

## EXPERTS LOOK AT NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE GLOBAL ERA



The panel poses for a photo after the event. Pictured from left to right are Brent Scowcroft, Richard Williamson, Jim Kolbe, Lawrence Eagleburger, Pete Hoekstra, John Lehman and Richard Burt.

Challenges that will face the next presidential administration was the topic at a foreign policy panel hosted by the International Republican Institute (IRI) during the Republican National Convention, in St. Paul, Minnesota.

In a lively discussion former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, former National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, former U.S. Ambassador to Germany Richard Burt, Congressman Pete Hoekstra, former Secretary of the Navy John Lehman, former Ambassador to the United Nations Richard

Williamson, and former Congressman Jim Kolbe discussed the dangers of a nuclear Iran, a resurgent Russia, China's growing economy and international political influence. The panel also debated the state of the U.S. intelligence community and the importance of the U.S. developing strong relationships with international organizations like the United Nations and the World Bank. In opening the event, Congressman Kolbe highlighted how complex the world has become in the past eight years with a growing focus on terrorism, Russia, the emergence of China as a

political and economic superpower, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. General Scowcroft echoed those sentiments. "During the Cold War we were focused on a single target. Now we're focused on 192 countries... We don't know where the threats are coming from."

While panelists agreed that the U.S. will need to build stronger relationships within the international community to meet many of the challenges the next administration will face, Secretary Eagleburger noted that the U.S. cannot expect these organizations to resolve every problem.

Rich Williamson reminded the audience of the limitations of the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund. "The United States has to be smarter about what issues they look to the UN to make a contribution...there are places it [the United Nations] can play a role in norm setting and other things that are very valuable. In non-proliferation it has made a contribution. But we should be more clear-eyed when we think we can go to the Security Council to do certain things. There are some things that just aren't going to happen."

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See Global Era*

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# MAKING DEMOCRACY DELIVER: GOOD GOVERNANCE IN LATIN AMERICA



Representatives from civil society and the Mayor's office in Potosi, Bolivia participate in a local radio show.

For 25 years, IRI has worked with political parties, parliaments and civil society organizations to advance democracy. Public opinion research data shows that citizens around the world, in old and new democracies, can become disillusioned with their leaders when campaign promises are not kept. Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela, for example, have seen populist movements rise to power in response to previous

governments failing to address the concerns of citizens and deliver basic services.

IRI has designed and implemented a series of good governance programs in Latin America to recover citizen's faith in democracy. The Institute works alongside mayors, governors and other government officials to encourage and facilitate the implementation of

transparent strategic planning that is responsive to citizen priorities and participatory policy development. IRI also works with civic organizations so that they constructively advocate for more accountable and responsive leadership and services from government. In Honduras, IRI is working with the municipal government of Cane to develop a budget with public involvement and debate. In Mexico, IRI has organized civil society organizations into Citizen Advisory Boards which are designing and proposing policy recommendations to their municipal governments. And, in Bolivia, IRI sponsors a weekly radio show in which callers ask public officials questions.

In all of its governance programs, IRI conducts public opinion research in order to obtain up-to-date information on citizen needs and perceptions of government. This information helps elected officials develop public initiatives and, perhaps most importantly, brings the voice of the community directly to government representatives.

In Latin America, the Institute conducts governance programming in Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico.

## THE OFFICE OF TRANSPARENCY

Since 2008, IRI has been working with the Colombian Presidential Program of Anti-Corruption and the Municipal Government of Soacha to promote municipal good governance.

Among other cooperative activities, the partnership spearheaded the creation of an Office of Transparency where citizens can access information on public finances, programs and services, as well as process complaints related to the municipal administration. This office serves as a tool for transparency and

as an instrument to fight corruption, allowing and encouraging citizens to perform oversight of public resources and participate in local decision-making processes.

IRI has most recently worked with the municipal staff on making local government documents available to the office and has been working on an informative campaign that invites citizens to visit the newly inaugurated Office of Transparency.



Mayor José Ernesto Martínez (left) and Oscar Ortíz, Director of the Office of Anti-Corruption, open the Office of Transparency.



