### National Democratic Institute

# NDI Reports

Summer 2008



### NEWLY-INDEPENDENT KOSOVO CONTINUES TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY \_\_

Kosovo declared independence in February after lengthy U.N.-sponsored talks with Serbia failed to produce an agreement on Kosovo's status. The declaration was welcomed by Washington, London, and Paris, but derided by Moscow and condemned by Belgrade, which vowed never to recognize what it considers an illegitimate act of a breakaway province. In Kosovo's capital, Pristina, majority Albanians rejoiced, recalling Slobodan Milosevic's murderous campaign of expulsion in 1999. But the celebratory mood has been tempered by the challenge of how the world's newest country can assert sovereignty over Serb-inhabited territory, particularly in northern Kosovo, and establish mechanisms for peaceful coexistence.



Assembly President Jakup Krasniqi

Kosovo's future as an integrated, multiethnic state will turn on two opposing factors: Belgrade's unyielding position, abetted by Moscow, and on American and European commitments to see the newborn state succeed. It

will also fall on Kosovo's still fragile political institutions to create a democratic environment that includes all of its citizens. NDI has supported Kosovo's parliament, political parties, and civil society to develop a political environment of accountability and public participation.

With NDI assistance, Kosovo's parliament is preparing to serve as the country's chief political institution. New rules are promoting debate on legislation and formal questioning of ministers. Assembly minutes are now published on its website. Committee staff are researching legislation and organizing public hearings at which civic groups testify. Members of parliament are holding office hours throughout Kosovo, allowing citizens to air their views on public policy issues. NDI is assisting a women's MP group on gender-related legislation.

NDI also is working with political parties representing Kosovo's Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Bosniak and Serb

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### RADIOS HELP PROVIDE CIVIC EDUCATION IN SUDAN \_\_\_\_\_

Broadcasts from wind-up and solar-powered radios distributed across remote areas of Southern Sudan are helping the region's citizens prepare for elections to be held in 2009. Since July, NDI has placed more than 40,000 of the distinctive blue-colored radios in the hands of prospective voters in Sudan's Three Areas -- Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile.

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Radio distribution in Sudan's Blue Nile region

The National Democratic Institute, a nonprofit 501(c)(3) corporation, supports people building more democratic societies worldwide. NDI programs are supported by the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Department of State, other international development agencies and private donations.

#### SUDAN (continued from page 1)



Listening group in a schoolhouse in Juba, Sudan

Listeners to civic education broadcasts are learning about the basic constitutional and democratic principles advanced by the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement that ended 21 years of civil war in Africa's largest country. The information will enable citizens, for the first time, to play a role in the development of new political institutions as they prepare for 2009 elections and a 2011 referendum on southern independence.

The civic education program features "Let's Talk," a 30-minute, twice-weekly program produced by NDI in partnership with the Sudan Radio Service. It follows the lives of a fictional Sudanese family -- Taban, Salamah and their children -- along with their neighbors, as they live through the transition in Sudan. Episodes have featured family members discussing the importance and reasons for a just-completed census and dispelling myths, such as the widely-held belief that children may suffer if actual family size is revealed.

NDI expects to distribute more than 200,000 additional radios in cooperation with other international organizations by the end of 2008. At least 50 percent will go to women, who are among those with the least access to information. Others will be entrusted to community leaders, teachers, members of civil society organizations, or

those with established channels of communication in rural towns and villages.

NDI also conducts semi-annual focus group research that has helped the government — and the international community — understand the needs and expectations of Sudanese citizens. Topics have ranged from citizen attitudes toward peace and governance to their perspectives on implementation of the CPA. Despite slower than expected political and economic development of Southern Sudan, NDI's research found that Southern Sudanese take great pride in their newly-established political institutions and national identity, and are eager for the elections and referendum. NDI plans to continue this research on a regular basis at least through the 2009 national polls.

