

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter



2010–2011





Reagan-Fascell Staff from left to right—back row: former program assistant Geoffrey King, research and conferences officer Melissa Aten, assistant program officer Judith (JJ) Welling, assistant program officer Jessica Ludwig, and program assistant Ragan Updegraff. Front row: manager Zerxes Spencer and director Sally Blair.

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

I am pleased to share this 2010–2011 *Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter* with you. Established in 2001 in honor of NED's two principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late congressman Dante Fascell, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows 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 NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies, in Washington, D.C., which offers a collegial environment for fellows to conduct research, exchange ideas with counterparts, and build ties with a global network of democracy advocates. The program is grateful to the NED's Board of Directors, especially Fellowship Committee members Stephen Sestanovich and Francis Fukuyama, NED president Carl Gershman, Forum director Marc F. Plattner, and Forum senior advisor Larry Diamond for their guidance and support.

This newsletter offers eloquent testimony to the work and words of our 2010–2011 Reagan-Fascell Fellows, including activists, journalists, and scholars from Angola, Cameroon, China, India, Iran, Georgia, Ghana, Mauritius, Mexico, Nigeria, Russia, Ukraine, and Venezuela. Our alumni now total over 170 men and women from more than 70 countries. We stand in solidarity with this courageous community as we celebrate our tenth anniversary year.

Sincerely,

Sally Blair

Sally Blair

Director, Fellowship Programs

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This *Newsletter* was produced by Zerxes Spencer, with contributions from Sally Blair, Ragan Updegraff, Natalie Chang, JJ Welling, Sarah Bouchat, and Yohanan Assefa. The opinions expressed in these pages are those of the individual fellows and do not necessarily reflect the views of the NED or its staff.

Pictured on the cover are the 2010–2011 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows. From left to right—top row: Anne Stella Fomumbod and Anton Burkov; second row: Roukaya Kasenally, Yanhai Wan, Arturo Alvarado, and Dayo Aiyetan; third row: Rafael Marques de Morais and Medha Nanivadekar; fourth row: Mykola Riabchuk, Carlos Ponce, Levan Berdzenishvili, and Luis Ugalde; fifth row: Mahboubah Abbasgholizadeh and H. Kwasi Prempeh.

2011–2012 FELLOWS

Fall 2011

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows

Mr. Hikmet Hadji-zadeh (Azerbaijan)

*Democratization in Azerbaijan:
Challenges and Opportunities*

Dr. Tamirlan Kurbanov (Russia)

*Youth Participation at the Local Level:
Motivation, Communications, and Impact*

Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba (Tanzania)

*Building Institutional Frameworks that Support
Democracy and Economic Development in Tanzania*

Ms. Birtukan Midekssa (Ethiopia)

*Challenges Facing Ethiopia's Opposition Parties and the
Way Forward*

Mr. Hollman Morris (Colombia)

*Intercepting Democracy: How Intelligence Services Use
Smear Campaigns to Hinder Freedom of Expression in
Colombia*

Mr. Azizullah Royesh (Afghanistan)

*Promoting Democracy through Civic Education
in Afghanistan*



Visiting Fellows

Ms. Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh (Iran)

Engendering the Movement for Democracy in Iran

Mr. Danail Danov (Bulgaria)

Freedom of Speech and the New Media



Spring 2012

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows

Mr. Ismail Alexandrani (Egypt)

*Social Media, Political Mobilization, and
Freedom of Speech in Egypt*

Dr. Mokhtar Benabdallaoui (Morocco)

*Democratic Transition in the Middle East:
Between Authoritarianism and Islamism*

Mr. Darko Brkan (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

*Democracy 2.0: The Promotion of Democracy through
the Use of New Technologies*

Ms. Judith February (South Africa)

*Political Party Funding and the Right to Know
in South Africa*

Ms. Fatoumata Diallo (Guinea)

Strengthening Civil-Military Relations in Guinea

Ms. Abril Perez (Nicaragua)

*Strengthening Electoral Observation in Restrictive
Political Environments*

Dr. Tsveta Petrova (United States)

From Recipients to Donors of Democracy Assistance

Dr. B. Tsering (Tibet/India)

Empowering Tibetan Women in Exile

Mr. Aung Moe Zaw (Burma)

*Exploring the Impact of Democracy Assistance
in Burma*



2010–2011 REAGAN-FASCELL DEMOCRACY FELLOWS



Mr. Dayo Aiyetan is founding director of the International Center for Investigative Reporting (ICIR), in Abuja. He previously served as senior associate editor and Abuja bureau chief for TELL, one of Nigeria's preeminent independent political magazines. During his fellowship, Mr. Aiyetan examined the role of investigative journalism, especially nonprofit newsrooms and reporting centers, in promoting public accountability, transparency, and integrity in Nigeria. On January 19, 2011, he gave a presentation at NED entitled "Combating Corruption in Nigeria: The Promise of Investigative Reporting." In addition, he was invited to give a presentation at the Center for International Private Enterprise's International Forum on Economic Journalism, in Istanbul, Turkey, from February 27 to March 4, 2011. Following his fellowship, Mr. Aiyetan returned to Nigeria to launch ICIR's investigative reporting activities, as well as to collaborate with journalism training institutions to implement programs in the country.

AFRICA

Mr. Dayo Aiyetan (Nigeria)

"Promoting Democracy through Investigative Journalism"

October 2010–February 2011

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“Although the Nigerian press once held state institutions accountable to the people, it has itself become a corrupt institution. Low salaries, the practice of influencing reporters with ‘brown envelopes,’ and pressure from a corrupt political class have conspired to compromise many media houses and journalists. Commercial considerations now influence editorial judgments to such a degree that big advertisers are protected from criticism or are actually able to dictate news content.

In this environment, journalists must redeem their profession and innovate a fresh path forward. Models of independent, nonprofit journalism need to emerge to serve as examples of ethical watchdog reporting. Un-



compromising standards and quality work, an emphasis on digital dissemination, and investments in training can provide inspiration to newsrooms across Nigeria, proving that hard-nosed investigative reporting can succeed in speaking truth to power. Fostering a culture of serious journalism among independent and credible platforms would not only promote transparency, accountability, and good governance—it would ultimately serve to safeguard democracy in Nigeria.”

