

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE



Pollworkers examine vote tallies late into the night during Liberia's national elections.

NDI ANNUAL REPORT 2005

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MESSAGE FROM NDI CHAIRMAN MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT



Portrait by Timothy Greenfield-Sanders

For more than two decades, the National Democratic Institute has operated on a simple assumption: that democracy is inseparable from human dignity and peace.

For centuries, dictators, despots and kings justified repression by insisting that stability could only be achieved through an iron hand.

During much of the last century, Communists declared that freedom was a bourgeois illusion and that human progress could only be made if everything was determined by the state.

More recently, new rationales for autocracy were developed, suggesting that democracy was solely a product of the West and inconsistent with the values of other traditions. Even today, so-called experts proclaim that democracy in poor societies must first be preceded by development, as if democracy were not itself an essential ingredient of prosperity.

Fortunately, the human desire for freedom is both universal and unquenchable. During the past decade, for the first time in history, more than half the world's population came to live under elected governments. The rising tide of democracy has been global. From Central America and Central Europe to Central Asia, people have been demanding and obtaining the right to participate in choosing their own leaders and shaping their own laws.

I am proud that NDI has been present and very much a participant in the creation of this bold new era. The Institute has been deeply engaged in transitions to democracy in nearly every corner of every continent, monitoring elections, training political leaders, promoting opportunities for women and helping build democratic institutions.

However, the struggle to create and sustain democracy is never easy and has no end. Once the euphoria of acquiring freedom is past, the effort to use that liberty wisely and successfully begins. Many new democracies are fragile, having inherited grave problems such as debt, division, disease, poverty and crime. If democracy is going to take root, it must be accompanied by policies that will improve living standards for the many, not just the privileged few.

In the face of these obstacles, the effort to translate the promise of democracy into the reality of a better life for the majority of people can be frustrating, slow and hard. There are no guarantees of success. Those who truly wish to live in freedom must demonstrate that commitment not once, but over and over again.

Democracy builders such as NDI are vital assets in the struggle against extremism. It is no accident that where terrorists are most present, democracy is most absent. That is why violence is more likely to erupt in areas of the world that are undemocratic—where leaders are unaccountable and citizens are unable to participate in determining their own future. Certainly, terrorists can exist and strike anywhere. But they cannot long flourish in any society where leaders are held accountable and the rule of law is applied.

The forces of extremism grow from the grassroots, and must be confronted and defeated at the grassroots through the steady construction of democratic institutions at the community and national levels.

We cannot, nor should we try, to impose democratic change. But let us not be shy about what we should do, which is to encourage indigenous democratic forces to gain confidence and strength.

NDI is a living testament to our own understanding of the difficulty and necessity of establishing a firm and lasting foundation for democracy around the world. I am proud to be part of this effort.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Madeleine Albright". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

MESSAGE FROM NDI PRESIDENT KENNETH WOLLACK

In 2005, NDI conducted programs in more than 70 countries around the world, supporting citizens' efforts to build more democratic societies.

Over the years, NDI has found that our programs have been most successful when we respond to requests for assistance from governments, political parties, parliaments and civic groups pursuing homegrown initiatives. Together these institutions are the engine of democracy.

NDI is working to overcome the next generation of challenges to democracy—such as poverty, corruption, and disease—by helping to create stronger links among the citizenry, political institutions and elected officials, and by enhancing the capacity of political parties and parliaments to address these challenges.

And in non-democratic societies, NDI continues to provide solidarity to, and support for, those who are struggling to promote peaceful political reform, often at great personal risk.

In all of its programs, the Institute actively supports women's political participation, and the engagement of youth and marginalized communities, such the Roma in Europe and indigenous peoples in Latin America. And we are using new information technologies that allow individuals, organizations and institutions to better connect through the Internet, cell phones and other communications mediums.

Our programs in 2005 spanned the globe. NDI brought together 15 former heads of state and government in Bamako, Mali, for the African Statesmen Initiative to explore ways in which these prominent democrats could continue their leadership on the continent. We also began two African initiatives on extractive industries and money in politics, both of which promote greater transparency in the expenditure of public funds. Our *Win with Women* Global Initiative has provided a practical blueprint for political party reform that enhances women's political leadership. We trained women from across the Middle East to help them be more effective in their campaigns for elective office. In partnership with the United Nations and The Carter Center, NDI spearheaded the *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation*, which has now been endorsed by 25 intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, including the African Union, the Organization of American States and the European Commission.

Today, NDI is part of a global network of governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and international financial institutions engaged in supporting democratization efforts. The Institute is the only organization to enjoy official standing in the three largest international groupings of political parties, representing Social Democratic, Liberal and Christian Democratic ideologies. Together, these internationals represent more than 350 parties in 150 countries around the world.

NDI is grateful to the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Department of State, as well as a growing number of individuals, governments, foundations, multi-lateral institutions, corporations and organizations that support our work.

I am proud to work with a dedicated, talented and diverse staff from 100 countries; and I appreciate the valuable contributions made to NDI's programs during the year by hundreds of volunteers, whose willingness to share their knowledge and experiences enriches our work and informs our partners around the world. I am grateful for the leadership of NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright and the members of the Board of Directors, who guide our work and provide constant encouragement and support.

Above all, the Institute is privileged to join with thousands of courageous democrats who, against tremendous odds, are striving to build better lives for their fellow citizens.



A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Ken Wollack". The signature is fluid and cursive, written in a professional style.

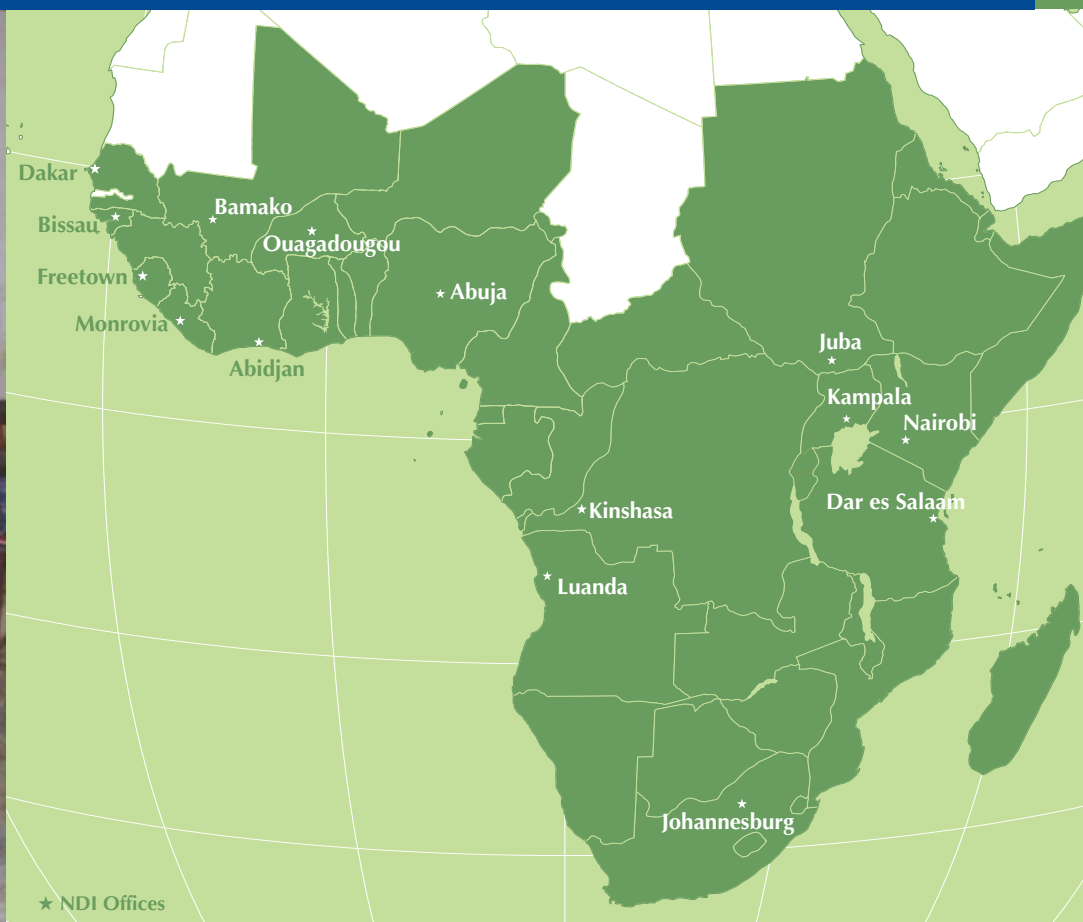
Supporting Citizen Engagement

NDI works to help citizens take their rightful place as active, organized participants in political life. NDI's support has enabled citizens across the globe to influence political processes and outcomes, and to transform the way political institutions behave and the way that politics is practiced. NDI's approach generally involves establishing developmental partnerships with local civic groups and helping them build the capabilities needed to undertake organized political action, such as civic and voter education, issue advocacy, political process monitoring and community organizing.

To enhance organizational learning and improve program performance, NDI examined several of the Institute's developmental partnerships in 2005, including its long-term partnerships with a Croatian group, Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections, and a Peruvian watchdog group, Transparencia. The research focuses on how to structure successful partnerships and how best to deliver assistance once partnerships are clearly established. Subsequent research included an examination of NDI's developmental partnerships with eight Romanian organizations.

As a result of the studies, several best practices emerged that will be used to inform future partnerships. These include identifying local groups with dedicated and motivated leaders; maintaining open and honest professional and institutional relationships; establishing clear partnership guidelines; following rather than leading local efforts; and delivering assistance through a mixture of training, coaching, structured feedback, materials and modest financial support. These findings are captured in two reports designed to assist NDI program implementers.





