Fellowship Programs

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

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

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

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


Dany Komla Ayida (Togo)
“Building Democracy on the Ruins of Postcolonial Dictatorship”
March–July 2006

Dany Ayida most recently served as program officer at NDI–Burkina Faso, where he focused on capacity building among political parties. A veteran activist for democratic reform in Togo, he founded and coordinated the Concertation Nationale de la Société Civile (CNSC), a network of prodemocracy advocacy groups that observed Togo’s 2003 presidential election. In July 2003, he launched a program named Alternative Togo, which seeks to engage the Togolese diaspora in efforts to enact democratic change. He is also a seasoned journalist whose writings have appeared in La Parole, Nouvel Echo, and Le Temps, a newspaper he founded in 1999.

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

Joel D. Barkan (United States)
“Emerging Legislatures in Emerging African Democracies”
October 2005–July 2006

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

Hossein Bashiriyeh (Iran)
“Political Mobilization and Democratic Transitions”
November 2005–August 2006
Hossein Bashiriyeh is an associate professor of political science at the University of Tehran, where he has taught courses on subjects ranging from political mobilization and development to theories of democratic transitions since 1982. He is the author of 15 books, including (in English) The State and Revolution in Iran (1984) and (in Persian) Transition to Democracy (2005), The Political Sociology of Iran (2001), Obstacles to Political Development in Iran (2000), and The Kingdom of Reason (1995). During his fellowship at NED, he examined the role of political oppositions in moving from “transitional situations” to “actual transitions,” comparing cases of successful and unsuccessful democratic transitions in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Ann Bernstein (South Africa)
“Business and its Role in Newly Democratic Societies”
October 2005–February 2006
Ann Bernstein is founding director of the Center for Development and Enterprise, an independent policy research institute based in Johannesburg. A leading proponent of the importance of economic growth in promoting democracy and sustainable development, she previously served as an executive director of the Urban Foundation, South Africa’s then-premier NGO, which had been instrumental in using the power and influence of business to persuade the apartheid government to reform key aspects of its approach to urbanization. A board member of the Development Bank of Southern Africa between 1995 and 2001, she has published extensively on business, democracy, development, and policy-making in South Africa, including the books Migration and Refugee Policies (with M. Weiner, 1999), Business and Democracy: Cohabitation or Contradiction? (with Peter L. Berger, 1998), and Policy Making in A New Democracy: South Africa’s Challenges for the 21st Century. During her fellowship, Ms. Bernstein researched the role of business in society, especially in developing countries, and the impact of corporations on social, economic, and democratic processes.

Dogu Ergil (Turkey)
October 2005–February 2006
Dogu Ergil is chair of the department of political behavior and a professor of political sociology at Ankara University in Turkey. He is also president and co-founder of the Centre for the Research of Societal Problems (TOSAM), based in Ankara. A renowned expert on terrorism, European integration, and the Kurdish minority, Dr. Ergil has written 21 books and dozens of articles and research papers. He has also served as an advisor to Turkey’s former ministers of internal and external affairs and as a special advisor to the president of the Turkish Chambers of Commerce and Industry. In 2004, TOSAM took on the challenging work of putting together a comprehensive youth democracy training program, which was tested among high school and university students in southeastern Turkey. During his fellowship, Dr. Ergil completed this project by preparing a training manual, tentatively titled Democracy and Effective Citizenship Training: A Handbook. He also worked on a monograph concerning citizens’ attitudes toward secular and religious politics in Turkey.
Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.  
(United States)  
“Attempted Democratic Breakthroughs in Postcommunist Societies”  
September–January 2006
Charles Fairbanks most recently served as director of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. His areas of expertise include the politics of Russia, Central Asia, and the Caucasus, strategic and security issues in the region; and human rights and democratization. He is the author of The Allure of Summits (2000) and numerous articles, including “Georgia’s Rose Revolution” (Journal of Democracy, April 2004), “Disillusionment in the Caucasus and Central Asia” (Journal of Democracy, October 2001), “Gorbachev’s Cultural Revolution,” (Commentary, August 1989), and “The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia 1917–1991” (Commentary, 1994). During his fellowship, he conducted a comparative study of democratic breakthroughs in the postcommunist world, a project that culminated in the publication of his article, “Revolution Reconsidered,” in the January 2007 issue of the Journal of Democracy.