—Dayo Aiyetan, January 19, 2011

Ms. Anne Stella Fomumbod (Cameroon)

“Lobbying and Advocacy: Women and the Promotion of Democracy in Cameroon”

March–July 2011

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“While Cameroon has ratified most conventions protecting women’s rights, Cameroonian women still suffer from human rights abuses and exclusion from political and economic life, largely due to traditions of patriarchy and gender inequality. Although international, national, and local initiatives invest in improving the status of women, sociocultural malpractices are likely to persist as long as their deep roots in governance, customary law, poverty, the HIV/AIDS crisis, and women’s attitudes continue to be neglected.



My organization, the InterFaith Vision Foundation, has spent the past decade lobbying with traditional rulers for the political rights of women, mobilizing widows, codifying laws, and promoting women’s empowerment through microcredit, farm tools, and training. If their status is to improve, both the government and the international community must allocate substantial resources to support such grassroots initiatives. Investing in educational institutions that train community leaders in democratic norms, leadership skills, and the interpretation, domestication, and codification of national and international laws may well bring the systemic change that Cameroonian women so desperately need.”

—Anne Stella Fomumbod, June 23, 2011



Ms. Anne Stella Fomumbod is founder and chief executive officer of Interfaith Vision Foundation Cameroon (IVFCam), an NGO based in Cameroon’s Northwest region that works with community-based organizations to promote human rights and democracy at the grassroots level. She has successfully lobbied for the passage of laws protecting the rights of women, particularly widows, in local communities, such as the Metta Charter on Widowhood. During her fellowship, Ms. Fomumbod developed a blueprint for a center on human rights and women’s political participation in Cameroon. She was also invited to partner with IRI’s Women’s Democracy Network in establishing a Women Leadership School in Cameroon. On June 23, 2011, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled “From the Grassroots to the Nation: Promoting Women’s Human Rights and Political Participation in Cameroon.” Following her fellowship, Ms. Fomumbod returned home to set up a Center on Community Education for Democracy and Development, which is receiving support from NED to carry out programs promoting equal gender participation and democratic reforms in Cameroon.

AFRICA



Dr. Roukaya Kasenally is senior lecturer in media and political systems at the University of Mauritius. She is also co-founder and president of the Institute of Social Development and Peace, a think tank promoting dialogue and debate on issues of human security, electoral reform, and poverty eradication in southern Africa. During her fellowship, Dr. Kasenally investigated how the mechanisms of deliberative democracy may be applied to Mauritius in order to deepen its democratic culture. On December 9, 2010, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “From Postcard to Scorecard: Assessing the Quality of Democracy in Mauritius.” Her article, “Mauritius: Paradise Reconsidered,” appeared in the *Journal of Democracy*’s April 2011 issue. Since her return home, Dr. Kasenally has been approached to lead Round Five of the Afrobarometer 2011–2012 survey in Mauritius. She is also working on the incorporation of Mauritius into the African Legislatures Project and is in discussion with the International Budget Partnership on developing social accountability exercises and advocacy training courses for Mauritian citizens.

AFRICA

Dr. Roukaya Kasenally (Mauritius)

“Moving from a One-Dimensional to a Multi-Dimensional Democracy in Mauritius”

October 2010–February 2011

Email: roukaya@uom.ac.mu

“Mauritius has come a long way since independence in 1968, when observers predicted that the ‘overcrowded barracoon’—as V.S. Naipaul referred to the island in his 1973 book—would fail to achieve peace and economic prosperity. As a result of its success in managing diversity and capitalizing on protected markets and guaranteed export prices, Mauritius has emerged in recent decades as a democratic and economic model for its peers on the African continent.



With the onset of globalization, Mauritius is now entering a period of democratic stagnation, as islanders confront the rise of ethnic and dynastic politics, the advent of political cronyism and patronage, the marginalization of minorities, and growing disenchantment and cynicism toward the political class. Rather than address these issues head on, a number of public officials are exploiting them for their own political gain. To reverse this disturbing trend, Mauritius must invest in a more informed citizenry, develop a more responsible and responsive legislature, and foster a true national identity. If appropriate heed is not paid to the growing fractures and frictions within Mauritian society, the simmering tensions in the melting pot may easily come to a boil. ”

—Roukaya Kasenally, December 9, 2010

Mr. Rafael Marques de Morais (Angola)

“Corruption in Angola: An Impediment to Democracy”
March–September 2011

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“Three initiatives are set to return Angola to full-fledged authoritarianism: the 2010 Constitution consolidates powers in the Office of the President; the 2011 Private Investment Law prevents the establishment of a vibrant and autonomous private sector; and a proposed Law on Cyber Crime seeks to crack down on free speech and social media. This legal pyramid sums up the dismal state of democracy in Angola. The measures lie at the heart of what has become the most defining issue in the country: the high levels of untrammelled corruption at all levels of power.

With the state in the hands of the president, democracy’s only hope seems to lie with civil society and the market, the last frontiers of independent expression and private enterprise. Drawing lessons from Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, Angolans must strive for the devolution of the state to the people, building solidarity of purpose, harnessing the power of social networks to mobilize, and avoiding violent confrontation. Multinational companies must ensure that business ventures are formed in accordance with domestic and international law, while Western governments should make anticorruption and freedom of expression central to their foreign policy agendas. If Angolans are to reclaim their country, they will need the unequivocal support of the international community.”

—Rafael Marques de Morais, May 12, 2011



Mr. Rafael Marques de Morais is an award-winning journalist with a special interest in political economy and human rights in Angola. In 2009, he founded the watchdog website “Maka,” dedicated to exposing corruption in his country. Mr. Morais has authored numerous human rights reports on the diamond trade, including *Harvesting Hunger in Angola’s Diamond Fields* (2008) and *Operation Kissonde: The Diamonds of Misery and Humiliation* (2006). In recognition of his extraordinary efforts on behalf of human rights, Mr. Morais was awarded the Train Foundation’s Civil Courage Prize in 2006 and the National Association of Black Journalists’ Percy Qoboza Award for Outstanding Courage in 2000. During his fellowship, Mr. Morais examined the extent to which institutionalized corruption affects rule of law, democratization, and functionality of the Angolan state. On May 12, 2011, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Corruption in Angola: An Impediment to Democracy.” In addition, he completed a paper on the same topic, as well as a report on human rights abuses in the diamond areas.

