

Dear Friends,

The summer has come to a close. We hope you all enjoyed the opportunity to spend time with family and friends and get away from your regular schedule of events.

In this issue you'll find the second installment of an article by NDI's Director of Party Programs, Ivan Doherty, entitled "Democracy Out of Balance." It's a provocative look at the complementary roles political parties and civil society play in ensuring a healthy democracy. The whole article can be found on our website at www.ndisrbija.org alongside other relevant resources.

You'll also find in these pages notes about our active summer. We promised that NDI's doors would not close and we haven't. We spent a great deal of time in Summer Schools. Over three hundred youth joined us in Kopaonik in July and August. In late August, we held two schools for women there also. And that's not all we were up to.

Read about the new international staff who are joining our growing team. We are very pleased to be joined in September and October by Jean Lavoie, Damian Murphy and Shannon O'Connell. You can learn more about each of them in this issue of NDI VESTI.

Hope you're as ready for a busy fall as we are!

Best wishes,



Stephanie Lynn
Program Director



Paul Rowland
Program Director

IN THIS ISSUE: On pages 6 and 7, you will find material used in several workshops throughout the summer - Diane Cromer's "Making Government Relevant". Written especially for our Summer Schools for Women, this text outlines creatively how governments can help citizens understand why government activity affects their lives.

DOS YOUTH PUT TOGETHER "REAL" CAMPAIGNS

For four weeks in July and August, 334 youth activists in political parties gathered in Kopaonik's "Club A" hotel to learn organizational and election campaigning skills. Every five days, another 70 youth got off or on buses. As a group got off the bus, they were eager to find out what NDI could teach them. For those getting on, most were exhausted but excited about the intensive series of workshops that culminated in a "real-life" election campaign simulation.



Summer School participants practice door-to-door campaigning

In coordination with the youth sections of 17 parties, NDI found participants from across Serbia who were young, committed to their parties, and new members who had not received training of this kind before. We were thrilled with the caliber of participants - they were enthusiastic, worked hard and showed a great willingness to cooperate with each other. We believe each of them went home with armloads of materials and heads full of new ideas to try. We hope you've welcomed them back to your party and home town and are ready to engage them fully in your fall activities.

(continued on page 2)

TABLE OF CONTENTS: DOS Youth Put Together "Real" Campaigns (1-2) New Faces at NDI Serbia (3) What NDI's Been Doing... (4) Summer Activities of the Women's Program (4) Democracy Out of Balance: Civil Society Can't Replace Political Parties (Part Two) (5) From an NDI Workshop (Making Government Relevant) (6-7)

DOS YOUTH (continued from page 1)



A Summer School participant presents the calendar and budget work of her group

Over the five day sessions, participants were engaged in trainings on:

- Message development
- Resources in a Campaign
- Time plans
- Event plans
- Work with Volunteers
- Door to door campaigns
- Surveys & Newsletters
- Leaflet development
- Press conferences & press releases
- Media Interviews & Public Speaking

Serbia's political parties - today and into the future - are in good shape, judging from their youth activists.

Participants joined us from 87 towns and cities across Serbia (in descending order of number of participants):

Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Zrenjanin, Priboj, Kikinda, Smederevo, Kruševac, Subotica, Pančevo, Užice, Kraljevo, Indija, Vršac, Vranje, Sremska Mitrovica, Odžaci, Leskovac, Vladičin Han, Smederevska Palanka, Šabac, Pirot, Novi Pazar, Mužlja, Kula, Jarkovac, Ečka, Čačak, Bajina Bašta, Zaječar, Valjevo, Ub, Tutin, Temerin, Sutjeska, Srbobran, Šid, Senta, Prokuplje, Požega, Požarevac, Paraćin, Novi Bečej, Lo-

Thank you for giving us the opportunity to speak in our mother-tongue.

Ervin Sokola, Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians, Srbobran

znica, Knić, Kanjiža, Bujanovac, Brus, Bor, Boka, Žitište, Žabalj, Vrbas, Vlasotince, Velika Plana, Torda, Stara Pazova, Sombor, Sokobanja, Ruma, Raška, Prijepolje, Pecka, Pećinci, Pačir, Osečina, Orom, Orlovat, Medoševac, Leposavić, Kosjerić, Knjaževac, Kladovo, Ivanjica, Irig, Berkasovo, Feketić, Bogovađa, Bogatić, Bač, Bačko Petrovo Selo, Bački Petrovac, Bačka Palanka, Apatin, Sibač.

