



A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE
ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NDI REPORTS

Delegation Observes Historic Plebiscite in Chile

"The long and proud democratic tradition of Chile was reawakened." That was the conclusion of a 55-member international observer delegation to the October 5 presidential plebiscite.

The 55 to 43 percent victory of the "No" vote denied General Augusto Pinochet his quest for an additional eight years as president. Under the 1980 constitution, he must now schedule open, competitive elections next year.

The observer mission, sponsored by NDI, was led by former governor and presidential candidate Bruce Babbitt; Peter Dailey, former ambassador to Ireland and President Reagan's special envoy to NATO countries; and former presidents Adolfo Suarez of Spain and Misael Pastrana of Colombia. The delegation included former heads of state, parliamentarians, political party leaders and election experts from 21 countries and a bipartisan U.S. contingent.

The delegation visited more than 15 Chilean cities and watched the voting and counting process at more than 12 percent of the 1,200 polling sites throughout the country. Delegation members also met with senior government officials, the director of the National Election Service, proponents of the "Yes" and "No" positions, Catholic Church leaders, military personnel and representatives of nonpartisan groups that organized unofficial vote-counting systems.

"We have been greatly impressed by the leaders of the 'No' campaign, prior to and following the plebiscite," Suarez said on behalf of the delegation at a Santiago press conference. "They have acted responsibly in calling for a national dialogue and reconciliation." He also commended the Chilean government for "conducting a free and fair plebiscite" as well as supporters of the "Yes" who "acted responsibly and patriotically in pursuing a different path."

Delegation members were most impressed by the civic participation of the Chilean people who waited patiently in long lines at the polling stations. Ninety-two percent of the electorate had registered to vote with 97 percent of the registrants casting their ballots in the first presidential vote since the 1973 military coup.

Suarez said that both the process and the results have "opened up an irreversible step" towards national reconciliation, free elections and representative government.

See pages 3-6 for a special report on the Chilean plebiscite.



Flanked by members of the delegation, (seated left to right) Osvaldo Hurtado; delegation co-leaders, Peter Dailey, Adolfo Suarez, Bruce Babbitt, and Misael Pastrana; and NDI Executive Vice President Ken Wollack meet the press in Santiago.

Chile's Movement for Free Elections and DNC Chairman Paul Kirk to Receive Democracy Award

NDI will present its fourth annual W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award jointly to Democratic National Committee Chairman Paul Kirk and Chile's movement for free elections at a luncheon on December 6 at Loew's L'enfant Plaza Hotel in Washington, DC.

Paul Kirk will be recognized for his contribution to U.S. democracy and the movement will be cited for its efforts to promote free and fair elections in Chile. Sergio Molina, leader of the Committee for Free Elections, and Genaro Arriagada, coordinator of the "No" vote in last month's presidential plebiscite in Chile, will accept the award on behalf of the free election movement, which included 16 political parties and civic organizations.

The official announcement of the 1988 recipients was made at a breakfast on November 2, hosted by former Senator Tom Eagleton, the 1986 recipient of the Harriman Democracy Award.

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The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, a nonprofit organization, conducts nonpartisan international programs to help maintain and strengthen democratic institutions.

PAKISTAN ELECTIONS

NDI sent a 20-member international delegation to Pakistan to observe the November 16 National Assembly elections. The decision to send an observer mission was based on the recommendation of an NDI survey mission that visited Pakistan in October to assess



Mobammed Musa Khan, Governor of Baluchistan (far right), consults with members of NDI Pakistan survey mission. (Left to right) Verne Newton, Patricia Keefer and Graeme Bannerman.

the legal and administrative procedures for the elections, and the political environment surrounding the campaign.

The bipartisan survey team included William Oldaker, Partner, Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg, and Evans; Verne W. Newton, independent scholar and international consultant; M. Graeme Bannerman, President of Bannerman and Associates; and Casimir A. Yost, Executive Director, World Affairs Council of Northern California. They were accompanied by NDI Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer and Program Coordinator Stephen Del Rosso.