### KOSOVO (continued from page 1)

communities as they develop policies that address citizen needs. The Institute is reaching out in particular to Kosovar Serb politicians seeking constructive ways to engage in Kosovo's political system. Young graduates of NDI training academies are winning public office at the local level and participating in the long-term process of building inclusive politics into Kosovo's frayed ethnic fabric.

The Institute's support of civil society groups focuses on nonpartisan election observing, grassroots advocacy and government accountability. The Kosovo Democratic Institute is monitoring the work of parliament and local councils and reporting to the public on legislative performance. NDI is helping to foster collaboration among high school students in eight communities by training on communication skills, community advocacy, and intercultural dialogue. And NDI is leveraging its longstanding civic networks around Kosovo to support citizen roundtables with elected officials and members of Kosovo's constitutional commission to discuss women's and minority rights in the new constitution.

Kosovo faces considerable political challenges, not the least of which is how to incorporate Serbs and other minorities into a political system dominated by Albanians. Building pluralistic institutions and creating democratic avenues for political participation for all of Kosovo's citizens is the most promising way to overcome these challenges.

### DESPITE SETBACKS, PAKISTAN SEES HOPE FOR DEMOCRATIC RULE



Women in Islamabad vote in February parliamentary elections

Despite a seriously flawed process, Pakistani voters chose a return to democratic rule over dictatorship in February parliamentary polls. Opposition candidates swept to victory over the party of President Pervez Musharraf, leading to the formation of a coalition government led by historic political rivals, the Pakistan Peoples Party of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, who was assassinated seven weeks before the election, and the Pakistan Muslin League-N, led by former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

The coalition has been threatened by disagreements over the reinstatement of judges who were fired in a Musharrafimposed state of emergency last fall, with the PML-N pulling out of the cabinet in protest. Despite setbacks, for the first time since Musharraf seized power in a 1999 coup, the country remains hopeful that the new government will usher in a transition to democracy.

NDI has supported Pakistan's democratic electoral process since the late 1980s. In June 2007, NDI and the Centre for Civic Education Pakistan (CCE) assisted the parties in a review of the voters list, leading to a Supreme Court order to add missing names. The Institute conducted

pre-election assessment missions in May and October of 2007, the latter of which was led by former Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, a member of the NDI Board of Directors. The missions' recommendations were used by Pakistani groups to advocate for electoral reform. NDI also helped the parties train and deploy more than 40,000 party poll watchers to help protect the integrity of the voting process and the tabulation of results in February.

To aid the long-term development of Pakistan's political parties, the Institute has launched programs to encourage internal reforms as well as to increase the participation of marginalized groups such as youth, women and ethnic minorities. NDI hopes to build on a growing sense of cooperation among political parties by providing opportunities to create links between citizens and newly-elected leaders. Current plans also include roundtable discussions with parties, as well as tribal and civil society representatives from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), as they explore options to rebuild their governance system.

### NDI TO BRING INTERNATIONAL LEADERS TO DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

NDI's quadrennial International Leaders Forum (ILF) will welcome more than 500 ambassadors and high-ranking political leaders from more than 100 countries to the 2008 Democratic National Convention in Denver, Colorado, in late August.

Participants will engage in a five-day program that will include bipartisan panels of prominent U.S. officials and policymakers discussing national politics, domestic policy and international affairs. By night, participants will have a chance to observe the convention and take part in events sponsored by NDI, the Democratic Party, the Convention Host Committee and the Institute's major donors.

At every convention since 1984, the ILF has given foreign leaders an opportunity to exchange ideas with their counterparts from around the world while receiving unique insight into America's presidential nominating process.

### IRAQ: A POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH IN KIRKUK

The disputed oil-rich Iraqi city of Kirkuk, claimed historically by both Kurds and Turkmen, encompasses all of the major challenges that impact the country as a whole -- sectarian clashes, security crises, disputed natural resources, forced displacement, and foreign political involvement. A referendum will determine whether the city will become part of the semi-autonomous Kurdistan region or part of greater Iraq. Left unresolved, tensions between the different ethnic communities in Kirkuk could exacerbate conflicts throughout the country.