AFRICA



Prof. H. Kwasi Prempeh is a professor at Seton Hall University School of Law, in New Jersey, where he teaches courses in constitutional law and comparative constitutionalism. A proponent of liberal policy and legal reform in Ghana, he previously served as director of legal policy and governance at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development, the country's leading liberal-democratic think tank, based in Accra. During his fellowship, Professor Prempeh undertook a comprehensive review of Ghana's constitutional and legal systems in order to identify ways in which contemporary constitutional design and the existing regime of laws have been complicit in the entrenchment of Ghana's imperial presidency. On June 25, 2011, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled "How (Not) to Write an African Constitution: Reflections on Ghana's Current Constitutional Review." His fellowship culminated in the presentation of a paper, "How Patterns of Constitution-Writing in Africa Reinforce Executive Dominance," at an August 2, 2011 conference in Pretoria sponsored by the Institution for International and Comparative Law in Africa.

AFRICA

Prof. H. Kwasi Prempeh (Ghana)

"Taming Ghana's Imperial Presidency through Constitutional Reform"

April–July 2011

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“After nearly two decades of successful multiparty democracy, Ghana is undertaking a review of its constitution in order to further strengthen its institutions of government. The country's review process, however, has lacked both the urgency and the consensus of the recent constitutional process in Kenya, with some Ghanaians questioning the need to tinker with a constitution that appears to have served the country well, while others advocate a major overhaul to curb presidential dominance in politics. Though presidential term limits prevent the reemergence of dictatorship, the ‘rules of play’ grant presidents tremendous latitude, enfeebling parliament and local government. Notwithstanding the transition to democratic rule, the retention of a vast body of statutes and regulations—some dating back to the early years of independence and successive military regimes—has also ensured a remarkable degree of continuity in the character and scope of executive power. Ghana's democratic institutions would be greatly strengthened by a new constitution that addresses these issues.”



—H. Kwasi Prempeh, June 8, 2011

Dr. Medha Nanivadekar (India)

“Negotiating Equal Gender Quotas in the Indian Parliament”

March–July 2011

Email: medhananivadekar@yahoo.com

“Although Indian women fought for their country’s independence, they continue to be deprived of their share in political power. The Women’s Reservation Bill, proposing a 33 percent quota for women in parliament and state legislatures, has remained in a deadlock for the past fifteen years. The bill has turned women’s empowerment into a zero-sum game, in which women would gain 33 percent of seats only if 33 percent of the men were driven out.

To resolve this deadlock, I propose doubling the number of seats in parliament, reserving half for men and half for women. Although India’s population has grown almost three and a half times since independence, the number of parliamentary seats has not increased proportionately, leaving the second most-populous country in the world with a parliament smaller than that of neighboring Nepal. By converting all constituencies into two-member constituencies, where voters would cast two votes, one each for a male and female candidate, this ‘win-win formula’ would ensure equal gender representation without reducing male membership in parliament. Such equal partnership in power at the highest level would not only enhance India’s democratic credentials, but would also, over time, reduce women’s vulnerability to gender-based violence and discrimination.”

—Medha Nanivadekar, June 9, 2011



Dr. Medha Nanivadekar is director of the Center for Women’s Studies at Shivaji University in Kolhapur, India, and president of Bharatiya Stree Shakti, an Indian women’s organization. A staunch proponent of women’s equal representation in politics, she testified before India’s parliamentary committee in 1996 and 2008 to advocate for greater representation of women in parliament. During her fellowship, Dr. Nanivadekar examined women’s quotas worldwide in order to devise effective strategies for negotiating equal gender quotas in the Indian parliament. Her “Win-Win Formula,” a proposal to institute dual-member constituencies in national and state legislatures, to elect one man and one woman each, received considerable attention in the Indian press, with articles appearing in the Times of India and the Pioneer. On June 9, 2011, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Making Gender Quotas Work: A Case for Doubling the Seats in Indian Parliament.” Following her fellowship, Dr. Nanivadekar returned to India to galvanize support for her “Win-Win Formula” and to launch an international alliance advocating for equal gender representation in parliaments.

ASIA



Mr. Yanhai Wan has been a leading voice on HIV/AIDS-related human rights issues in China for almost two decades. In 1994, he founded the Beijing Aizhi Action Project (later renamed the Beijing Aizhixing Institute of Health Education) and has aided in the development of numerous other NGOs to benefit populations on the margins of society, including ethnic minorities, migrants, hemophiliacs, people with HIV/AIDS, and sex workers. During his fellowship, Mr. Wan analyzed strategies for strengthening human rights and civil society development in China. In addition to interviews with National Public Radio, CNN, and Al-Jazeera, he gave a presentation at NED on March 25, 2011, entitled “The Nobel Peace Prize and China’s Human Rights Movement” and also spoke at events sponsored by Amnesty International, Council on Foreign Relations, Catholic University, Fordham Law School, and American University. Mr. Wan is currently a 2011–2012 Visiting Scholar at the University of British Columbia, in Vancouver.

ASIA

Mr. Yanhai Wan (China)

“Supporting Human Rights and Civil Society Development in China”

November 2010–March 2011

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“The awarding of the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize to Chinese activist Liu Xiaobo galvanized China’s burgeoning human rights and democracy movement. The Chinese government’s swift and harsh response in



cracking down on civil society organizations and human rights defenders drew widespread condemnation, particularly for its stark contrast with the peaceful and inclusive approach advocated by Liu and others who had signed Charter 08. China’s nervousness about

democratic developments is more palpable than ever, as it employs extreme monitoring and control mechanisms to target individuals and groups that may pose a threat to ‘public security’ and ‘social stability.’