President Zia's sudden death in August has intensified interest in the November elections, the first party-based contest since 1977. The President of

The November elections are the first party-based contest since 1977.

Pakistan will choose a prime minister from the ranks of the new National Assembly, which, along with the provincial assemblies, will elect a President.

During the ten day mission, the group visited Islamabad, the four provincial capitals and several rural

areas. Meetings were held with the federal election commission, as well as provincial election commissions, governors and ministers. The survey team also consulted with political party leaders, members of the bar association and journalists.

"The Pakistan election law provides a strong base for a free and fair process," said Oldaker, a former chief counsel of the U.S. Federal Election Commission.

AID TO NICARAGUA'S CIVIC OPPOSITION

Four U.S. political consultants visited Managua last September to begin a program of technical assistance to Nicaragua's democratic political parties. The consultants analyzed Nicaragua's electoral laws and the organizational needs and capabilities of the civic opposition as it prepares for possible participation in municipal and national elections.

Nicaraguan political leaders suggested several areas where future NDI assistance could help strengthen and unify the opposition parties.



NDI technical team talks with Nicaraguan opposition leader Virgilio Godoy at the Independent Liberal Party headquarters in Managua. (Left to right) Stephen McMabon, Godoy, David Petts, Analia del Franco and Willard Dupree.

The consulting team, sponsored by NDI, included Analia del Franco, director of research for Foundation for Democratic Change, an institute of Argentina's ruling Radical Party; Willard Dupree, partner at Stratton, Reiter & Dupree and former assistant political director of Gary Hart's two presidential bids; David Petts, a partner at Donilon & Petts Research, Inc. and former director of operations of the Gephardt presidential campaign; and Stephen McMahon, vice president of Doak, Shrum and Associates. They were accompanied by Martin Andersen, NDI's director for Latin American and Caribbean programs.

Nicaraguan political leaders suggested several areas where future NDI assistance could help strengthen and

unify the opposition parties and broaden their nonviolent message of democratic reform. These included leadership development, political party management and organization, election monitoring and survey research.

The possibility of responding to these requests, however, has been called into question by recent arrests of opposition leaders and Sandinista efforts to prohibit the opposition from receiving assistance from groups funded by the U.S. Congress.

CHILE'S DEMOCRATIC REVIVAL

The October 5 plebiscite victory in Chile represented a dramatic change from the politics and the policies of 1973, when President Salvador Allende was overthrown in a violent military coup. It happened in large part because political leaders in both Chile and the United States learned from past mistakes, joined together to support democracy and accepted the risks inherent in reopening the political process.

Chilean politics traditionally has been fractious; even when democracy worked best, parties proliferated and presidents usually were elected with less than half the votes cast in multi-candidate elections. Even years of military rule, sometimes quite brutal, did not persuade democratic politicians to join forces. Political imaginations atrophied and potential voters became deeply apathetic.

What caused the turnabout? Several factors contributed to the eventual registration of 92 percent of eligible voters and a solid 55 to 43 percent victory by the democratic opposition.

When they realized that their call for free elections was falling on deaf ears, the Chilean opposition made a crucial and remarkably pragmatic decision: they would play by the dictator's own rules. Leaders of 16 parties joined together to



Chilean politicians performed a political miracle in keeping its coalition united in support of a positive message.



form the Command for the "No". They would seek to repudiate Pinochet by means of the ballot box and deny him his quest for legitimacy.

These politicians performed a political miracle in keeping their coalition united in support of a positive message. The strategy was clear: allay the fears of undecided voters; speak and act responsibly; reassure voters that economic gains would be protected while correcting inequities. Those who doubted that political leaders could work together were convinced otherwise by public scenes of cooperation and the striking up of obvious friendships among old foes.

Meanwhile, nonpartisan groups, such as the Committee for Free Elections and the Civic Crusade, organized to effectively monitor the plebiscite and prevent fraud in the voting and counting process.

The opposition and the government were each given 15 minutes of free television time for the 27 days prior to the plebiscite. Managers of the "Yes" option—which would have kept Pinochet in power for eight more years—used a message portraying civilian politicians as divisive, irresponsible and not to be trusted with the economic fate of the nation. It was a campaign based on fear of the past. The government was asking for a vote *against* political chaos rather than a vote for Pinochet.

