

Fellowship Programs

Named in honor of NED's principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late congressman Dante Fascell, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program was established in 2001 by the U.S. Congress to enable democratic activists, policy makers, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. Reagan-Fascell fellowships are typically five months in duration and focus on the political, social, economic, legal, and cultural aspects of democratic development.

In 2005–2006, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program hosted leading democratic activists, journalists, and scholars from countries in every region of the globe, including **Argentina, Burma, India, Iran, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, Senegal, Slovakia, South Africa, Togo, Turkey, the United States, Uganda, and Uzbekistan.**

The Reagan-Fascell program seeks to deepen the knowledge, enrich the skills, broaden the perspectives, and strengthen the morale of some of the world's most committed and courageous democratic practitioners, journalists, and scholars. Fellows are in residence in Washington, D.C., at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED's research and publications arm, which offers a collegial environment for fellows to conduct research and writing; to develop contacts and exchange ideas with counterparts in Washington's policy, academic, media, and nongovernmental communities; and to build ties that contribute to the development of a global network of democracy advocates.

Through its outreach efforts, the Reagan-Fascell program seeks to connect its fellows with the media, policy, and academic communities in Washington, D.C. The Forum hosts a series of public presentations by the fellows and promotes contacts between fellows and experts in the U.S. Congress, the State Department, and other government agencies, as well as at universities, think tanks, and media organizations.

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows 2005–2006

Dany Komla Ayida (Togo)

“Building Democracy on the Ruins of Postcolonial Dictatorship”

March–July 2006

Dany Ayida most recently served as program officer at NDI–Burkina Faso, where he focused on capacity building among politi-

cal parties. A veteran activist for democratic reform in Togo, he founded and coordinated the Concertation Nationale de la Société Civile (CNSC), a network of prodemocracy advocacy groups that observed Togo's 2003 presidential election. In July 2003, he launched a program named Alternative Togo, which seeks to engage the Togolese diaspora in efforts to enact democratic

change. He is also a seasoned journalist whose writings have appeared in *La Parole, Nouvel Echo*, and *Le Temps*, a newspaper he founded in 1999.



Dany Ayida

Mr. Ayida remains an outspoken voice for human rights and democratization in Togo. In 1996, he was recognized as the Togolese Journalist of the Year, and in 1999 he was runner-up for the CNN African Journalist of the Year Award. During his fellowship at NED, Mr. Ayida explored strategies for facilitating the transition from authoritarian rule to multiparty democracy in Togo.

Joel D. Barkan (United States)

“Emerging Legislatures in Emerging African Democracies” October 2005–July 2006

Joel Barkan is professor emeritus of political science and international programs at the University of Iowa and senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. A widely recognized expert on democratic transitions in East Africa, he is the author of numerous articles, books, and book chapters on African politics, including *Beyond Capitalism versus Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania* (1994), “Uganda: An African Success Past Its Prime” (Woodrow Wilson Center, 2005), “Kenya After Moi”



Joel Barkan

(*Foreign Affairs*, 2004), and “The Many Faces of Africa: Democracy Across a Varied Continent” (*Harvard International Review*, 2002). Over the past three years, he and several collaborators collected a large amount of data on the role of legislatures in transitional African democracies, which he drew upon during his fellowship as he prepared a book-length manuscript on the legislative experience and democratization in six African countries.

Hossein Bashiriye (Iran)

“Political Mobilization and Democratic Transitions” November 2005–August 2006

Hossein Bashiriye is an associate professor of political science at the University of Tehran, where he has taught courses on subjects ranging from political mobilization and development to theories of democratic transitions since 1982. He is the author of 15 books, including (in English) *The State and Revolution in Iran* (1984) and (in Persian) *Transition to Democracy* (2005), *The Political Sociology of Iran* (2001), *Obstacles to Political Development in Iran* (2000), and *The Kingdom of Reason* (1995). During his fellowship at NED, he examined the role of political oppositions in moving from “transitional situations” to “actual transitions,” comparing cases of successful and unsuccessful democratic transitions in the last quarter of the twentieth century.



