

Dear Friends,

*It's summer time but training and political organizing doesn't stop for the holidays!*

*The last two months have been busy ones here at NDI. Women city councilors, CeSID central staff and Regional Coordinators, local branches across Serbia, training of trainers, women MPs, Contact Serbia, Party Leaders, the Belgrade Open School and women Presidents of Executive Boards. We've been working with a lot of key activists who are part of building a democratic Serbia. People like you!*

*We've added new trainers and two new staff here at NDI to keep our program growing and responsive to you. We welcome them to the team and hope you'll meet them soon.*

*While many of us – and you – will be taking some time during the summer to rest up before what will be an even busier fall, we aren't closing our doors over the holidays. We are pleased that we can continue our tradition of Summer Schools for Youth and we're adding another for Women this year.*

*If we don't see each other over the summer, then we'll catch up in the fall. Have a great holiday! Come back refreshed.*

Best wishes,



Stephanie Lynn  
Program Director



Paul Rowland  
Program Director

## LOCAL BRANCH TRAINING

Political Parties are a key component of any democratic society. Without them, one essential mechanism for citizen input in the political process and development of policy is lost. Local branches are the life-blood of political parties. Without a strong local branch network, political parties would be autocratic, top-down institutions with no real way of listening effectively to their vote base.

Local branches are the current focus of NDI's Regional Trainer program. June marked the opportunity to re-connect with or meet with new groups of local branch activists in 36 towns across the republic. We will continue to focus on local branches in the fall as we extend training topics to include membership development, fundraising and long-term strategic planning for elections.

Local branches in many of the towns across Serbia will be using the summer months to hold events to engage local members in social activity. Getting those lists up to date and making sure members are engaged in the local branch activities will ensure that they're more motivated to help out with volunteer activities in the fall. Look for an event in your home town!

### NDI is working with activists in:

Bečej, Bačka Palanka, Bor, Brus, Čačak, Kikinda, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Kruševac, Jagodina, Kladovo, Leskovac, Loznica, Majdanpek, Negotin, Niš, Nova Varoš, Novi Beograd, Novi Pazar, Novi Sad, Pančevo, Požarevac, Prijepolje, Raška, Ruma, Šabac, Sombor, Smederevska Palanka, Sremska Mitrovica, Subotica, Užice, Valjevo, Voždovac, Vranje, Zrenjanin.

## IN THIS ISSUE...

On page 6, you will find the article *Democracy Out of Balance - Civil Society Can't Replace Political Parties*, written by NDI's Director of Political Party Programs, Ivan Doherty. Ivan Doherty works at NDI's Washington office, but comes from Ireland where he was General Secretary of his party for many years. This is the first installment of the abridged article, which we will feature in the next few newsletters. If you can't wait to read the rest of the article, you can find the full text on our website at [www.ndisrbija.org](http://www.ndisrbija.org). The article is published in the April/May 2001 issue of the Policy Review.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS:** *What NDI's been doing... (2) What people are saying about NDI... (2) From an NDI Workshop (Ten Most Important Things a Local Branch Can Do..., Proposal Writing Steps) (3-4) Resources (How to Organize a Speech) (5) Democracy Out of Balance... (6-7) NDI Serbia Team (7)*

## WHAT NDI'S BEEN DOING...

### May

- > Strategic Planning Session with CeSID Managing Board
- > Training with CeSID Regional Coordinators on Fundraising and Proposal Writing
- > Training with Belgrade Open School on Fundraising, Proposal Writing and How to Train
- > Training of Party Trainers
- > Training of Party Central staff and activists on Fundraising
- > One-on-One Consultations and Communications Training with Women Presidents of Executive Boards
- > Communications and Public Speaking Training for Women City Councilors
- > Parliamentary Assessment



At the training for party trainers, held in May, Snežana Poledica and Nebojša Andrić talk about the phases of a campaign and the message.



From left to right, Ismail Dupljak (Novi Pazar), Željka Tomašev (Kikinda), Olivera Pepić (Požega) and Predrag Đorđević (Niš), doing a group exercise at the training for party trainers.