The "No" campaign surprised the government with appealing video presentations focusing on a democratic future. The chorus of their popular theme song, "happiness is coming," reflected the upbeat tone. A poll taken at the end of the 27-day period showed that the large Chilean audience responded to the opposition's media in an overwhelmingly positive way. At the polls, a strong majority chose the message of hope.

These efforts were backed by another set of political leaders—Republicans and Democrats in the United States. The Reagan Administration and its very able Ambassador to Chile, Harry Barnes, offered timely support to Chile's democratic forces and kept the heat on Pinochet's government. The Congress approved a proposal by Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA) appropriating \$1 million for use by the National Endowment for Democracy to support Chile's advocates of democracy.

The National Democratic Institute (NDI), chaired by the Senate's most outspoken critic of U.S. policy in 1973, Walter F. Mondale, administered the bulk of these funds and spent much of its own budget to play a key support role. Computers were acquired for independent vote counting systems, polls were commissioned and advertisements were purchased to help compete with the government's expensive media blitz. Political consultants from six nations worked with NDI to provide technical advice.

Talented opposition leaders designed and implemented their own campaign but welcomed the outside support. It had been 15 years since they had exercised their political skills and pro-Pinochet forces were flush with resources. As one of the U.S. consultants noted, "We had the experience and they had the talent. It was a perfect marriage."

Traditional Chilean politicians had been accustomed to a "vertical" style of politics wherein the leaders spoke *at* the people, touching themes that commonly had evoked emotional responses. But fifteen years of dictatorship wiped away the old political guideposts. In order to revive popular interest in politics, the people's voice would have to be heard. The opposition quickly adapted to a new "horizontal" politics. They listened to the people and then responded with a message that reflected the aspirations of Chileans.

The October 5 vote is unique in history. Authoritarian rulers do not often lose elections they have organized. The victory of the "No" campaign—which means that open, competitive elections will now follow—was born of a new unity among old political competitors. They suppressed ideological differences to recreate a democratic arena.

The United States offered important support in an open, bipartisan effort. The contrast with U.S. policy in 1973 could not be more striking. Then, a clandestine policy undermined America's reputation throughout the hemisphere.

Today, in both Santiago and Washington, political leaders are marvelling at the democratic dynamic Chileans created through unity. They know the fight for democracy continues, but the political landscape in Chile was permanently transformed on October 5. The legitimacy that the authoritarian regime wanted went instead to the advocates of democracy.

—Brian Atwood & Ken Wollack

STATEMENT OF OBSERVER DELEGATION

Following is the statement of the NDI-sponsored international observer delegation to the October 5 Chilean presidential plebiscite. The statement was delivered at an October 6 press conference in Santiago by former Spanish President Adolfo Suarez, a co-leader of the observer mission.

I am pleased to offer a statement on behalf of the international delegation, which yesterday witnessed the Chilean plebiscite. This delegation, sponsored by the National Democratic Institute, includes 55 individuals from 22 countries and represents all political ideologies within the democratic spectrum.

Our delegation was present in more than 15 Chilean cities, from Punta Arenas in the south to Arica in the north. We were able to visit and observe the electoral process at 10 percent of the polling sites in the country. We will prepare a detailed report on our observations and issue it publicly in the near future.

Today, we would like to offer a consensus view of the leaders of our delegation as to what we have seen here in the past few days. For we realize that we have witnessed an historic event and one that has captured the imagination and the attention of the democratic peoples of the world.

The long and proud democratic tradition of Chile was reawakened yesterday by Chileans of all political persuasions. We congratulate the Chilean people. We want especially to congratulate those who played a key role in the conduct and administration of the plebiscite: the government; the supporters of the two positions; the electoral service; and law enforcement officials.

It was our delegation's belief that the Chilean people have been heard.

The expression of the people's will is a triumph for all Chileans and for democracy in the world.