Strengthening national and regional governance capacity through accountable, multiparty democratic institutions is essential to helping African governments overcome turbulent political legacies and effectively respond to the needs of their citizens. In a growing number of African countries, democratically elected governments have fostered economic growth and supported the development of functioning public institutions, open media, vibrant civic organizations and credible political parties.

While many African nations have opened previously closed political systems to greater competition—thereby encouraging broader citizen participation in political processes—and greater accountability through strengthened legislative oversight, a number of autocratic regimes regularly manipulate election processes to consolidate and retain power. Civil strife and armed conflict undermine reform efforts in other countries, while poverty and disease present major challenges to political and economic development across the continent.

ANGOLA

NDI works closely with local civic organizations, and Angolan media, to develop civic education and public advocacy programs in advance of long-awaited national elections. Drawing on focus group research conducted in 2003, NDI helped establish three civic networks in Luanda, Benguela and Huambo provinces to begin preparations for civil society engagement in the election process. These networks began expanding in 2005, with the goal of establishing a nationwide voter education and election monitoring network.

BURKINA FASO

NDI worked with political party leaders to promote a more transparent electoral process in advance of Burkina Faso's 2005 presidential election. The Institute provided training for pollwatchers from the political parties, and helped develop a code of conduct for party leaders and candidates. In December, NDI launched a program to promote



Participants in a training workshop in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, develop their own campaign messages.



In Kenya, a voter casts her ballot in a referendum that narrowly rejected the government-backed constitution.

women's participation in politics, and opened resource centers in Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso to support women leaders and political activists.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The 2005 referendum on the draft constitution marked an important milestone in the Democratic Republic of Congo's peace process. In this vast, resource-rich country, democratic principles and practices are beginning to take root, even as civil strife, corruption and widespread poverty pose enormous challenges to the government and its citizens.

In 2005, NDI supported the DRC's transition process by helping political parties develop an electoral code of conduct. The Institute organized a series of party forums around the country, provided technical assistance to the transitional parliament, and trained pollwatchers and domestic monitors for the referendum. NDI,

in collaboration with IFES, operated resource centers in Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, Kikwit and Kisangani, that provided much-needed neutral political space for political party and civic activists to access information on the DRC's transition process and to engage in multiparty dialogue. Activities conducted at the centers included political party forums on pre-selected topics of interest to resident populations, and a series of training workshops for political parties on public outreach, platform development, coalition building and communication strategies.

GUINEA BISSAU

NDI initiated a capacity building program with Guinea Bissau's National Assembly after elections in 2005 led to the first seating of parliament in over a year. Activities included support to committee members and staff with executive oversight responsibilities in the areas of defense, national security and economic development.

KENYA

Throughout 2005, NDI provided technical support to political party leaders and to local and national party structures in preparation for elections in 2007. Focus group research conducted by the Institute helped parties better understand public attitudes about government policies, democratic practices and the parties themselves.

LIBERIA

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became Africa's first democratically elected woman president after Liberians voted freely in presidential and legislative elections following years of civil war and corrupt autocratic leadership. The generally peaceful and participatory campaign period that preceded the polls demonstrated Liberians' desire for longer-term peace and good governance.

NDI returned to Liberia in 2003 to support Liberia's transition, providing technical support to civic organizations monitoring the transition process and



Former Beninese President Nicephore Soglo and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter address the press on behalf of the NDI/Carter Center delegation to Liberia's 2005 elections.

implementing voter education programs. The Institute stepped up electoral assistance in 2005 by supporting the work of a domestic election monitoring coalition that observed and reported on every aspect of the elections. With the International Republican Institute and the Press Union of Liberia, NDI organized candidate forums and debates during the campaign. In partnership with The Carter Center, NDI conducted pre-election assessment missions and two high-profile international election observation delegations under the leadership of former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, former Beninese President Nicephore Soglo and former Nigerian Vice President Alex Ekwueme.

NIGERIA

NDI has provided training and technical assistance to the National Assembly and a wide range of Nigerian civil society organizations to bolster emerging democratic institutions and improve transparency. In 2005, NDI supported the establishment of the National

Assembly's independent budget office. The Institute also began working with civic organizations to develop a national voter education campaign and lay the foundation for the training and deployment of domestic observers for Nigeria's 2007 elections.

REPUBLIC OF CONGO

NDI worked with Congolese political parties in 2005 to enhance their understanding of the roles and responsibilities of parties in a democratic system. The Institute also supported women activists to help them become more effective party members and leaders. The Institute facilitated inter-party dialogue on the Congo's 2007 elections that culminated with party leaders signing a code of conduct.

SENEGAL

Approximately 1,700 women won seats in Senegal's 2002 local and regional elections. Despite these gains, Senegalese women continue to confront cultural and socio-economic



Using only a battery powered lamp in the remote town of Sanniquellie, pollworkers from Liberia's National Election Commission count votes late into the night on October 11, 2005.

barriers to political leadership. Many elected women, particularly at the local level, are serving in office for the first time and lack the skills to perform their public functions effectively.

In 2005, NDI worked closely with Senegalese women leaders from all main political parties to support the creation of the Senegalese National Network of Women Councilors, an organization dedicated to training and



Women councilors participate in a leadership training program in Dakar, Senegal.



Women turn out in large numbers to vote in Tanzania's elections.

facilitating the exchange of ideas and information among elected women across the country.

SIERRA LEONE

Since the end of Sierra Leone's decade-long civil war in 2002, NDI has developed constituency outreach programs for members of parliament, and conducted a grassroots civic education program in parts of the country most affected by war. This program brought together village leaders and residents in facilitated discussions on their democratic rights and responsibilities.

NDI also continues to work with legislators and security personnel to promote better relations between civilian authorities and the military.

SOMALIA

In 2005, NDI began a program to support Somalia's Baidoa-based Transitional Federal Government, located 100 miles from the capital of Mogadishu. NDI provided technical assistance and training to help the new government officials fulfill their roles and responsibilities, and to develop constructive working relationships between members of the executive and legislative branches.

SUDAN

NDI provided support to southern Sudanese leaders in 2005 on constitutional development, including sponsoring visits by experts to advise and comment on drafts of the interim constitution and providing ongoing tech-

nical assistance to officials in each of the 10 southern states. NDI conducted extensive focus group research to help determine public attitudes toward the peace process, and worked with women's and youth groups from northern and southern Sudan to encourage dialogue and political engagement.

TANZANIA

NDI helped 18 registered political parties to promote more substantive debate during the period leading up to Tanzania's December 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections. The Institute also organized 15 seminars for political parties on how to train party agents to observe voting and counting processes on election day. In October, NDI's 20-member international election observation

African Extractive Industries

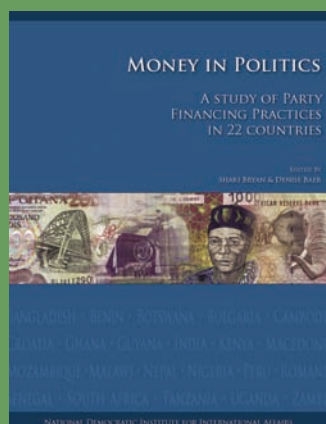
In many resource-rich African nations, the lack of accountability and transparency in the management of revenues from the extractive industries exacerbates poor governance and often fuels cycles of corruption, conflict and poverty.

As the first step in a program to strengthen the capacity of legislatures to create and utilize more accountable and transparent mechanisms for monitoring the collection, management and use of extractive industry revenues, NDI conducted research in 2005 on the role of legislatures in monitoring these revenues in Angola, Botswana, Chad, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Republic of Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa. Research findings on best practices, and challenges to and recommendations for improving legislative oversight of revenues from the extractive industries will be published in 2006 and will inform follow-on legislative assistance programs.

Money in Politics

While political party corruption poses one of the greatest threats to public confidence in political processes worldwide, relatively little information exists on the experiences of many emerging democracies—especially in Africa—in confronting illegitimate funding streams. To improve understanding of political party finance practices and encourage reform measures, NDI conducted a study of legal frameworks, patterns of funding and expenditures, and party management practices in 22 countries in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America. The Institute's report, *Money in Politics: A Study of Party Financing Practices in 22 countries*, concluded that successful reform requires a combination of adequate party finance regulation and legal frameworks to limit the potential for abuse by public officials. The study also emphasized the need for proper and impartial enforcement of regulations; political party engagement in the search for solutions; more transparent and accountable party structures; and continued monitoring by civic groups to expose abuses and to advocate reform.

A companion booklet, *Party Finance Reform in Africa*, discusses lessons learned from the efforts of NDI civic partners in four countries—Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and South Africa—to implement political party finance reform programs.



Per capita income in many resource-rich African countries is less than \$3 per day, despite billions of dollars in revenue collected by governments during the past 25 years.

HIV/AIDS and Governance in Southern Africa

Despite progress toward overcoming the challenges posed by Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis, the political response to the disease across most of the continent lags behind the pace at which HIV infection is spreading. In an effort to better understand how legislatures are responding to the crisis, NDI and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary Forum conducted an assessment of parliamentary efforts to combat HIV/AIDS in the SADC region. The assessment concluded that parliamentarians were not taking full advantage of their constitutionally mandated powers to address the pandemic.

Based on the survey findings, NDI is conducting pilot programs to strengthen parliamentary leadership and outreach on HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment and care. In Mozambique, the Institute is working with a newly formed group of parliamentarians who, in visits to the hardest-hit regions of the country, identified four legislative priorities. In Namibia, NDI convened the first of two public-private sector forums to expose parliamentarians to successful business-led initiatives to combat AIDS, and to exchange ideas on how legislators can better engage the business sector in fighting the disease.





Participant addresses NDI-organized public forum in northern Uganda ahead of the first multi-party elections there in two decades.

mission to Zanzibar acknowledged improvements from previous elections but expressed concerns about the accuracy of the voter registry, as well as the heavy election-day presence of security forces and their use of violence to maintain order.