Elena Gerasimova  
(Russia)  
“Social and Labor Rights Advocacy in Russia”  
March–July 2006
Elena Gerasimova is director and co-founder of the Center for Social and Labor Rights, an NGO that promotes economic equity, civil rights, and labor rights in Russia. A leading labor attorney who advocates improved wages and working conditions for Russian citizens and assists trade unions to defend their rights, she is also a specialist in laws regulating civil procedure and freedom of association. She has lectured on labor law at Moscow State University and the All-Russian Academy for International Trade and has published widely on the subject. During her fellowship, Dr. Gerasimova compared Russian and U.S. approaches to preventing discrimination in labor relations and dispute resolution and explored the U.S. legal community’s relationship with labor NGOs, including the relationships of American NGOs with governmental bodies, how legal experts provide counsel to NGOs, and how NGOs work to accommodate international guidelines governing human rights. Her research culminated in a strategy memorandum aimed at guiding the Center for Social and Labor Rights in its future activities and work.

Guillermo Jorge  
(Argentina)  
“Bridging the North and South Anticorruption Agendas”  
April–August 2006
Guillermo Jorge is a lawyer currently working in anticorruption and asset recovery programs for different Latin American governments and international institutions. He is also a professor of law at the Universidad de San Andres in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mr. Jorge worked for several years with renowned attorney Luis Moreno Ocampo as a partner in Moreno Ocampo’s law firm. Mr. Jorge litigated several cases before the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights. Considered “one of the experts in the region in asset recovery,” he has served as pro bono legal adviser for Transparency International and Poder Ciudadano. During his fellowship, Mr. Jorge laid the groundwork for establishing a research center in Argentina that focuses on the issue of corruption. He also produced a policy memorandum on asset recovery issues for Latin American law enforcement agencies.
Nozima Kamalova
(Uzbekistan)
“Civil Rights and the War Against Terror in Uzbekistan”
October 2005–March 2006

Nozima Kamalova is founding chair of the Legal Aid Society of Uzbekistan (LAS), a leading nongovernmental organization that safeguards and promotes the rule of law and human rights in Uzbekistan by investigating high profile human rights abuses and providing free legal services to the poor. Under Ms. Kamalova’s direction, LAS also works with a number of respected international human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Human Rights First. A highly respected attorney who has been on the frontlines of the struggle for human rights and democracy in Uzbekistan, Ms. Kamalova has been instrumental in the revision of several Uzbek laws related to torture and human rights. Her lobbying activities have influenced a large number of policies and legislation adopted both internationally and in Uzbekistan. During her fellowship, Ms. Kamalova explored the impact of security measures in the “war against terror” on democratic freedoms and civil rights.

Miria Matembe
(Uganda)
“Strengthening Women’s Democratic Participation in Uganda”
March–July 2006

Miria Matembe has been at the forefront of the struggle for women’s rights in Uganda for over two decades. Until recently a member of Uganda’s parliament, she served as Uganda’s minister for ethics and integrity from 1998 to 2003, when she was appointed to the Pan-African Parliament, an initiative of the African Union. She has held a number of previous appointments, including chairperson of Action for Development, Uganda’s leading women’s advocacy organization; member of the Uganda Constitutional Commission; and deputy general secretary of the seventh Pan-African Congress (held in Kampala in 1990). She is the author of Miria Matembe: Gender, Politics, and Constitution Making in Uganda (2002) and of several articles on women in politics. During her fellowship, she conducted a comparative study of women’s involvement in the political affairs of different democracies and wrote a blueprint for the establishment of a center promoting women’s participation in Ugandan politics.

Penda Mbow
(Senegal)
“Citizenship and the Separation of Islam and the State in Senegal”
October 2005–February 2006

Penda Mbow is associate professor of history at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, where she has published widely on African political and social issues, often focusing on the role of Islam in Africa. She previously served as Senegal’s minister of culture and as cultural advisor to the Senegalese department of ethnography and historical heritage. Dr. Mbow has received numerous academic awards, including a Fulbright grant to study at Michigan State University and a Rockefeller Foundation award for research at the Bellagio Center in Italy. In recognition of her achievements as a scholar, thinker, and political activist, she was named Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur Française in 2003 and Commandeur de l’Ordre National du Mérite in 1999. Among her many areas of expertise are African intellectual history and Islamic gender studies. During her fellowship, Dr. Mbow researched the evolution of Islam’s relationship with democracy in Senegal, as well as the interplay between women, human rights, and religion in Islamic societies.
**Grigorij Meseznikov**  
(Slovakia)  
“The Role of Think Tanks in Democratic Transitions and in Democratic Policy Making”  
March–July 2006