We have been greatly impressed by the leaders of the "No" campaign, prior to and following the plebiscite. They have acted responsibly in calling for a national dialogue and reconciliation. Their objective was not a negative one: they sought not to defeat a president, but to bring about free elections. Now they have the support of the Chilean people.

The government, in conducting a free and fair plebiscite, and acknowledging the result, has taken the first important step at reconciliation. Supporters of the "Yes" also acted responsibly and patriotically in pursuing a different path.

This is the spirit in which democracy can thrive.

The international community, well represented by this delegation, offers its strong support to the people of Chile as they begin the process of transition. There can be no turning back in the effort to rekindle the democratic spirit that has made this a great nation.

Our view is that the result of this plebiscite demonstrates, more than anything else, a strong desire for free elections. We expect that the dialogue that will now begin will be influenced by that very positive aspiration. While matters of law must be reconciled, all should be motivated by a desire to satisfy the express wish of the Chilean people for democratically conducted elections.

Both the process and the results make this delegation believe that Chile has opened up an irreversible step towards democracy. That is to say, towards national reconciliation, the establishment of representative government, respect for individual rights, and towards a peaceful coexistence in liberty and development.

The delegation believes that from today onward, the Chilean people have begun a journey down a road which, through a necessary dialogue, with free elections, with full participation by all Chileans, will result in a consensus for change that will institutionalize peace, liberty and democracy. ●



Rallies in support of the "No" and "Yes" campaigns prior to the plebiscite.



Counting the ballots at a Santiago polling station.

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*(Left to right) Former
Ecuadorian President Osvaldo
Hurtado, former Governor
Bruce Babbitt and former
Colombian President Misael
Pastrana approach a polling
station in downtown Santiago.*

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NDI'S WORK IN CHILE



Fred Hartwig



Annie Burns and David Collette participate in November 1987 voter registration seminar, "Transition to Democracy and Electoral Processes," co-sponsored by NDI.

The observer mission to the October 5 presidential plebiscite was the culmination of a three year NDI program in Chile.

- At NDI's May 1985 conference on "Democracy in South America," leaders of the previously fragmented democratic opposition to Chile's military regime were brought together with other Latin American leaders. This meeting, according to participants, played an important role in the development of the National Accord, a framework for the peaceful restoration of democracy in Chile, which was signed by a broad cross-section of democratic party leaders.
- In May 1986, at a time when anti-government violence threatened to undermine the Accord, NDI, along with Venezuela's leading political parties, Acción Democrática and COPEI, sponsored an international conference in Caracas on the transition to democracy in Chile. Chilean opposition leaders were joined by delegates from Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and the Philippines. The conference offered a unique opportunity for the representatives of new democracies to share experiences on the transition process with their Chilean counterparts. The conference also provided a setting that enabled Chile's coalition of diverse democratic parties to reaffirm its common purpose.
- NDI invited Chilean political leaders to participate in an international observer delegation to the May 1987 legislative elections in the Philippines where they were able to observe the country's successful experience in election monitoring and reform.
- In 1987 most of the parties involved in the National Accord refocused their activities on a national voter registration drive and later on a campaign for a "No" vote in the presidential plebiscite. The Institute provided grants to support these efforts. Prominent consultants, working *pro bono* for NDI, also offered technical advice in polling, computerization, media and organization to a gifted group of Chilean campaign organizers and strategists. These consultants traveled frequently to Chile and worked tirelessly on behalf of a cause to which they had become deeply committed. Their experience and expertise were central to NDI's efforts and we wish to acknowledge them and their important contribution:

ANNIE BURNS, Field Director, Greer, Margolis and Mitchell, Washington, D.C.

DAVID COLLENETTE, Exec. Vice President, Mandrake Management Consulting, Toronto, Canada

GLENN COWAN, Vice President, Francis, McGinnis and Rees, Washington, D.C.

CURTIS CUTTER, President, Interworld Consultants, Washington, D.C.

FRANK GREER, President, Greer Margolis and Mitchell

PETER HART, CEO, Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Washington, D.C.