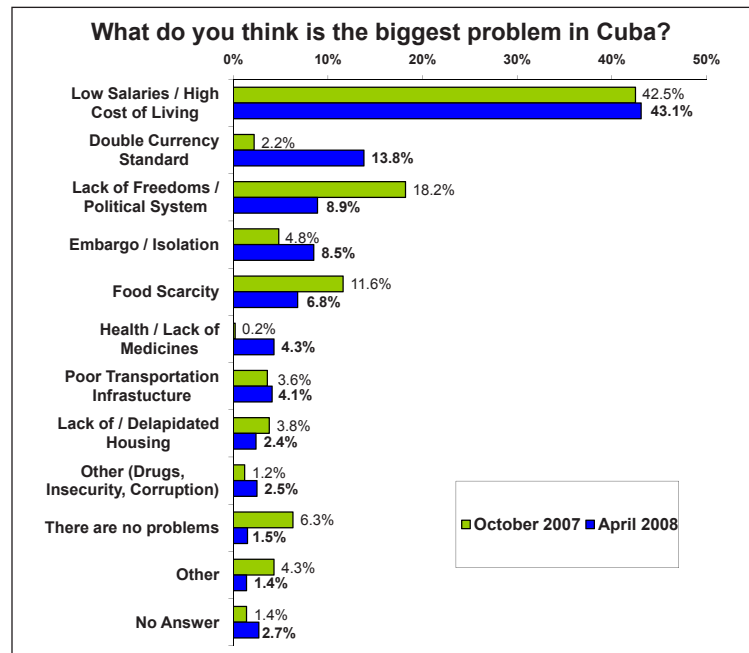
# IRI POLLS OFFER INSIGHT INTO CUBA

As reported in *The New York Times* on June 5, 2008, IRI is one of a few organizations in the world to have conducted credible public opinion research in Cuba without censorship by the Castro regime. By utilizing creative and subtle polling techniques to avoid scrutiny by the Cuban government, IRI is able to capture periodic snapshots of public sentiment on the Caribbean Island. These snapshots portray a Cuban population that wants new leaders, new opportunities and a new way of life.

Dissatisfaction and desire for political and economic change are constant themes which run through IRI's most recent survey, conducted in Cuba last spring and released in June. More than 60 percent of the 585 survey respondents say they would vote against Raul Castro and the Communist Party if given the chance in free elections, while approximately 80 percent hope for free-market economic reform. Finally, nearly 85 percent of Cubans want to use cell phones and the Internet, both of which are widely unattainable to the general public.

Raul Castro's succession of Fidel Castro in February 2008 initially created expectations for small policy alterations, yet IRI's survey found that 70 percent of Cubans lack any confidence that the country's situation will improve under Raul. In fact, Cuba's current social and economic environment has continued to worsen under Raul, particularly in the wake of Hurricanes Gustav, Ike and Poloma, which all hit between August and November 2008. The impact of the hurricanes is perhaps the worst natural disaster the island has experienced in the last half century and has further evidenced the worsening economic and social situation in which most Cubans find themselves.

While polling is not necessarily outlawed in Cuba, it is highly supervised and regulated by the government, thereby ensuring that only approved polls are released. To overcome this



IRI polls conducted in October 2007 and April 2008 show changes in Cuban public opinion, while showing Cubans remain consistently concerned about economic and political issues.

challenge, IRI utilizes a unique methodology in which non-Cuban Latin Americans usually posing as tourists, discreetly ask their questions to Cubans in public areas. The survey has a four percent margin of error and a 95 percent confidence level.

By demonstrating that there is common desire for economic reforms, democratic systems, freedom of speech and access to information, IRI sees the poll results, which are transmitted back to the island, as an important agent for change in Cuba. Using the polls, Cuba's growing civil society is able to define platforms for small, but significant steps toward greater economic and social freedoms.