TOGO

After the death of Africa's longest-serving president raised hopes for democratic change, NDI dispatched a delegation to Togo to assess preparations for the April presidential election. The delegation discussed with civil society leaders and political party activists ways to promote a more transparent and fair electoral process. The delegation raised concerns about the prospect for credible polls, and offered suggestions to improve the process. Despite government interference, NDI produced and distributed election monitoring training manuals

that helped civic activists and political parties document irregularities, and expose manipulation of the voter registry and large-scale vote tampering.

UGANDA

In the lead-up to Uganda's 2005 elections, the first multi-party polls in two decades, NDI conducted programs to increase citizen participation and dialogue, especially by women. The Institute partnered with local women's organizations to produce a candidate training manual, and held workshops for female candidates on outreach, codes of conduct, campaign planning and political skills development. NDI provided technical support and financial assistance to the Uganda Joint Christian Council to observe the elections and conduct a parallel vote tabulation, and to civic groups in northern Uganda for the conduct of get-out-the-vote campaigns.

ZIMBABWE

March 2005 parliamentary elections resulted in the ruling ZANU-PF party consolidating its majority in parliament. In May, President Robert Mugabe launched Operation Murambatsvina ("Drive out Trash"), causing the destruction of the homes and economic livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans, most of them urban poor and supporters of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change. A United Nations-issued report called for an immediate end to the initiative; humanitarian support for the affected; and punishment for those responsible for the program.

NDI actively monitors developments in Zimbabwe from its office in Johannesburg. In 2005, the Institute supported civic efforts to monitor the March parliamentary elections and to promote democratic reform. ❖

African Statesmen Initiative

Twenty five years ago, only a few African presidents or prime ministers had retired voluntarily or left office after losing an election. Now there are more than 30, many of whom serve as role models in the region, leading humanitarian and democratization efforts across the continent.

In June 2005, at the inaugural gathering in Mali of the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI), 15 former heads of state and government from Africa explored ways to continue their contributions to the political and economic well-being of the continent.

"We affirm that changes of power and political succession should always be based on constitutional rule and democratic principles," said the group in the Bamako Declaration, a joint statement released at the end of the conference. *"We are gravely concerned that a number of countries are still experiencing serious difficulties in meeting such requirements for successful democratic transitions."*

The Declaration commits the former leaders *"...to use [their] good offices to foster dialogue and the peaceful resolution of the continent's conflicts, and to promote human security and democratic*

Former Presidents and Prime Ministers attending the ASI Symposium, June 2005

Nicéphore Soglo, *Benin*
 Ketumile Masire, *Botswana*
 Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro, *Cape Verde*
 Dawda Kairaba Jawara, *Gambia*
 Jerry Rawlings, *Ghana*
 Amos Sawyer, *Liberia*
 Albert Zafy, *Madagascar*
 Joaquim Chissano, *Mozambique*
 Sam Nujoma, *Namibia*
 Mahamane Ousmane, *Niger*
 Yakubu Gowon, *Nigeria*
 Manuel Pinto da Costa, *Sao Tomé and Príncipe*
 Miguel Trovoada, *Sao Tomé and Príncipe*
 Al Sadig Al-Mahdi, *Sudan*
 Ali Hassan Mwinyi, *Tanzania*

Kim Campbell, *Canada*
 Petre Roman, *Romania*



models of government that offer citizens the opportunity to choose their leaders freely and participate fully in the political life of their countries."

The ASI was conceived in 2001 following extensive consultations between former African presidents and NDI. The goals of the Initiative are to: provide a forum for these leaders to share their experiences on democratization and conflict management; identify new outlets to help promote good governance across the continent; and develop initiatives to address issues such as poverty and disease.

ASI Supporters: African Center for Strategic Studies, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Club of Madrid, governments of Germany and Mali, National Endowment for Democracy, Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Open Society Initiative for West Africa, United Nations Development Programme, U.S. Agency for International Development and Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

Left: Amadou Toumani Toure, the president of host country Mali, welcomes former Niger president, Mahamane Ousmane, to the ASI symposium in Bamako. Right: Participants gather at the symposium.

West African Regional Women's Political Participation Program

An increasing number of West African women have overcome socio-economic and cultural barriers to play active

and visible roles in civil society, political parties and government. Many of these women leaders are offering citizens renewed hope in the capacity of governments to address basic public needs, particularly in the poverty stricken and drought-prone Sahel region.

Since 2001, NDI has conducted programs with female political and civic leaders throughout the region to enhance their ability to participate in decision-making processes. In 2005, NDI brought together women leaders from Mali, Niger, Senegal and Burkina Faso to strategize on ways to increase women's engagement in politics—within political parties and at all levels of government. With support from NDI, participants developed a regional action plan to further their goals.



Adoption of International Election Observation Principles

Twenty organizations engaged in monitoring elections around the world gathered at the United Nations in October 2005 to adopt, for the first time, a common set of principles for professional, impartial and effective election observation. The *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation* and the *Code of Conduct for International Election Observers* are aimed at better ensuring the integrity of international election observation activities and programs.

NDI, in collaboration with the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division and The Carter Center, led the multi-

year process to develop and adopt the common principles. Endorsing organizations commit themselves, for example, to act impartially, monitor all stages of the election process and accept no funding from the host government. The common principles also establish prerequisites for observation such as freedom of movement, freedom to make public statements and free access to information. The declaration also calls for organizations to make every effort to ensure that their programs do not lend undue legitimacy to undemocratic elections.

European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations

The European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO), comprising 17 civic organizations from 16 countries of the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe, is one of the world's leading nonpartisan election monitoring coalitions. Collectively over the past 15 years and with technical assistance and financial support from NDI, ENEMO member organizations have observed and commented on more than 110 national elections and trained more than 100,000 election monitors.

In cooperation with Freedom House, NDI helped ENEMO organize one of the world's largest-ever election monitoring efforts for Ukraine's 2004 polls. ENEMO deployed 50 long-term observers, who monitored the pre-election period and all three rounds of elections. More than 1,000 ENEMO observers at 3,000 polling stations throughout the country monitored the November run-off election, and the repeat run-off in December. The organization's sustained presence and ongoing reports were an important source of information throughout the electoral period.

In 2005, ENEMO member organizations observed parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan. In February, the ENEMO mission deployed 30 observers to monitor races in all seven regions and deployed another 20 short-term observers for the March run-off election.

ENDORSING ORGANIZATIONS*

African Union
 Asian Network for Free Elections
 Association of Central and Eastern European Election Officials
 The Carter Center
 Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance
 Commonwealth Secretariat
 Council of Europe—Parliamentary Assembly
 Council of Europe—European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission)
 Electoral Institute of Southern Africa
 Electoral Reform International Services
 European Commission
 European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations
 IFES
 Inter-Parliamentary Union
 International IDEA
 International Republican Institute
 La Francophonie
 National Democratic Institute
 Organization of American States
 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
 Pacific Island Forum
 Pacific Islands, Australia & New Zealand Electoral Administrators
 Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum
 United Nations Secretariat
 United States Association of Former Members of Congress

*as of June 1, 2006



While Asia contains well-established democracies such as Japan and South Korea, and countries where democratic development is proceeding at a steady pace, such as Indonesia, in much of the continent democratic governance remained weak and threatened by the lack of effective and accountable democratic institutions. Burma and North Korea remain among the world's most repressive regimes. In Nepal's disrupted democracy, the king continued his direct rule, while Maoist rebels threatened the stability of the country. Other countries continued to face violent insurgencies and increasing acts of terrorism that presented challenges to stability and institutional development.

AFGHANISTAN

Elections for the lower house of Afghanistan's National Assembly and provincial councils in September 2005 led to the formation of the country's first democratically elected legislature in more than three decades. Approximately 6,000 candidates, over 550 of them women, competed for public office. Despite instances of campaign violence, the election were peaceful, with domestic observers monitoring balloting and tabulation procedures across the country. Indirect elections for the upper house of parliament were conducted in November, and the National Assembly held its inaugural session in December. However, Afghanistan's newly elected institutions face serious threats in extending their authority and addressing the security challenges posed by the Taliban militia and other insurgent groups.



Speakers welcome visitors to the opening of NDI's election resource center in Kandahar, Afghanistan.

In 2005, NDI's programs focused principally on providing support to citizens and political parties during the electoral cycle. NDI established eight Election Training and Information Centers in provincial capitals throughout the country. The Institute helped Afghanistan's largest domestic monitoring group, the Free and Fair Elections Foundation, train and field more than 7,000 observers for 3,700 polling centers covering each of the country's 34 provinces. In addition, NDI trained 40,000 candidate agents, who monitored polling stations throughout Afghanistan during the lengthy counting and tabulation process for both houses of parliament. Following the elections, the Institute brought political parties together in a series of conferences to discuss the post-election timetable for vote-counting; how to resolve electoral disputes; and steps toward establishing the newly formed legislature and provincial councils.

BANGLADESH

To help strengthen Bangladesh's democratic institutions and encourage citizen participation in politics, during 2005 NDI provided training in organizational development and constituency relations to civic groups and parliamentary leaders, and technical advice on election-related issues. In cooperation with Bangladesh's major political parties, the Institute worked with political party members to improve their leadership skills.

the Women's League of Burma, in their strategic planning and international advocacy efforts.

CAMBODIA

NDI supported efforts by Cambodian civic organizations to advocate for electoral reforms and encourage greater citizen participation in politics. The Institute worked with Cambodia's major political parties on initiating internal party reforms to improve democratic practices within party structures, and to encourage women and youth to assume leadership roles.