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WILLIAM C. VELASQUEZ (1944-1988), President, Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, San Antonio, TX

JACK WALSH, Partner, Murphine and Walsh, Boston, MA

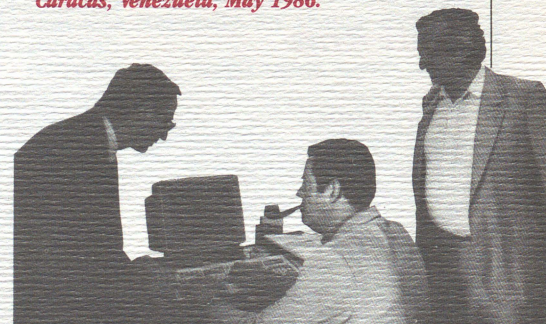


NDI President Brian Atwood addresses participants at the Chile conference held in Caracas, Venezuela, May 1986.



Frank Greer (left) and Jack Walsh analyze media campaign of the free election movement.

Glenn Cowan (second from left) listens to plans for computerizing independent vote counting systems for the plebiscite.



Peter Hart (left) confers with Chilean pollsters on methodology for their first national public opinion survey.

Most Panamanians blame Gen. Manuel A. Noriega and the current Panamanian government for the country's economic crisis and a strong majority want their country to return to democratic, civilian rule.

These are among the key findings of a June 24-July 3 national poll in Panama conducted by Penn and Schoen Associates in conjunction with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). The findings were released at an NDI-sponsored press con-

ference on September 7.

Panamanians expressed the view that removing Noriega would improve the nation's outlook. In fact, getting the general to leave Panama was judged the best single way to solve the current imbroglio, with those polled saying the second best method would be to change Panama's government. The respondents supported the idea of a dialogue with the United States to help solve the present crisis.

Also included in the poll are ques-

tions concerning Panamanian attitudes toward an eventual return to democracy and the various institutions within the country that might play a part in such a transition.

"The National Democratic Institute was pleased to be associated with this valuable effort to draw attention to current attitudes in Panama," said NDI President Brian Atwood. "We believe surveys of this kind can help foster informed debate and will contribute to efforts toward democratization." ●

Paraguayan Institute Launches Civic Education Program

Five Paraguayan youth leaders studied the development and observed the implementation of successful civic education projects in Chile last September. The week-long program in Santiago was sponsored by the Asunción-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED), a newly formed democratic development institute funded by NDI.

The Paraguayans were briefed by leaders of the Crusade for Civic Participation and the Bethlehem Program, participated in civic education training sessions and met with senior Chilean political party leaders. The Crusade and the Bethlehem Program are credited with registering thousands of voters for the October 5 presidential plebiscite.

The CED and NDI also sponsored four Paraguayan political and civic leaders as members of the international observer delegation to the Chilean plebiscite (see delegation list on page 5). CED director Esteban Caballero accompanied the group to Chile.

"The two Chile missions were important inaugural programs for the center," Caballero said. "We returned to Paraguay with renewed energy and concrete ideas on how to structure a unified civic education curriculum." ●



Paraguayan youth leaders meet in Santiago to examine Chile's civic education programs. (Left to right) Rufo Medina, Juan Carlos Galaverna and Maria Ferrera.

Botswana's Model Democracy

NDI contributed to an important symposium that examined the institutions and practices that have sustained democracy in Botswana. The August 1-5 conference, held in the capital city of Gaborone, included senior Botswanan political and civic leaders, as well as participants from six other African countries, the United States, Great Britain and West Germany.

NDI has long viewed Botswana as a model democracy that can foster democratic political leadership in the southern Africa region. For that reason, NDI sponsored three South African journalists as conference participants. The journalists each filed stories on the suc-

cessful multi-racial democracy on their country's northern border to help counter a Pretoria disinformation campaign that depicts all African nations as 'non-democratic' and in political and economic disarray.

NDI President Brian Atwood and Senior Consultant Patricia Keefer also participated in the symposium and visited with senior Botswanan officials, including President Quett Masire. The information presented at the symposium will contribute to NDI's three-nation study on "Democracy in Regions of Crisis." The study, which will focus on Israel, Costa Rica and Botswana, will be published next year. ●

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