

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter



2008-2009





Reagan-Fascell Staff (clockwise from bottom left): director Sally Blair, program assistant Jessica Martin, senior Forum administrator Maria Angelica Fleetwood, research and conferences officer Melissa Aten, and manager Zerxes Spencer.

Greetings from the National Endowment for Democracy!

On behalf of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, I am pleased to share this 2008–2009 Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletter with you. Now in our ninth year of operation, we are proud to be associated with 130 alumni from over 60 countries.

Established in 2001 by the U.S. Congress 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 the International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED’s research and publications arm, in Washington, D.C., which offers a collegial environment to conduct research, exchange ideas with counterparts, and build ties that contribute to a global network of democracy advocates.

In 2008–2009, we were pleased to support the work of leading democrats from Algeria, Argentina, Chad, Egypt, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Russia, Senegal, Sudan, Ukraine, and the United States. Central messages drawn from their fellowship presentations are highlighted in the pages that follow. We look forward to continuing to stand in solidarity with those working to build democratic institutions around the world.

Sincerely,

Sally Blair

*Sally Blair
Director, Fellowship Programs*

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This *Newsletter* was produced by Zerxes Spencer, with assistance from Sally Blair and Judith (JJ) Welling. The opinions expressed in these pages are those of the individual fellows and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Endowment for Democracy or its staff.

Pictured on the cover are the 2008–2009 Fellows. From left to right—top row: Lila Iril, Anyakwee Nsirimovu, Ihor Lylo, Suvash Darnal; second row: Omar Soliman, Ekaterina Osipova, Frederic Loua, Jami Chandio; third row: Gilbert Maoundonodji, Niemat Kuku; fourth row: Enrique Peruzzotti, Siti Nurjanah, Ronojoy Sen, Birame Diop; fifth row: Rajesh Dev, Antonio Maldonado, Sharon Wolchik, and Dieter Dettke.

2009–2010 FELLOWS

Fall 2009

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows

Mr. Emmanuel Abdulai (Sierra Leone)
Freedom of Expression in the U.S. and Sierra Leone

Dr. Migai Akech (Kenya)
*Regulating Political Power in Kenya through
Separation of Powers and Administrative Law*

Mr. Salah Albedry (Iraq)
Developing Research Centers in Iraq

Mr. Sangsoo Kim (South Korea)
*The Voice of Freedom: Improving Radio Programs
for the Citizens of North Korea*

Mr. Peter Novotny (Slovakia)
*Nonpartisan Election Monitoring and Voter
Education in America and Eurasia: Best Practices*

Dr. Nikolay Rudenskiy (Russia)
*Hate Speech and Freedom of the Press:
Where America Draws the Line*

Dr. Radwan Ziadeh (Syria)
*Democratization and Political Division
in the Middle East*



Visiting Fellows

Dr. Valerie Bunce (United States)
*After the Elections:
Democratic Development and Decline in Armenia,
Azerbaijan, Croatia, Georgia, Serbia, and Ukraine*

Dr. Mary Speck (United States)
Cuba: Democracy and Revolution, 1950–1962



Spring 2010

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows

Mr. Andrés Cañizález (Venezuela)
*The Chávez Era: Democratic Challenges
to Venezuelan Journalism*

Dr. Jimmy Dube (Zimbabwe)
*When the Weak Constrain the Strong: Challenges to
Grassroots Democracy in Zimbabwe*

Mr. Zahid Ebrahim (Pakistan)
*When the News Brings Democracy: Chronicling
Pakistan's Pro-Democracy Movement*

Mr. Mohammad Ishaq (Afghanistan)
Educating for Democracy in Afghanistan

Ms. Marcella Macauley (Sierra Leone)
*Transparency in Post-Conflict Elections:
The National Election Watch in Sierra Leone*

Ms. Maria Martin (U.S./Guatemala)
*Transnational Media's Potential to Promote
Rural Journalism in Guatemala*

Ms. Rosemary Mwakitwange (Tanzania)
Fighting Corruption in Tanzania's Mainstream Media

Dr. Benjamin Reilly (Australia)
Strengthening Democracy in the Asia-Pacific

Mr. Farid Tuhbatullin (Turkmenistan)
*The Influence of Exiled Activists on Authoritarian
Regimes: The Case of Turkmenistan*





“Reforming Africa’s
Armed Forces”

Dates in Residence:
October 2008–February 2009

mbanga45@yahoo.fr

“African militaries need to regain the trust of civilians by elevating standards of professionalism and emphasizing inclusiveness, education, and discipline.”

AFRICA

Colonel Birame Diop (Senegal)

“Africa has long seen destabilizing military involvement in its political and economic life. With financial, food, and energy crises ravaging the continent, there is an increased danger of armed forces asserting their influence. Bold and swift reforms must be undertaken to address the fundamental shortcomings of Africa’s militaries—dysfunctional civil-military relations; the failure to secure the continent; the problems of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; the unacceptable costs of civil wars; and the emergence of new transnational threats. African militaries need to regain the trust of civilians by elevating standards of professionalism and emphasizing inclusiveness, education, and discipline. Civilian leaders must be trained to provide capable oversight and thereby limit military interference in politics. Cost-effective national security strategies should be conceptualized to promote a coherent and efficient military sector. Finally, regional and continental cooperation should be encouraged to support peacekeeping operations and conflict management and also to tackle transnational threats, such as drug trafficking, small arms trade, and terrorism. Assistance from the international community remains vital to enabling Africa to meet these security challenges.”