Under these conditions, attempts to launch a ‘Jasmine Revolution’ modeled after developments in the Middle East are unlikely to succeed. Civil society activists can, however, seize this opportunity to enhance public awareness of human rights while strengthening their own capacities to advocate for democratic reforms. The international community can provide critical support by promoting internet freedom, engaging and networking with Chinese youth, activists, and dissidents, and training civil society leaders. Activists should focus on local community initiatives first and foremost, in order to engender a broad-based, bottom-up push for change.”

—Yanhai Wan, March 25, 2011

Dr. Levan Berdzenishvili (Georgia)

“Challenges to Democracy in Georgia”

October 2010–February 2011

Email: leo2ber@yahoo.com

“Fueled by ideals of democracy and human rights, Georgia’s 2003 Rose Revolution initiated a period of hope and possibility unknown since the country gained independence following the fall of the Soviet Union. This hope quickly turned into disillusionment, however, as many of the initial reforms proved unsuccessful. Lack of political freedom, a defunct parliament, high levels of unemployment, and territorial disputes with Russia have plagued democratic development, causing Georgia to resemble more of a semiautocracy than a mature democracy. Although billions of dollars have been spent in democracy and governance aid, the money has tended to flow to the ruling party and the police.



In order to salvage the Rose Revolution and restore the democratic aspirations of Georgian society, more emphasis must be placed on society, independent media, and opposition parties. Particular attention should be paid to improving the quality of education, including increases in teachers’ salaries and limits on government and police involvement in schools. With smart Western support, meaningful electoral and educational reform, and a rejuvenation of civil society, Georgia may yet realize the ideals that offered so much promise seven years ago, rather than continue its drift toward authoritarianism.”

—Levan Berdzenishvili, February 23, 2011



Dr. Levan Berdzenishvili is founding president of the Republican Institute, a think tank focusing on civic education and democracy building in Georgia. Following his involvement in the establishment of the underground Republican Party of Georgia in 1978, he spent three years in the Soviet gulag (1984–87). Trained as a classical philologist, he helped to found the United National Movement of Georgia, along with future president Mikheil Saakashvili, and was a member of the Georgian parliament from 2004 to 2008. During his fellowship, Dr. Berdzenishvili studied the historical and cultural challenges facing Georgian democracy and published articles offering analysis and commentary on politics in his country. He also delivered a lecture at Mount Holyoke College on the color revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, as well as a speech in Wroclaw, Poland, on the impact of the Polish Solidarity Movement on Soviet dissidents. On February 23, 2011, he gave a presentation at the NED entitled “A Not-So Rosy Result: Georgia Seven Years after the Rose Revolution.”

EURASIA



Dr. Anton Burkov is a lawyer based in Yekaterinburg, Russia. A human rights advocate, he has litigated cases in Russian courts, including the Supreme and Constitutional courts, and currently serves as a legal representative in a number of cases before the European Court of Human Rights. He is a graduate of the University of Essex, where he was a Chevening Scholar, and the University of Cambridge, where he was a TNK-BP Kapitza Scholar. During his fellowship, Dr. Burkov investigated the principles that the European Convention can contribute to Russian legislation and legal practice. He also explored the establishment of an international human rights exchange program between Russian and U.S. law schools. Dr. Burkov completed four full-length academic articles, and on February 3, 2011, gave a presentation at the NED entitled “Bringing Human Rights Home: Application of the European Convention in Russian Courts.” He also presented at the Kennan Institute, the School for International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, the International Senior Lawyers Project, and the MacArthur Foundation.

EURASIA

Dr. Anton Burkov (Russia)

“Applying European Human Rights Law in Russia”

October 2010–February 2011

Email: ab636@cantab.net

“Despite longstanding problems with the rule of law in Russia, there are some signs of limited progress in Russia’s vast legal system. These include ratification of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and participation in the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). While Russian courts still do not apply the Convention consistently in their judgments, lawyers, particularly staff attorneys at NGOs, have successfully used it when advocating for their clients. Yet much more can be done to promote the application of the Convention in Russia. The Supreme Court should be proactive in motivating judges and lawyers to utilize the Convention: as a priority, the Court should publish ECHR case law. Legal education should include courses on the Convention and a master’s degree program in international human rights protection.



By adhering more systematically to the principles of the European Convention, Russia will go a long way in reforming its judicial system and in ensuring that its citizens obtain human rights protections at home, rather than having to seek them abroad.”

—Anton Burkov, February 3, 2011

Mr. Mykola Riabchuk (Ukraine)

“Trajectories of Transition: Political Changes in Eastern Europe since the Fall of Communism”

March–July 2011

Email: riabchuk@gmail.com

“Two major obstacles hinder democratic development in Ukraine, a country stuck between full-fledged democracy and entrenched authoritarianism. Burdened by their Soviet past, political institutions still depend on the Communist party or an authoritarian substitute engaged in largely informal, manipulative, and corrupt practices. To counter this legacy and cultivate a culture of transparency and accountability, Ukrainians must engage in persistent monitoring of media freedom, electoral fairness, lawmaking procedures, police brutality, and high-level corruption, demanding domestic reforms and international sanctions against those who violate human rights in their pursuit of power.

The second serious obstacle to democratization is the profound identity split between the roughly equal pro-Western and pro-Russian parts of the country. Politicians take advantage of this divide by mobilizing their constituents around the identity issue, distracting them from the more pressing concerns of corruption, institutional reform, and personal accountability. In order to transcend this rift, civil society must promote a Ukrainian civic identity through education and grassroots initiatives, enlisting all Ukrainians in a push for large-scale reforms and democratic consolidation.”