### June

- > Training with Local Branches on what to do between Elections
- > Communications and Public Speaking Training for Women City Councilors
- > One-on-One Consultations and Communications Training with Women MPs and DOS Party Leaders
- > Training with Contact Serbia Office Coordinators and Staff
- > Consultation with Ministries' Chiefs of Staff

## WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT NDI...

*I would like to use this opportunity to express my personal gratitude for everything you have done through the training system for me and for the overall improvement of the position of Civic Alliance of Serbia within DOS that led to the victory of DOS at 2000 elections. First of all, I would like to stress that during NDI trainings I made very useful political contacts with activists from many other political parties and other cities in Serbia, which would not have been possible otherwise, due to the well-known circumstances of the 2000 campaign. Furthermore, NDI's practical training enabled me to develop a whole spectrum of various skills that I would not be able to develop in any other way. By saying that, before all I think of*

- > *Techniques of public appearance I learned within the training for women in politics*
- > *Techniques of running the campaign and contact with voters*
- > *Efficient ways for the improvement of the party's structural organization (focused on planning, volunteer recruitment and fundraising in the campaign and political activism in Serbia).*

*However, the most important to me was the immense moral and psychological support I had from the people working at NDI, as well as from the people coming from other places of the world I met thanks to NDI. That support, I am strongly convinced, helped me reach my first political function that I am in right now.*

*Marija Milinković, Civic Alliance of Serbia  
President of the Executive Board, Vračar and  
President of City Board, Civic Alliance, Belgrade*

We met Marija Milinković again when she came to NDI for one-on-one consultations and communications training for women presidents of municipal Executive Boards. This session was done by Sarah Jenkins from NDI Croatia. We hope to be able to help Marija and other women elected officials in the future as well.

Send us your story about what NDI's trainings have meant to you, how you've used what you learned or a funny anecdote about an NDI session or what happened when you put new skills into action. We just might print it in an upcoming issue of *NDI Vesti!* All the people whose stories are printed in the newsletter will be sent an NDI gift pack.

# FROM AN NDI WORKSHOP

## WHAT ARE THE TEN MOST IMPORTANT THINGS A LOCAL BRANCH CAN DO BETWEEN ELECTIONS?

1. Bring lists up to date - members, volunteers, donors, supporters
2. Track and activate members
3. Recruit new members
4. Raise money
5. Hold interesting meetings and events for members and/or volunteers, supporters and community members
6. Communicate with government, media and other party offices (central office, regional offices, neighbouring communities)
7. Stay in touch with voters/citizens
  - a. Communicate (talk and listen) regularly with members, volunteers, past supporters (especially if you are part of governments)
  - b. Be active in the community
8. Train activists
9. Compile research
  - a. Voter turn-out
  - b. Past supporters, past opposed, past undecided
  - c. Past organizational activity of parties
  - d. Maps with electoral results
  - e. Opposition research
10. Write your Campaign Plan for the next election(s)

## PROPOSAL WRITING STEPS

By Mary Markowicz

### OVERVIEW

Writing a proposal is a process; the proposal process begins with planning, not writing a proposal. The proposal process does not end with the submission of a proposal; once a proposal is submitted, that is the beginning of a longer-term relationship with the donor.

A partnership should develop between the NGO and the donor. The donor has interests in specific areas it would like to fund. The NGO has a specific program for which it needs funding. The goal is to match the interests. The NGO has the ideas and the capacity to solve problems but no funds with which to implement the ideas/programs. The donor has the financial resources but not the ability to create or implement programs. Bring the two together effectively, and the result can be a dynamic collaboration.

The relationship between the NGO and the donor is mutual; it should be a relationship of respect and responsibility. It is the donor's responsibility to read and review proposals with an open mind and to make fair decisions. It is the responsibility of the NGO to conduct the research and present a clear, concise, and thoughtful proposal.

View the donor as a person, as your partner in achieving the objectives of your program.

Understand the position of the donor; a donor has limited funding and wants to fund a successful program. A donor receives more requests than it can fulfill, and the choices a

donor must make are difficult. It is a competitive environment. Why is it important to understand the position of the donor? Because your proposal must convince the donor that your need is the most important.

### STEP 1: PLANNING

**Know yourself:** What is the overall goal or mission of the NGO? What is the expertise of the organization? Why and when was the NGO created? What are the needs of your organization that are currently not being met? What are the issues/problems in the community that could be addressed if the organization received funding? Why is this organization the best organization to address the issues/problems? What are the organization's plans for this year, five years from now? What programs has the organization successfully implemented? Has the organization received donor funding before? From which donors? What expenses will the NGO incur that will have to be covered - staff salaries and benefits, office space, travel, materials and others?

> Be prepared to summarize and clearly state (similar to a 30-second commercial) the goals of the organization, recent successful programs and a specific project or current need that requires funding.