—Birame Diop, February 25, 2009

Col. Birame Diop is a technical adviser and air force pilot for the Ministry of Defense in Senegal. In recognition of his work as deputy chief of air operations for the UN Mission in Congo, he was awarded the UN’s Peacekeeping Medal, the Senegalese Armed Force’s Medal of Honor, and the Senegalese Air Force’s Medal of Aviation. During his fellowship, Col. Diop gave two presentations on “Reforming Africa’s Armed Forces”: “Five Reasons Why Action Is Needed Now” (December 11, 2008) and “Five Ways to Improve Civil-Military Relations” (February 25, 2009). His article, “A Review of African Peacekeeping,” appeared in the January–February 2009 issue of the *Journal of International Peace Operations*.

Ms. Niemat Kuku (Sudan)

“The passage of a women’s parliamentary quota, scheduled to take effect in 2010, is a notable achievement in the struggle for women’s rights in Sudan. Despite this and other tangible victories, however, Sudan faces formidable obstacles on the road to democratization: political instability, the Darfur crisis, the dominance of sharia law in the North, and the absence of comprehensive development strategies that advance gender equality. Nevertheless, Sudan’s shifting political landscape offers opportunities for women to shape a more just, equitable, and democratic society. Women must be intimately involved at all levels of the decision-making and democratization process if they are to influence a nation’s development and provide for their own basic and strategic needs. The full inclusion of women in public life calls for an integrated policy framework that incorporates respect for women’s rights conventions, gender mainstreaming, gender equality, and the participation of women in policy making and the democratic process. Taken separately, each approach is limited in its ability to enhance women’s rights. When integrated into a strategic framework, however, political parties, government actors, and civil society advocates possess a powerful toolkit with which to fully ‘engender’ democracy. ”



—Niemat Kuku, June 17, 2009

Ms. Niemat Kuku is coordinator of the Research Program at the Gender Center for Research and Training in Khartoum. A lifelong women’s rights advocate, she has spearheaded numerous initiatives to promote awareness of gender issues and upgrade the capacities of women in Sudan. During her fellowship, Ms. Kuku prepared a policy document for prioritizing gender issues in Sudanese politics. She also facilitated a civil society forum sponsored by Social Watch at the United Nations Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development. On June 17, 2009, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Engendering Democracy: Putting Women’s Rights First.”



“Engendering Democracy in Sudan: Putting Women’s Rights First”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

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“Women must be intimately involved at all levels of the decision-making and democratization process if they are to influence a nation’s development and provide for their own basic and strategic needs.”

AFRICA



“Penal and Judicial Reform and Democratization in Guinea”

Dates in Residence:
October 2008–February 2009

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“The opportunity exists for those in power to work in partnership with civil society to enact constitutional reforms, including an overhaul of the justice system.”

AFRICA

Mr. Frederic Loua (Guinea)

“Since their country’s independence in 1958, Guineans have suffered widespread human rights violations at the hands of successive dictatorial regimes, particularly in the judicial sector. Police routinely torture men and boys in custody, while prisoners often languish for years in cramped cells, where they face hunger, rampant disease, and sometimes death. Following the military coup of December 23, 2008, the opportunity exists for those in power to work in partnership with civil society to enact constitutional reforms, including an overhaul of the justice system. This reform must include the creation of at least two additional appeals courts; the revision of laws governing pre-trial detentions; and the recruitment of qualified and properly compensated judges. Guinea needs to implement a public-defender system and establish a national judicial database that tracks the status of convicts and criminal cases. Judicial police should be under the control of the justice system; prison staff ought to receive proper training and compensation; and prison conditions must be improved. The international community can assist in these efforts by monitoring human rights abuses and by encouraging local stakeholders to work together in establishing a political system based on the rule of law.”



—Frederic Loua, February 5, 2009

Mr. Frederic Loua is founding president of Equal Rights for All (MDT), the only Guinean NGO that provides legal assistance to adult detainees in Maison Central, Guinea’s largest prison. During his fellowship, Mr. Loua worked on a project concerning the legal rights of criminal defendants in Guinea’s justice and penal systems, with a focus on how those rights can be improved, especially during criminal proceedings. He also spoke at the National Democratic Institute, the Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies, and the Global Fund for Human Rights. On February 5, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Guinea After the Coup: New Opportunities for Judicial Reform.”

Dr. Gilbert Maoundonodji (Chad)

“Among the world’s 36 oil-rich countries, one is a full democracy, five are flawed democracies, and the remaining thirty are autocracies—all of which lie in Africa and the Middle East. Why do these countries have authoritarian regimes? Because they are “rentier states” in the grip of the “resource curse.” How can they escape this fate? The answer lies with democracy. Democracy is a rational choice for any political system, particularly for resource-rich countries. Why? Because it enables the sharing of power and wealth, and ensures the well-being, security, and peace of each and every citizen. By embracing democracy, incumbents can avoid coups, civil wars, potential prosecution by the International Criminal Court, and secure a meaningful life after politics. Is there life after power? Yes, obviously there



is. In Africa, former leaders such as J. Jerry Rawlings and John Kufor (Ghana), Mathieu Kérékou (Benin), Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Abdou Diouf (Senegal), Alpha Konare (Mali), and Pierre Buyoya (Burundi) have embraced democracy, stepping down from power following electoral defeat, or at the conclusion of their term in office. Indeed, democracy not only allows incumbents to avoid bloodshed as a path of political development, but it also provides a way toward sustainable development and modernity. ”

—Gilbert Maoundonodji, July 13, 2009

Dr. Gilbert Maoundonodji is president of the Association for the Promotion of Fundamental Liberties in Chad (APLFT), a human rights organization based in N’Djamena. As president, he established the Independent National Observatory for Election Processes and Democracy and oversaw the deployment of hundreds of election observers during Chad’s 2001 national elections. He has served as vice president of the board of Radio FM Liberty and as editor of the magazine *Tchad et Culture*. During his fellowship, Dr. Maoundonodji studied the relationship between oil exploitation and democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on the case of Chad. On July 13, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Building Democracy in Resource-Rich Countries: The Case of Chad’s Oil Exploitation.”



