

## Fellowship Programs

Named in honor of two 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, or cultural aspects of democratic development.

In 2004–2005, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program hosted leading democratic activists, journalists, and scholars from every region of the globe, including Australia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Chechnya, China, Ecuador, Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Montenegro, Nigeria, South Korea, South Africa, Tajikistan, Turkey, and the United States.

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, 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 program organizes an active calendar 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.

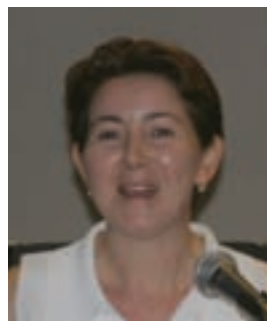
### Reagan-Fascell Fellows in 2004–2005

#### **Fatima Ahmedova (Tajikistan)**

#### **Democracy and Conflict Resolution in Central Asia March–June 2005**

Fatima Ahmedova has served as a lecturer at Khujand State University in Tajikistan and as a leading specialist at the Center for Democratic Transformations, an NGO working to prevent conflict and curb human rights violations in Central Asia. She has worked as a country coordinator and conflict-management specialist for the Swiss Peace Foundation and the United Nations Office for Project Services, both

based in Khujand. During her fellowship, Ms. Ahmedova researched how ethnic and political conflicts in the Ferghana Valley of Central Asia could potentially be resolved to bring peace and democracy to the region. On June 21, 2005, she gave a seminar at NED, titled "Conflict and Democracy in the Ferghana Valley." Her article, "The Future of the Ferghana Valley States," was published in the September 2005 issue of *democracy@large*.



Fatima Ahmedova

#### **Ilyas Akhmadov (Chechnya)**

#### **Chechnya's Struggle for Independence**

#### **October 2004–February 2005**

Ilyas Akhmadov has long been an outspoken advocate of peace, moderation, and independence for Chechnya. He was appointed foreign minister in 1999 by Aslan Maskhadov, who was democratically elected to the presidency of Chechnya in 1997. In February 2003, Mr. Akhmadov presented a comprehensive peace proposal, titled, *The Russian–Chechen Tragedy: Conditional Independence under an International Administration* (coauthored with Roman Khalilov), in which he argued that the only way to solve the Chechen conflict was through democratization of the region and its integration into the international community. During his fellowship, Mr. Akhmadov conducted research on the history of the Chechen conflict and explored potential mechanisms to end the current stalemate in the region. On January 27, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Chechnya's Struggle for Independence."

#### **Dragan Djuric (Montenegro)**

#### **Prospects for Democracy and European Integration in Montenegro**

#### **October 2004–January 2005**

Dragan Djuric is Montenegro's assistant minister for European Integration at the Ministry for International Economic Relations and European Integration in Podgorica. Before joining the Montenegrin government, he served for five years as director of the NGO Center for the Development of Industrial Democracy, in Podgorica. During his fellow-



Dragan Djuric

ship, Mr. Djuric analyzed Montenegro's prospects for accelerating its European integration process within the constitutional framework of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. On January 19, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Montenegro's Prospects for Democracy and European Integration." His article, "Montenegro's Prospects for European Integration: On a Twin Track," appeared in the Winter 2004 issue of the *South-East Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs*.

**Andrew Finkel  
(United States/Turkey)  
Strengthening the Role of  
the Press during a Process of  
Reform: The Case of Turkey  
March–July 2005**

Andrew Finkel is a prominent freelance journalist who has been based in Istanbul, Turkey since 1989. He has served as a correspondent for and as a freelance contributor to a number of publications and broadcasting organizations, including *Time*, *The New York Times*, *the Economist*, and *CNN*. He has also been a featured columnist in the Turkish language press for the daily newspapers *Sabah* and *Milliyet*. Mr. Finkel's fellowship project focused both on the media's ambivalent role in Turkey's current process of reform and on formulating a methodology whereby Turkish journalists can help raise the standards of their own industry. On June 22, 2005, he gave a public presentation titled "How Not to Read a Turkish Newspaper: Promoting Accountability in a Globalized Media Environment."



Raul Gangotena

**Raul Gangotena  
(Ecuador)  
Inclusion and Democracy  
in Ecuador  
April–September 2005**

Ambassador Raul Gangotena served recently as Ecuador's ambassador to the United States. Over his lengthy public career, he has been actively involved in Ecuadorian politics, business, education, and journalism. He has published widely on business and public administration in Latin America and has been a respected op-ed columnist in Ecuador for more than fifteen years. During his fellowship, Ambassador Gangotena examined the history of Ecuador's inclusion of indigenous people and looked at poverty reduction as a strategy for greater political and social inclusion of Ecuador's minority populations. On July 14, 2005, he led a luncheon roundtable on "Corporate Strategies for Promoting Indigenous Poverty Reduction in the Americas," and on October 19, he gave a public presentation titled "Inclusion and Democracy in Ecuador: The Way Forward."