**Research:** What donors are interested in funding your programs? What donors are currently working in Serbia and what organizations do they currently fund? Have you met the representatives? Do you know someone who knows the representatives? What donors have offices in neighboring countries but fund programs in Serbia? Do they have guidelines for proposals? What are their funding cycles - when do they

accept proposals, anytime, quarterly? Anticipate the questions donors may have for you - remember they have limited funds and want to fund successful programs.

- > Develop your own donor profile - filing system or a database with this information and update it frequently.

## STEP 2: PROPOSAL WRITING

Identify Essential Proposal Components: who, what, why, where, when, how much and what results?

- > **Who:** Describe the organization - goals, expertise, history, and example of previous program
- > **What:** 1) Describe the issue/problem the project is trying to solve. 2) Describe the specific objectives of the project - what can be accomplished with this level of funding in the designated time frame - and the activities that will be implemented to achieve the objectives
- > **Why:** Describe why this project is important at this time in Serbia/or in this community.
- > **Where:** Identify the location of the project's activities - in one community, in several, throughout Serbia?
- > **When:** Identify the timeframe for the project - six months, one year?
- > **How much:** Identify how much the project will cost to implement, including costs for staff, office space, materials and workshop or other activities.
- > **Anticipated results:** Describe the anticipated results of the project and how will it be determined that the project was successful - what will be different after the project is completed.

Begin writing the proposal, using the answers to the questions — who, what, why, where, when, how much and what results. Format the proposal according to the structure preferred by the donor or if one is not suggested, consider using the following structure:

- > Executive Summary: Summarizes the answers of all of the questions in one page; prepared last.
- > Background: Answers the question "why."
- > Objectives: Answers the question "what." Clear, concise and achievable in the designated timeframe and with requested funds.
- > Program Activities: Answers the questions "when," "where" and "what" in detail. Clearly describe the activities that will lead to the accomplishment of the objectives.
- > Evaluation: Answers the questions "what are the anticipated results" and "how the NGO will determine if the project was successful."
- > Budget and Budget Narrative: Provides detailed information on how funds will be spent. Includes all costs to implement the project, such as staff salaries and benefits, office space, equipment, travel, materials and workshops.

## STEP 3: REPORTING

Provide the donor with timely and informative narrative and financial reports. Depending on the length of the project, donors typically require reports on a quarterly basis. Follow the reporting guidelines of the donor, if it has a preferred format. If not, consider the following format:

- > Executive Summary: one-page summary of the report, highlighting the results.
- > Background: brief reminder of why this project was necessary at this time in this community.
- > Program Activities: describe in detail the activities conducted, including location and numbers of participants.
- > Results: As a result of the activities conducted, describe what has been achieved. Link activities to the objectives of the proposal.
- > Evaluation: Discuss any lessons learned or discuss any problems implementing the project.
- > Future Activities: Describe or list the activities that will be implemented next.

## STEP 4: DONOR RELATIONS

Why is it important to maintain relations with the donor? Future funding is a good incentive!

Maintain frequent contact with the donor in addition to providing it with timely reports. Suggestions: Invite the donor to an event (workshop or training) for which its funds are being used; send copies of newspaper articles that describe an event that was paid for by the donor; or send copies of materials, such as leaflets and posters, that were produced with funds from the donor (these materials can be attached to narrative quarterly reports but can also be sent separately).

Consult with the donor if any major changes are needed in the implementation of the program.

Maintain frequent contact with potential future donors. Invite the donor(s) to a current project's event; send copies of articles in which the NGO and its current project is mentioned; send copies of materials, such as newsletters or updated information on the NGO and its activities.

## STEP 5: PLANNING

Plan for future funding even while current project is being implemented. Routinely evaluate the direction of the NGO and its funding needs.

**This piece by Mary Markowicz was used at a training session held in May for CeSID's regional coordinators on fundraising and proposal writing. Mary Markowicz works as Deputy Director of Program Coordination at NDI Washington.**

# RESOURCES

## HOW TO ORGANIZE A SPEECH

By Diane Cromer

### 1. Begin with a personal surprise

A speaker has seven seconds to develop a relationship with an audience. Since a speech is a dialogue between speaker and audience, it is important to begin a speech by sharing something personally important - not personal though. By doing so, a speaker communicates to the audience that he or she intends to leave something with them and that they are expected to do the same.

Begin by providing the audience with personally important information that will give the audience a strong impression of the speaker and an interest in the material to be presented. It sets the emotional bond between speaker and audience. It can be moving, motivating, or humorous.

It can be the personal story of why the speaker joined the organization. It can be a story of an event or incident from within the organization that is relevant or astounding to the audience. It can be surprising or profound information that immediately grabs the audience.