“Building Democracy in Resource-Rich Countries: The Case of Chad’s Oil Exploitation”

Dates in Residence:
March–September 2009

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“Democracy is a rational choice for any political system, particularly for resource-rich countries. Why? Because it enables the sharing of power and wealth, and ensures the well-being, security, and peace of each and every citizen.”

AFRICA



“Arms Proliferation as a Threat to Democracy in the Niger Delta”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

anyakwee@yahoo.com

“As long as world democracies continue to pamper Nigeria’s competitive authoritarian regime in the name of self-interest and stability, and multinational oil corporations remain devoid of humane standards of operation, democracy in Nigeria will remain a façade.”

AFRICA

Mr. Anyakwee Nsirimovu (Nigeria)

“The Niger Delta remains an abandoned and abused minority region in Nigeria, where in the age of human rights and fundamental freedoms, wealth derived from its lands and waters serves to degrade the environment and impoverish its citizens. As long as injustice of this immeasurable nature remains uncorrected; as long as extreme poverty in the midst of abundance is not eliminated; as long as corruption with impunity is not stamped out and politically motivated violence that impedes popular participation goes unpunished; as long as a sense of frustration and hopelessness is overlooked and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons is tolerated; as long as world democracies continue to pamper Nigeria’s competitive authoritarian regime in the name of selfish self-interest and stability, and multinational oil corporations remain devoid of humane standards of operation, democracy in Nigeria will remain a façade and threatened. A world thirsty for Nigerian oil, but indifferent to its population, will have on its hands a catastrophe—a humanitarian crisis waiting to happen.”



—Anyakwee Nsirimovu, June 8, 2009

Mr. Anyakwee Nsirimovu is founder and executive director of the Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (IHRHL), a Nigerian human rights organization that serves the oil-rich but underdeveloped Niger Delta region. A lawyer by training, he is the author of several books and reports on human rights, including *Human Rights: An Umbilical Cord of Participatory Democracy* (1997) and *Extractive Industries and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (2000). During his fellowship, Mr. Nsirimovu examined how the proliferation of small arms in the Niger Delta region threatens the efforts of civil society, the donor community, and others working to advance democracy in Nigeria. He presented his research at Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins University, and the Institute for Policy Studies. On June 8, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Democracy under Fire in the Niger Delta.”

Mr. Jami Chandio (Pakistan)

“Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has faced a crisis of federalism. Repeated decisions to centralize power have deprived smaller provinces of their most pressing demands made at the time they agreed to join Pakistan: increased provincial autonomy and the devolution of power. For six decades, the promise of federalism has eroded under the weight of unfettered military rule, unbalanced and undemocratic state structures, and the domination of all institutions by the ruling Punjabi-Mohajir elite. With international attention focused on the Islamist insurgency, another crucial dynamic in Pakistani politics—the decline of inter-provincial harmony—has gone unnoticed. The rise of separatist movements, like the steady advance of Islamic fundamentalism, once again haunts the country, bringing with it the specter of failed statehood. To survive these existential crises, Pakistan must adopt constitutional reforms that limit the center’s authority to four areas of national concern: defense, foreign policy, currency, and communications. Governance must be strengthened by delegating greater power over education, resource exploitation, and taxation to provincial governments. By restoring a balance of power both between the executive and legislature and between the center and the provinces, Pakistan can move a vital step closer to political stability and genuine democracy.”



—Jami Chandio, April 30, 2009

Mr. Jami Chandio is executive director of the Center for Peace and Civil Society (CPCS), a think tank based in Pakistan’s Sindh province. During his fellowship, he studied the problems of federalism and prospects for provincial autonomy, including constitutional mechanisms that can be used to prevent, manage, and resolve intra-state conflict in Pakistan. On April 30, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Crisis of Federalism and Prospects for Provincial Autonomy in Pakistan.” While at NED, Mr. Chandio completed a book entitled *Pakistan: Crisis of Federalism and Prospects for Provincial Autonomy*.



“Federalism, Decentralization,
and Provincial Autonomy
in Pakistan”

Dates in Residence:
January–May 2009

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*“Pakistan must
adopt constitu-
tional reforms that
limit the center’s
authority to four
areas of national
concern: defense,
foreign policy, cur-
rency, and commu-
nications.”*

ASIA



“Affirmative Action as a Means for Inclusive Democracy & Conflict Transformation in Nepal”

Dates in Residence:
October 2008–February 2009

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“To empower the Dalit community, Nepal should consider implementing a policy of affirmative action—one that is specifically tailored to the country’s social landscape and that includes political, educational and economic components.”