## IRI & NDI OFFER RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION

Lorne Craner, President of IRI and Ken Wollack, President of the National Democratic Institute co-authored *New Directions for Democracy Promotion*. In concluding the paper, Craner and Wollack call for the next administration to implement the following recommendations:

- Re-energize U.S. alliances among democratically minded nations;
- Commit diplomatic resources to fixing the United Nations' new Human Rights Council;
- Enshrine democracy promotion as one of the key pillars of U.S. foreign policy in the National Security Doctrine;
- Announce continued or expanded funding for democracy support programs within various agencies of the U.S. government;
- Announce continued funding of the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Community of Democracies;
- Announce continued support for congressionally initiated funding for democracy support programs in Iraq; and
- Ensure that the value of democracy promotion efforts is understood by American diplomats through enhanced programs by the Foreign Service Institute.

## CRITICAL INFORMATION PROVIDED BY IRI POLLS



In Punjab, Pakistan, an interviewer questions a mother in a poll conducted by IRI.

The year 2008 was pivotal for supporters of Pakistan's turbulent experiment with multi-party democracy. After eight years of government installed by military coup, a coalition of opposition parties was voted into power in parliament and a new president into office. Pakistan's political parties credited polls, conducted by IRI, as an important factor in returning the country to civilian rule.

In 1999, many Pakistanis felt politicians had lost touch with their concerns. Unaware of the growing resentment against them, the ruling parties did not anticipate the coup that removed them from power. Understanding and addressing the public's concern is a key part of rehabilitation for these parties, once again in power.

As the parties prepared for the February 2008 national elections, IRI polling data was used to develop campaign agendas that addressed voter concerns and guided

the parties in forming coalitions to oppose ruling party candidates, avoiding a splintered opposition.

Once in power, Pakistan's new leaders came under intense pressure from the electorate to respond to constituent needs. As they have allowed issues such as the restoration of former judges and the removal of former President Pervez Musharraf from office to overshadow bread-and-butter issues, they have risked losing the hard won credibility and momentum acquired through elections.

To ensure that political parties in the government and opposition are able to gauge constituent concerns and implement a legislative agenda that meets the needs of the country, IRI will continue to use public opinion research to assist elected officials in national and provincial government with message development, strategy and implementation.

## IRI HOSTS OBSERVERS FOR HISTORIC U.S. ELECTIONS

With the eyes of the world watching, Americans went to the polls on November 4 to elect the 44<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. The historic election brought observers from all over the world to witness voting and ballot counting throughout the country. IRI, which often observes elections abroad, hosted delegations from Argentina, Austria, Egypt, Pakistan and Thailand and coordinated a day of election briefings on the political landscape, elections processes and activities of the two presidential campaigns.

Prior to Election Day, delegates received an overview of the campaigns and the critical components in this year's races from IRI Board Member



Pakistani observers speak with a polling official in Alexandria, Virginia.



Frank Fahrenkopf, Jr. who also serves as Co-Chairman of the Commission on Presidential Debates. They also heard from Democratic and Republican consultants Chris Kofinis and Terry Nelson who gave the insiders' perspectives on the final stretch of the campaigns. Attorneys Mark Braden and Karl Sandstrom briefed the delegates on the structure of the U.S. election system, including a look at the party primaries and conventions, the role of the Federal Elections Commission and state and local election authorities, campaign finance regulations and the Electoral College. Democratic pollster Celinda Lake and Republican pollster Ed Goetas briefed delegates on the make-up and views of American voters.

Delegation members were also able to meet with representatives from the presidential campaigns, attend campaign rallies, visit local phone bank operations and observe door-to-door literature distribution. On Election Day delegates witnessed voting and ballot counting in the District of Columbia, Maryland, New York and Virginia.



## IRI SUPPORTS NEW PARTNERSHIP OF ASIAN-PACIFIC DEMOCRACIES



*A woman casts her ballot in Ulaanbatar, Mongolia.*

As Mongolians headed to the polls to elect a new parliament this summer, monitors representing the Asia Pacific Democracy Partnership (APDP) were there to ensure the process was free and transparent. After monitoring voting and ballot counting throughout the country, the delegation said they were “confident the elections would provide a result consistent with the will of the Mongolian people.” The election observation mission was the first effort by the APDP, which was established in September 2007 to support Asian countries committed to democratic principles and open, pluralistic societies.