Hossein Bashiriye

Ann Bernstein (South Africa)

“Business and its Role in Newly Democratic Societies” October 2005–February 2006

Ann Bernstein is founding director of the Center for Development and Enterprise, an independent policy research institute based in Johannesburg. A leading proponent of the importance of economic



Ann Bernstein

growth in promoting democracy and sustainable development, she previously served as an executive director of the Urban Foundation, South Africa’s then-premier NGO, which had been instrumental in using the power and influence of business to persuade the apartheid government to reform key aspects of its approach to urbanization. A board member of the Development Bank of Southern Africa between 1995 and 2001, she has published extensively on business, democracy, development, and policy-making in South Africa, including the books *Migration and Refugee Policies* (with M. Weiner, 1999), *Business and Democracy: Cohabitation or Contradiction?* (with Peter L. Berger, 1998), and *Policy Making in A New Democracy: South Africa’s Challenges for the 21st Century*. During her fellowship, Ms. Bernstein researched the role of business in society, especially in developing countries, and the impact of corporations on social, economic, and democratic processes.

Dogu Ergil (Turkey)

“Democracy and Citizenship in Turkey: Assessing Youth Training and the Role of Public Opinion” October 2005–February 2006

Dogu Ergil is chair of the department of political behavior and a professor of political sociology at Ankara University in Turkey. He is also president and co-founder of the Centre for the Research of Societal Problems (TOSAM), based in Ankara. A renowned expert on terrorism, European integration, and the Kurdish minority, Dr. Ergil has written 21 books and dozens of articles and research papers. He has also served as an advisor to Turkey’s former ministers



Dogu Ergil

of internal and external affairs and as a special advisor to the president of the Turkish Chambers of Commerce and Industry. In 2004, TOSAM took on the challenging work of putting together a comprehensive youth democracy training program, which was tested among high school and university students in southeastern Turkey. During his fellowship, Dr. Ergil completed this project by preparing a training manual, tentatively titled *Democracy and Effective Citizenship Training: A Handbook*. He also worked on a monograph concerning citizens’ attitudes toward secular and religious politics in Turkey.

Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr. (United States)

“Attempted Democratic Breakthroughs in Postcommunist Societies” September–January 2006

Charles Fairbanks most recently served as director of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. His areas of expertise include the politics of Russia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus, strategic and security issues in the region; and human rights and democratization. He is the author

of *The Allure of Summits* (2000) and numerous articles, including “Georgia’s Rose Revolution”

(*Journal of Democracy*, April 2004), “Disillusionment in the Caucasus and Central Asia” (*Journal of Democracy*, October 2001), “Gorbachev’s Cultural Revolution,” (*Commentary*, August 1989), and “The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia 1917–1991” (*Commentary*, 1994). During his fellowship, he conducted a comparative study of democratic breakthroughs in the postcommunist world, a project that culminated in the publication of his article, “Revolution Reconsidered,” in the January 2007 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.



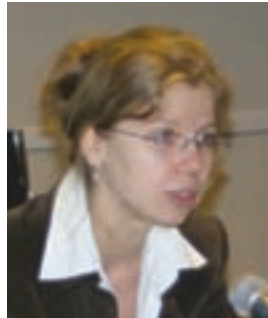
Charles Fairbanks

Elena Gerasimova (Russia)

“Social and Labor Rights Advocacy in Russia” March–July 2006

Elena Gerasimova is director and co-founder of the Center for Social and Labor Rights, an NGO that promotes economic equity, civil rights, and labor rights in Russia. A leading

labor attorney who advocates improved wages and working conditions for Russian citizens and assists trade unions to defend their rights, she is also a specialist in laws regulating civil procedure and freedom of association. She has lectured on labor law at Moscow State University and the All-Russian Academy for International Trade and has published widely on the subject. During her fellowship, Dr. Gerasimova compared Russian and U.S. approaches to preventing discrimination in labor relations and dispute resolution and explored the U.S. legal community’s relationship with labor NGOs, including the relationships of American NGOs with governmental bodies, how legal experts provide counsel to NGOs, and how NGOs work to accommodate international guidelines governing human rights. Her research culminated in a strategy memorandum aimed at guiding the Center for Social and Labor Rights in its future activities and work.