In an effort to engage the adversarial parties, NDI organized a multi-party, multi-ethnic forum last fall moderated by Lord John Alderdice, a key figure in the Northern Ireland peace negotiations and former speaker of the Northern Ireland Assembly. The goal was to bring together disparate factions to address possible solutions to the region's strife.



Kirkuk Forum

The result was an unanticipated breakthrough -- a negotiated end to the year-long Arab bloc boycott of the Kirkuk Provincial Council, which serves as the legislature of Kirkuk. Organizers now hope the forum will lead to larger discussions on the future status of Kirkuk, with representation from all groups affected by its uncertain status.

At the forum, male and female participants of different constituencies, ethnicities, religions, generations and interest groups discussed security, economic development, public administration and other issues affecting the disputed area. They agreed that all major problems flowed from common circumstances, including corruption, the poor

#### **IKNOW POLITICS MARKS FIRST ANNIVERSARY**

In celebration of its first anniversary, iKNOW Politics, the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, held launch events in Europe and Mexico on March 3. The European Parliament hosted an event in Brussels featuring remarks by Vice President Rodi Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou and a video message from NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright. In Mexico City, participants heard from U.N. Resident Representative Magdy Martinez-Soliman and Rocio Gaytan, president of the National Institute of Women (INMUJERES).

iKNOW Politics is an online resource for and network of 2,200 politically active women from more than 150 countries. It was founded by NDI and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

In its first year, iKNOW Politics has had nearly 10 million hits and one million visits. On average, that is about 2,500 visits per day with more than 19,000 pages viewed daily.

security environment, foreign interference, the need to modernize government and economic infrastructure, lack of trust among Kirkuk's various ethnic and religious groups, and delayed implementation of Article 140 -- a provision of the Iraqi constitution that outlines a three-step process to determine whether Kirkuk will become part of the semi-autonomous Kurdish Regional Government or remain under the central Iraqi government.

#### **Establishing Trust**

Later, Lord Alderdice met with nine senior members of Iraq's Council of Representatives who visited Belfast on an NDI-sponsored study mission to gain a comparative perspective on issues common to both societies -- ending sectarian discord, brokering peace agreements, power sharing, policing and policy issues. The Iraqis discussed these issues with representatives from all sides of the Northern Ireland conflict.

The Iraqis also met with the leadership of Northern Ireland -including then First Minister Dr. Ian Paisley of the Unionist
Party and Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness of Sinn
Féin. "There are people in the world who think a resolution of
the situation in Iraq is impossible," said McGuinness. "I don't
accept that. Many people thought it was impossible that Dr.
Paisley and I would even sit here in this room together."

# RECONCILIATION UNDERWAY IN KENYA WITH CREATION OF GRAND COALITION \_

Hopes that Kenya's 2007 elections would be seen as a model for African democracies were dashed within 48 hours of the December vote when violence erupted amid charges of manipulation in the tabulation of results. Once a bastion of stability in a volatile region, Kenya seemed perched on the brink of civil war as violent clashes claimed over 1,000 lives, displaced more than 300,000 citizens, and cost the nation's economy more than \$1 billion.

The elections were largely a contest between the Party of National Unity (PNU) led by incumbent President Mwai Kibaki and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) led by Raila Odinga. The result was a showdown between the two principals and their respective community supporters. After two months of conflict, a power sharing agreement was brokered in February by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and others.

Since 1992, NDI has worked with Kenya's civic organizations to monitor election processes and assist the long-term development of the country's political parties. NDI also helped establish Inter-Party Provincial Committees (IPPCs), which provided a neutral setting for dialogue between political parties, the Electoral Commission of Kenya and community elders. The IPPCs, which were held



Kenyans line up to vote in downtown Nairobi

in all eight regions of the country, were credited with reducing tensions in advance of the 2002 and 2007 national elections.