With its decades-long election observation expertise, IRI assisted in the organization and deployment of the mission. Delegates from Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Timor-Leste and the United States were briefed by representatives

of Mongolia’s political parties, election officials and civil society in the days immediately preceding the election. On Election Day, teams of delegates were then deployed to witness the voting and counting process at more than 110 individual voting centers. Although the delegation was pleased with the process they did note some areas of concern, including the length of time it took to count the ballots.

As a result of its first successful election observation, APDP has decided to support upcoming elections in Bangladesh, further solidifying its mission of support for peaceful and democratic change throughout Asia. Over the next year, APDP partners have agreed to explore additional ways to coordinate and provide democracy-related assistance to their neighbors in the region.

## DEMOCRACY'S HERO: SHERRY REHMAN

One of only two women cabinet members in the current government, former journalist and television anchor Sherry Rehman has worked for democracy in Pakistan for decades, enduring personal injuries, threats from extremists and the loss of her close friend and political party leader Benazir Bhutto. As a member of parliament representing the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), she worked diligently to initiate democratic reforms and was the architect of several bills in support of press freedoms and women's empowerment.



Rehman at an IRI training.

Rehman worked closely with former Prime Minister Bhutto to campaign for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Braving arrests, tear-gassing and confinement by security agencies on several occasions, she helped coordinate party activists around the country and participated in several peaceful protests demanding the end of military rule. Present at Bhutto's assassination, Rehman did not yield in her demands for democratic reforms and intensified efforts to bring about change through the ballot box.

In the run-up to the February 2008 parliamentary and provincial elections, as part of IRI's political party work, Rehman and members of her party worked with IRI to improve the PPP's ability to run issue-based campaigns and strengthen party structures. Rehman also became a key member of IRI's public opinion polling steering committee, composed of all major parliamentary political parties to provide political party input on poll questionnaires.

As election results brought the PPP to power, Sherry Rehman was appointed Minister for Information and Broadcasting where she continues to help solidify democratic gains.

## IRI HIGHLIGHTS AND



Kolbe (left) greets Aldo Estrada, the first Vice President of Congress of Peru.

From June 22-26, IRI Board Member Jim Kolbe and IRI Vice President for Programs Elizabeth Dugan traveled to Lima, Peru to meet with key Peruvian party leaders and congressional representatives. Among the highlights of the trip were visits to businesses run by alumni of IRI entrepreneurial training courses.

IRI President Lorne Craner was awarded the Lithuanian Millennium Star award by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Kirkilas at an award ceremony in Washington, DC on July 1.

Europe Director Lindsay Lloyd met with Macedonian Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski on July 2 to discuss the government's plans to continue an anti-corruption public awareness campaign that has drawn on IRI's assistance.

On July 29, Dugan and Pat Merloe with the National Democratic Institute spoke at a State Department-sponsored panel on the

role of the United States in promoting human rights and democracy abroad to a group of international participants.

On August 20, Craner and IRI Executive Vice President Judy Van Rest met with Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) Secretary General Pagan Amum and his deputies. The delegation discussed the SPLM's campaign strategy in upcoming elections, the need for voter education, coalition building and internal party management improvements.

On September 11, Craner met with the Speaker of the Georgian Parliament David Bakradze, in Washington DC. Speaker Bakradze thanked IRI for its role in facilitating the signing of a charter between the ruling government and political opposition parties.



Senator Chuck Hagel (center) meets with the Afghan counter-narcotics delegation.

IRI hosted a seven-member delegation of Afghan members of parliament from September 14-24. The group met with IRI board member U.S. Senator Chuck



# EVENTS

**Hagel**, officials from the Drug Enforcement Agency and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and local government officials in New Mexico involved in drug interdiction to learn about counter-narcotics strategies.

On September 15, IRI, along with the National Democratic Institute, U.S. Agency for International Development and the Congressional Research Service, hosted a reception for the **House Democracy Assistance Commission's latest Member of Parliament Visitor Program**, which included legislators from Afghanistan, Haiti, Liberia and Timor-Leste.