—Mykola Riabchuk, May 26, 2011



Mr. Mykola Riabchuk is a senior research fellow at the Ukrainian Center for Cultural Studies (UCCS), in Kyiv, and co-founder of *Krytyka*, a leading Ukrainian magazine. An activist in the underground movement of the 1970s, he gained prominence as a literary critic and publicist during the perestroika period in the 1980s. He has published six books and numerous articles on civil society, national identity, and political transition in the post-Soviet states, primarily in Ukraine. During his fellowship, Mr. Riabchuk completed a book manuscript on the democratic transitions of Eastern Europe, with a focus on Ukraine, in addition to writing articles on Ukrainian politics for *Current Politics in Ukraine*, *The Harriman Review*, *West Analytic Group*, and *Transitions Online*, among others. On May 26, 2011, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Ukraine’s Convolutional Transition: Between Dysfunctional Democracy and Unconsolidated Authoritarianism.” Following his fellowship, Mr. Riabchuk has continued his research at UCCS and has assumed the role of vice president of the Ukrainian PEN Club.

EURASIA



Dr. Arturo Alvarado is professor in the department of sociology at El Colegio de México (Center for Social Science). He is also a founder of Democracia, Derechos Humanos y Seguridad, an NGO based in Mexico City. An expert on the rule of law and human rights in Mexico, Dr. Alvarado has held consulting positions with the United Nations Development Programme and the UN Crime Prevention Unit. During his fellowship, he used the case studies of Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico to investigate how the rise of endemic violence in Latin America is challenging democratic consolidation. He gave interviews to National Public Radio's "On Point" and PBS' "Ideas in Action" with Jim Glassman. On February 17, 2011, he gave a presentation at NED entitled "Violence, Criminality, and the Erosion of the Democratic State in Latin America." While at NED, Dr. Alvarado completed the manuscript, "Violence and the Erosion of Democratic States: Evidence from Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico," which he intends to publish as a journal article.

LATIN AMERICA

Dr. Arturo Alvarado (Mexico)

"Violence, Criminality, and the Erosion of the Democratic State in Latin America: Brazil, Colombia and Mexico in Comparative Perspective"

October 2010–February 2011

Email: alvarado@colmex.mx

“Increasing rates of violence and crime in fledgling Latin American democracies raise serious questions about the quality of democratic institutions in the region. Violence, particularly organized crime, not only restricts citizens’ ability to exercise their civil and political rights, but also erodes governments’ capacity to provide for the rule of law and undermines their ability to wield an effective monopoly over the use of force. In some cases, this has resulted in deal-making between elected governments and various paramilitaries, mafias, and gangs, making the former more vulnerable to threats and incentives from illegal actors and less responsive to the needs of their constituencies.



To reverse this trend, Latin American governments must redouble their efforts to enforce the rule of law, eliminate autonomy of the military and police, and support victims’ rights organizations. They must also strive to reduce inequality, discrimination, and the size of the informal sector, all of which create incentives for crime and other illicit activities. By better understanding and addressing the challenges that violence poses to democratic consolidation, Latin American governments will be better equipped to promote peace and stability in the region.”

—Arturo Alvarado, February 17, 2011

Dr. Carlos Ponce (Venezuela)

“Improving Regional Mechanisms for Defending Democracy and Civil Society in Latin America”

March–July 2011

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“Across Latin America, freedom of association is under attack, part of a wider backlash against liberal democracy that has led many countries to backslide down the path to authoritarianism. Civil society activists, union leaders, and journalists operate in increasingly restrictive environments, frequently targeted by authorities uncomfortable with dissent. Governments restrict the right to association not only in more overtly oppressive countries, such as Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua, but also in supposedly more democratic ones, like Honduras and Costa Rica.



Civil society actors must rally together to counter this trend, engaging intergovernmental organizations such as the OAS and the Inter-American Human Rights System. With the recent passage of an OAS resolution promoting the rights to freedom of association and

assembly, civil society activists now have an important regional tool to enable them to better assert their rights and work in solidarity across borders. Activists and organizations in more democratic countries should collaborate with counterparts in less democratic societies, engaging in crossborder efforts to protect human rights defenders. Working together, civil society actors will be stronger, more dynamic and effective in countering authoritarianism and strengthening democratic forces across the region.”

—Carlos Ponce, May 18, 2011



Dr. Carlos Ponce is general coordinator of the Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy, a network of over 210 civil society organizations across the Americas. He is also a lecturer at Tufts University and a member of the steering committee of the World Movement for Democracy. During his fellowship, he examined ways in which civil society organizations can improve strategies to defend democracy in Latin America, including regional mechanisms to guarantee freedom of association. In collaboration with the World Movement for Democracy, he hosted a meeting at NED on May 18, 2011, which brought together civil society practitioners and representatives of the U.S. Permanent Mission to the OAS to discuss a proposed resolution promoting freedom of assembly in the Americas. His efforts contributed to the successful passage of such a resolution at the annual meeting of the OAS General Assembly in San Salvador in June. Dr. Ponce also developed a research framework to evaluate limits on freedom of association in Latin America, authored op-eds for the *Latin American Herald Tribune*, and began a blog, entitled “The Two Latin Americas.”

LATIN AMERICA



Dr. Luis Ugalde has, over the past 20 years, combined a distinguished academic career with high-ranking positions within the Mexican government. From 2003 to 2007, he served as president of Mexico's Federal Electoral Commission (IFE), presiding over the country's bitterly contested 2006 presidential election. During his fellowship, Dr. Ugalde compared his experience during Mexico's 2006 presidential election with other cases of contested elections, exploring the factors that increase the likelihood of post-electoral conflict in new and consolidated democracies. On June 2, 2011, he gave a presentation at the NED entitled "The 2012 Mexican Elections: A New Test for Democracy." Dr. Ugalde gave several other talks on Mexico's democratic challenges and 2012 elections, including presentations at Columbia University's School of International Public Affairs, Notre Dame's Kellogg Institute for International Studies, the Eurasia Group, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

**LATIN
AMERICA**

Dr. Luis Ugalde (Mexico)

"Conditions Leading to Post-Electoral Conflict:
The Case of Mexico"

March–July 2011

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“Despite Mexico’s successful transition from a hegemonic party system in 2000, Mexican democracy continues to suffer from weak rule of law, endemic corruption, limited economic growth, and an absence of citizen security. Mexico’s political scene remains dominated by big business, union leaders, and political brokers involved in the same clientelistic bargaining schemes that existed prior to 2000. Today, oil revenues continue to grease the wheels of the system, providing large rents to politicians, corporate heads, and union leaders, all of whom carry on business as usual.