ASIA

Mr. Suvash Darnal (Nepal)

“In 2006, Nepal’s Dalits—or “untouchables”—participated heavily in the “People’s Movement” that overthrew the country’s monarchy. The movement set in motion a series of events that culminated in the April 2008 election of a Constituent Assembly, tasked with drafting a new constitution. After centuries of state-sanctioned discrimination, exclusion, and violence, Dalits now find themselves with a unique opportunity to have their voices heard and their rights protected. To empower the Dalit community, Nepal should consider implementing a policy of affirmative action—one that is specifically tailored to the country’s social landscape and that includes political, educational and economic components. Dalit rights must be enshrined in the new constitution and safeguarded through the implementation of a proportional electoral system. Education reform ought to include a revision of school curricula and financial aid for Dalits at all levels. Economic empowerment can be made possible through land reform, occupational training, and loans for small businesses. Affirmative action may also be a strategy for securing peace and mitigating social conflict. Given their central role in the “People’s Movement,” Dalits are no longer content to sit back and accept the status quo. Only through their successful integration into society may Nepal begin to build a truly inclusive democracy.”



—Suvash Darnal, February 12, 2009

Mr. Suvash Darnal is founding chair of the Jagaran Media Center, an NGO working to promote Dalit rights in Nepal. He is the author of *The Local Discourse of Reservation in Nepal* (2005) and coeditor of *The Politics of Affirmative Action and Special Rights in Nepal* (2006). During his fellowship, he explored strategies for including marginalized groups such as the Dalits into Nepali society. On February 12, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Securing Dalit Rights: The Case for Affirmative Action in the ‘New Nepal.’”

Dr. Rajesh Dev (India)

“The negotiation of diversity has long been a critical task in India. Nowhere has this reality been more apparent than in India’s northeast, a diverse region that has witnessed numerous claims for the establishment of distinct ethnic homelands. The proliferation of ethno-federal states and autonomous enclaves in northeast India has given rise to a social order in which ethnic identity is prized over all other forms of identification and employed as the preferred means of securing recognition—along with the state entitlements that come with it. This has resulted in an upsurge of violence between competing ethnic groups. To counter this development, it is essential that the federal and provincial governments craft institutional mechanisms that enable dominant recognized



groups to enjoy their group-differentiated rights while allowing minority groups to exercise theirs as well. Interethnic civic networks must also be strengthened. These measures would encourage local communities to move beyond a simplistic and dangerous “enclave” model of democracy towards one that is more deliberative in nature, and thus more likely to embed democratic pluralism. ”

—Rajesh Dev, January 22, 2009

Dr. Rajesh Dev is a senior lecturer in the department of political science at the Women’s College of Shillong, in the Indian state of Meghalaya. He is also executive secretary of the Advanced Research Group for Understanding Eastern India, as well as state coordinator for the northeastern arm of the Program for Comparative Democracy at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies, in New Delhi. During his fellowship, he examined how ethnic and tribal tensions have led to a crisis of democratic governance in northeastern India. He also explored approaches to conflict resolution that are structurally inclusive, ideologically tolerant, and mindful of the multicultural setting of the region. On January 22, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Democracy and its Discontents: Dilemmas of Diversity in Northeast India.”



“Democracy and Resurgent
“Traditions’: A Study in
Negotiation”

Dates in Residence:
October 2008–February 2009

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“The proliferation of ethno-federal states and autonomous enclaves in northeast India has given rise to a social order in which ethnic identity is prized over all other forms of identification.”

ASIA



“The Implications of Radical Islam for Women in Indonesia”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

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“Moderate Islamic parties, such as PKB and PAN, are uniquely positioned to combat women’s victimization in Islam, but if they are to expand their influence, they must democratize their party structure, improve their organizational capacity, and coordinate with one another.”

ASIA

Ms. Siti Nurjanah (Indonesia)

“The democratic era has brought with it a proliferation of political parties in Indonesia, but this has not led to a pluralist democracy. A major obstacle has been the rise of a particular form of political Islam, one that denies the country’s rich cultural diversity and seeks to control women through the enactment of repressive laws. Such laws include the revocation of the women’s parliamentary quota in 2009, the passage of a restrictive “anti-pornography” law in 2008, and the ratification of sharia laws at the local and provincial levels. This tight legislative control has stifled women’s voices and limited their opportunities in parliament. What can moderate political parties and women’s organizations do to counter these forces? First, they must establish common ground on women’s issues. Moderate Islamic parties, such as PKB and PAN, are uniquely positioned to combat women’s victimization in Islam, but if they are to expand their influence, they must democratize their party structure, improve their organizational capacity, and coordinate with one another. Similarly, Islamic and non-Islamic women’s groups can bolster their influence by combining their efforts and working alongside moderate political parties. Only by collaborating on matters of common concern, while respecting differences, can moderate parties and women’s groups broaden their appeal and capitalize on Indonesia’s richest resource—the diversity of its people.”



—Siti Nurjanah, June 25, 2009

Ms. Siti Nurjanah is a civil society activist whose career has been dedicated to the promotion of a pluralistic Islam in Indonesia. In 1995, she co-founded the Institute for the Study of Religion and Democracy, and in 2005, she co-founded the Center for Religious and Community Studies, both based in Surabaya. During her fellowship, she explored the influence of Islamist parties on women’s political participation. On June 25, 2009, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Grappling with the Rise of Political Islam: Threats or Opportunities for Indonesian Women?”