**Hoon Jaung  
(South Korea)  
The Accountability  
Deficit in South Korean  
Foreign Policy Making  
January–July 2005**

Hoon Jaung is a professor of political science at Chung-Ang University in Seoul, Korea. He has served as editor-in-chief of the *Korean International Studies Review* and is author of numerous articles and book

chapters on Korean politics. During his fellowship, Dr. Jaung worked on a major essay concerning



Hoon Jaung

the "accountability deficit" in South Korean foreign policy making since the country's democratic transition. On May 31, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Democratization and Foreign Policy Making in South Korea: From Secret Garden to Town Square." His article, "Political Parties and Foreign Policy Making in South Korea," was scheduled for publication in the January 2006 issue of the *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*.



Guobiao Jiao

**Guobiao Jiao  
(China)  
Historical and Contemporary  
Perspectives on the  
Media in China  
April–August 2005**

Guobiao Jiao was, until recently, associate professor at Beijing University's College of Journalism and Communications. Following the appearance online of his March 2004 essay condemning the Chinese government's Central Propaganda Department and his continued efforts to promote freedom of the press and human rights in China, he was suspended from his teaching duties. During his fellowship, Dr. Jiao wrote

a series of articles on the challenges and prospects for the media in China, including essays in *Modern China Studies*, *Asia Weekly*, and *Guancha*, an online newsletter published by the China Information Center. On July 20, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Perspectives on Censorship in China." In July, Dr. Jiao was also selected as "Outstanding Journalist and Writer of the Year 2005" by the Chan Journalism and Culture Foundation.

### **Abiodun Kolawole (Nigeria)**

#### **Rural Empowerment and Popular Participation in Nigeria October 2004–February 2005**

Abiodun Kolawole has served as a research officer at the Center for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization, an NGO affiliated with the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and the Alliance for Democracy, a Nigerian political party. A leading participant in Nigeria's student and democracy movements, Mr. Kolawole was instrumental in the formation of the United Action for Democracy, a coalition of human rights, labor, and prodemocracy groups committed to social justice, transparency, and good governance. During his fellowship, Mr. Kolawole laid the groundwork for a rural development advocacy organization intended as a mechanism to strengthen civil society in Nigeria. On January 11, 2005, he gave a joint presentation at NED, with Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow Akintola Olaniyan, on "Nigeria at a Crossroads: Perspectives on Civil Society and the Media."

### **Chingiz Mammadov (Azerbaijan)**

#### **The Impact of Regional and International Trends on Democratization in Azerbaijan October 2004–March 2005**

Chingiz Mammadov was, most recently, an economic opportunities program officer



Chingiz Mammadov

at the Baku office of Mercy Corps International, a leading humanitarian assistance organization. He is also chairman of the Azerbaijan Micro-Finance Association and part-time lecturer on management and organization theory at Western and Khazar Universities. During his fellowship, Mr. Mammadov explored the variety of regional and international influences on democratization in Azerbaijan. On February 11, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Democracy in Azerbaijan: Crazy Idea or Realistic Possibility?" along with Brookings Institution scholar Fiona Hill, who served as discussant.

### **Robert Mattes (South Africa/United States)**

#### **Democracy Without the People? Citizens, Institutions, and Economics in the New South Africa March–July 2005**

Robert Mattes is associate professor of political science at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, where he is also director of the Democracy in Africa Research Unit at the Centre for Social Science Research. He has played a leading role in the development of the Afrobarometer, a multinational public-opinion research project that documents and analyzes what Africans think and say about democracy, economic reform, and good governance. While in residence at the International Forum, he worked on a book exploring the successes and failures of South Africa's democratization process and coauthored an article (with Doh Shin), titled "The Democratic

Impact of Traditional Cultural Values in Africa and Asia: The Cases of South Africa and South Korea." On June 17, 2005, Dr. Mattes gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Democracy Without the People: Reassessing the South African Miracle."

### **Michael McFaul (United States)**

#### **International Dimensions of Democratic Breakthroughs April–July 2005**

Michael McFaul is associate professor of political science at Stanford University, where he is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. While in residence at NED, he conducted 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. His article "Transitions from Postcommunism" was published in the July 2005 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*. During his fellowship, he gave a number of presentations, including a July 27, 2005 seminar at NED, titled "Transitions from Postcommunism: An External Dimension?"

### **James Lapani Ng'ombe (Malawi)**

#### **Madala's Grandchildren (a novel) October 2004–January 2005**

James Ng'ombe is executive director of the Malawi Institute of Journalism, which promotes media independence and professionalism through training, research, and writing. One of Malawi's most distinguished and prolific authors, he has published numerous works on political themes, including the novels *Sugarcane with Salt* (1989) and *Madala's Children* (1996). Dr. Ng'ombe also manages a publishing company, runs a radio station, and has taught language and communication at the University of Malawi. During his fellowship, Dr. Ng'ombe completed a sequel to his second novel,

*Madala's Grandchildren*, paying special attention to issues of governance, corruption, and accountability. From November 2004 through January 2005, he led three reading group sessions to discuss chapter drafts with NED staff and Africa experts from Washington, D.C. and New York.