Parties engaged in the Youth Summer School:

- Democratic Party
- Civic Alliance of Serbia
- Socialdemocracy
- New Democracy
- Demochristian Party
- New Serbia
- Democratic Party of Serbia
- Social Democratic Union
- Sandžak Democratic Party
- Movement for a Democratic Serbia
- League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina
- Democratic Alternative
- Democratic Center
- Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians
- Reformists of Vojvodina
- Šumadija Coalition
- Association of Free & Independent Trade Unions

Young people of different political background are learning together and spending time with each other. Fantastic!

Milica Đorđević, Reformists of Vojvodina, Šid



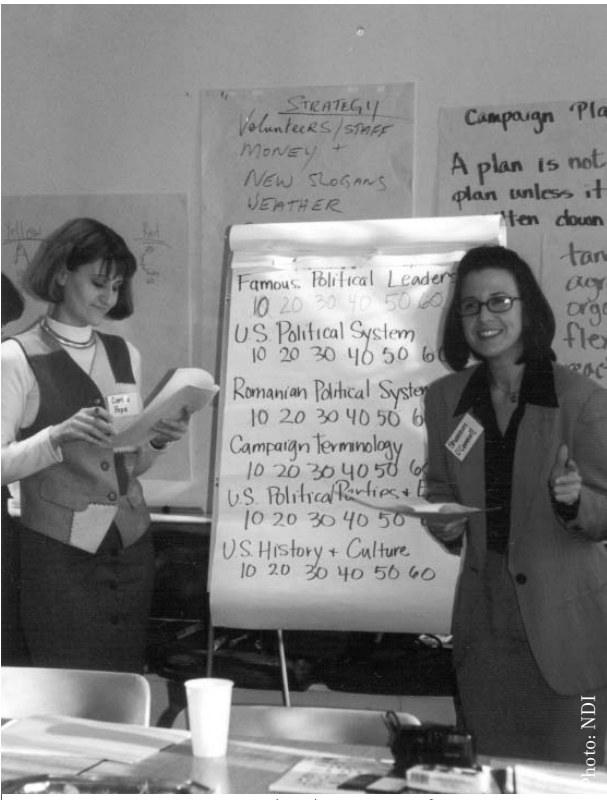
"Party" literature from the Youth Summer School's simulation of the election campaign

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.

NEW FACES AT NDI SERBIA

Jean Lavoie joins us in mid-September to assume the new parliamentary representative post. Jean has a long, fruitful history with NDI, including postings to Algeria, Bosnia, Burundi, Cambodia, Namibia and South Africa working on parliamentary and civic programs. He participated in NDI's Parliamentary Assessment to Serbia this past spring.

Jean hails from Quebec, Canada and has law degrees from Laval University (Quebec) and the London School of Economics. He has served as an advisor to the Minister of International Relations, Justice and Intergovernmental Affairs in Quebec. He comes to Serbia after recent work with the United Nations (UN) in Burundi and PACT in Madagascar. Jean has also worked recently with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Canadian Human Rights Foundation.



Shannon O'Connell (right) at a training for young Romanian politicians, in Bucharest

Damian Murphy has been working in NDI's Washington, DC office for almost three years as a Program Officer with both the Albanian and Serbian programs. He is pleased to be joining us here in Belgrade to focus solely on program work in Serbia. Damian has traveled to Serbia on several occasions, assisting with NDI's political party training program and as an election monitor with the OSCE. He also accompanied a group of Alliance for Change youth on an NDI study tour to Slovakia in the spring of 2000.

Previous to his time at NDI, Damian worked for the Washington-based Center for Democracy on its European & former

Soviet Union democratization programs in cooperation with the Council of Europe. He has also worked for two U.S. political consulting firms that specialize in direct persuasion mail and fundraising and has volunteered in a number of U.S. political campaigns, specifically on press relations. Damian has also worked to acclimate and tutor several refugees from throughout the Balkans with the International Rescue Committee. He has a degree in Politics from the Catholic University of America.

Shannon O'Connell is joining us in October, to cover portions of our programs for three months during Stephanie Lynn's maternity leave. Shannon spent the last two years with NDI in Romania, where she managed programs promoting the participation of women and youth in their political system and public life. She also trained with the Serbia program during that time.

Shannon has worked in politics since she was 21, when she served as a Legislative Intern in the Massachusetts General Assembly. Shannon went on to work for Amnesty International and a Democratic Congressman in Washington, DC. She then spent four years in California as a Finance Director for the California Democratic Party and later as the National Events Coordinator for EMILY's List, an organization dedicated to raising funds for women candidates across the U.S. In 1998, Shannon worked in Belfast assisting the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition on their first elections to the new Northern Ireland Assembly. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and International Relations from Boston College and a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School at Tufts University.



