his time at NED. His book focuses on the reinvention of the university and the promotion of democracy in Central Europe. Dr. Kwiek is director of the Center for Public Policy at Poznan University and is currently studying higher education as a 2007–2008 Fulbright New Century Scholar.

### **Chee Soon Juan (2003–2004)**

December 20, 2006

Mr. Carl Gershman, Mr. Vin Weber, Mr. Morton Abramowitz,

I was released last Saturday. I'm doing all right. I want to thank you for the letter of support you wrote to Ambassador Chan Heng Chee.

I strongly believe that Singapore is affected by international censure, at least much more than the authorities let on. Your letter therefore made much difference, and I thank you.

Unlike on the four previous occasions when I was imprisoned, my treatment this time was a little different. Firstly, my food tray was marked, and after I consumed the food, I experienced intense nausea and dizziness. Later on, the lights in my cell were kept on for 24 hours for the remainder of my jail term, making sleep almost impossible.

I have written to the Ministry of Home Affairs, but have yet to receive any response. I have also requested the results of my medical tests, but have not received them.

I am facing another trial tomorrow for attempting to leave the country. There are seven more charges against me for speaking without a permit that are due in February 2007.

Most importantly, I am thrilled to inform you that while we were in prison, more than 20 Singaporeans conducted a historic Freedom Walk on International Human Rights Day, on December 10. Given the circumstances, it took great courage, and I am so proud of them. It looks like a nascent democracy campaign is shaping up. I hope that, with your support, it will continue to grow.

Once again, I thank you for all that you do to help us promote democracy in Singapore.

In solidarity,

Chee Soon Juan  
Singapore



Dr. Chee Soon Juan is secretary-general of the Singapore Democratic Party (SDP). He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Your Future, My Faith, Our Freedom: A Democratic Blueprint for Singapore* (2001), *To Be Free: Stories From Asia's Struggle Against Oppression* (1998) and *Dare to Change: An Alternative Vision for Singapore* (1994).



**Ms. Zainab Bangura (2003–2004)** was recently appointed Sierra Leone’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. Prior to her appointment, she served as chief of the civil affairs division of the United Nations Mission in

Liberia, where she oversaw programs promoting national reconciliation and the restoration of state authority.



**Ms. Anahit Bayandur (2003–2004)** is director of the Yerevan-based Democracy School, a NED-funded project that seeks to enhance the Armenian public’s understanding of global issues. The Democracy School offers a forum for discussion among experts in the field, who in turn visit cities around Armenia to lead local citizens in seminars on issues such as global security, economic issues, and democracy-building.



**Ms. Maria (Masha) Lisitsyna (2003–2004)** is president of the Youth Human Rights Group, a prominent Kyrgyz NGO that works on human rights monitoring and education. In May 2005, she was elected by the Kyrgyz Parliament to serve on her country’s Constitutional Council. She is currently a Yale World Fellow in New Haven, Connecticut. In 2008, she plans to begin a new position as a researcher on Central Asia for Human Rights Watch.



**Dr. Fatima Ahmedova (2004–2005)** continues to work toward conflict resolution in Central Asia. To that end, she is currently involved with the Center of Democratic Transformations, a Tajik NGO, where she oversees projects on

Tajik political parties, public administration, and

## Raúl Gangotena (2004–2005)

*April 2, 2007*

*Dear Sally,*

*After four wonderful years in DC—half as ambassador of Ecuador—my family is moving back to Ecuador. This a good occasion to say how grateful we are for the hospitality of this country and its people.*



*We will be very happy to keep in touch with you and, hopefully, reciprocate the generous reception that we have all experienced, beginning with the one at the White House. This is the only country in which, as far as I know, letters of credence are presented by the whole family of the Ambassador.*

*We have found similar warmth in our neighborhood, the public elementary school, the county library, and the homes of families and people of all trades.*

*As you can imagine, my experience as a Reagan-Fascell Fellow stands at the top of these fruitful activities. Thanks to that fellowship, we now have a program that allows dispossessed citizens obtain property titles to significant assets.*

*We came in a mission of friendship of nations and we return in a mission of friendship of peoples. Your kindness and friendship rank among the many wonderful experiences that my wife and I carry as we return home.*

*Very best regards,*

*Raúl Gangotena, Anne, and family  
Quito, Ecuador*

---

Raúl Gangotena is a member of the board of directors of the Indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian Enterprise Corporations, based in Quito, Ecuador. During his time at NED, he studied the inclusion of indigenous peoples in Ecuadorian politics.

## Miria Matembe (2005–2006)

May 14, 2007

Dear Friends,

*I am sorry that I have taken long to communicate.*



*I have just been having a hectic time traveling almost all over Africa talking about women's participation in politics and so I have been using the experience gained at NED very profitably.*

*I am now pleased to update you about the Centre for Women in Governance, the subject matter of my fellowship with you. I want first to express my gratitude. I give thanks to NED for the love and support it extended to me. I am grateful not only because you chose me as a fellow for those five months, but also for kindly supporting me in my desire to empower women in politics in Uganda.*

*Having arrived here in August 2006, I started working on establishing the Centre for Women in Governance, which has now moved from being a dream to a reality. With NED's grant of \$35,000, the Center has started on a small scale, yet I have no doubt in my mind that we shall grow. We are now in the process of writing other proposals for funding and right now we have some promise from DANIDA.*

*I thought it was important to say hello to my colleagues and friends and update you on what is happening with your fellow from Uganda. "So all is well with my soul." I love you.*

*Best regards,*

*Miria Matembe  
Kampala, Uganda*

During her fellowship, Miria Matembe conducted a comparative study of women's political involvement in democracies and explored the prospects of establishing a center for Ugandan women in governance. She recently traveled to Canada to receive an honorary doctorate of laws from the University of Victoria.

political training for women. In addition, she is an International Programme Intern at the Building and Social Housing Foundation, a UK-based organization. Under the Programme's sponsorship, she recently traveled to Pakistan, both to write a joint project on nongovernmental organizations in Pakistan and Tajikistan, and to conduct research on how women can be empowered through housing programs.