CHINA

NDI's programs in mainland China focus on strengthening outlets for citizen participation in governance. In 2005, NDI supported a seminar on the use of public hearings in the environmental permitting process in conjunction with the Research Center on Environment and Resource Law and the Shenyang Environmental Protection Bureau. The Institute also began developing a reference tool for environmental law enforcers in Liaoning Province. NDI also supports research into legislative processes and popular

BURMA

NDI has supported those advocating for the restoration of democracy in Burma since 1995. In 2005, the Institute helped the Euro-Burma Network strengthen its public advocacy campaign in European Union member states to increase international pressure on the military junta. NDI also assisted two exile groups, the National Coalition Government of Burma and



Villagers gather at an NDI constituency dialogue event to voice their concerns to Members of Parliament. After the dialogues, NDI's community volunteers follow up with the parliamentarians to take actions when appropriate.



Supporting Women Political Leaders in Asia

countries, but the majority of women from this region continue to be precluded from participating actively in the political life of their countries. With little social and institutional support for women's participation in politics, South Asian women who enter politics often lack basic political skills to run successful campaigns or to perform their duties effectively once in office. These experiences have perpetuated social stereotypes that portray women as unqualified to engage in political activity.

To help interested women overcome traditional barriers to political participation, NDI launched a program in 2004 to assist women candidates and elected representatives in three predominantly Muslim South Asian countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan. NDI trained "master trainers" from each of these countries, who ultimately trained more than 2,500 women on campaign strategy, leadership skills and constituent relations. NDI marked the concluding phase of the program in December 2005 by bringing the network of master trainers together in Bangladesh to share their experiences, and review program challenges and accomplishments.

Building on the Muslim South Asia women's program, NDI began a parallel effort to support women political activists in the predominantly Muslim countries of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in the Philippines.

Women constitute nearly half of the membership of each of the main political parties in Malaysia but have traditionally been relegated to support roles and generally have not been viewed as prospective leaders or candidates for elected office. Although a woman recently served as president of Indonesia, women comprise a small percentage of elected assembly members, and very few

A small number of pioneering women have reached the highest levels of government in several South Asian

serve as district executives, provincial governors or senior national government officials. Women in the ARMM face the same challenges. Local politics are dominated by men, with women taking on support roles. In all three locations, political parties do not provide women with the necessary training to be effective candidates or, if successful, skilled elected representatives.

NDI provided training to 10 trainers from each of the three countries at an opening conference and master training session in Jakarta in June 2005. In turn, these trainers conducted follow-on political skills training workshops for approximately 1,500 women. Program participants communicate through newly created Internet and email networks; newsletters share best practices, news, and other information. In early December, NDI held a concluding regional conference in Indonesia that focused on best practices and lessons learned, and included an advanced skills training session and program evaluation.



participation conducted by Beijing University's Center for the Study of Comparative Legislatures.

EAST TIMOR

NDI's support for newly independent East Timor began in December 1999. In 2005, the Institute concluded a multi-year civic advocacy program with local community groups, and began a program to train newly elected village councils and develop voter education initiatives for the 2007 elections. NDI's security sector reform program, highlighted by U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan in a 2005 report to the Security Council, organized meetings to educate citizens on the roles and responsibilities of the East Timorese police.

HONG KONG

NDI's programs supported the efforts of political parties and civil society to play greater and more effective roles in the political life of Hong Kong, including a course in political communication offered to the island's young political leaders. SynergyNet, a think tank supported by NDI, released its third annual governance review report in September, followed by the publication of the second annual performance review of the Legislative Council.

INDONESIA

NDI's programs have involved political parties, legislators and civil society organizations to help Indonesians strengthen and expand their country's democratic practices. In 2005, the Institute supported civic efforts to monitor Indonesia's first direct local elections, and provided training to newly elected local legislators to assist them in effectively undertaking their new duties. NDI also initiated a program to promote citizen participation in budget planning and oversight for public services, such as health and education.

MALAYSIA

NDI works with ruling and opposition political parties, and civic groups to promote dialogue on political reform in Malaysia, which has not experienced a change in government since 1963. The Institute has helped political party officials explore ways to make their internal party structures more democratic and improve constituent outreach. In addition, in July 2005, the Institute brought together national leaders of the three main opposition parties for the first time since their coalition dissolved in 2001 to discuss avenues for advancing electoral reform.



Former Senator Thomas Daschle is greeted by Gopal Man Shrestha, leader of the Nepali Congress (Democratic) Party, during a meeting with party leaders in Kathmandu.

NEPAL

King Gyanendra's seizure of power in February 2005 led to the suspension of constitutional rights and the suppression of civil liberties. Opposition politicians were detained, and human rights abuses by government security forces and Maoist rebels continued throughout the year. Nepal's main political parties announced a six-point common agenda in May 2005 that advocated the end of the king's direct rule and the restoration of democracy.

NDI sought to build consensus on ways to address Nepal's political impasse. To bolster reform initiatives, NDI sponsored visits by former Northern Ireland Assembly leader Lord John Alderdice and former U.S. Senator Thomas Daschle to help political and civic leaders identify common ground and reinforce the importance of political party reform as a means of advancing democracy in the country.

PAKISTAN

NDI has provided support for electoral reform and civilian rule in Pakistan since 1988. In 2005, the Institute supported efforts by political parties to advocate for a full restoration of a democratic political system and worked with them to identify and address the internal shortcomings that have weakened their credibility—essential steps toward modernization and more effective participation in the democratic process at all levels of government.

PHILIPPINES

During 2005, NDI completed a program with local authorities in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao to involve communities in local peace and public order initiatives, and to strengthen civilian oversight of the regional security administration. NDI provided technical assistance to municipal councils implementing joint citizen-police initiatives, and supported pilot projects to increase local capacity to address community security issues.

SRI LANKA

NDI has worked with Sri Lankan election monitoring organizations since 1996. In advance of the 2005 presidential election, NDI supported two domestic monitoring organizations and provided training to international observers. ❖



Strengthening Parliamentary
Involvement in the Poverty
Reduction Strategy Process and
the Millennium Development Goals



Parliamentary-Civic
Collaboration for Monitoring
Poverty Reduction Initiatives



Strengthening Parliamentary
Involvement in the Poverty
Reduction Strategy Process and
the Millennium Development Goals



Legislative Public
Outreach on Poverty Issues



Strengthening Parliamentary
Involvement in the Poverty
Reduction Strategy Process and
the Millennium Development Goals



Legislative-Executive
Communication on
Poverty Reduction Strategies



Democracy and Poverty Reduction

Around the world, entrenched poverty is a growing threat to democracy. Citizens who once supported democratic transitions are now frustrated by what they view as unresponsive political institutions that are unable to address popular needs—particularly in closing the divide between the rich and the poor. In many countries, legislators are looking for ways to dispel these perceptions by making their governing institutions more accountable and representative, and better able to tackle the challenges of poverty.

To support these reform efforts, NDI published a series of practical handbooks to promote the involvement of legislatures and legislators in poverty reduction.

Each handbook identifies tools and techniques for members of parliament, parliamentary staff, civic groups and the international development community to help legislatures adopt more effective strategies for reducing poverty. The handbooks are available in Arabic, French, Russian, Spanish and English.

The Institute for Representative Government

The Institute for Representative Government (IRG) is a nonprofit, bipartisan, educational organization established by former members of Congress in 1988 for the purpose of providing visiting legislators from developing democracies with a better understanding of the workings of U.S. legislatures. In 2003, IRG entered into partnership with NDI and the International Republican Institute to take advantage of the worldwide presence and expertise of the two institutes.

Since the partnership's inception, NDI has conducted four study missions for legislators from Indonesia, Jordan, Turkey and the Andean nations of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela.

In September 2005, a study mission for Indonesian parliamentarians was designed to aid efforts to reform the legislature's staff secretariat, which has traditionally functioned as an extension of the executive branch.

A month later, lawmakers from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela visited the U.S. to study the role of legislatures in economic reform and national poverty reduction efforts.



Democracy and Technology

The Internet, mobile phones and related technologies are profoundly effecting social, economic and political institutions and processes worldwide, particularly in new and emerging democracies.

NDI broke new ground in 2005 with innovative programs that complemented the Institute’s traditional technology programming in legislatures. New programs are helping women and other activists network online; creating connections between citizens and their elected officials; and assisting political parties in their efforts to manage members and target voters.

The Latin America Political Party Network web portal facilitates the administration and delivery of NDI political party training programs in Latin America and the Caribbean by providing online access to comparative information and political party strengthening tools, and allowing trainers to work with their students online.

In preparation for elections in the West Bank and Gaza, NDI conducted a pilot Geographic Information Systems (GIS) project to create a “smart map” that allowed users to search, edit and analyze observation information and election results at polling stations throughout the Palestinian territories. NDI is also using this technology in Serbia and Bangladesh, where digital mapping is helping election observer organizations identify constituencies with unusually high turnout rates for particular candidates.

In Macedonia, NDI worked with political parties and elected representatives to develop a multilingual electronic casework tracking database to replace outdated paper filing systems in the National Assembly’s 45 constituency offices, whose success in engaging citizens made it difficult to effectively track and manage the resulting growth in constituent casework.

Above: Web portal for the Latin America Political Party Network provides online access to comparative information and training materials. Below: Montenegrin parliamentarians receive training on the effective use of information technology.





Sixteen years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, south-eastern Europe has made dramatic advances toward democracy and stability. With every government in the region fairly elected, legislative performance and good governance have replaced electoral politics as the region's main democratization challenges. Weak governing bodies, poor legislative frameworks, corruption and public alienation from political institutions are key impediments to the political, economic and social reforms necessary for European Union and NATO membership, and for the longer-term stability of the region and the well-being of its citizens.