Though the 2012 elections are unlikely to alter the status quo, targeted reforms could bring about gradual systemic change. In particular, laws may be changed to permit reelection, to empower the state to break up monopolies, and to end the mandatory collection of fees by public sector unions. With the right combination of reforms and a healthy dose of determination, Mexico can turn the tide and reinvigorate its democratic momentum.”

—Luis Ugalde, June 2, 2011

Ms. Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh (Iran)

“Engendering the Movement for Democracy in Iran”
February–July 2011

Email: mab.ngotc@gmail.com

“Over the past three decades, the Iranian women’s movement has played a critical role in the campaign for equal rights in Iran, and since the emergence of the Green movement in 2009, women have been equal participants in the struggle for democracy. Indeed, much of the Green movement’s success can be attributed to methods that the women’s movement developed over many years.

While the two movements have influenced one another considerably, they need to continue to find common ground in order to meet the challenges that remain. The women’s movement has not strategized systematically about how to achieve gender



equality in the democratic transition process, and key actors within the Green movement perpetuate gender disparities, remaining insensitive to women’s issues.

In order to draw attention to gender perspectives within the democracy movement, the women’s movement

should use shared values as a starting point for gender discourse and also become engaged with the range of issues confronting the Green movement. Democratic actors in turn can become more inclusive by engaging women in strategic decision-making and by conducting capacity-building programs for them. Media representatives and international donors can bolster women’s voices by providing media platforms to address women’s issues.”

—Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh, June 21, 2011



Ms. Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh is a women’s rights activist, journalist, and filmmaker from Iran. A founding member of the Stop Stoning Forever campaign and the Iranian Women’s Charter Movement, she is currently the coordinator of Zanan TV (www.ZananTV.org), an online television channel that promotes gender equality in Iran. She has served as director of the Non-Governmental Organisation Training Centre, an organization that trains women’s groups throughout Iran, and as editor-in-chief of *Farzaneh Women’s Studies Journal*. During her fellowship, she developed a strategic framework for locating common ground between Iran’s Green movement and the Iranian women’s movement, delivering a NED presentation on June 21, 2011, entitled “Engendering the Movement for Democracy in Iran.” She has been interviewed by Voice of America, BBC, Deutsche Welle, Radio Zamaneh, Rasa TV, and Radio Farda, and she continues to advocate for the incorporation of gender perspectives into Iran’s democratic dialogue.

MIDDLE EAST

2010–2011 VISITING FELLOWS



Dr. Steven Ndegwa (Kenya)

“Building Democracy in Parts: Devolved Funds and Budget-Making in Emerging Democracies”

March–August 2011

Email: sndegwa@worldbank.org

Dr. Stephen Ndegwa is a Lead Public Sector Governance Specialist at the World Bank in Washington, D.C., where he works on issues of political economy, governance reform, and parliamentary effectiveness, as well as decentralization in Africa and East Asia. His fellowship project focused on legislative-driven budget processes and devolved development funds in order to determine governmental effectiveness in meeting citizen expectations. Dr. Ndegwa gave a roundtable presentation on his fellowship topic at NED on April 21, 2011.



Dr. Mary Speck (United States)

“Cuba: Democracy and Revolution, 1950–1962”

October 2010–July 2011

Email: mary.speck@verizon.net

Dr. Mary Speck is a seasoned journalist with experience reporting on Latin America. She holds a Ph.D. in history from Stanford University, where she wrote a dissertation entitled *Let There Be Candy for Everyone: The Politics of Sugar in Cuba: 1902–1952*. During her fellowship, Dr. Speck conducted research concerning Cuba’s failed democratic movement from 1950 to the consolidation of communist rule in the early 1960s.

2010–2011 VISITING LIBRARY FELLOW



Professor Allen Weinstein (United States)

“Odyssey: The Democratic Revolutions of Our Time”

June 2010–May 2011

In 2010–2011, NED’s Democracy Resource Center (DRC) and Visiting Fellows Program made common cause to welcome the first Visiting Library Fellow, **Professor Allen Weinstein**. A distinguished public intellectual who worked on the seminal research study that led to NED’s founding in 1984, Professor Weinstein utilized his fellowship to contribute a treasure trove of materials to NED’s Library, including documents relating to the Endowment’s earliest days. As a Visiting Library Fellow, he worked closely with DRC archivist Anna Yevropina to sort through relevant papers and photographs, and he conducted research for *Odyssey: The Democratic Revolutions of Our Time*, a book manuscript spanning several decades of democratic developments worldwide. During his fellowship, he gave a roundtable presentation chaired by NED president Carl Gershman. “Professor Weinstein has made an invaluable contribution of documentary materials to the Democracy Resource Center for which we are very grateful,” notes Allen Overland, head librarian and the director of the DRC. Professor Weinstein held the title of ninth National Archivist of the United States, leading the National Archives and Records Administration, from 2005–2008. He served as president of the Center for Democracy, a Washington-based nonprofit foundation, from 1985 to 2003.

2010–2011 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES AND INTERNS



Natalie Chang (2010–2011 RA) is currently a graduate student at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.



Ragan Updegraff (2010–2011 RA) joined the NED staff as program assistant, Fellowship Programs in July 2011.



Stephen Wong (Summer 2011 Intern) now serves as program assistant at Johns Hopkins-SAIS's Merrill Center for Strategic Studies.

PROGRAM NEWS

STAFF PROMOTIONS

The Reagan-Fascell program is pleased to announce two staff promotions in 2010–2011. In July 2011, Geoffrey King, our program assistant in 2010–2011 joined the staff of NED's Middle East and North Africa team as assistant program officer for Yemen and southern Iraq. We are grateful to Geoffrey for his many valuable contributions to our program. Replacing him as our new program assistant is Ragan Updegraff, who most recently served as a 2010–2011 research associate, following a year in Turkey on a Fulbright fellowship. We are delighted to welcome Ragan on board and look forward to a close working relationship with him in the period ahead.