Elena Gerasimova

Guillermo Jorge (Argentina)

“Bridging the North and South Anticorruption Agendas” April–August 2006

Guillermo Jorge is a lawyer currently working in anticorruption and asset recovery programs for different Latin American governments and international

institutions. He is also a professor of law at the Universidad de San Andres in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mr. Jorge worked for several years with renowned attorney Luis Moreno Ocampo as a partner in Moreno Ocampo’s law firm. Mr. Jorge litigated several cases before the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights. Considered “one of the experts in the region in asset recovery,” he has served as pro bono legal adviser for Transparency International and Poder Ciudadano. During his fellowship, Mr. Jorge laid the groundwork for establishing a research center in Argentina that focuses on the issue of corruption. He also produced a policy memorandum on asset recovery issues for Latin American law enforcement agencies.



Guillermo Jorge

Nozima Kamalova
(Uzbekistan)

**“Civil Rights and the War
Against Terror in Uzbekistan”**
October 2005–March 2006

Nozima Kamalova is founding chair of the Legal Aid Society of Uzbekistan (LAS), a leading nongovernmental organization that safeguards and promotes the rule of law and human rights in Uzbekistan by



Nozima Kamalova

investigating high profile human rights abuses and providing free legal services to the poor.

Under Ms. Kamalova’s direction, LAS also works with a number of respected international human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Human Rights First. A highly respected 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. Her lobbying activities have influenced a large number of policies and legislation adopted both internationally and in Uzbekistan. During her fellowship, Ms. Kamalova explored the impact of security measures in the “war against terror” on democratic freedoms and civil rights.

Miria Matembe
(Uganda)

**“Strengthening Women’s
Democratic Participation
in Uganda”**

March–July 2006

Miria Matembe has been at the forefront of the struggle for women’s rights in Uganda for over two decades. Until recently a member of Uganda’s parliament, she served as Uganda’s minister for ethics and integrity from 1998 to 2003, when she was appointed to the Pan-African Parliament, an initiative of the African Union. She has held a number of previous appointments, including chairperson of Action for Development,



Miria Matembe

Uganda’s leading women’s advocacy organization; member of the Uganda Constitutional Commission; and deputy general secretary of the seventh Pan-African Congress (held in Kampala in 1990). She is the author of *Miria Matembe: Gender, Politics, and Constitution Making in Uganda* (2002) and of several articles on women in politics. During her fellowship, she conducted a comparative study of women’s involvement in the political affairs of different democracies and wrote a blueprint for the establishment of a center promoting women’s participation in Ugandan politics.

Penda Mbow
(Senegal)

**“Citizenship and the
Separation of Islam and
the State in Senegal”**

October 2005–February 2006

Penda Mbow is associate professor of history at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, where she has



Penda Mbow

published widely on African political and social issues, often focusing on the role of Islam in Africa. She previously served as Senegal’s minister of culture and as cultural advisor to the Senegalese department of ethnography and historical heritage. Dr. Mbow has received numerous academic awards, including a Fulbright grant to study at Michigan State University and a Rockefeller Foundation award for research at the Bellagio Center in Italy. In recognition of her achievements as a scholar, thinker, and political activist, she was named Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur Française in 2003 and Commandeur de l’Ordre National du Mérite in 1999. Among her many areas of expertise are African intellectual history and Islamic gender studies. During her fellowship, Dr. Mbow researched the evolution of Islam’s relationship with democracy in Senegal, as well as the interplay between women, human rights, and religion in Islamic societies.