ALBANIA

Launched in 2000, NDI's Civic Forum program has engaged Albanian citizens in more than 200 rural and urban communities in actions designed to improve political and economic conditions in their communities. In 2005, NDI led a multifaceted initiative in support of fair and transparent parliamentary elections. Civic Forum activists organized public surveys and created community development platforms to engage candidates on public policy issues; organized candidate debates; and participated in election monitoring activities. NDI trained candidates on voter outreach, prepared party members to serve as pollwatchers, and sponsored public opinion polling to help parties develop their platforms.



Albanian citizen questions his member of parliament at a town hall meeting organized by NDI.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

In 2005, the Institute worked with leading moderate political parties and legislatures to open more than 60 constituent outreach offices in BiH through which elected officials engaged directly with citizens. NDI also supported female politicians and civic organizations, and provided assistance to a network of women from the divided city of Mostar, whose successful advocacy program is viewed as one of BiH's best examples of multi-ethnic political cooperation.

BULGARIA

NDI has supported nonpartisan domestic election monitoring, political party development, constituency outreach, voter education and women's political participation in Bulgaria since 1990. In 2005, NDI trained women parliamentary candidates, nine of whom were elected to the National Assembly. Two have been selected as

observers to the European parliament. After the elections, NDI provided training for new female MPs and helped parties increase the participation of women within their ranks.

KOSOVO

NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright visited Kosovo in July 2005 and called on leaders there to renew their commitment to democratic reform and political stability.

NDI supported the institutional advancement of Kosovo's Central Assembly, as well as the development of Albanian, Serb and ethnic minority parties. The Institute also helped civic groups, including the Kosovo Democratic Institute, improve their advocacy and communication skills to promote a more democratic and multiethnic political system.

MACEDONIA

Since 2003, NDI has worked with parliamentary caucuses to establish 42 constituency offices in Albanian, Roma, Turkish and Serbian communities around the country where members

hold regular office hours and organize public meetings. In 2005, the Institute assisted parties in parliament with improving their internal organization and outreach skills. Prior to the March local elections, NDI conducted campaign skills training with political party activists and worked with a local civic organization to build support for an electoral code of conduct.

MONTENEGRO

NDI assisted governing and opposition parties with efforts to foster dialogue ahead of the 2006 referendum on Montenegrin independence. NDI helped parliament improve administrative structures, develop research capacity, and implement new and more transparent rules of procedure to improve the legislative process. At the Democratic Leadership School, organized with the Oslo-based Nansen Dialogue Center, NDI trained party activists from the isolated northern municipalities in strategies and methods to improve citizen outreach and promote regional interests with central party leadership.



The Speaker of Macedonia's parliament greets constituents as part of an NDI-sponsored week-long outreach program during which thousands of citizens visited parliament to learn about the workings of their legislature.

Regional Roma Initiative

Central and Eastern Europe's fast-growing Roma communities are economically impoverished, socially isolated and politically marginalized. The European Union is pressing member states and candidate countries to address the plight of the Roma community, whose 10 million members comprise Europe's largest ethnic minority. By participating as voters, advocates, watchdogs and elected officials, Roma themselves can take the lead in addressing their communities' critical needs in housing, education, employment and health care.

Since 2004, NDI has trained Roma activists in political organizing and election preparation, and has connected emerging Roma leaders with mainstream political parties and governing institutions. Training courses in Bulgaria and Slovakia have focused on political leadership, showcased methods for effective public communication and constituent relations, and taught negotiation and conflict resolution skills to emerging Roma leaders. Prior to Bulgaria's



Left: In Bulgaria, an NDI-trained volunteer campaigns for issues affecting the Roma community, which suffers disproportionately from inadequate housing, unemployment and poor education.

parliamentary elections and Slovak regional polls in 2005, NDI conducted public opinion research on Roma attitudes, political awareness, and party identification that helped Roma candidates and their campaign teams on strategic planning, voter contact and platform development. In the Slovak regional government elections, five Roma candidates each garnered more than 1,000 votes—by far the best showing among Roma in any election above the municipal level—but failed to win office, in one case falling a mere 150 votes shy of victory.

NDI is working with Roma political and civic activists on issue-based advocacy campaigns at the national and local levels. In Bulgaria, NDI-trained activists successfully advocated for the creation of the National Anti-Discrimination Committee and the appointment of two Roma as deputy government ministers.

Regional Political Party Initiative

Parties in Central and Eastern Europe use modern campaign techniques to reach out to voters and citizens. However, party identities and policies are weak and often reflect the personalities of a small group of leaders. As countries in the region move toward EU accession, political parties have an opportunity to forge closer relationships with like-minded parties in Europe, which can assist them in developing distinct ideologies that are based on public policy positions.

In 2005, NDI launched a regional political party development program to assist parties in orienting their political identity and policy development processes around modern European practices. The program fosters relationships between NDI's Social Democratic, Liberal, and Conservative party partners in Eastern Europe and their western European counterparts. Through the program, parties have an opportunity to assess internal policy making processes, examine how those processes address member and citizen interests, and develop party structures that better reflect their identity.



Romanian Member of parliament, Relu Fenechiu (center), discusses European Union agricultural support with farmers in his constituency as part of an NDI program to assist members of parliament with improving their public outreach.

ROMANIA

Since 1990, NDI has encouraged the growth of Romanian political parties and civic organizations, particularly at the local level. Party support has led to more frequent and effective public outreach, while assistance to civil society has resulted in an increase in issue-based advocacy campaigns. In 2005, NDI worked with members of parliament to improve communication with constituents, and with the office of the president to improve internal

management practices and external communications. With backing from NDI, nongovernmental organizations like the Association for the Protection of Women's Rights have begun working with elected leaders to translate public interests into legislation, such as laws against domestic violence.

SERBIA

NDI public opinion research conducted in 2005 revealed growing frustra-

tion with Serbia's governing institutions that are viewed as unresponsive, particularly on economic issues. To address voter apathy, NDI worked with political parties and government to strengthen their ability to communicate with citizens, develop issue-oriented campaigns and platforms, and conduct voter outreach activities. In coordination with 50 regional political party trainers, NDI helped develop a voter database that allowed parties to better identify and track constituents. ❖

A group of young Serbian political activists debate reform issues across party lines in an NDI-organized forum in Belgrade.





Eurasia is increasingly divided between nations that have experienced democratic breakthroughs and those with authoritarian tendencies. Political upheavals in several countries have inspired reformers across the region and demonstrated the high political price of manipulating elections. Citizens in many societies have begun to demand the political rights that independence from the Soviet Union failed to deliver on its own.

Progress in some countries has led to a backlash in others, where leaders who fear genuine political reform have clamped down on civic activists and opposition political forces.

ARMENIA

NDI has supported efforts by Armenia's political parties to be more effective and competitive. The Institute's civic partner, It's Your Choice, monitored the 2005 referendum on proposed constitutional amendments intended to enhance legislative powers, reporting on low voter turnout and wide-scale violations of Armenia's election laws.

AZERBAIJAN

NDI has conducted programs in Azerbaijan since 1995, working with political parties and civic organizations to foster more open political dialogue. In advance of the November 2005 elections, NDI helped train observers from political parties and civic organizations to monitor electoral procedures. NDI's civic partner, the Election Monitoring Center, conducted a nationwide observation program and filed numerous complaints about irregularities. NDI also provided advice and training to candidates on how to more effectively reach out to their constituents.



In Baku, Azerbaijan, participants prepare a presentation at an NDI training workshop.

BELARUS

NDI has conducted programs in Belarus since 2000, though the Institute has not been permitted to open a permanent office. The Ten Plus Coalition, a group of democratic parties and civic organizations, has sought NDI assistance for coalition strengthening, exchanges with like-minded parties in the region and poll-watcher training. In 2005, the coalition designed a transparent and participatory process for selecting an opposition candidate for the March 2006 presidential election. NDI has also supported Partnership, a domestic election monitoring organization, that has observed and reported on Belarusian elections since 2002.

GEORGIA

NDI has worked in Georgia since 1992. In 2005, the Institute advised legislators reviewing draft legislation on election code revisions, rules of procedure and decentralization. NDI has also helped stimulate executive branch outreach to Georgian NGOs to include support for the creation of the NGO Advisory Committee. NDI's civic partner, the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED), has monitored and commented on every election since 1995,

most recently the October 2005 mid-term polls. In the course of the year, ISFED organized a series of civic advocacy workshops and town hall meetings on local government reforms.

KAZAKHSTAN

NDI has provided training to Kazak political parties on constituency outreach and communications techniques, and helped civic organizations gain advocacy skills. The Institute has also supported the work of a nonpartisan election monitoring network. In 2005, NDI helped open several information centers around the country that provide citizens access to objective information about events in Kazakhstan and around the world.

KYRGYZSTAN

In the wake of Kyrgyzstan's "Tulip Revolution" and subsequent elections in 2005, NDI provided support to the new government, to parliament and to civic groups seeking to more effectively participate in the political process. The Institute has also furnished technical advice on constitutional reform and supported a training program designed to assist a new generation of democratic political party leaders. NDI supports Kyrgyzstan's principal election monitoring organization, the Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society. Twenty-two NDI-supported information centers across

the country provided tens of thousands of citizens an opportunity to network and access information.

MOLDOVA

NDI assisted Moldovan parties across the political spectrum on planning and organization in advance of the March 2006 parliamentary elections. Taking advantage of the ruling Communist party's interest in reform, NDI brought experts from neighboring countries to discuss their experiences in transforming similar parties into Social Democratic groups. Support to parliament has included NDI-sponsored exchange visits by parliamentary staff from Latvia and Lithuania.

RUSSIA

NDI supports the work of Golos, a nonpartisan civic organization that plans to observe Russia's 2007 parliamentary and 2008 presidential elections from its branch offices throughout the country. In October, NDI and Golos brought together international experts, party representatives and government officials for a conference on Russia's new election law. Later, NDI also conducted public opinion research that revealed growing disparities between voter aspirations and the political alternatives open to them.