Grigorij Meseznikov is the president and program director of the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO), widely considered one of Slovakia’s most influential think tanks. In addition to editing *A Global Report on the State of Society*, IVO’s annual scorecard on Slovak democracy, for the last ten years, Mr. Meseznikov also contributed to Freedom House’s annual *Nations in Transit* from 1999 to 2004. He was a senior researcher of political science and international relations at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where he published numerous articles that pushed for democratic reforms. He also served as a member of the advisory board to the Democratic Party, a center-right political party that was part of the coalition that brought down the Meciar regime in 1998. During his fellowship, Mr. Meseznikov examined the ways in which think tanks in advanced democracies influence the policy-making process in order to apply lessons learned to Slovakia.

**Vandita Mishra**  
(India)  
“Democracy and the Party System: Possibilities and Constraints of India’s Party System”  
March–July 2006

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

**Alina Mungiu Pippidi**  
(Romania)  
“A Democratic Agenda for State Building”  
October 2005–February 2006

Alina Mungiu Pippidi is director of the Romanian Academic Society, one of Romania’s foremost think tanks and a leading policy advocacy group in the region. She is an analyst for Freedom House’s annual *Nations in Transit* survey for Romania, in addition to serving as a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme in the Balkans and to the World Bank in the Caucasus. Internationally recognized as one of Romania’s most original thinkers, she has produced countless books and articles on Central European politics, as well as a critically acclaimed play. In the fall of 2004, Dr. Mungiu Pippidi helped initiate the Coalition for a Clean Parliament, an anticorruption campaign that sought to discourage the election of politicians with a record of corruption. During her fellowship, she wrote a paper on anticorruption and public integrity campaigns within the broader framework of state-building.
Andrei Piontkovsky  
(Russia)  
“Russian Political Elites and the Challenge of the 21st Century”  
October 2005–February 2006  
Andrei Piontkovsky has served as director of the Center for Strategic Research in Moscow, a Russian think tank that endeavors to support Russia’s political development through research and consultation on a wide range of reform issues, from the rule of law to economic policy. He has also been a columnist for a number of Russian publications, including the Moscow Times, Novaya Gazetta, Russia Journal, and the online journal Grani.ru, as well as a regular political commentator for the BBC World Service and Radio Liberty in Moscow. A renowned Russian political analyst and one of Russia’s foremost political commentators, Dr. Piontkovsky has been a consistent and outspoken critic of Putin’s model of “managed” democracy. His articles on international affairs and post-Soviet political development have been widely published and cited by Russian, European, and U.S. media. During his fellowship, he explored U.S. policy toward Russia and its implications for democracy promotion in Russia.

Aasiya Riaz  
(Pakistan)  
“How Think Tanks and Other Research Centers Strengthen Democracy”  
March–July 2006  
Aasiya Riaz is founding director of the Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT), an independent, nonpartisan research institution established to strengthen democratic governance, monitor legislative performance, and enhance public participation in policymaking in Pakistan. She has been involved in conceptualizing and implementing a wide range of PILDAT’s programs and activities, including capacity-building workshops for legislators, the formulation of issue-based caucuses across parties, and the publication of democracy reports on policy issues. She previously worked as an editorial writer for the Nation, a leading English-language newspaper, and as deputy editor of Pakistan Calling, an international monthly magazine. During her fellowship, she studied U.S. think tanks and the Congressional Research Service to consider their contribution to the democratic process in America. Based on her findings, she wrote a series of articles on the role of research institutions in deepening democracy in Pakistan.

Tin-May (Judy) Thein  
(Burma)  
“Civil Society and the Democracy Movement in Burma”  
March–August 2006  
Tin-May (Judy) Thein was, until her retirement in 2005, a political specialist at the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon where she analyzed and interpreted local political, economic, and social developments for the U.S. mission and supported the promotion of human rights and democracy in Burma. As the embassy’s senior-most local employee, she served as a vital link between the U.S. embassy and Burmese political groups, evaluating and relaying information essential to the formulation of U.S. foreign policy toward Burma. A steadfast proponent of democratic change in her country, Ms. Thein won the U.S. Department of State’s Foreign Service National of the Year Award in 1998 and its Meritorious Honor Award in 1997 and 2001. Ms. Thein spent her fellowship exploring strategies for strengthening civil society and the Burmese democracy movement, including ways in which the international community may assist in their efforts.
Visiting Fellows Program