When hostilities erupted following the December polls, IPPCs were re-established to help stem the post-election violence. One IPPC forged a partnership with newly-elected members of parliament from Coast Province -- reaching out to imams of local mosques, leaders and representatives of youth gangs, members of the local media and the business community. By including community leaders, government officials and political party representatives in the dialogues, and by regularly updating local media on their activities, the committee encouraged popular support for regional peace.

### NDI 'CHANGING THE WORLD OF INTERNET AND POLITICS'

NDI's pioneering use of cell phone technology in election monitoring earned it a designation as one of "The Top 10 Who Are Changing the World of Internet and Politics" by PoliticsOnline and the World E-Gov Forum. NDI's short message system (SMS) technology has been used in Montenegro, Indonesia, Albania, Sierra Leone and Bahrain to report vote counts, provide turnout information, assess the conduct of elections, and flag election day problems that need immediate attention from authorities.

After the formation of the new power sharing government, NDI facilitated meetings between former Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik and ODM and PNU leadership in Nairobi. Bondevik, who led two coalition governments in Norway, is president of the Oslo Center for Peace and Human Rights, a non-profit organization created to facilitate negotiations between governments and mediate peace in conflict areas. He provided advice on mechanisms that have helped sustain coalition governments. Under Kenya's new "Grand Coalition," Kibaki remains as president while Odinga serves as prime minister. Cabinet posts are shared equally between the partners. Based on the recommendations from NDI and Bondevik, the leaders agreed to create a six-member committee to develop a governance platform for the coalition. NDI hopes to reinforce these efforts by helping IPPCs organize forums on ways to support the coalition at the local level.

## AFRICAN LEGISLATURES WORK TO PROMOTE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY ACCOUNTABILITY \_\_\_\_

Decades-long misuse and mismanagement of oil and mining revenues have fueled devastating spirals of corruption, conflict and poverty in many resource-rich countries. Some international efforts, such as the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) Campaign, are focusing on these problems through partnerships between industry, government and civil society. But many legislatures, particularly in Africa, are not addressing this critical area - despite the lawmaking and oversight responsibilities that make them uniquely placed to do so.

Decades-long misuse and mismanagement of oil and mining revenues have fueled devastating spirals of corruption, conflict and poverty in many resource-rich countries. To assess the ability of legislatures to promote transparency and accountability in this key sector, NDI conducted research in nine African countries --

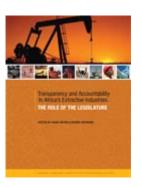
Angola, Botswana, Chad, the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and South Africa. NDI reviewed legal and other



Extractive industries workshop in Arusha, Tanzania

documents and interviewed members of parliament, ministerial officials, and representatives from the private sector, multilateral agencies, and donor and non-governmental organizations. These activities led to the publication, last August,

of Transparency and Accountability in Africa's Extractive Industries: The Role of the Legislature. The report summarizes the challenges legislators face in overseeing oil and mining industries, highlights best practices, and offers recommendations for greater engagement and coordination by legislators, civic groups and the international community.



In February, NDI presented the report's best practices and recommendations to the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) at a workshop in Arusha, Tanzania, conducted in partnership with the EALA, the Revenue Watch Institute (RWI) and the Parliamentary Network of the World Bank (PNoWB). The EALA is the independent legislative arm of the East African Community, a regional intergovernmental organization that represents Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The workshop participants included EALA members and staff; legislators from Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda; industry and legal experts; international representatives; and regional civil society leaders.

Two lively days of deliberations were set against a backdrop of actual events, including ongoing negotiations over the management of oil deposits in Uganda, a government review of Tanzania's mining sector, and the anticipated construction of an oil pipeline between Uganda and Kenya. The workshop ended with the adoption of a 21-point resolution to serve as a blueprint for greater legislative engagement at the regional and national levels in managing industry revenues.

The Institute plans to support the EALA recommendations with technical support for the launch of a regional forum of extractive industry representatives from government, civil society and the private sector; assistance to improve legislation on industry management; and by facilitating contacts between EALA representatives and legislators from EALA member countries with counterparts from countries that have joined the EITI process.