TAJIKISTAN

Despite government constraints on the Institute's work in 2005, NDI conducted regional seminars on internal party communication, message development and constituency outreach methods for district-level political party leaders, and launched an intensive program to help the regional branches of Tajikistan's six registered parties develop more effective voter outreach strategies. NDI also cooperated closely with the new Women's Political Discussion Club, which aims to increase women's participation in politics. The group convened a roundtable of representatives from political parties, local government and

nongovernmental organizations to discuss issues of concern to women.

TURKEY

In 2005, NDI supported members of the newly created Turkish Parliamentary Democracy Committee in their efforts to organize public hearings on proposed parliamentary reforms. NDI has supported the work of Turkish civic partners, including the Turkish Democracy Foundation and an organization that seeks to improve communication among women's groups and organizes events to raise awareness of gender issues. A local government program supported by NDI is increasing avenues for citizen participation in decision-making processes.

UKRAINE

NDI launched an executive internship program in 2005 to support the Ukrainian government's efforts to implement civil service reform. NDI helped a group of interns design specific reform projects to improve government effectiveness and capacity. They then spent a month studying at ministries and government agencies in Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. After completion of those studies, the interns were deployed to Ukrainian ministries where they began implementing their reform projects.

UZBEKISTAN

Following the May 2005 killing of several hundred peaceful protestors in Andijon, the Uzbek government limited the activities of civic and political activists, and imposed restrictions on the operations of international organizations. Throughout the year, NDI provided advice on organizational and strategic issues to representatives of political parties, and began a program to train civic activists on legislative advocacy techniques. ❖

Information Centers

In 2004, NDI began establishing a network of Information Centers across Kyrgyzstan to help citizens in rural and remote areas gain access to independent sources of information, encourage civic engagement and activism, and foster the development of a better informed electorate through the distribution of election-related journals and voter education materials. Twenty-two centers are now located in all seven of Kyrgyzstan's regions. The centers host discussion clubs on policy issues; provide meetings and training space for civic organizations and the general public; and offer access to an extensive library of publications and educational videos.



Alabuka's Information Center organized the region's first-ever meetings between newly elected rural council heads and their constituents in three districts. In an unprecedented exchange of views, council heads presented their programs, discussed local issues and answered questions in public.

Chaek's Information Center brought together local citizens, civic activists, and managers from the Jungal regional power station to discuss frequent power outages. After determining the primary causes of the outages, members of the discussion group launched a campaign called a "Light in Every House!" to address the problems.

In collaboration with a local legislator, Kyzylkia's Information Center organized a discussion club in the village of Karavan that led to the creation of a working group to facilitate communication between constituents and elected officials on issues of local concern.



Top: A celebration marks the 1,500th visitor to the NDI Information Center in Taraz, Kazakhstan. Above: Visitors peruse periodicals in the reading room of the Information Center in Naryn, Kyrgyzstan.

Understanding the Role of Political Parties

For more than 20 years, NDI has worked with political parties around the world to create more open political environments in which citizens can actively participate in the democratic process. NDI approaches its work from a practical viewpoint, offering assistance to promote parties' long-term organizational development, enhance their competitiveness in local and national elections, and help them participate constructively in government. Ranging from interactive training and guided practice to consultations and tailored resources, this support takes many forms in helping parties become more open and representative organizations.

In 2005, NDI invited four leading scholars to prepare papers that explore the obstacles to, and possible approaches for, creating more effective and inclusive political parties. The result is a unique four-part research series, called *Political Parties in Democracy in Theoretical and Political Perspectives*. The first two papers—on party law and finance—discuss regulatory mechanisms that directly affect parties. The other two—on intra-party democracy and communications—relate to the internal governance and organization of parties.

ADOPTING PARTY LAW

by Dr. Kenneth Janda, *Northwestern University*

IMPLEMENTING INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY

by Dr. Susan Scarrow, *University of Houston*

POLITICAL FINANCE POLICY, PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

by Dr. Michael Johnston, *Colgate University*

DEVELOPMENTS IN PARTY COMMUNICATIONS

by Dr. Pippa Norris, *John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*

NDI and the Political Party Internationals

NDI is the only organization that enjoys official standing in the international groupings of Social Democratic, Liberal and Christian Democratic parties. Together, the three “internationals” represent approximately 350 parties in 150 countries around the world. Since the formal establishment of this partnership in 1999, NDI and the party groupings have sought to increase awareness and understanding of the important role political party development plays in consolidating democratic systems. Through multiparty cooperation, this unique partnership moves beyond partisan politics to create a forum for sharing ideas on party development and to serve as a support network for newly established democratic parties in emerging democracies.



Women gather at a political party candidate training school in Morocco.

NDI BRUSSELS

In 2005, NDI opened an office in Brussels, Belgium to strengthen the Institute's diverse and growing relationships with European and international political party organizations engaged in democracy promotion, European Union political institutions, EU member-state development agencies and the party internationals. This engagement has broadened NDI's understanding of EU priorities and approaches in strengthening democratic institutions, and helped better inform the European community about NDI's work. These relationships have also expanded NDI's network of senior political practitioners willing to share their expertise with political party leaders around the world.

In October, NDI-Brussels helped facilitate the visit of democratic leaders from Belarus to a plenary session of the European Parliament. Hosted by the main party groups, this event contributed to the creation of a Belarus caucus in the Parliament.



Twenty years after a wave of democratic change swept through the Americas enabling citizens to regain fundamental political rights, public confidence in representative institutions remains low. Limited progress in overcoming problems of poverty and corruption, and the marginalization of large sectors of society have weakened the foundation of democratic institutions and fueled a populist resurgence in a number of countries in the region. Many political leaders and political parties face pressure to become more effective in reaching out to citizens and addressing their needs.

BOLIVIA

Since 2004, NDI has worked with Bolivian political parties to encourage debate on substantive policy issues and the development of more transparent candidate selection processes. In 2005, NDI conducted a two-part women's leadership program that included campaign skills training for approximately 1,200 female candidates for the 2005 local elections, followed by workshops on municipal management for those elected to office.

COLOMBIA

NDI has supported political party reform initiatives in Colombia since 1999. In 2005, NDI helped parties respond to new party reform legislation by providing comparative best practices in the areas of candidate selection, fundraising and internal



Participants gather at a Civic Forum session in Haiti's Central Plateau department.

communication strategies. In collaboration with local officials, the Visible Congress project, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and local universities, NDI also conducted four regional workshops on party reform legislation with the participation of more than 500 civic and political leaders.

CUBA

NDI has encouraged international awareness and support for the efforts of Oswaldo Payá, a recipient of the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought and NDI's W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. Payá founded the Varela Project, a grassroots movement that drew upon a constitutional provision enabling citizens to introduce legislative initiatives when accompanied by at least 10,000 signatures. At great personal risk, more than 25,000 citizens signed a petition calling for referendums on elections and basic political rights. Payá has launched a new initiative, the National Dialogue, to collect views from Cubans on the island and outside the country on steps toward a peaceful democratic transition.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Since 1994, NDI has worked to strengthen the Dominican Republic's electoral process and promote political party reform through support to civic organizations and the political parties themselves. Young leaders have participated in NDI's regional Political Leadership Program since 2001, contributing to the development of party ethics codes, training programs and websites.

ECUADOR

NDI supports Participación Ciudadana Ecuador, a national network of non-partisan volunteers dedicated to engaging citizens in the electoral process. In 2005, NDI conducted an assessment in preparation for opening an office in Quito in 2006.

HAITI

Since 1986, NDI has sought to increase dialogue and constructive political participation by all sectors of Haitian society. In 2005, members of NDI's Civic Forum network provided thousands of Haitians with information

on their political rights and helped these citizens engage in the political process in nine of the country's 10 departments. In anticipation of the 2006 elections, NDI worked with political parties to commit to a "clean campaign" pact, trained thousands of party pollwatchers and provided support to a coalition of Haitian civic organizations monitoring the electoral process through a national network of 5,000 volunteer observers.



A Mexican participant in NDI's party renewal program presents the timeline of his party training project

Political Party Reform and Renewal

Perceptions of autocratic leadership, entrenched corruption, the marginalization of large segments of society from political life, and failure to address the needs of the poor, fuel popular dissatisfaction with political parties across the hemisphere and have contributed to the rise of populist leaders. NDI has developed a range of tools to help parties reform and more effectively respond to these challenges. In 2005, the Institute assisted political parties with their reform and renewal programs in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela.

Political Leadership Program

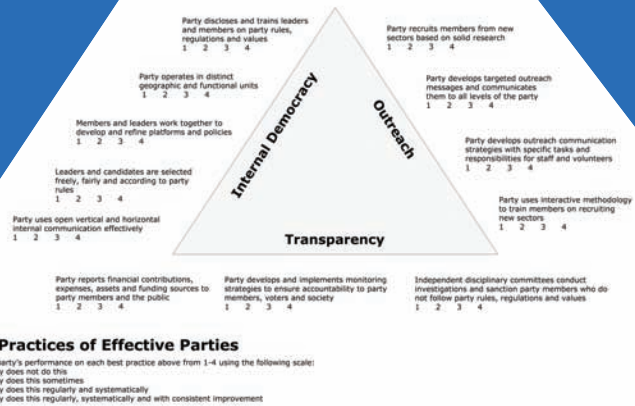
Launched in 1999 to promote the modernization and renewal of political parties, NDI's Political Leadership Program (PLP) helps emerging political leaders



develop reform efforts within their parties. These leaders, selected from across the democratic political spectrum, participate in an intensive leadership academy and receive follow-on support from NDI as they design and implement party strengthening projects in their own countries. Representatives from 36 major political parties and movements in eight countries have participated in the program, among them elected mayors, municipal councilors and legislators, as well as legislative advisors, indigenous political activists and leaders of youth movements. The 2005 PLP included 28 participants representing 15 political parties from Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru. Their projects included the

Civic Network

Many Latin American civic groups that helped spearhead peaceful democratic transitions in their countries are now strengthening democratic structures by serving as links between citizens and institutions, including legislatures, political parties and local governments. NDI helped develop the Civic Network in 1996 to facilitate the exchange of ideas, expertise and information, and to provide easy access to democracy development materials. Since the network's inception, the Institute has worked with more than 45 civic groups in 17 countries.