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

Michael McFaul, United States
Visiting Fellow (nonresidential)
October 2005–July 2006
International Dimensions of Democratic Breakthroughs

Michael McFaul is associate professor of political science at Stanford University, where he is also a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. Prior to joining the Stanford faculty, he worked for two years as a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Carnegie Moscow Center. One of the world’s leading scholars on Russian and U.S.-Russian affairs, Dr. McFaul has authored or coauthored numerous books and monographs, including Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform (2004) and Russia’s Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin (2001). His most recent research has focused on a comparative study of countries that have undergone successful democratic breakthroughs and those that have not, paying special attention to the role external actors have played in shaping political outcomes.

International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council

Lahouari Addi
Institut d’Etudes Politiques (France)

Muthiah Alagappa
East-West Center

Abdulahi An-Na’im
Emory University

Lisa Anderson
Columbia University

Pauline Baker
The Fund for Peace

Shaul Bakhash
George Mason University

Joel D. Barkan
University of Iowa

Peter L. Berger
Boston University

Nancy Bermeo
Princeton University

Ladan Boroumand
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
Brookings Institution

Nikiforos Diamandouros
National Center for Social Research (Greece)

Denise Dresser
Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

John B. Dunlop
Stanford University

Donald Emmerson
Stanford University

João Carlos Espada
Portuguese Catholic University

Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.
Hudson Institute

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

Steven Friedman
Institute for Democracy in South Africa

Francis Fukuyama
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

Sumit Ganguly
Indiana University

Louis W. Goodman
American University

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

Stephan Haggard
University of California at San Diego

Chaibong Hahm
University of Southern California
Peter Hakim  
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  
Orange Circle

Ibrahim Karawan  
University of Utah

Terry Lynn Karl  
Stanford University

Byung-kook Kim  
Korea University

Atul Kohli  
Princeton University

Ivan Krastev  
Centre for Liberal Strategies (Bulgaria)

Bolívar Lamounier  
Augurium Consulting (Brazil)

Peter Lewis  
Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies

R. William Liddle  
Ohio State University

Arend Lijphart  
University of California at San Diego

Juan J. Linz  
Yale University

Abraham F. Lowenthal  
University of Southern California

Scott Mainwaring  
University of Notre Dame

Kanan Makiya  
Brandeis University

Vincent Maphai  
South African Breweries

José María Maravall  
Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones (Spain)

Cynthia McClintock  
George Washington University

Michael McFaul  
Stanford University

Fatima Mernissi  
Mohamed V University (Morocco)

Leonardo Morlino  
Universita degli Studi di Firenze (Italy)

Alina Mungiu-Pippidi  
Romanian Academic Society

Joshua Muravchik  
American Enterprise Institute

Yasmeen Murshed  
Center for Analysis & Choice (Bangladesh)

Andrew J. Nathan  
Columbia University

Joan M. Nelson  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Ghia Nodia  
Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development (Georgia)

Guillermo O’Donnell  
University of Notre Dame

Martha Brill Olcott  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Ergun Özbudun  
Bilkent University (Turkey)

Thomas Pangle  
University of Texas

Minxin Pei  
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Adam Przeworski  
New York University

Robert Putnam  
Harvard University

Peter Reddaway  
George Washington University

Aníbal Romero  
Simón Bolívar University (Venezuela)

Richard Rose  
University of Aberdeen (Scotland)

Jacques Rupnik  
Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (France)

Chai-Anan Samudavanija  
Chaiyong Limthongkul Foundation (Thailand)

Robert A. Scalapino  
University of California at Berkeley

Andreas Schedler  
Center for Research and Economic Education (Mexico)

Philippe Schmitter  
Instituto Universitario Europeo (Italy)

Stephen Sestanovich  
Columbia University

Lilia Shevtsova  
Carnegie Moscow Center (Russia)

Richard L. Sklar  
University of California at Los Angeles

Aleksander Smolar  
The Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)

Stephen John Stedman  
Stanford University

Nathan Tarcov  
University of Chicago

Vladimir Tismaneanu  
University of Maryland at College Park

Elizabeth Ungar  
Congreso Visible (Colombia)

Ashutosh Varshney  
University of Michigan

Nicholas van de Walle  
Cornell University

Laurence Whitehead  
Oxford University

Jan Zielonka  
Oxford University