### 2. Create the personal relevance of the subject to the audience

The key to a good message is that it must be personally important information to the listener. A message that is simply for the greater good of human kind or the betterment of the community will receive polite attention - but to move people to your point of view, a message must be relevant to the listener's life or to the life of his immediate - not extended - family.

### 3. State the impact of the problem

This is the more factual part of the talk. However, you want to continue to provide the information using value-based language supported by data rather than the other way around. An example would be:

#### *Instead of saying:*

*"A study conducted for Fight Crime, Invest in Kids by researchers from George Mason University says that nine out of 10 police chiefs and prosecutors surveyed said that child care was important in the reduction of juvenile crime,"*

*...express it in a more direct and compelling fashion:*

*"The nation's police chiefs and prosecutors tell us that high-quality child care is one of the most important weapons in the fight against juvenile crime."*

### 4. Compliment and include the audience in the solution

No one wants to believe that he or she is part of the problem. In a speech it is important to learn how the individuals in the audience or the organization to which they belong are playing a role to make things better or why they possess the skills, understanding, etc. to make things better.

### 5. Leave the audience with a specific call to action

Give them a way to cope with the information you've shared. It can be as simple as asking for heightened awareness or as specific as writing a cheque on the spot.

### 6. Take the audience to the mountaintop and leave it there

Too many speakers get to the climax of their talk - the audience is moved and inspired - and then the speaker continues to talk and talk and talk. Get to the height of the speech and stop.



*Diane Cromer (first from the right), in conversation with DOS media team members. Diane Cromer has been working with NDI Serbia since April 2000, mainly on strategic planning and message development with the Alliance for Change and then DOS. She joined us in June for one-on-one consultations and communications sessions with women MPs and DOS leaders, as well as for training sessions for Contact Serbia office coordinators and staff and consultations with Ministries' Chiefs of Staff.*

## Highlights of NDI's work in July and August include:

Communications and Public Speaking Training with Women City Councilors  
Four-week Summer School for DOS Youth Activists  
Advanced Summer School for Women Elected Officials  
Advanced Summer School for Women Party Officials



## DEMOCRACY OUT OF BALANCE

### CIVIL SOCIETY CAN'T REPLACE POLITICAL PARTIES

Max Weber once referred to political parties as “the children of democracy,” but in recent years civil society, in the new and emerging democracies, has often become the favored child of international efforts to assist democracy. Civil society has been described as the “wellspring of democracy,” a romantic, if perhaps exaggerated, claim. The international community has promoted civic organizations, assisted them, and supported their expansion and development, often building on the ruins of discredited political parties. This has been a good and necessary endeavor. Yet the almost exclusive focus on civil society has moved beyond fashion. For some it has become an obsession, a mantra.

Increasingly, resources are being channeled to programs that develop civil society to the exclusion of political parties and political institutions such as parliaments. Many private and public donors feel that it is more virtuous to be a member of a civic organization than a party and that participating in party activity must wait until there is a certain level of societal development. There is a grave danger in such an approach. Strengthening civic organizations, which represent the demand side of the political equation, without providing commensurate assistance to the political organizations that must aggregate the interests of those very groups, ultimately damages the democratic equilibrium. The neglect of political parties, and parliaments, can undermine the very democratic process that development assistance seeks to enhance. Without strong political parties and political institutions that are accountable and effective, that can negotiate and articulate compromises to respond to conflicting demands, the door is effectively open to those populist leaders who will seek to bypass the institutions of government, especially any system of checks and balances, and the rule of law.

### THE CIVIL SOCIETY BOOM

In the 1980s and '90s, civil society became the fashionable focus of attention as the changing political landscape created new opportunities for civic groups in countries emerging from dictatorial regimes. This newfound infatuation with civil society can be attributed to a number of factors: the critical role played by civil society - before real political parties could legally operate - in leading the charge against totalitarian regimes in Asia and Eastern Europe; the early adverse reaction to political parties by citizens who had experienced single-party systems in many of these countries; and the reaction of those offering support from established democracies who were themselves disillusioned with party systems and were more comfortable placing their hopes in civil society as a means of political and social renewal.

Those who embrace the development of civil society as a means of apolitical involvement in the internal politics of a country fail to recognize the limitations of such an approach. In the first instance, civil society groups in new and emerging democracies constantly grapple with what are intrinsically political issues. For example, in the context of monitoring an electoral process or advocating for improved living stan-

dards, political parties remain the primary vehicle for political action and the enactment of laws; without engaging them in the process, there can only be limited advancement. Avoiding the issue of partisan politics in the rush to strengthen civil society runs the risk of undermining representative politics and failing to exploit the real avenues to political influence open to civil society.