Above: Graphic representation of the NDI training tool "Triangle of Best Practices of Effective Parties." Left: A participant uses the tool to assess his party's strengths and weaknesses.

development of a party ethics code, the establishment of a party training school, the design of a congressional intern program and the creation of an alliance to increase the political participation of women.

Political Party Network

NDI developed the Political Party Network as an online forum for reform-minded political leaders to exchange ideas on the development of modern, transparent and responsive political practices. The network's interactive Spanish-language website, www.ndipartidos.org, includes an online library of political party training and development materials. The network is an effective way to provide information to political activists interested in engaging in party reform initiatives with their peers across the region.

Triangle of Best Practices of Effective Parties

NDI's "Triangle of Best Practices of Effective Parties," a self-assessment guide designed to help reform and modernize political parties, identifies the common traits shared by successful and vibrant parties around the world in the areas of internal democracy, transparency and outreach. NDI has developed training modules for use by parties to improve performance in these areas.

In 2000, Civic Network members established the Lima Accord (ADL), a network of 18 election monitoring organizations from 16 countries across the region that share best practices on elections, political party development and legislative reform. With NDI support, ADL members have provided organizational development, strategic planning, media and campaign finance monitoring assistance to groups in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Peru.



El Alto council members in Bolivia display certificates from NDI's workshop on municipal management.



Participant in a workshop for political parties in Mexico presents her strategy on public outreach.

MEXICO

NDI's support to Mexico's political reform process began in 1991. In subsequent years, NDI has helped the work of Mexico's Civic Alliance, a citizen monitoring coalition, in safeguarding the electoral process, and promoting greater government transparency and accountability. In 2005, NDI trained women candidates from the three largest parties for the 2006 elections and provided technical assistance to a network of election observation organizations on communication, fundraising and coalition-building strategies.

NICARAGUA

In 2005, NDI worked with civic groups to identify issues that could undermine the integrity of the 2006 national elections and to help mobilize citizens to press for reforms. In response to indications that an esti-

mated 14 percent of the electorate lacks the necessary voter identification card, NDI began work with local partners on a voter registry audit and a national identification card assessment.

PERU

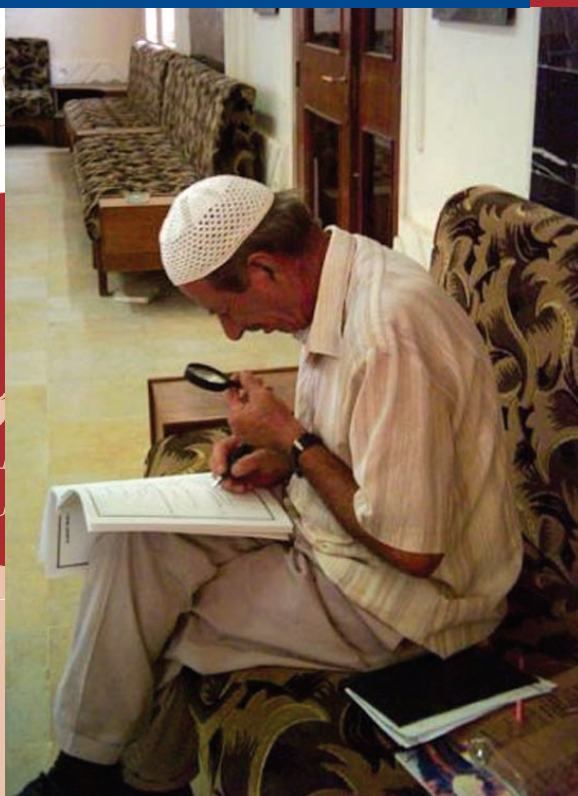
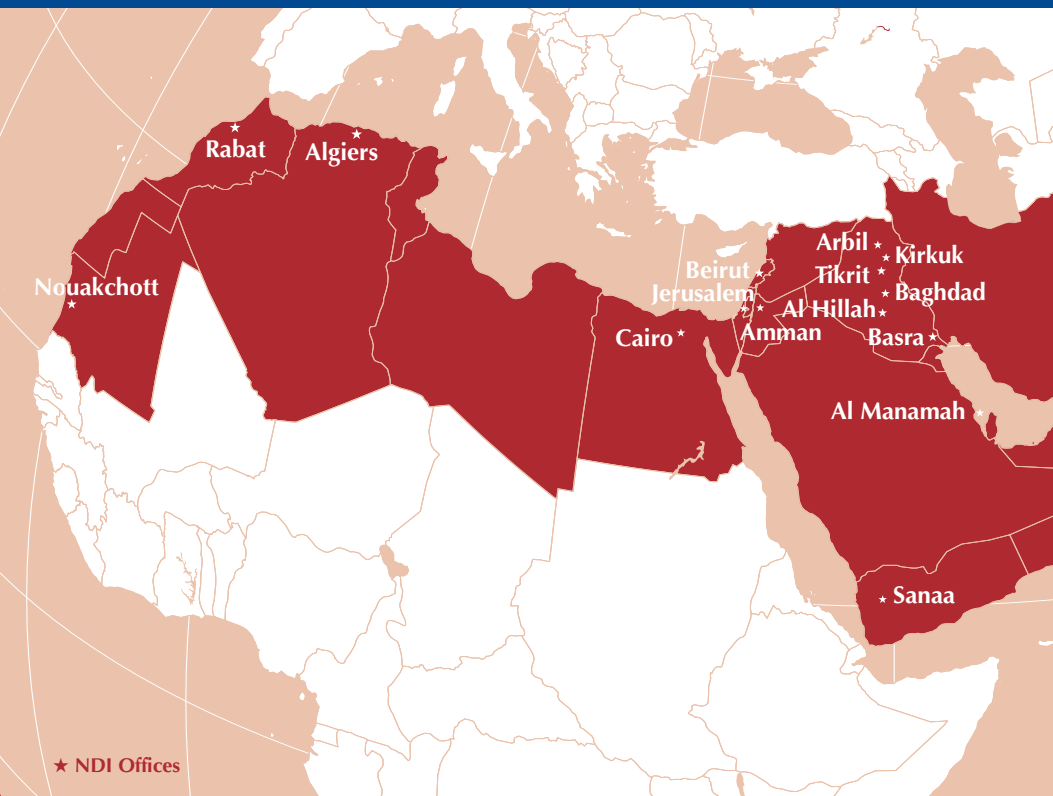
NDI supported the creation of the watchdog civic group, Transparencia, which has played an important role in safeguarding elections and encouraging political consensus in Peru. In 2005, NDI and Transparencia helped political parties develop and present platforms linked to key provisions of the National Accord, a 30-point agreement signed by Peru's major political parties that charts planned political and economic developments in advance of scheduled 2006 elections.

VENEZUELA

In 1998, Hugo Chavez was elected president by capitalizing on public

dissatisfaction with Venezuela's traditional political parties. Today, the country remains politically polarized, while actions by the government have eroded democratic institutions and processes. Venezuela's main opposition parties boycotted the December 2005 legislative elections, citing a lack of transparency and trust in the National Electoral Council.

Since 1995, NDI has supported efforts to encourage greater transparency and build confidence in Venezuela's electoral process. In 2005, NDI's activities included technical assistance for the creation of a national network of non-partisan election observers. The Institute also offered training on constituent outreach and citizen engagement to political parties and movements. ❖



Unmistakable signs of liberalization throughout the Middle East and North Africa have altered the political landscape in countries across the region. Democratic gains such as contested elections, opportunities for political parties and civic groups to organize activities, the assertion of rights by legislative bodies, increased opportunities for women to participate in political life and more open media, serve to inspire reformers in the region.

These positive developments have occurred in spite of longstanding cleavages dividing ruling elites from civil society, and secular from religious forces, that have reinforced extremist elements within the region. Iraq's turbulent transition and the continuing threat of terrorism have complicated the quest for democratic reform. Despite these challenges, political and civic activists demonstrated throughout 2005 their determination to widen the middle ground where viable political alternatives can be presented and debated by citizens of all faiths and political convictions.

ALGERIA

In 2005, members of an Algerian women's group inspired by NDI's *Win With Women* initiative and the Partners in Participation program, developed an action plan to increase women's political participation within their respective political parties. In preparation for Algeria's 2007 elections, NDI helped political party leaders launch a training program to strengthen local party branches and improve voter outreach. The Institute also conducted advocacy training for civic groups and a civic education program for young people.

BAHRAIN

Since 2002, NDI has provided advice and technical assistance to Bahraini political and civil society organizations. In 2005, NDI helped Bahrain's political societies strengthen internal organization and decision-making processes, and initiate broader public dialogue on electoral reform issues. The Institute also facilitated discussions on democratic governance and political reform with Bahraini youth.

EGYPT

With technical assistance from NDI, the Independent Committee for Election Monitoring and the Egyptian Association for the Support of Democratic Development trained and deployed thousands of monitors who reported on the 2005 parliamentary elections. The Institute also helped civil society groups develop grassroots civic education programs.

IRAQ

Iraq held two national elections and a constitutional referendum in 2005. Following the election of a transitional parliamentary body in January, work began on a new constitution. The constitution narrowly passed in a national referendum in October. Under the new constitutional framework, Iraqis voted again in December for members of the country's new legislature, the Council of Representatives.