Dr. Ronojoy Sen (India)

“While there is overwhelming public support for democracy in India, and voter turnout is higher than in most Western democracies—over 58 percent of the electorate voted in the 2009 national elections—Indian citizens have dangerously low levels of trust in their political parties and politicians. This popular disaffection stems from a number of causes. Nearly a quarter of the members of the Indian Lok Sabha (Lower House) have criminal charges against them. More than half of all members of parliament are multi-millionaires, while India’s per-capita income is less than \$1,000 a year. The process of candidate selection by political parties is undemocratic and perpetuates dynastic politics. Campaign-finance laws are routinely flouted and are ineffective in checking the flow of illegal funds to election campaigns. Finally, the poor quality of India’s elected representatives has undermined the functioning of parliament. The Supreme Court, the Election Commission, and



civil society organizations have all suggested initiatives to inject transparency into the electoral system and improve the quality of elected representatives. But if India is to be served by better politicians, there must be reform of campaign finance laws, more democracy within political parties, and greater civil society engagement with politics beyond the act of voting. ”

—Ronojoy Sen, June 30, 2009

Dr. Ronojoy Sen is senior assistant editor of the *Times of India*, the largest and most widely read English-language daily newspaper in India. During his fellowship, Dr. Sen examined the reasons for popular disenchantment with politicians and political culture in India. On June 30, 2009, he gave a presentation at the NED entitled “Losing Trust: Understanding Popular Disaffection with India’s Politicians.” His article, “India’s 2009 Elections: The Problem of Corruption,” appeared in the October 2009 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*. His book, *Articles of Faith: Religion, Secularism, and the Indian Supreme Court*, was published by Oxford University Press in the fall of 2009.



“Losing Trust: Understanding Indians’ Loss of Faith in their Elected Representatives”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

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“If India is to be served by better politicians, there must be reform of campaign finance laws, more democracy within political parties, and greater civil society engagement with politics beyond the act of voting.”

ASIA



“Comparing Government-Media Relations in the United States and Ukraine”

Dates in Residence:
October 2008–February 2009

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“Steps must be taken quickly to create a viable public broadcasting system, build the capacity of journalist associations, and develop regional centers to improve the exchange of information and skills within the profession.”

EURASIA

Mr. Ihor Lylo (Ukraine)

“Almost four years after the Orange Revolution, significant problems still plague Ukraine’s media sector. The Yushchenko administration has been vocal in its support of independent media but ineffectual in pushing for much-needed reform and legislation guaranteeing the rights of journalists. Independent media continue to be the target of subtle and sophisticated forms of censorship. Authorities target advertisers who provide needed revenue to media outlets, while powerful private interests use libel cases to punish journalists for engaging in investigative reporting.



With a widespread financial crisis severely weakening the Ukrainian economy, independent media face the threat of closure or consolidation in the hands of politically connected oligarchs. Steps must be taken quickly to create a viable public broadcasting system, build the capacity of journalist associations, and develop regional centers to improve skill-building and the exchange of information within the profession. Without urgent action, recent gains in the liberalization of Ukrainian society could be set back indefinitely.”

—Ihor Lylo, January 29, 2009

Mr. Ihor Lylo is director of two popular political talk shows on the Ukrainian radio station The Lviv Wave—“The Moment of Truth” and “Chronographer”—which monitor the activities of local authorities and expose corruption in Ukraine. He is also an assistant professor at Ivan Franko State National University and a lecturer at the Ukrainian Catholic University, where he teaches courses on Ukrainian history and culture. During his fellowship, Dr. Lylo examined the role of the media in curbing corruption in the United States, as well as the legal environment in which U.S. journalists operate. On January 29, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Future of Independent Media in Ukraine.” Upon returning to Ukraine, he launched two new radio shows—one on the American way of life and one concerning the activities of local and regional governments in Ukraine.

Dr. Ekaterina Osipova (Russia)

“Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia rapidly emerged as one of the largest countries of origin, transit, and destination for victims of human trafficking. Years passed, however, before Russian authorities officially acknowledged the extent of the crime. Today, legislative and law-enforcement bodies need to intensify their efforts in addressing what has become a blight on the country’s economic and democratic development. First and foremost, Russia must pass a comprehensive law to prevent and combat human trafficking. Specialized centers at the federal and regional levels should be set up to coordinate the exchange of intelligence information and to facilitate inter-agency cooperation. Educational institutions and nongovernmental organizations ought to develop training programs to raise awareness of the issue among law-enforcement agencies,



other government bodies, and the general public. Service providers should be equipped to provide temporary shelter, counseling services, and legal aid to trafficking victims. Lastly, data-collection methods and a region-specific knowledge base should be developed to facilitate the study, investigation, and prosecution of human-trafficking cases. Only by combining the efforts of state and non-state actors, both at the federal and regional levels, can Russia have any hope of combating this hidden evil. ”

—Ekaterina Osipova, July 1, 2009

Dr. Ekaterina Osipova is associate professor of criminal justice and law at Immanuel Kant State University of Russia. During her fellowship, she completed an article describing best practices for combating human trafficking in Russia and the United States, entitled “Human Trafficking Today: Effect of the Financial Crisis on Supply and Demand of Living Goods.” On July 1, 2009, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Combating a Hidden Evil: The Fight against Human Trafficking in Russia.”



“Human Rights and Human Trafficking in Russia”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

ekaterinaosipova@yahoo.com

“Russia must pass a comprehensive law to prevent and combat human trafficking. Specialized centers at the federal and regional levels should be set up to coordinate the exchange of intelligence information and to facilitate interagency cooperation.”

EURASIA



“The Struggle Against Political and Economic Corruption in the Andes: The Extradition of Alberto Fujimori”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

aljmp@yahoo.es

“The Peruvian people cannot be allowed to forget the horrific crimes committed under Fujimori or the prosecutorial efforts that culminated in his conviction. This monumental chapter . . . cannot be permitted to fall prey to political revisionism.”