Damian Murphy and Jean Lavoie (first and second from the right) in Belgrade, with the other members of the Parliamentary Assessment team.

WHAT NDI'S BEEN DOING...

July

- › Communications Training with Women City Councilors
- › Summer School for Political Party Youth Activists
- › Presentations of NDI Serbia's work in Washington, DC
- › Training of Party Activists in Azerbaijan

August

- › Summer School for Political Party Youth Activists
- › Summer School for Women Party Officials
- › Summer School for Women Elected Officials
- › Consultation with DOS Leaders



Republic MP Alen Selimović shares a success story with other participants in Novi Sad

SUMMER ACTIVITIES OF THE WOMEN'S PROGRAM

In the tradition of NDI Serbia, we set aside time during the summer months for some advanced sessions in the women's program. This year, the focus was on two Summer Schools: one for women in leadership positions in parties and the other for women in elected office. With the training expertise of Diane Cromer and Niamh O'Connor, almost 40 participants covered a lot of ground.

Topics covered at the Women's Summer Schools 2001

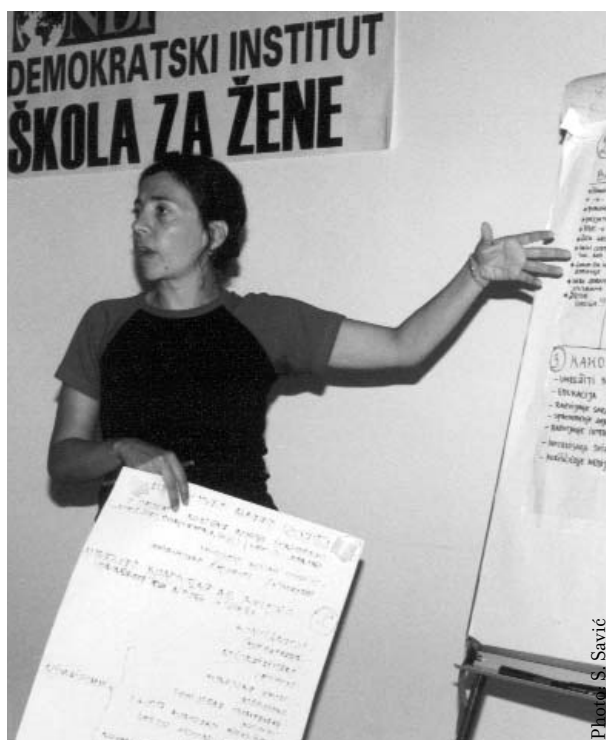
- › Networking
- › Developing and Enhancing Personal Style
- › Strategic Planning and the Recruitment and Promotion of Women
- › Getting more women onto party election lists and high enough to win
- › Creating a Communications and Marketing Strategy
- › Learning How Groups Form
- › Making Government, Politics and Leadership Relevant
- › Understanding Leadership Skills and Values
- › Managing Resources



Nada Lazić (League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, Novi Sad) and Dušanka Vitas (New Democracy, Belgrade) in group work on creating the plan

The work we did in the School was eye-opening, to use that phrase, that is, it has given me directions and showed me the way to get more women, members of the Forum, involved and also how to recruit new members. I am happy that I can share the skills I acquired in your School with all the other members of the Women's Forum. I am certain that our time is coming and that we are bound to succeed.

Nada Lazić, president of the Women's Forum of the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina - Novi Sad



Marija Peternel (Democratic Party, Niš) presents the plan of her group in the closing session of the Summer School for Women

DEMOCRACY OUT OF BALANCE

CIVIL SOCIETY CAN'T REPLACE POLITICAL PARTIES

(PART TWO)

PARTY FAILURES

In emerging democracies worldwide, political parties are either too weak, too personalistic, too constrained by oppressive governments, or too corrupt and out of touch to earn the respect and support of the public. In Romania, for example, the former communists remained in government for a number of elections until a coalition of opposition parties from across the political spectrum came to power in 1996. The "reform" parties won in a landslide, taking control of both houses of parliament and winning the presidency. Through inexperience and poor interparty relations, the new government quickly became paralyzed, eroding its support base only to be replaced at the next election four years later. A similar scenario could be playing out in Slovakia now. From Russia to Venezuela and Peru to Pakistan, when countries experience political crisis, it is often the troubled state of political parties that lies at the heart of the problem.