Grigorij Meseznikov (Slovakia)

“The Role of Think Tanks in Democratic Transitions and in Democratic Policy Making” March–July 2006

Grigorij Meseznikov is the president and program director of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), widely considered one of Slovakia’s most influential think tanks. In addition to editing *A Global Report on the State of Society*, IVO’s annual scorecard on Slovak democracy, for the last ten years, Mr. Meseznikov also contributed to Freedom



Grigorij Meseznikov

House’s *Nations in Transit* from 1999 to 2004. He was a senior researcher of political science and interna-

tional relations at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where he published numerous articles that pushed for democratic reforms. He also served as a member of the advisory board to the Democratic Party, a center-right political party that was part of the coalition that brought down the Meciar regime in 1998. During his fellowship, Mr. Meseznikov examined the ways in which think tanks in advanced democracies influence the policy-making process in order to apply lessons learned to Slovakia.

Vandita Mishra (India)

“Democracy and the Party System: Possibilities and Constraints of India’s Party System” March–July 2006

Vandita Mishra is a journalist and member of the lead editorial team with the *Indian Express*, one of India’s most prominent English-language daily newspapers. As the newspaper’s senior assistant editor, she writes a



Vandita Mishra

weekly op-ed column called “Us and Them,” which examines foreign media, as well as an occasional column on political issues for the editorial page. Prior to joining the *Indian Express*, she served as assistant editor at the *Pioneer*, another English-language daily, where she wrote a biweekly column for the editorial page. Her articles touch on a wide range of political issues and have also appeared in the *Hindustan Times*, the *Tribune*, and the journal *Seminar*. During her fellowship, Ms. Mishra conducted a comparative study of political party systems, with a particular focus on India’s party system and the cultivation of norms governing relations between parties when they unite to form coalition governments. Her project culminated in the publication of a series of articles in the *Indian Express*.

Alina Mungiu Pippidi (Romania)

“A Democratic Agenda for State Building” October 2005–February 2006

Alina Mungiu Pippidi is director of the Romanian Academic Society, one of Romania’s foremost think tanks and a leading policy advocacy group in the region. She is an analyst for Freedom House’s annual *Nations in Transit* survey for Romania, in addition to serving as a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme in the Balkans and to the World Bank in the Caucasus. Internationally recognized as one of Romania’s most original thinkers, she has produced countless books and articles on Central



Alina Mungiu Pippidi

European politics, as well as a critically acclaimed play. In the fall of 2004, Dr. Mungiu Pippidi helped initiate the Coalition for a Clean Parliament, an anticorruption campaign that sought to discourage the election of politicians with a record of corruption. During her fellowship, she wrote a paper on anticorruption and public integrity campaigns within the broader framework of state-building.

Andrei Piontkovsky
(Russia)

“Russian Political Elites and the Challenge of the 21st Century”

October 2005–February 2006

Andrei Piontkovsky has 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. He has also been a columnist for a number of Russian publications, including the *Moscow Times*, *Novaya Gazetta*, *Russia Journal*, and the online journal *Grani.ru*, as well as a regular political commentator for the BBC World Service and Radio Liberty in Moscow. A



Andrei Piontkovsky

renowned Russian political analyst and one of Russia’s foremost political commentators, Dr.

Piontkovsky has been a consistent and outspoken critic of Putin’s model of “managed” democracy. His articles on international affairs and post-Soviet political development have been widely published and cited by Russian, European, and U.S. media. During his fellowship, he explored U.S. policy toward Russia and its implications for democracy promotion in Russia.