STAFF WEDDINGS

Congratulations are in order for staff members Melissa Aten, Jessica Martin Ludwig, and JJ Welling, all three of whom celebrated their weddings in 2010–2011. On May 22, 2010, Melissa got married to Philip Becnel in Washington, D.C. On December 30, 2010, Jessica Martin and Jonathan Ludwig exchanged wedding vows in Katy, Texas. And on July 3, 2011, JJ Welling married her fiancé Anjon Roy in Alexandria, VA.



Jessica and Jonathan Ludwig pose for the camera on their wedding day, December 30, 2010.



Judith (JJ) Welling and Anjon Roy join hands in cutting their wedding cake following an interfaith, Hindu–Unitarian Universalist wedding ceremony held at Mount Vernon Unitarian Church, in Alexandria, VA, on July 3, 2011.

ALUMNI NEWS



Mr. Shahin Abbasov (Azerbaijan) is currently a project manager in Baku for a Joint Program of the Council of Europe and the European Union entitled “Promoting Freedom, Professionalism and Pluralism of the Media in the South Caucasus and Moldova.” In this project, Abbasov is building on his experience as a journalist and civil society practitioner to advance regional media and protect media freedom.



Dr. Thomas Gallagher (U.K.), professor emeritus at the University of Bradford, has begun work on a book manuscript concerning rising sectarian tensions in Britain and how they can most effectively respond. Tentatively entitled *A Future British Civil War?*, the book will draw upon materials that he gathered during his NED fellowship. Dr. Gallagher’s most recently published book, *The Illusion of Freedom: Scotland Under Nationalism* (2009), having benefited substantially from his time as a NED fellow.



Ms. Lyudmila Georgieva (Bulgaria) is executive director of the National Association of Municipal Councillors in Sofia, which promotes effective governance at the local level through trainings for municipal councillors. In 2005, she led an effective campaign by a coalition of NGOs to amend the National Assembly’s Rules of Organization and Procedure, allowing for more government transparency.



Ms. Luz María Helguero (Peru), president of Transparencia, a nongovernmental organization dedicated to strengthening democracy in Peru, continues her work in promoting media freedom and journalistic professionalism in Peru. Over the past eight years, she and the organization she founded in



Luz María Helguero at the offices of Radio Cutivalu, a leading AM radio station in the region of Piura, in northern Peru.

2003, La Red de Periodistas de Provincias (Network of Provincial Journalists), have conducted over 35 women’s empowerment workshops and have provided networking opportunities to more than 2,500 journalists.



Mr. Prem Khanal (Nepal) is associate editor of *Republika*, a Kathmandu-based English daily focusing on Nepalese business and news. As a member of the Nepal Press Institute, he has trained over 200 local journalists in reporting on business and economic news and is the author of the first handbook for economic journalists written in Nepali. Mr. Khanal has been instrumental in initiating a graduate program in business journalism, which will be offered in the coming year at Tribhuvan University, Nepal’s largest and oldest university.



Dr. Marek Kwiek (Poland) recently provided recommendations to the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the World Bank concerning reforms to Poland’s higher education system, drawing upon his expertise in higher education policy and his experience with educational reform in transitional countries. In conjunction with the European Commission, he is also coordinating the Polish EU Presidency Conference on the Modernization of European Universities.



Dr. Thein Lwin (Burma) is chairperson of the Thinking Classroom Foundation, a Chiang Mai–based organization providing educational opportunities through active learning and thinking to disadvantaged children, youth, and teachers. In addition to conducting workshops and teacher trainings through the Foundation’s Teacher Training Center for Burmese Teachers, Dr. Lwin has served as an advisor on school curricula to the Mon Department of Education, the Kachin Department of Education, and Burmese migrant schools in Mae Sot, Thailand.



Mr. Peter Novotny (Slovakia) is applying the insights he gained during his fellowship to his work on electoral processes. During his time at NED, Mr. Novotny investigated election-monitoring and voter-education programs and developed a toolkit for NGOs to use in electoral observations. Since his fellowship, Novotny has conducted election observations in numerous countries, notably serving as the mission coordinator for NDI’s election observation team in Jordan in 2010 and the deputy head of the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations’ mission to Kosovo in 2010. Mr. Novotny has also served on election observation missions to Ethiopia, Estonia, Turkey, and most recently, Nigeria.



Peter Novotny pictured here observing elections in Nigeria with the European Union Election Observation Mission in April 2011.



Ms. Siti Nurjanah (Indonesia) is director of the Women and Youth Development Institute of Indonesia (WYDII), an NGO she co-founded in January 2011 to bolster the participation of women and youth in politics and increase their access to education, economic opportunities, and health care. In collaboration with the Provincial Family Planning Coordination Board, she has launched an advocacy campaign to eliminate child marriage in East Java Province. From May to August 2011, she was a Visiting Scholar at the D.C.-based Project 2049 Institute, where she focused on the roots of factionalism and sectarianism in Indonesia and their implications.



Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma (Nigeria) is program coordinator at the Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN), a Lagos-based association that advocates for police accountability and respect for human rights. In collaboration with the National Human Rights Commission and the National Committee on Torture, NOPRIN has held public tribunals in Nigeria’s six geopolitical zones seeking to bring redress against police abuses and promote civil society engagement in transforming the police. A NED grantee, NOPRIN also promotes police reform through the media, sponsoring television programs on police abuse, including “Above the Law: No Accountability for Police Abuses in Nigeria.”



Mr. Safwat Sidqi (Iraq) was appointed a commissioner with the Electoral Complaint Commission in Afghanistan in May 2010, following a year of service as an electoral advisor with the National Elections Commission of Sudan, in Khartoum. In both positions, Mr. Sidqi has built upon his experience as a commissioner with Iraq’s Independent Electoral Commission, based in Baghdad (2004–2007). A law graduate of Baghdad University, Mr. Sidqi practiced as a lawyer for many years in the city of Suleimaniyah in northern Iraq, where he also co-founded the Kurdistan Human Rights Organization in 1991.