## **Akintola Olaniyan** **(Nigeria)**

### **Watching the Watchdog: The Media and Sustainable Democracy**

**October 2004–February 2005**

Akintola Olaniyan was, until 2004, deputy editor at *The Punch*, Nigeria's most widely read daily newspaper. An accomplished journalist whose writings have helped cultivate an awareness of democracy in



Akintola Olaniyan

Nigeria, Mr. Olaniyan has been actively involved in the work of a Lagos-based NGO, Journalists for Democratic Rights. During his fellowship, he examined the relationship between the media and sustainable democracy and

prepared a media handbook for activists, titled "Reforming the Nigerian Media: A Handbook for Activists" (later printed in Nigeria by the African Media Support Initiative). On January 11, 2005, Mr. Olaniyan gave a joint presentation at NED, with Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow Abiodun Kolawole, on "Nigeria at a Crossroads: Perspectives on Civil Society and the Media."

## **Roland Rich** **(Australia)**

### **Democratization in East Asia** **March–July 2005**

Roland Rich was founding director of the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI), Australia's preeminent institution for

democracy promotion, based at Australian National University in Canberra.

A former diplomat with the Australian foreign service, he has served as Australian ambassador to Laos and as assistant secretary for international organizations at the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. During his fellowship, Mr. Rich completed a book manuscript on democratization in East Asia, titled *Pacific Asia in Quest of Democracy*, to be published by Lynne Rienner in 2006. In his book, Mr. Rich surveys the democratic strides the region has made thus far and gauges its potential for consolidating democracy in the future. On November 22, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Political Parties in Asian Democracies: The Weakest Link?"

## **Yulia Savchenko** **(Kyrgyzstan)**

### **"Civic Journalism" and Democracy in Kyrgyzstan** **October 2004–April 2005**

Yulia Savchenko is a journalist who has achieved public recognition for her talk show, "No Edits," on Pyramid TV in Kyrgyzstan. During her fellowship, Ms. Savchenko examined government-media relations in the United States and American approaches to "civic" or "public" journalism. Her article, "A Catalyst for Change in



Roland Rich



Yulia Savchenko

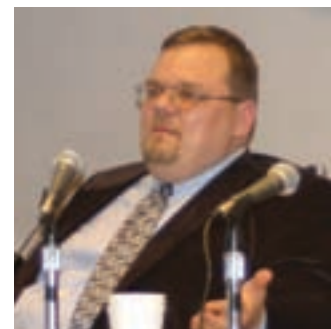
New Democracies," was published in the February 2005 issue of *democracy@large*, and her op-ed, "Waking Up to Revolution," appeared in the April 3, 2005 issue of *The Washington Post*. During her fellowship, Ms. Savchenko also gave a number of interviews, presentations, and briefings, including a talk at NED, titled "Reinventing Democracy through Civic Journalism in Kyrgyzstan," on February 3, 2005.

## **Vitali Silitski** **(Belarus)**

### **Democratic Transitions from Post-Communist Authoritarianism: Serbia and Belarus**

**October 2004–August 2005**

Vitali Silitski is a former associate professor of economics at the European Humanities University in Minsk. He currently works as a freelance writer, commenting extensively for the Belarusian and international press, as well as writing for scholarly publications. During his fellowship, he completed a book manuscript on political developments in Serbia and Belarus, titled *The Long Road from Tyranny: Post-Communist Authoritarianism and the Struggle for Democracy in Serbia and Belarus*. He also wrote a series of articles for Transitions Online, an article on Belarus for Freedom House's Nations in Transit 2004, and an essay titled "Preempting Democracy: The Case of Belarus," for the October 2005 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*. On April 14, 2005, he gave a public presentation at NED, titled "Democratic Breakthroughs in Eurasia: Looking Beyond the Color-Coded Revolutions."



Vitali Silitski



## 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. During the 2004–2005 fellowship year, the Forum hosted visiting fellow **Michael Allen** (Britain).

## 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  
*Abdorrahman 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  
*The 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.  
*Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*

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

Steven Friedman  
*Centre for Policy Studies (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  
*Inter-American Dialogue*

John Harbeson  
*City University of New York*

Harry Harding  
*George Washington University*

Iliya Harik  
*Indiana University*

Jonathan Hartlyn  
*University of North Carolina*

Steven Heydemann  
*Georgetown University*

Donald L. Horowitz  
*Duke University*

Samuel P. Huntington  
*Harvard University*

Saad Eddin Ibrahim  
*Ibn Khaldoun Center for Development Studies (Egypt)*

Richard Joseph  
*Northwestern University*

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