### NDI Honors Liberian President Johnson Sirleaf and 50/50 Group of Sierra Leone \_\_\_\_\_

NDI celebrated pioneering African women at its 2007 Democracy Luncheon by bestowing its two highest honors on Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the first woman to head an African country, and the 50/50 Group of Sierra Leone, which is dedicated to promoting greater participation of women in that nation's politics.

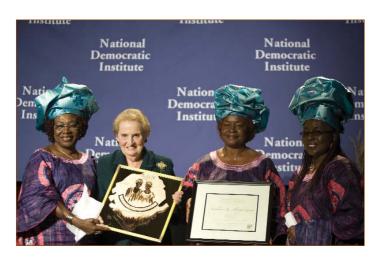
President Johnson Sirleaf received the 17th W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award. The 3rd annual Madeleine K. Albright Grant was awarded to the 50/50 Group.

"We celebrate what is most vibrant about democracy at the grassroots and also honor a national leader who has championed the cause of development and empowerment at the local level," said former Secretary of State Albright, who serves as NDI's board chairman.



U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, NDI President Kenneth Wollack and NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright congratulate Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, winner of the 2007 Harriman Democracy Award.

In her keynote address, U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said, "America has been the greatest force for peace and freedom in history because we have sought to use our power wisely and generously. We must reclaim our rightful place in the community of nations, with a sustainable foreign policy that reflects American values."



Members of the 50/50 Group of Sierra Leone receive the Madeleine K. Albright Grant at NDI's 2007 Democracy Luncheon.

President Johnson Sirleaf was honored for setting her country on the road to political and economic recovery after years of conflict and destruction. "Democracy is sacred," she said. "I am here as living proof to tell you that if the U.S. were to lose its will and go quiet on issues of liberty and human rights, that would shake the foundations of democracy around world."

The 50/50 Group designated a portion of its \$25,000 grant to advocate for women in advance of local elections in July. Founded in 2000, the 50/50 Group has been a catalyst for a dramatic increase in opportunities for women to run for office and play more active roles in Sierra Leonean politics.

Albright also honored the memory of NDI staff member Andi Parhamovich with the announcement of the Andi Parhamovich Fellowship, designed to enhance the skills of young women engaged in democratic development. Ms. Parhamovich was killed on January 17, 2007, while riding in a convoy

women engaged in democratic development. Ms. Parhamovich was killed on January 17, 2007, while riding in a convoy that was attacked in Baghdad. Established in cooperation with the Parhamovich family and the Andi Foundation, the fellowship will bring a young woman to Washington, D.C., each year – selected from NDI local staff or partner organizations in one of 60 countries – who is active in building democracy in her own country.

#### CHANGES AT NDI

After 18 years with NDI, Vice President **Jean Dunn** retired in mid-January. She is succeeded by **Shari K. Bryan**, formerly NDI's director for southern and east Africa. Stepping into Bryan's post is **Susan Page**, who formerly worked in Africa with the State Department, USAID and the United Nations.

In addition, **Laura Jewett** is NDI's new director for Eurasia, replacing **Nelson Ledsky**, who stepped down after 15 years in that post. Jewett previously served as his deputy director for 10 years. She holds a PhD in political science and is an expert on the region. Ambassador Ledsky's tenure at NDI followed a long and distinguished career at the State Department. Under his leadership, the Institute launched democracy assistance programs in 14 of the 15 former Soviet republics as well as in Turkey.

Dunn managed the Institute during an era of unprecedented growth. She created NDI's administrative structure, overseeing the establishment of more than 60 field offices and raising private donations. She also established the Madeleine K. Albright Grant and made NDI's International Leaders Forum a recognized feature of Democratic National Conventions.

As senior associate and director of NDI's democratic development programs in southern and east Africa since 2001, Bryan has traveled and worked in over 22 African countries. Page, most recently the rule of law director for the UN Mission in Sudan, also served on the mediation team that helped negotiate Sudan's 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and has worked for the State Department and USAID in Kenya, Botswana and Rwanda.

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