While Iraq's 2005 electoral process was largely peaceful, sectarian and insurgent violence continued to hinder democratic progress throughout the year. Disagreements over federalism, the status of ex-Ba'ath party members and the distribution of Iraq's oil revenues dominated political negotiations among rival groups. Tensions rose during the year over the government's inability to provide consistent basic services or security for the general population.

In 2005, NDI provided a broad range of technical assistance and support to Iraq's parliament and other governance structures, political parties, civic groups, election monitoring organizations and women's groups. NDI trained more than 6,000 party activists and assisted 11 of the 12 coalitions that won seats in the December Council of Representatives election. More than 600 nationwide civic groups have participated in NDI programs on capacity development, transparency and accountability, and advocacy. With Institute support, 150 civic organizations coalesced to form the Iraqi Election Information Network,



Iraqi voter casts her ballot during elections for a transitional legislature in January 2005.

which trained and deployed more than 30,000 election monitors during the three national elections. Parliamentarians and legislative staff, including 40 percent of the women in the transitional parliament and 50 percent of the women in the Council of Representatives, also received NDI assistance during the year.

JORDAN

NDI held a series of sessions for Jordanian legislators on the formation and maintenance of parliamentary blocs. Also in 2005, the Institute provided training for political parties on strategic planning, constituency outreach, and internal party structure and management, and worked with parties and women's organizations to help them develop and implement strategies to encourage women's political participation. In cooperation with civic groups in Amman, NDI helped establish an independent focus

group research facility to inform political and civic groups of public attitudes and concerns.

KUWAIT

To support the campaign for women's political rights in Kuwait, NDI conducted a series of roundtable discussions, workshops and informal consultations on advocacy and coalition building focused on gaining passage of legislation to enshrine these rights in law. In May 2005, Kuwait's parliament amended the country's electoral law, effectively granting women full political rights ahead of the 2006 parliamentary elections. In addition,

NDI hosted a regional women's campaign school in Kuwait to honor the achievements of Kuwaiti women activists and provide an opportunity for them to share experiences with women from 15 countries across the region.

LEBANON

In 2005, NDI supported the efforts of Lebanese civil society organizations to train and deploy an extensive network of volunteers to monitor the parliamentary elections. In partnership with a local research center, NDI helped conduct a series of focus groups to gauge citizen views on political and electoral reform, and worked to establish a permanent focus group research center. NDI also conducted a series of campaign schools for prospective female parliamentary candidates and helped civic groups launch a media campaign to promote women's political participation.

MAURITANIA

Following the military overthrow of long-serving President Maaouiya Ould

Taya and the composition of a transitional government, NDI provided technical assistance to more than two dozen political parties involved in a consultative effort to develop a two-year transitional plan for elections. The Institute provided intensive training to the parties on how to engage and advocate the government for reforms, and facilitated multiparty roundtable discussions to develop consensus on key reform issues such as an appropriate electoral system design, women's political participation and political party finance mechanisms.

MOROCCO

NDI has provided technical assistance to Moroccan political parties, parliament, civil society, government ministries and the media since 1997. In 2005, the Institute supported parliamentary efforts to improve constituent outreach and strengthen the party caucus system. The Institute assisted parties in developing internal governance structures, as well as constituent outreach and youth training programs. With support from NDI, female legislators, political party members and civic leaders joined forces to develop programs to strengthen women's political participation. Published reports from The People's Mirror, a focus group research center established in 2003 with NDI assistance, are used by political and civic groups to improve understanding of public perceptions and attitudes.

SAUDI ARABIA

In collaboration with the Club of Madrid, an organization of former heads of state and government, NDI organized a seminar in Madrid for a group of reform-minded political and civic leaders from Saudi Arabia, including recently elected municipal councilors. The seminar provided an opportunity for international political leaders and experts to share their experiences with democratic reform. NDI also organized a discussion on democracy in the region that brought together representatives from the Council on

Kuwait: How Women Got the Vote

A 42-year long struggle for women's rights in Kuwait led in early 2005 to the government's re-introduction of a women's suffrage bill that had failed previously to overcome opposition from conservative lawmakers in Kuwait's elected legislature. Taking advantage of this opening, hundreds of women's rights supporters used the occasion of International Women's Day to participate in a street rally before parliament, and eventually entered the gallery to hear debate on the proposed legislation.

A "blue ribbon" campaign, discussed and debated during an NDI workshop on women's political participation, led to a petition signed by 23 civil society organizations and subsequently delivered to the speaker of parliament. Campaign activists made frequent presentations at neighborhood and professional associations to gain support for the legislation, appeared on television, and gave radio and newspaper interviews.

Proud of their role in gaining passage of the bill, campaign leaders continue to stress the need to educate Kuwaiti women about their newly acquired rights and the important roles they can play in Kuwait's political process as voters, activists and candidates.

Women from across the region celebrate the achievement of suffrage for the women of Kuwait at the Partners in Participation campaign school in Kuwait City.



Regional Women's Campaign Schools

Elections in 2005 in the Middle East and North Africa provided more women than ever before with opportunities to gain elective office and demonstrate political leadership. In cooperation with the International Republican Institute (IRI) and with funding from the Middle East Partnership Initiative, NDI developed Partners in Participation, a series of campaign training schools for aspiring women politicians.

In May 2005, NDI conducted campaign training in Amman, Jordan for women candidates and political activists from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and the West Bank and Gaza. In September, NDI and IRI held the final campaign school of the Partners in Participation series.

At each of the schools, experienced political practitioners from Africa, Europe and North America led workshops and one-on-one consultations with participants on such topics as campaign planning, media and communication, women's leadership and the use of technology in political campaigns. Since its inception, the program has offered opportunities for politically engaged women from nearly every country in the region to meet, share lessons and build networks of like-minded individuals committed to the promotion of women in public life.



Leaders of NDI/Carter Center delegation to the Palestinian elections discuss polling arrangements with a voter on election day. (L to R) Former New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman, former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

Foreign Relations, the Center for Democracy and Human Rights in Saudi Arabia, and other experts.

WEST BANK AND GAZA

In support of the 2005 electoral process in the West Bank and Gaza, NDI, in cooperation with The Carter Center, organized two observation missions to monitor the presidential and parliamentary elections. NDI also sponsored smaller missions to observe local government elections. To discourage electoral violence, NDI assisted efforts of the Arab Thought Forum to engage parties in drafting a political party code of conduct. The Institute

Tribal leaders gather at an NDI-organized workshop to establish the Yemen Organization for Development and Social Peace, a civic group dedicated to ending revenge killings and promoting development in tribal governorates.



Pollworker and voter discuss registration procedures during Palestinian elections.

conducted a series of political party candidate trainings that focused on voter research, message development and campaign management.

YEMEN

NDI's support for Yemen's democratization process began in 1993. In 2005, NDI helped establish a training and research center for members of parliament and staff. NDI also assisted political party efforts to revise Yemen's electoral law, expand party branch offices and improve the prospect of women gaining office in the 2006 local elections.

NDI responded to a request from a group of tribal leaders trying to end the longstanding practice of revenge killings in three regions of Yemen that have provoked senseless violence, and delayed much-needed democratic reform and economic development efforts. NDI worked with these leaders on strategies for conflict prevention based on the Institute's research on community opinions, and tribal structures, processes and norms. The NDI program was the subject of a three-part, Pulitzer-Prize winning series in *The Washington Post*. ❖



Supporting Women in Politics

For more than two decades, NDI has partnered with democrats around the world to develop and promote strategies for increasing women's political participation. The Institute's programs seek to create an environment in which women can advocate on matters of policy, successfully run for political office, govern effectively, and participate meaningfully in every facet of civic and political life.



Gefarina Djohan accepts the first Madeleine K. Albright Grant on behalf of KPPI at a March luncheon in Washington, D.C. (L to R) NDI Board Member Geraldine Ferraro, NDI President Kenneth Wollack and NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright.

Madeleine K. Albright Grant

NDI established the Madeleine K. Albright Grant in 2005 to support organizations around the world that create greater roles for women in political and civic life. The first \$25,000 grant was awarded to the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (KPPI) for its efforts to support women running for office and, once elected, to assist women with becoming more effective legislators. The Caucus includes women from a broad cross-section of political parties, civic groups, trade unions, academia and the media.

Win with Women Global Initiative

NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright launched the *Win with Women* Global Initiative in 2003 to demonstrate how the inclusion of women, particularly in top leadership positions within political parties, is integral to democratic development. The Initiative is anchored by the Global Action Plan, which outlines practical recommendations to help political parties broaden their appeal by addressing women's roles as voters, candidates, party activists and elected officials.

In 2005, following the introduction of the Global Action Plan in Colombia, presidents of six major political parties there developed and signed a declaration on the promotion of women's political participation. As part of their commitment to the declaration, the Liberal Party incorporated recommendations of the Global Action Plan into its party statutes, the Democratic Independent Pole Party developed a delegate selection process inclusive of women and the Conservative Party approved statutes to include women in at least 20 percent of party leadership positions and candidate lists.

Also in 2005, the Global Action Plan garnered a following from political leaders in Bulgaria. The government released a *National Action Plan for Promoting Gender Equality*; a subcommittee on Women's Rights and Gender was established in the parliament; and the ruling Bulgarian Socialist Party changed its official party statutes to increase women's representation in executive and local bodies.

GLOBAL ACTION PLAN

- 1 Remove restrictions on women's political participation, including restrictions on women's suffrage and candidacy.
- 2 Increase the number of women elected officials at the national, provincial and local levels.
- 3 Ensure that political parties include women in meaningful leadership positions and in meaningful numbers.
- 4 Encourage greater participation of women in government decision-making including advocating for legislation that enshrines the full equality of women and men.

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