**Mr. Dany Komla Ayida (2005–2006)** recently published a book in French, entitled *Il Faut Sauver le Togo* ("We Must Save Togo"). Research for the book was done in part during Mr. Ayida's stay at the NED, where he researched the

potential for political transformation and democratic reform in Togo. In addition, Mr. Ayida published *Contes du Pays de mes Aïeux* (Tales of my Ancestral Lands), a collection of transcribed oral tales from various African nations. Mr. Ayida is the managing director of Africa Label, a consulting group dedicated to the promotion of development opportunities in Africa.



Shortly after he returned to Vietnam following the completion of his Reagan-Fascell Fellowship at NED, **Mr. Le Quoc Quan (2006–2007)** was arrested and charged under Article 79 of the Criminal Code, which proscribes "activities

aimed at overthrowing the Government." After more than three months in prison, Mr. Quan was released on bail on June 16, and all charges were subsequently dropped. His release came after sustained pressure from the United States, including a letter to the President of Vietnam from former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, Senator John McCain, and NED chairman Vin Weber. NED continues to follow Mr. Quan's case closely. For more information on Mr. Quan's situation, please visit [www.ned.org](http://www.ned.org).

## Seen and Heard

■ 2003–2004 Fellow **Shahin Abbasov** is an active freelance journalist whose writings have appeared in *EurasiaNet* and *World Politics Review*, among other publications. On August 28, 2007, he wrote an article for *World Politics Review* on Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmedinajad’s visit to Azerbaijan ([www.worldpoliticsreview.com](http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com)).

■ **Mohamed Al-Yahyai** (2003–2004) is a producer and writer for the Middle East Broadcasting Network’s Al-Hurra TV. Mr. Al-Yahyai and his wife, 2006–2007 Fellow **Rafiah Al-Talei**, recently co-founded an Omani NGO called the Gulf Forum for Citizenship ([www.gulfcitizenship.org](http://www.gulfcitizenship.org)).

■ 2003–2004 Fellow **Oleksandr Fisun** recently completed his tenure as a Fulbright Research Scholar at the Kennan Institute, based at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. His research project was entitled “Understanding Post-Soviet Politics: Neo-Patrimonial Interpretations.”

■ 2003–2004 Fellow **Vladimir Tismaneanu** recently coauthored an article in the *Wall Street Journal* about the U.S. role in Romanian politics (Vladimir Tismaneanu and Paul Dragos Aligica, “Romania’s Parliamentary Putsch,” April 20, 2007).

■ **Enkhtuya Oidov** (2003–2004) is general secretary of Mongolia’s National Council for the Millennium Challenge Account. Her efforts as general secretary bore fruit on October 22, 2007, when President Bush and Mongolian president Enkhbayar signed the Millennium Challenge Corporation Compact, through which Mongolia will receive \$285 million in foreign assistance from the United States.

■ 2005–2006 Fellow **Ann Bernstein** was quoted recently by the *Financial Times* in a story about South African development (Alec Russell, “South Africa’s Skills Fail to Buy Wealth,” *Financial Times*, April 26, 2007).

■ 2005–2006 Fellow **Aasiya Riaz** was a 2007 Stanford Summer Fellow on Democracy and Development. At Stanford, she studied how to strengthen democracies in transition.

### Penda Mbow (2005–2006)

May 10, 2007

*My fellowship at NED was very important for me not only as a scholar, but also as a civil society activist. When I first arrived in Washington, the NED impressed me as a place where the political and academic worlds meet. Indeed, as I became familiar with the United States as a whole, I realized that one of your country’s strengths is that people from all disciplines and professions are free to exchange ideas.*



*I am very proud to have been the first French-speaking fellow at the NED. Thanks to the work of NED and NDI, many Senegalese are now aware of the many ways in which these organizations help strengthen democracy in my home country.*

*My commitment to democracy has deepened since my return to Senegal. Our visit to the Washington Post pushed me to consolidate my links with local media. Even though we are blessed with many resources, it is important to constantly promote transparency, civic education, and democratic debate.*

*My experience in Washington continues to be a strong influence. I still consult the NED website whenever there is a project at NED that might be helpful to my people. I use all means available to support my activism: distributing flyers, coordinating debates, and staging demonstrations.*

*In conclusion, I can say that my stay at NED has given me more self-esteem about my role, place, and need for freedom.*

Penda Mbow  
Dakar, Senegal

Penda Mbow is associate professor of history at Dakar’s Cheikh Anta Diop University. Mbow was recently featured in a *New York Times* article, “Africa’s Storied Colleges, Jammed and Crumbling,” published on May 20, 2007. “Without universities there is no hope of progress, but they have been allowed to crumble,” she told reporter Lydia Polgreen. Mbow is currently working on “History, Multiculturalism, and Democracy in Africa,” a report for the United Nations Development Programme.

# forum

International Forum for Democratic Studies

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program

International Forum for Democratic Studies

National Endowment for Democracy

1025 F Street, N.W., Suite 800

Washington, DC 20004

POSTAGE



**National Endowment  
for Democracy**

*Supporting freedom around the world*