IRI's Eurasia Director **Stephen Nix** testified before the **Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe** (U.S. Helsinki Commission) on September 16. The hearing, *Business as Usual? Belarus on the Eve of Elections*, explored President Lukashenko's continued efforts to block democratic development in Belarus.

From September 24-27, IRI hosted a delegation of members of the **Afro Colombian Congressional Caucus** in Washington, DC. The delegation participated in a series of training workshops and briefings on Capitol Hill to help the caucus members strengthen their legislative agenda,

organizational structure and representative capacity.

Craner and Van Rest met with the **Mongolian Prime Minister Sanjaagiin Bayar** on September 25. The Prime Minister thanked IRI for its work in Mongolia and requested IRI continue working in the region.

On September 22, IRI hosted **Dr. Alyksandr Kazulin** of Belarus. Kazulin, a recently-free political prisoner, used his visit to Washington, DC and New York as an opportunity to thank the U.S. for continuing to work for his freedom and warned about the temptation to legitimize Lukashenko's administration in the future for the benefit of business interests.



Craner (right) discusses democracy issues with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice at a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion.

Craner chaired a meeting of the **Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Democracy Promotion** on October 8. During the meeting, the group discussed policy recommendations and their potential implementation.



Craner (left), Ware (center) and Taylor in front of the newly erected monument to the Holodomor.

Craner, along with the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William B. Taylor and the former U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Finland Marilyn Ware, joined the Presidential Delegation Commemorating the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Holodomor in Kyiv, Ukraine on November 21.

# GLOBAL ERA

Kolbe went on to ask the panel what issues the new President should focus on immediately upon taking office. The responses from the panel ranged from the importance of a president developing a strong relationship with congress to listening to quality security personnel. The panel also advised the future U.S. President to focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and noted the regional significance a stable Iraq would have in the Middle East.

International guests attending the event included diplomats and world leaders.

## IRI CONGRATULATES...

IRI's Vice President for Programs **Elizabeth Dugan** was appointed as a Member of the Board to the Vietnam Education Foundation (VEF). The VEF is a U.S. federal agency created by the U.S. Congress to help strengthen science and technology in Vietnam through educational exchange and capacity building.

**Alex Sutton** took on the role of Regional Director of Latin American and the Caribbean programs in May 2008. He previously served as IRI's Resident Country Director in Colombia, and has worked on IRI programs in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia and Nigeria. Sutton worked at IRI in the mid-1990's, returning in 2003 after serving in administrations for two Massachusetts governors.

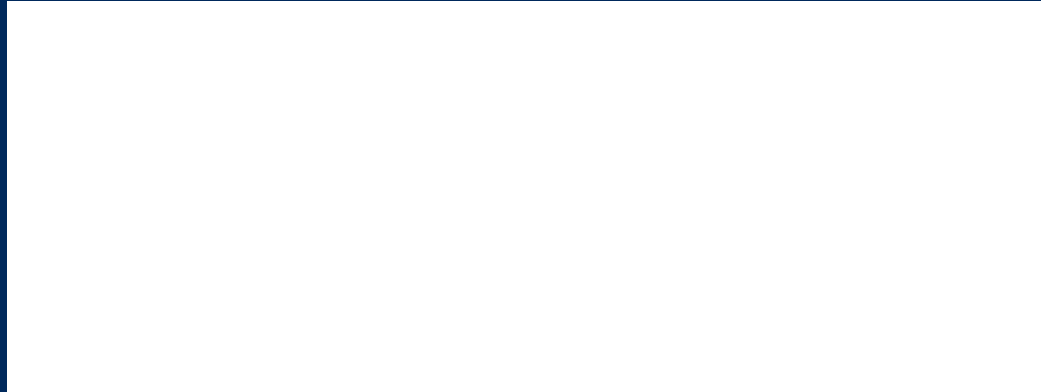
**Scott Pool** was appointed Deputy Director of the Africa Division in May 2008. Pool previously served as Resident Country Director for IRI's West Bank/Gaza program. Pool has more than a decade of public policy experience, as well as serving six years as the Regional Director for U.S. Representative Kevin Brady.



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