**LATIN
AMERICA**

Mr. Antonio Maldonado (Peru)

“The extradition of Peru’s former president Alberto Fujimori from Chile in 2007 represented a landmark achievement in transitional justice, marking a historic step in Peru’s efforts to break the cycle of impunity surrounding high-level officials and setting a precedent for other countries seeking to bring heads of state to justice. Vital to the success of the extradition were the decisive actions taken by the Toledo government in 2005 and 2006 that marshaled legal and political efforts to secure the admission of extradition charges in Chile and Peru. By applying the theory of *autor mediato*, or “perpetrator behind the perpetrator,” the Office of the Ad Hoc Solicitor managed to hold Fujimori criminally liable for directing an organization responsible for human rights violations, corruption, and abuse of power, thereby laying the legal foundations for his extradition and eventual conviction in Peru in 2009.



A sense of complacency in the wake of Fujimori’s conviction, however, threatens to undermine Peru’s nascent democracy. The Peruvian people cannot be allowed to forget the horrific crimes committed under Fujimori or the prosecutorial efforts that culminated in his conviction. This monumental

chapter in Peru’s history cannot be permitted to fall prey to political revisionism. ”

—Antonio Maldonado, June 18, 2009

Mr. Antonio Maldonado is a human rights lawyer with experience in cases of anticorruption, human rights violations, and international humanitarian and criminal law. During his fellowship, he traced the incidence of political and economic corruption over the last three decades in Peru, with a focus on the methods and strategies used to bring Alberto Fujimori and other corrupt officials to justice. On June 18, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “How to Bring a Dictator to Justice: The Successful Extradition of Alberto Fujimori.”

Dr. Enrique Peruzzotti (Argentina)

“Elections are commonly viewed as the central component of representative democracy. Yet democratic representation entails a far more complex process that extends well beyond election day. Citizens participate in public life through a multiplicity of civic initiatives—among them voluntary associations, social movements, interest groups, and nongovernmental organizations—all of which enable citizens to voice common concerns and influence public policy between elections. Representative democracy is thus best understood within the broad framework of mediated politics, a theory that seeks to integrate the multiple channels of interaction linking various constituencies with the political system. What are the implications of this integrated approach for democracy promotion? For one, it invites donors to reconsider their tendency to focus primarily on formal, professional NGOs and to expand their support to equally worthy but less conspicuous associations, such as informal networks. For those on the ground, an integrated approach may mean combining forces with actors from all parts of civil society in order to strengthen the collective call for democratic change.”



—Enrique Peruzzotti, June 9, 2009

Dr. Enrique Peruzzotti is associate professor of political science and international relations at Torcuato Di Tella University, in Buenos Aires. During his fellowship, he conducted a comparative analysis of the different mechanisms of institutionalized participation in Latin America, a project that sheds light on the relationship between political representation and civic participation in the region. On June 9, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Mediated Politics: Reassessing Democratic Representation in Latin America.” His book, *Participatory Innovation and Representative Democracy in Latin America* (co-edited with Andrew Selee) was published by Johns Hopkins University Press in the fall of 2009.



“Institutionalized Participation and Representative Government in Latin America”

Dates in Residence:
March–July 2009

peruzzot@utdt.edu

“What are the implications of this integrated approach for democracy promotion? For one, it invites donors to reconsider their tendency to focus primarily on formal, professional NGOs and to expand their support to equally worthy but less conspicuous associations, such as informal networks.”

**LATIN
AMERICA**



“The Campaign to Create a Truth and Justice Commission in Post-Conflict Algeria”

Dates in Residence:
March–June 2009

iril_lila@yahoo.fr

“How can the people of Algeria be expected to turn the page on the conflict? A first step would be to create an independent mechanism that guarantees proper investigations into war crimes and leads to the truth about the mass disappearances.”

**MIDDLE
EAST**

Ms. Lila Iril (Algeria)

“The mass protests of October 1988, in which hundreds of Algerian youth sacrificed their lives, brought an end to one-party rule in Algeria, but failed to usher in a democratic transition. Instead, following the military coup of 1992, Algeria plunged into a civil war that led to the loss of over 200,000 lives and the disappearance of thousands of men and women. Any hopes of a democratic transition have since been quashed by President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, particularly after the passage of his 2006 Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation, which grants amnesty to army officers and formerly armed Islamist groups that committed horrific acts of barbarism during the war. Circumventing truth and justice altogether, the charter is an affront to the memory of the victims and an insult to injuries already inflicted upon the



nation. How can the people of Algeria be expected to turn the page on the conflict in the face of such impunity and amnesia? A first step would be to create an independent mechanism that guarantees proper investigations into war crimes and leads to the truth about the mass disappearances. This process would allow victims’ families to mourn in dignity and may serve to initiate a long-awaited transition to democracy. ”

—Lila Iril, May 27, 2009

Ms. Lila Iril is president of the National Association of Families of Missing Persons, an NGO that investigates forced disappearances in Algeria. The youngest president in the organization’s history, Ms. Iril leads the campaign to determine the fate of Algerians who were “disappeared” by state security services during the country’s civil war. During her fellowship, Ms. Iril drafted a memorandum on transitional and restorative justice that can be used to help establish an independent mechanism for truth and justice in Algeria. On May 27, 2009, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Campaign to Create a Truth and Justice Commission in Post-Conflict Algeria.”