Anxieties about the state of democracy in Russia are clearly linked to the absence of strong and democratic political parties. Ten years after the demise of the Soviet Union, Russia has produced political parties that are either strong or democratic but, regrettably, not many parties that are both. As Michael McFaul has noted in his review of the six groups that won seats in the Duma in 1999, two are not parties and two are not democratic. The two that are arguably democratic political parties committed to liberal principles and the rule of law together won 14.5 percent of the vote and 49 of 450 seats in the legislature. Political parties in Russia are weak because powerful politicians have deliberately set out to make them so. President Yeltsin was opposed to political parties and saw no advantage in joining one when he left the Soviet Communist Party. Though he won two elections himself, he never sought to build an organization based on an enduring program and constituency. His successor, Vladimir Putin, is not a member of any party, though a group supporting him won 25 percent in the Duma elections. He is currently proposing legislation that will curtail the activities of political parties.

Indonesia is also emerging from an authoritarian past into the unknown realms of a competitive multiparty system. Where a handful of compliant political parties had existed under the old regime, the new political order brought a myriad of parties of all shapes and sizes onto the political landscape. A total of 48 parties satisfied the new registration criteria, while a further 93 failed to qualify. Following the 1999 election, less than 15 political parties are represented in parliament, the largest with only 30 percent of the seats. In the postelection negotiations, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected president by parliament, even though his party held only 51 seats in the assembly, while the favorite, Megawati Sukarnoputri, whose party held 154 seats, was offered the vice presidency. The political situation in Indonesia is still unstable, with very few of the parties having succeeded in coming to terms with the new political climate, and all of them failing to adequately represent those who gave them support

in the election. Democratization is at a very delicate stage in Indonesia, with much to be done in terms of strengthening the political parties. At the same time, it is imperative that citizens participate in the process and that parties become more representative of society and responsive to its needs. There are also a number of countries where political parties have actually lost their mandate to function through their own mismanagement of the political system. In Pakistan, for example, political parties effectively frittered away their credibility to the point where the military's overthrow of the established political order, in October 1999, was accepted, if not welcomed. It certainly is a cause of grave concern and underscores the crisis in political parties when a coup d'état is regarded by many as an acceptable solution to undemocratic and unresponsive political parties.

Venezuela provides another illustration of what happens in the absence of a credible party system. The current president tried (and failed) to take control of the country by force in 1992, but yet went on to establish himself as an acceptable alternative to a party system which had proven itself weak and ineffectual. He was elected president in 1999. Since the end of dictatorship in 1959, a two-party system representing Social Democrats and Christian Democrats had dominated politics in Venezuela. Both parties eventually lost touch with the electorate, showed scant regard for the poor and underprivileged, and failed to tackle increasing corruption in their ranks. They became discredited in the eyes of citizens, enabling Hugo Chavez to emerge from the political vacuum promoting an image of an honest military man above politics - a man willing to take radical action against a corrupt "establishment." Since his election, Chavez has moved to further centralize executive power in his hands by amending the constitution. In his defense of these measures, he argues that he is seeking to provide for "direct democracy" because of the failure of "representative democracy." Having dispensed with the traditional political parties, he has turned to the dismemberment of civil society, starting with the country's trade unions.

There are also many countries where political parties are banned and repressed, and while much has been made of the lack of political party pluralism, there are no simple answers as to how support can be offered to democrats in these countries. Any traces of political activity carry grave dangers for those involved in countries such as China, Burma, Belarus, and Cuba. In June 2000, Uganda held a referendum to decide whether political parties may participate in elections there, after effectively being banned for more than two decades. The referendum confirmed the so-called "no party" system. President Museveni has undertaken a controversial attempt to conduct politics without political parties, claiming that they ferment ethnic hostility and discord. Yet it does not seem like a solution simply to ban political parties - because the result looks very much like a one-party system in which most effective political competition is squelched.

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

FROM AN NDI WORKSHOP

MAKING GOVERNMENT RELEVANT: USING PARTY LEADERSHIP AND ELECTED LEADERS

Diane Cromer

A democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. In other words, leaders are elected from the general citizenry, rule at the pleasure of the people, and work as servants of the people who elected them.

This can place leaders in a tough position. There are times when an action is unpopular, but is the right thing to do. True leaders put public opinion aside to act on principle. Most of the time, however, government works to solve the problems presented by the people in a manner that works best for most of the people.