Aasiya Riaz
(Pakistan)

“How Think Tanks and Other Research Centers Strengthen Democracy”

March–July 2006

Aasiya Riaz is founding director of the Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), an independent, nonpartisan research institution established to strengthen democratic governance, monitor legislative performance,



Aasiya Riaz

and enhance public participation in policy-making in Pakistan. She has been involved in conceptualizing and implementing a wide range of PILDAT’s programs and activities, including capacity-building workshops for legislators, the formulation of issue-based caucuses across parties, and the publication of democracy reports on policy issues. She previously worked as an editorial writer for the *Nation*, a leading English-language newspaper, and as deputy editor of *Pakistan Calling*, an international monthly magazine. During her fellowship, she studied U.S. think tanks and the Congressional Research Service to consider their contribution to the democratic process in America. Based on her findings, she wrote a series of articles on the role of research institutions in deepening democracy in Pakistan.

Tin-May (Judy) Thein
(Burma)

“Civil Society and the Democracy Movement in Burma”

March–August 2006

Tin-May (Judy) Thein was, until her retirement in 2005, a political specialist at the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon where she analyzed and interpreted local political, economic, and social developments for the U.S. mission and supported the promotion of human rights and democracy in Burma. As the embassy’s senior-most local employee, she served as a vital link between the U.S. embassy and Burmese political groups, evaluating and relaying information essential to the formulation of U.S. foreign policy toward Burma.



Tin-May (Judy) Thein

A steadfast proponent of democratic change in her country, Ms. Thein won the U.S. Department of State’s Foreign Service National of the Year Award in 1998 and its Meritorious Honor Award in 1997 and 2001. Ms. Thein spent her fellowship exploring strategies for strengthening civil society and the Burmese democracy movement, including ways in which the international community may assist in their efforts.

Visiting Fellows Program

In addition to the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, the International Forum for Democratic Studies hosts a small Visiting Fellows Program for scholars and practitioners with outside funding who wish to be affiliated with the Forum.

Michael McFaul,
United States

Visiting Fellow (nonresidential)

October 2005–July 2006

International Dimensions of Democratic Breakthroughs

Michael McFaul is associate professor of political science at Stanford University, where he is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. Prior to



Michael McFaul

joining the Stanford faculty, he worked for two years as a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Carnegie Moscow Center. One of the world's leading scholars on Russian and U.S.-Russian affairs, Dr. McFaul has authored or coauthored numerous books and monographs, including *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist*

Political Reform (2004) and *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (2001). His most recent research has focused on a comparative study of countries that have undergone successful democratic breakthroughs and those that have not, paying special attention to the role external actors have played in shaping political outcomes.

International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council

Lahouari Addi
Institut d'Etudes Politiques (France)

Muthiah Alagappa
East-West Center

Abdulahi An-Na'im
Emory University

Lisa Anderson
Columbia University

Pauline Baker
The Fund for Peace

Shaul Bakhash
George Mason University

Joel D. Barkan
University of Iowa

Peter L. Berger
Boston University

Nancy Bermeo
Princeton University

Ladan Boroumand
Abdollahian Boroumand Foundation for the Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy in Iran

Michael Bratton
Michigan State University

Daniel Brumberg
Georgetown University

Janusz Bugajski
Center for Strategic and International Studies

Zora Bútorová
Institute for Public Affairs (Slovakia)

Yun-han Chu
National Taiwan University

Michael Coppedge
University of Notre Dame

Wayne Cornelius
University of California at San Diego

Gerald Curtis
Columbia University

Robert Dahl
Yale University

Francis Deng
Brookings Institution

Nikiforos Diamandouros
National Center for Social Research (Greece)

Denise Dresser
Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

John B. Dunlop
Stanford University

Donald Emmerson
Stanford University

João Carlos Espada
Portuguese Catholic University

Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.
Hudson Institute

Abdou Filali-Ansary
Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilizations (United Kingdom)