Mr. Omar Afifi Soliman (Egypt)

“As a former police officer and Supreme Court lawyer in Egypt, I witnessed numerous avoidable incidents involving ordinary Egyptians and the police. Most Egyptians possess little knowledge of their civic and political rights, while even those who are literate find it difficult to comprehend the complex language of the law, which is



written in *fushaa*, or high Arabic. Egyptian police routinely exploit citizens' ignorance of their basic rights, engaging in harassment and the unlawful detention of innocent civilians. In response, I created a TV series and wrote a handbook in colloquial Arabic, entitled *How Not To Be Slapped on*

the Back of Your Neck, to teach Egyptians about their civil rights. These products became an overnight success: the book, in particular, sold 50,000 copies in two weeks before being banned by the government. This brought home to me the overwhelming demand among ordinary Egyptians for education concerning basic civil and political rights. An urgent need exists to educate Egyptians about the fundamentals of democracy and the benefits of transparent, fair, and effective governance. My experiences have led me to believe that the path forward for democracy in Egypt—and the broader Middle East—is inextricably linked to strengthening the rule of law, improving civic-education programs, and increasing awareness of the relationship between democratic governance and an enhanced quality of life for all. ”

—Omar Afifi Soliman, July 15, 2009

Mr. Omar Afifi Soliman is a Supreme Court lawyer and former police officer from Egypt. During his fellowship, he worked on a project to simplify the language of democracy and human rights for the average Arab citizen. On July 15, 2009, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “A Conversation with Omar Afifi: Developing a Democratic Dialogue in Egypt and the Middle East.” In the fall of 2009, his organization Hukuk Elnas (People’s Rights) was awarded a NED grant to establish a legal aid clinic in Cairo.



“Developing a Dialogue on Democracy in Egypt and the Arab World”

Dates in Residence:
January–August 2009

afifiomar3@hotmail.com

“The path forward for democracy in Egypt . . . is inextricably linked to strengthening the rule of law, improving civic-education programs, and increasing awareness of the relationship between democratic governance and an enhanced quality of life for all.”

**MIDDLE
EAST**



“Democratizing Elections in Postcommunist Europe and Eurasia: The Day After”

Dates in Residence:
September 2008–January 2009

swolchik@gmail.com

“Democracy assistance is thus most likely to lead to democratization in semi-authoritarian states when the ground has been prepared through support for the development of strong civil societies before pivotal elections occur.”

**NORTH
AMERICA**

Dr. Sharon Wolchik (United States)

“From 1998 to 2005, a wave of democratizing elections—followed in some cases by popular protests—swept through Croatia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Serbia, Slovakia, and Ukraine. Although authoritarian or semi-authoritarian leaders were removed from office in all six post-communist states, the outcomes varied considerably. In Slovakia, the elections were followed by rapid movement toward democracy, as well as integration into European and transatlantic institutions. Progress toward these goals also occurred in Croatia and Serbia, although more slowly. In Ukraine, political life has been more tumultuous, albeit more open and democratic, whereas in Georgia, progress has been uneven. In Kyrgyzstan, the removal of former president Akayev was followed by a return to semi-authoritarian rule.

Analyzing the experiences of the six countries reveals that the strength of civil society prior to the elections and the nature of the transition itself—elections with or without mass protest versus a coup during an election campaign—play a critical role in explaining differences in political outcomes following



the ouster of semi-authoritarian leaders. Democracy assistance is thus most likely to lead to democratization in semi-authoritarian states when the ground has been prepared through support for the development of strong civil societies before pivotal elections occur. ”

—Sharon Wolchik, February 4, 2009

Dr. Sharon Wolchik is professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University, where she has been teaching courses on Central and Eastern European politics since 1977. During her fellowship, she explored the factors influencing political development in postcommunist Europe and Eurasia following recent elections in the region. She also contributed book chapters to *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (2009) and *Democratization by Elections* (2009). On February 4, 2009, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Day After: Democratizing Elections in Post-communist Europe and Eurasia.”

2008–2009 VISITING FELLOWS



Dr. Dieter Dettke (Germany)

“Transformation Without Power: European Democracy Assistance after Enlargement”

Dates in Residence: September 2008–March 2009

dieterdettke@comcast.net

Dr. Dieter Dettke is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University and a senior nonresidential fellow at the American Institute of Contemporary German Studies. From 1985 to 2006, he served as executive director of the Washington office of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the largest and oldest of the German political party foundations. During his fellowship at NED, Dr. Dettke analyzed the institutional arrangements and future direction of EU democracy promotion efforts. His book, *Germany Says No: The Iraq War and the Future of German Foreign and Security Policy*, was published by Woodrow Wilson Center Press in 2009.

2008–2009 RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

In 2008–2009, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program benefited from the valuable contributions of three research associates: Jeffrey Smith, David Szakonyi, and Judith (JJ) Welling.



Jeffrey Smith now works as program assistant for Africa at Freedom House, in Washington, D.C.



David Szakonyi is currently enrolled in a Ph.D. program in political science at Columbia University.



Judith (JJ) Welling is now assistant program officer, Fellowship Programs, at NED.

DEMOCRACY FELLOWSHIPS

The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program offers five-month residential fellowships to democracy practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to enable them to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. The program hosts two fellowship sessions per year: October 1–February 28 and March 1–July 31. For further information, please visit www.ned.org. The application deadline for fellowships in 2011–2012 is November 1, 2010. To view our new Online Application System, visit <http://fellowships.ned.org>.

ALUMNI NEWS



Mr. Dany Ayida (Togo) manages Africa Label Group, a consulting firm based in Burkina Faso, with offices and staff in sixteen other African countries. The firm assists

African governments with institutional reforms, decentralization, local governance, and fundraising for development projects. Africa Label Group's recent projects include an assessment of a capacity-building initiative in Togo, studies of the judicial system in Burundi, and the development of mechanisms to promote transparency and accountability at the local level in Francophone Africa.



