

Fellowship Programs

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program

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 with funding from the U.S. Congress to enable democratic activists, practitioners, 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, or cultural aspects of democratic development.

In 2006–2007, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program hosted leading democratic activists, journalists, and scholars from countries in every region of the globe, including **Burma, Canada, Costa Rica, Iran, Kazakhstan, Liberia, Moldova, Oman, Paraguay, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Ukraine, the United States, Vietnam, and Yemen.**

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 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 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 International Forum for Democratic Studies 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 in 2006–2007

Dr. Diego Abente-Brun (Paraguay)

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



Diego Abente-Brun

Dr. Diego Abente-Brun is currently deputy director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democ-

cracy. 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 (CADEP), 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.

Mr. Ali Afshari (Iran)

“The Challenge of Democratization in Iran”
October 2006–February 2007



Ali Afshari

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.

Dr. Khapta Akhmedova (Russia)

“The Psychology of Suicide Terrorism in Chechnya”
March–July 2007

Dr. Khapta Akhmedova is professor of psychology at Chechen State University and head of the Mental Health Center for



Khapta Akhmedova

Peace-building, a non-governmental 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.

Mr. Hafez Al-Bukari (Yemen)

“Monitoring Freedom of Expression in Yemen”

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, October 2006–February 2007

Visiting Fellow, March–July 2007



Hafez Al-Bukari

Mr. Hafez Al-Bukari is chairman of the Yemeni Polling Center, an NGO that fosters political and electoral awareness, and general secretary of the

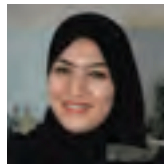
Yemeni Journalists Syndicate. As a veteran journalist and proponent of human rights and press freedom, Mr. Al-Bukari has written numerous articles in Yemeni and U.S. newspapers, including the *Yemen Times*, *Yemen Observer*, the *Washington Times*, and *National Review*. During his fellowship, Mr. Al-Bukari developed a blueprint for a center that monitors freedom of expression in Yemen and the Gulf region.

Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei (Oman)

“Promoting Women’s Political Participation in Oman”

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, October 2006–January 2007

Visiting Fellow (nonresidential), February 2007–present



Rafiah Al-Talei

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’ah*,

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.

Ms. Nigina Bakhrieva (Tajikistan)

“Democracy in Tajikistan: The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations”

March–July 2007



Nigina Bakhrieva

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 nongovern-

mental 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.

Mr. Michael Boda (Canada/United States)

“Beyond Free and Fair: International Law as a Standard for Evaluating Elections”

October 2006–February 2007



Michael Boda

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.

Mr. Jose Luis Gascon (Philippines)

“Reconsolidating Philippine Democracy: Constitutional Continuity and Change”

March–July 2007



Jose Luis Gascon

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.

**Ms. Rahma Hugaira
(Yemen)**

**“Promoting Women’s Rights
in the Arab World”**

April–July 2007



Rahma Hugaira

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*, *Zahrat Al-Khaleej*, and *Al-Ahram*. 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.

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

**“Civil Society, Religion,
and Democracy in
Postcommunist Poland”**

October 2006–February 2007



Krzysztof
Jasiewicz

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, co-author, 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.

**Dr. Bernadeta Killian
(Tanzania)**

**“Political Identity and
Democratic Consolidation
in Tanzania”**

March–August 2007



Bernadeta
Killian

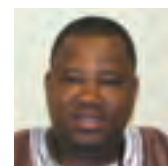
Dr. Bernadeta Killian is senior lecturer in the department of political science at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She is also Zanzibar coordinator at Research and Education for Democracy (REDET), a research and advocacy program based at the University of Dar es Salaam. She has previously 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.

**Mr. John Oliver Kollie
(Liberia)**

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

October 2006–February 2007



John Kollie

Mr. John Kollie is a journalist who has served as senior producer with the Search for Common Ground in Liberia and as 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.

**Mr. Ilko Kucheriv
(Ukraine)**

**“The Next Step for a
Democratic Ukraine: Embracing
Euro-Atlantic Values”**

October 2006–February 2007



Ilko Kucheriv

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.

Dr. Thein Lwin
(Burma)
“Education and Democracy in Burma”
March–July 2007



Thein Lwin

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.

Dr. Raushan Nauryzbayeva
(Kazakhstan)
“Public Interest Lobbying as an Instrument of Democratization in Kazakhstan”
March–July 2007



Raushan Nauryzbayeva

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.

Ms. Olga Nicolenco
(Moldova)
“Promoting Women’s Involvement in Moldova’s Local Public Administration”
October 2006–February 2007



Olga Nicolenco

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.

Dr. Jaime Ordóñez
(Costa Rica)
“Legal and Institutional Indicators of Democratic Governance in Central America”
March–July 2007



Jaime Ordóñez

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 co-author 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.

Mr. Le Quoc Quan (Vietnam)

“Promoting Democracy in Vietnam: The Role of Civil Society”

October 2006–February 2007



Le Quoc Quan

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.

Shortly after he returned to Vietnam in March 2007, following the end of his fellowship, Mr. Le Quoc Quan 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, 2007, 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.

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 International Forum. During the 2006–2007 fellowship year, the Forum hosted Visiting Fellows from Afghanistan, Iran, Russia, the United States, and Uzbekistan.

Mr. Jared Genser (United States)

“The Fifth Freedom: Inspiring Stories of Human Rights Defenders”

Visiting Fellow (nonresidential), October 2006–July 2007



Jared Genser

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, Mr. Genser 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 featured in his book, having assisted in securing their releases from prison.

Ms. Nozima Kamalova (Uzbekistan)

“Civil Rights and the War Against Terror in Uzbekistan”

Visiting Fellow (nonresidential), April 2006–September 2007



Nozima Kamalova

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 secu-

rity 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 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



**Manouchehr
Mohammadi**

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 was admitted to the United States under humanitarian parole. 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 (nonresidential), March 2006–present



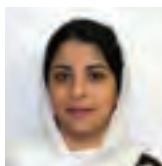
**Andrei
Piontkovsky**

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* both published articles in 2007 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



Nilofar Sakhi

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 presentation on the topic on March 8, 2007.

International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council

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Korea University

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*Center for Analysis & Choice
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Columbia University

Joan M. Nelson
*Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars*

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(on leave)**
*Caucasus Institute for
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