Steven Friedman
Institute for Democracy in South Africa

Francis Fukuyama
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

Sumit Ganguly
Indiana University

Louis W. Goodman
American University

E. Gyimah-Boadi
Center for Democracy and Development (Ghana)

Stephan Haggard
University of California at San Diego

Chaibong Hahm
University of Southern California

Peter Hakim <i>Inter-American Dialogue</i>	R. William Liddle <i>Ohio State University</i>	Joan M. Nelson <i>Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars</i>	Andreas Schedler <i>Center for Research and Economic Education (Mexico)</i>
John Harbeson <i>City University of New York</i>	Arend Lijphart <i>University of California at San Diego</i>	Ghia Nodia <i>Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development (Georgia)</i>	Philippe Schmitter <i>Instituto Universitario Europeo (Italy)</i>
Harry Harding <i>George Washington University</i>	Juan J. Linz <i>Yale University</i>	Guillermo O'Donnell <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	Stephen Sestanovich <i>Columbia University</i>
Iliya Harik <i>Indiana University</i>	Abraham F. Lowenthal <i>University of Southern California</i>	Martha Brill Olcott <i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>	Lilia Shevtsova <i>Carnegie Moscow Center (Russia)</i>
Jonathan Hartlyn <i>University of North Carolina</i>	Scott Mainwaring <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	Ergun Özbudun <i>Bilkent University (Turkey)</i>	Richard L. Sklar <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i>
Steven Heydemann <i>Georgetown University</i>	Kanan Makiya <i>Brandeis University</i>	Thomas Pangle <i>University of Texas</i>	Aleksander Smolar <i>The Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)</i>
Donald L. Horowitz <i>Duke University</i>	Vincent Maphai <i>South African Breweries</i>	Minxin Pei <i>Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>	Stephen John Stedman <i>Stanford University</i>
Samuel P. Huntington <i>Harvard University</i>	José María Maravall <i>Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones (Spain)</i>	Adam Przeworski <i>New York University</i>	Nathan Tarcov <i>University of Chicago</i>
Saad Eddin Ibrahim <i>Ibn Khaldoun Center for Devel- opment Studies (Egypt)</i>	Cynthia McClintock <i>George Washington University</i>	Robert Putnam <i>Harvard University</i>	Vladimir Tismaneanu <i>University of Maryland at College Park</i>
Richard Joseph <i>Northwestern University</i>	Michael McFaul <i>Stanford University</i>	Peter Reddaway <i>George Washington University</i>	Elizabeth Ungar <i>Congreso Visible (Colombia)</i>
Adrian Karatnycky <i>Orange Circle</i>	Fatima Mernissi <i>Mohamed V University (Morocco)</i>	Pearl T. Robinson <i>Tufts University</i>	Ashutosh Varshney <i>University of Michigan</i>
Ibrahim Karawan <i>University of Utah</i>	Leonardo Morlino <i>Universita degli Studi di Firenze (Italy)</i>	Anibal Romero <i>Simón Bolívar University (Venezuela)</i>	Nicholas van de Walle <i>Cornell University</i>
Terry Lynn Karl <i>Stanford University</i>	Alina Mungiu-Pippidi <i>Romanian Academic Society</i>	Richard Rose <i>University of Aberdeen (Scotland)</i>	Laurence Whitehead <i>Oxford University</i>
Byung-kook Kim <i>Korea University</i>	Joshua Muravchik <i>American Enterprise Institute</i>	Jacques Rupnik <i>Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (France)</i>	Jan Zielonka <i>Oxford University</i>
Atul Kohli <i>Princeton University</i>	Yasmeen Murshed <i>Center for Analysis & Choice (Bangladesh)</i>	Chai-Anan Samudavanija <i>Chaiyong Limthongkul Foundation (Thailand)</i>	
Ivan Krastev <i>Centre for Liberal Strategies (Bulgaria)</i>	Andrew J. Nathan <i>Columbia University</i>	Robert A. Scalapino <i>University of California at Berkeley</i>	
Bolívar Lamounier <i>Augurium Consulting (Brazil)</i>			
Peter Lewis <i>Johns Hopkins School of Ad- vanced International Studies</i>			