Dr. Thomas Gallagher (United Kingdom) is chair of ethnic conflict and peace studies at the University of Bradford, United Kingdom. Soon after his NED fellowship,

Dr. Gallagher began working on a book entitled *The Illusion of Freedom: Scotland under Nationalism*, published in London by Hurst & Company in 2009. A U.S. edition is expected in 2010. In the preface, Dr. Gallagher thanks NED staff and fellows for providing the intellectually stimulating environment that inspired many of the ideas in the book. In 2009, Dr. Gallagher also completed a five-year book project, entitled *Romania and the European Union: How the Weak Vanquished the Strong*.



Dr. Chaihark Hahm (South Korea), an associate professor of law at Yonsei University, in Seoul, South Korea, is currently on sabbatical in the Netherlands, where he is spending

the 2009–2010 academic year as the Henry G. Schermers Fellow at the Hague Institute for the Internationalization of Law and the Netherlands Institute of Advanced Study. In 2009, he co-taught a course on comparative constitutional traditions, with a visiting professor of law from the University of California–Berkeley. Dr. Hahm's article, "Ritual and Constitutionalism: Disputing the Ruler's Legitimacy in a Confucian Polity," appeared in the Winter 2009 issue of the *American Journal of Comparative Law*.



Ms. Luz Maria Helguero (Peru) is executive director and former editor-in-chief of the Peruvian newspaper *El Tiempo*. In 2003, following her fellowship at NED, Ms.

Helguero founded La Red de Periodistas de Provincias (Network of Journalists from the Provinces), a group of media professionals working in print, radio, and television. Since its inception, the Network has conducted more than 36 workshops and trained more than 2,500 journalists on various media topics. Ms. Helguero's recent activities include a July 2009 workshop for rural Columbian journalists, in partnership with the International Republican Institute.



Mr. Abiodun Kolawole (Nigeria) is executive director of the Initiative for Rural Empowerment and Popular Participation, a grassroots organization he founded in

Nigeria following his fellowship at NED. In the summer of 2009, Mr. Kolawole completed the Draper Hills Summer Fellowship on Democracy and Development at Stanford University's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), a three-week international exchange program that brings together practitioners in law, politics, government, private enterprise, civil society, and international development for an intensive executive education program.



Mr. John Kollie (Liberia) is founding director of the Liberia Media Initiative for Peace, Democracy, and Development, a Monrovia-based NGO that promotes good governance

and peaceful coexistence in Liberia through media-related programs. He also works for Radio France International as one of its senior English correspondents in West Africa, as well as for BBC World Service, coordinating a team of reporters from Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea covering the trial of former Liberian president Charles Taylor before the UN-backed Special Court for Liberia at the International Criminal Court.



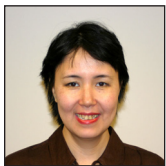
Dr. Ahmed Subhy Mansour (Egypt) founded the International Quranic Center (IQC) in Springfield, Virginia in October 2006. The IQC furthers a vision of moderate

Islam and advocates for peaceful reform in the Muslim world consistent with democracy and human rights. In September 2009, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom selected Dr. Mansour as a Joseph R. Crapa Fellow, awarded to individuals with exceptional records of accomplishment in fields relevant to the work of the Commission. During his fellowship, Dr. Mansour will prepare four studies examining contradictions in the treatment of religious freedom in Islam.



Ms. Miria Matembe (Uganda) is founding member of the Centre for Women in Governance (CEWIGO), an NGO she established in 2006, upon her return to Kampala

following her fellowship at NED. A tireless advocate for women's rights, Ms. Matembe continues to focus her energies on promoting the effective and equal participation of women at all levels of decision-making. Among its other activities in 2009, CEWIGO trained women candidates preparing for Uganda's 2011 election and carried out a training needs assessment on "Strengthening the Capacity of Women to Influence Governance in Uganda."



Dr. Raushan Nauryzbayeva (Kazakhstan) is associate professor of law at Kunaev University, where she teaches courses on constitutional law and human rights. She is also

executive director of Development of Civil Society, a public foundation that implements projects on human rights, ecology, and civic education in Kazakhstan. In 2009, she was awarded a fellowship at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, based at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, in Washington, D.C. In 2008, she served as a lead researcher for Global Integrity on governance and anticorruption trends in Kazakhstan.



Fellows gather to attend a "Seminar on Democracy Support by NGOs," held in Japan in 2008. From left to right: Jose Luis "Chito" Gascon (Philippines, 2007), Roland Rich (Australia, 2005), and Schu Sugawara (Japan, 2003).



Ms. Alice Verghese (Malaysia) is head of training for the Copenhagen-based International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims, an umbrella organization for more

than 140 torture rehabilitation centers around the world. Ms. Verghese recently co-authored a section of the IRCT publication *Shedding Light on a Dark Practice: Using the Istanbul Protocol to Document Torture*, in which health and legal experts share their experiences documenting and reporting cases of alleged torture. She also served as a panelist at the annual Human Rights Council meeting in March 2009, representing a Philippines delegation focused on combating torture and impunity.



Dr. Kate Zhou (China) was promoted in 2009 to professor of comparative politics and political economy of East Asia in the department of political science at the University

of Hawaii, Manoa. Her latest book, *China's Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Modernization*, which she worked on during her NED fellowship, was published by Transaction Publishers in 2009. Professor Zhou continues to work for Education Advancement Fund International (www.yifei.org), an NGO that she founded in 2002, which promotes education exchange, cultural understanding, global education reform, and gender equity.

REAGAN-FASCELL *Democracy Fellows Program*

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