*In Romania, NDI has worked with young political leaders, helping them develop their skills. In March 2000, a group of young leaders from several different parties went on a study mission to the United States. (This picture shows the Program Coordinator at NDI Romania, Corina Popa, Program Director Shannon O'Connel, and the group at the orientation session before the trip.)*

*Civil society groups in new and emerging democracies constantly grapple with what are intrinsically political issues.*

Examples abound of countries with a strong and active civil society where the weakness or entrenchment of political parties serves to put the entire democratic system in jeopardy. In Bangladesh, despite an abundance of advocacy and citizen action groups, the recurring partisan political stalemate consigns the country and its citizens to abject poverty. Having moved from military dictatorship to popularly elected governments on a number of occasions over the past decade, it would appear that some political leaders have learned very little. Both of the main political forces in Bangladesh have contributed to the continuing political impasse. The influence wielded by many political leaders over supporters and citizens is constantly used for narrow partisan purposes, while civil society stands helplessly on the sidelines. Also, the tendency to promote divisions in civil society indicates recognition of the real threat a united and independent civil society poses to those who wish to undermine the democratic system or subvert it. Without movement in the area of political party reform and the creation of a more open and transparent parliamentary system, the fate of democracy and the welfare of the Bangladeshi people will continue to be threatened. In examples across the world - from Chile and the Philippines

in the 1980s to Indonesia and Serbia in the '90s - the combined and complementary efforts of political parties and civil society have reclaimed democracy for many citizens. In almost all cases, it may prove easier and more comfortable for the international community to provide support and encouragement for civil society while engaging in only limited interaction with political parties. However, while any transition to democracy requires popular mobilization, so too does it require constitutional and institutional frameworks. The initial mobilization may be best orchestrated by civil society, but political parties are the only actors who can provide the required institutional framework.

It is not that political parties in fledgling democracies are completely bereft of international support. In the United States, the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute, with support from the National Endowment for Democracy and the Agency for International Development, provide technical assistance and advice to democratic parties worldwide. Both institutes have also supported the development of civic organizations, particularly their engagement in the political process. Elsewhere, similar efforts have been undertaken by the publicly funded Westminster Foundation for Democracy in Great Britain and foundations affiliated with political parties in Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands. This support to parties, however, has been dwarfed by large scale resources provided to civic organizations and state institutions by donor aid agencies, international financial institutions, and private foundations. This imbalance in assistance has the unintended consequences of devaluing and marginalizing the foundations of representative democracy: political parties and the legislatures within which they operate. During times of crisis, a political vacuum can be created, inviting direct entreaties to the populace at large. Political parties are not perfect, but no other national institution can serve as well to impede the emergence of autocratic leaders or government by fiat.

Too often, technical assistance to political parties is available very late in the process and in such a meager form as to have little impact on long-term development. It often concentrates on campaign techniques, which are indeed always the most pressing challenge facing new and weak political parties.

Fledgling parties continually struggle to mount effective campaigns and meet the expectations of a newly informed electorate. The greater challenge comes in the postelection period, when the consolidation of the political party system poses far greater challenges for party leaders. And here there is typically very little assistance or support from the international community. In the rush to hold elections, parties often fail to address institutional development issues until the electoral contests are over. Afterward, they may be forced to come to terms with a new political landscape requiring them to concentrate on building democratic institutions. At a critical stage in the early development and consolidation of the parties, the leaders and many key officials are drawn into the government and legislative process, thereby allowing their nascent parties to atrophy. Many parties are ill-prepared for the demands of both government and opposition, and are unable to adequately satisfy the expectations of citizens. This only exacerbates public cynicism.

(to be continued in the next issue of *NDI Vesti*)



*In Latin America, where citizens view parties as ineffective, corrupt and out of touch with their constituents, creating open and accountable parties remains a challenge. NDI developed a long-term regional initiative - the Leadership Program - to, among other things, promote political party reform and renewal. This picture shows seminar participants talk to one of the speakers at the two-week leadership seminar, intended to establish a regional network of reform-minded young leaders to promote modern, representative and responsive political parties. (From NDI Reports, Fall 1999.)*

## NDI SERBIA TEAM

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The National Democratic Institute is a non-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Based in Washington, DC and calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions in over seventy countries. NDI has been working with democratic political parties and the Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID) in Serbia since 1997.



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