It is important also that the new government lead the people of Serbia to accept their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. A democracy is not about a government solving all the problems; it's about government providing the resources for the citizens to solve their own problems.

When men dominate governments, it can be hard for women to see that their government is working in their best interest. Just as important, women want a focus on issues, not politics, power and posturing.

So it is important that the new government becomes relevant in the everyday lives of women and their families.

GIVE LAWS A LIFE

Laws don't solve problems - they are tools in the hands of people who will solve the problems. So a discussion about a law will not satisfy a woman's need to know the value of that law in her life. Laws must become alive. There are several key methods to help women see the importance of key laws.

1. Rather than talking about the systemic laws passed, create an activity or an event that can demonstrate why that law is important or the benefit that will result.
2. Create communications tools that update women on Parliamentary activities with reasons why the work will be important. Create instruments that are useable and interactive.
 - a. A reference card that talks about a key law on one side and provides important local phone numbers for police, fire, mayor's office, MP's office, hospital, or other numbers that are important.
 - b. These cards can take the form of something familiar in their lives. In the U.S., I put these on recipe cards or refrigerator magnets. It can be on a card that gives health information or tips on how to prepare for a job interview or a list

of local child care facilities - anything that makes the information important and relevant to women's lives.



Diane Cromer at the Summer School for Women

3. Create activities that bring your leadership and/or elected officials before groups of women.
 - a. Hold public hearings on legislation. Let local people make public presentations.
 - b. Conduct seminars relevant to the area such as in rural areas bring in some experts on how to create cottage industries using available resources, or bring in nurses and doctors to do a session on pre-natal and post-natal care.
 - c. Coordinate local groups of women to target a local issue and provide them the training to become part of the solution such as volunteering to help teachers while the government deals with the complete needs of the educational system, or volunteering in the local medical clinic or hospital while the health care system is reworked or create a mentoring program among women to support one another as everyone confronts the need for jobs, child care, health care, housing and so forth.

MAKE WOMEN STAKEHOLDERS

Create a role for women in the process. Gain agreement from your party leaders and elected officials to encourage citizen participation.

- a. Create a lobby day either on the local, republic or federal level. Organize groups of women to travel to city hall and Belgrade. Arrange for them to meet with elected and appointed officials from your party.
- b. Host an "open house" in the offices of your party's elected leader. A time when all citizens can go to the office, get acquainted with the office and its responsibilities.
- c. Create a "Meet Your Member" program that takes Members of Parliament to towns and villages. I know a version of this was done for the "First 100 Days" but formalize the concept and let women lead the organizing of such events in their communities.
- d. Create a "Capital for a Day" program. Get your party leaders and elected officials to designate a city Capital for the Day. Host a Parliamentary session in that city, let people come and watch. Have an open house afterwards where citizens can meet and talk with all members of Parliament.
- e. Get women involved in constituent service programs and projects.



Diane Cromer in a workshop on communications in Novi Sad

TARGET CONSTITUENT SERVICES TO WOMEN

Women are responsible for the day-to-day dramas of their family's lives. Constituent services can be targeted to their needs.

- > Become a resource of information on services and opportunities in your area.
- > Involve women in constituent services as volunteers, trainers, and participants.
- > Coordinate local services for women such as domestic violence, rape counseling, child care, and job training.
- > Provide programs for children.

It is difficult to get women involved in politics. My international experience has had me training women in the Republic of Srpska, Yemen, Jordan, Egypt, Romania, and Venezuela. I have yet to see substantial differences in the concerns women have over becoming involved in politics. There has only been a matter of degrees of concerns or obstacles women feel.

Here is what science reports about women and politics.

1. Women become involved in politics because they see a problem and want it fixed.
2. Women see problems and look within themselves to find a solution as opposed to placing blame on someone or something else.
3. Women feel a great responsibility and concern for the economic security of their families.
4. Women often do not turn to politics as a solution because it represents the very qualities women fear, don't fully comprehend, or accept as necessary:
 - a. Competition v. Cooperation
 - b. Use of personal power
 - c. Loud conversations and argument
 - d. Process v. Productivity
 - e. Time wasted v. Time management

Women will need to see results before they believe government, parties, and politics are a comfortable fit for their busy and worrisome lives.

This material has been used at the Summer Schools for Women, the training with Chiefs of Staff of Republic and Federal Ministries and others.

Highlights of NDI's work in September and October include:

Training for Chiefs of Staff of Republic and Federal Ministries
Communications Training with City Councilors
Launch of NDI's intensive program with Parliaments
Local Branch Training - "Organizing Between Elections" - across Serbia

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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