IN MEMORIAM

The Reagan-Fascell program mourns the loss of three of its alumni in 2011: Armenian peace advocate Anahit Bayandur, Belarusian scholar Vitali Silitski, and Nepali human rights activist Suvash Darnal.

Anahit Bayandur (1940–2011)



Anahit Bayandur (Reagan-Fascell Fellow, December 2003–April 2004) passed away on January 7, 2011, at the age of 71. An activist for peace and human rights in the Caucasus,

Anahit was a member of the first convocation of the Supreme Council of Armenia (1990–1995), a co-chair of the Armenian National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, and a well-known translator of Armenian literature. In 1992, she was awarded the Olof Palme Prize, along with Arzu Abdullayeva of Azerbaijan, in recognition of their efforts to promote peace during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

Shortly after her return to Yerevan following her fellowship, Anahit wrote a letter in which she described what her fellowship had meant to her: "When I returned from my fellowship to Yerevan, I joined with the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and other NGOS in a movement to support individuals who had been imprisoned for participating in opposition meetings. This was a well-organized movement that involved collecting petitions, holding rallies, and organizing photo exhibitions. . . . At the same time, I visited a number of NGOs and told them about my work as a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at NED. I gave a 30-minute interview on the AR TV channel, in which I discussed the role of democracy-promoting institutes such as NED and NDI. I talked about the World Movement for Democracy and the seminar series conducted by eminent scholars like Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Ivan Krastev, and Marc Plattner. I also gave a series of interviews to Armenian newspapers on my work and fellowship. I received phone calls, and people stopped me on the street to ask me questions. I must admit that I am very happy to talk about my experiences as I continue to remember my time at NED very fondly."

Vitali Silitski (1972–2011)



Vitali Silitski (Reagan-Fascell Fellow, October 2004–August 2005) passed away on June 11, 2011, at the age of 38, after an extended battle with cancer. Considered one of

"the best political scientist of his generation to emerge from the former Soviet Union," Vitali was a prolific author, whose publications spanned a wide range of themes relating to democratization and authoritarianism in the former USSR. From 1999 to 2003, he was an associate professor of economics at the European Humanities University in Minsk, a position he was forced to leave for publicly criticizing the government of president Alyaksandr Lukashenka. In 2006–2007, he was a visiting scholar at Stanford University, following which he went on to become director of the Belarusian Institute for Strategic Studies. Vitali also worked as a freelance analyst for Freedom House, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and *Oxford Analytica*.

In the words of NED vice president Marc F. Plattner, Vitali "was extraordinarily learned as well as insightful. He was also a dedicated democratic activist and an enormously engaging man. He will be sorely missed not only in the scholarly world, but by his many friends, fellow democrats, and brothers-in-arms."

On September 8, NED, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and PONARS Eurasia cosponsored a memorial symposium entitled "Belarus' Political Prospects: A Panel Discussion with Tribute to Vitali Silitski." Held at CSIS, the event featured a tribute by Sally Blair and a panel discussion with Dzianis Melyantsou, Arkady Moshes, Mitchell A. Orenstein and Lucan Way. Rodger Potocki, NED's senior director for Europe, moderated the discussion.

Suvash Darnal (1980–2011)



Suvash Darnal (Reagan-Fascell Fellow, October 2008–February 2009) was killed in a highway accident outside Washington, D.C., on August 15, 2011. An outspoken voice for the Dalits of Nepal, Suvash was only 31 when he died. He had just completed a Draper Hills Summer Fellowship at Stanford University's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law and was visiting Washington on his way home. In 2000, he co-founded the Jagaran Media Center to build awareness about marginalized groups and train Dalit youth as journalists. In 2008, he became founding director of the Kathmandu-based Samata Foundation, a NED-funded research and advocacy organization dedicated to the political inclusion and socioeconomic emancipation of marginalized groups in Nepal.

On September 14, NED held a memorial symposium entitled "Securing Dalit Rights and Building Democracy in Nepal: The Legacy of Suvash Darnal," featuring remarks by Carl Gershman, Larry Diamond, Iain Guest, Brian Joseph, Tim Rieser, and Krishna Sob; a video message by Suvash's widow; and the presentation of *A Collection of Tributes*. In Kathmandu, the Samata Foundation set up the Suvash Memorial Trust and launched the Samata Annual Lecture Series in Suvash's memory. Professor Marc Galanter of the University of Wisconsin–Madison delivered the first lecture on September 23. That same day, Senator Patrick Leahy issued a statement on Suvash from the Senate floor (see box on right). The statement appeared in the Congressional Record the following day.



On behalf of Suvash's family, Nepali ambassador Shankar Sharma accepts a signed copy of *A Collection of Tributes*, compiled by Zerxes Spencer and presented by Sally Blair.

REMARKS TO THE SENATE BY SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY ON SUVASH DARNAL

September 23, 2011

"Mr. President, I have spoken over the years about the political transformation that has been taking place in Nepal since 2005, from a corrupt, autocratic monarchy to an emerging democracy. . . .

Today I want to speak briefly about caste discrimination, which is at the core of Nepal's feudalistic history. I do so by paying tribute to an extraordinary leader of Nepal's Dalit community, Suvash Darnal, who was tragically killed in a motor vehicle accident in Virginia on August 15, 2011.

Mr. Darnal was only 31 years old when he died, but he had already achieved far more than most people, even people with every advantage, do in a much longer life.

Mr. Darnal was of humble beginnings, with nothing but hardship and unfairness to look forward to. Yet he managed to overcome daunting obstacles to become a respected leader with boundless energy, a quenchless thirst for knowledge, extraordinary vision, and a tireless determination to help improve the lives of his people.

As I have said before in this chamber, Nepal's democracy cannot succeed without the inclusion of minority castes, including Dalits, in political and economic decision-making. Mr. Darnal devoted himself passionately to that cause, through journalism, research, and advocacy.

He was an inspiring example of why caste discrimination has no place in the 21st Century, and his death is a tragic loss not only for Dalits but for all of Nepal. He had the humility, integrity, intellect, and dedication to his people that Nepal needs in its leaders, and I hope others of his generation are inspired by his life and work to continue his legacy. . . ."

REAGAN-FASCELL

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