

NDI Reports

Fall 2005

KOSOVO

NDI Chairman Albright Returns to Kosovo

When U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright visited Kosovo in 1999, she gave a speech surrounded by soldiers and protected by a bullet-proof van. Six years later, as chairman of the National Democratic Institute, Albright spoke at a concert hall, surrounded by young people committed to a democratic future. The next day, Secretary Albright was the first person to address a special session of the democratically elected Kosovo Central Assembly.

"During these past six years, you have shown the world that the people of Kosovo are builders—not only world famous builders of houses and public structures—but builders of new and democratic institutions," she said in the July 5 speech to the Assembly in Pristina.

Albright's trip to Kosovo was her first since 1999, when she played a leading role in international efforts to resolve a political and humanitarian crisis. Since then, NDI has been working throughout Kosovo and the rest of the former Yugoslavia to advance the development of civic groups, political parties and the institutions required to create a stable democracy.

Despite democratic strides in Kosovo, the region is at a crossroads. "Forget the Balkans at your own peril," warns Robert Benjamin, NDI's regional director of programs in Central and Eastern Europe. Benjamin fears a premature abandonment of democracy initiatives in the Balkans as the world turns its attention to other challenges, such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

The potential for a relapse in the former Yugoslavia was made clear in March, 2004, when violent unrest erupted in Kosovo. In attacks the UN blames on Albanian extremists, ethnic Serbian communities



Albright attracted big crowds in Pristina, her first visit to the city in six years.

and cultural centers were attacked, leading to the worst loss of life and destruction of property since the Kosovo war.

force and judiciary that are independent and non-partisan, committed to investigating crimes thoroughly regardless of ethnic

Continued on page 4

NEPAL

Former Senator Tom Daschle Urges Reform

Nepal is in the grip of a serious political crisis. In February, King Gyanendra declared a State of Emergency, dismissed the Prime Minister, jailed political party leaders and assumed control of the media. Since the order was lifted in April, many of these restrictions on democracy remain in place. Meanwhile, a violent Maoist insurgency continues to plague the Nepalese countryside, resulting in thousands of deaths and political destabilization.

To assess the situation and support the prospect of a return to democratic rule,



Senator Daschle was greeted by Gopalman Shrestha, leader of the Nepali Congress (Democratic) Party during his meeting with various party leaders.

Continued on page 7

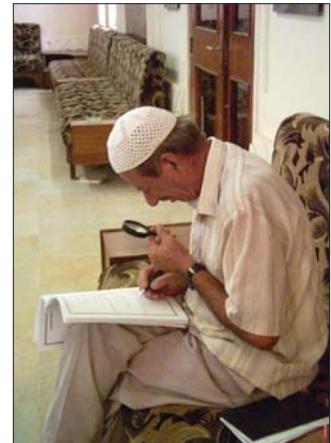
Update: The Iraqi Constitution

Excerpt from the October 18 testimony by Leslie L. Campbell, NDI Director of Middle East Programs, before the Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats and International Relations of the U.S. House Committee on Government Reform

The draft constitution and the referendum should be viewed as neither a detailed roadmap for governance nor a compact between warring parties, but simply as a benchmark or milestone on the long road to democracy.

In that context, the referendum, and the process leading to the referendum, was a success. Voter turnout, estimated at about 60 percent, was a little higher than the January 2005 election, but voter turnout in majority Sunni areas was dramatically higher. Some early estimates have Sunni participation in Al Anbar and Saluhddin as high as 80 percent. While one could take the cynical view that the Sunni population mobilized only to defeat the draft constitution, Sunni political leaders have made a fundamental decision to use the political system to pursue policy goals. While the decision to participate in electoral events may have little immediate impact on the insurgency, Sunni participation in future elections and future governments could have an enormous influence on the development of a truly representative political system.

Prior to the vote, tens of thousands of Iraqis from all walks of life made their views known to the constitutional drafting committee through as many as 185,000 submissions that were received by that committee. More than 100,000 people attended town hall discussions on the constitution and dozens of rallies and meetings were held by Iraqi non-governmental organizations representing a variety of interests. Women's organizations played a particularly large role, organizing petitions and rallies and lobbying members of the Interim National Assembly. Dozens of radio and television spots explained the content of the draft constitution and millions of copies of the document were distributed to eager citizens.



NDI-trained Iraqi facilitators led constitutional dialogues in communities across the country, including remote areas such as the southern marshes and deserts. (Right) An Iraqi man in Baghdad's al-Qadissiya district was one of more than 80,000 citizens who responded to questionnaires about the constitution.

While the argument can be made that the negotiation process was hurried and flawed and that the contents of the document were unclear, the fact is that the majority of Iraqi citizens are happy with what is contained in the document and its adoption by the majority of the population has never been in doubt. What was, and still is in doubt, is whether or not the population opposed to the draft, mostly residing in majority Sunni areas of Iraq, could muster the 2/3 majority required in three provinces to veto passage of the document. As of this writing, the 2/3 threshold had been reached in Al Anbar and Salah Eddin provinces with a simple majority against the draft in a third province, Ninevah. The last minute compromise to allow changes to the draft to be made for several months after the referendum may help to reduce the impact of the constitution passing over the objections of much of the Sunni population.

Like the January 2005 election, the October referendum in Iraq was characterized by the courage shown by the average Iraqi in defying violence to vote. Again, Iraqis have proven that democracy is central to their view of the future. The referendum was remarkably well run under the circumstances and organized primarily by Iraqis with relatively modest foreign assistance. Some of the lessons learned for the U.S. are clear:

- Democracy is a goal shared and embraced by Iraqis.
- Political processes work best in Iraq when the citizens feel ownership of those processes and when Iraqis are empowered to organize and implement.
- Assistance is best when it is delivered discreetly and in a manner designed to bolster and support Iraqi processes and actors.
- The political and democratic process in Iraq is not a panacea or a silver bullet—but is a necessary step on the road to security, economic prosperity and stability. As such, U.S. support for a democratic Iraq must be clear, steady and backed by sufficient funding and diplomatic support.

Much will continue to be written and said about the referendum and particularly about the problem of Sunni inclusion in the political process, but October 15 was another milestone toward the goal of a peaceful democratic nation. The next broad steps for democracy include the development of national and local governing institutions, national/local government coordination and communication, the better engagement of youth and women in political processes, and of course the operationalizing of the constitution through implementing legislation and sufficient attention to revenue and power sharing.

Campaign School for Women from Middle East and North Africa

More than 75 women from across the Middle East and North Africa gathered in Kuwait from September 25-29 for the fourth Partners in Participation Regional Campaign School.

Participants included elected members of parliament, political party leaders, cabinet members, civil society leaders and journalists from Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, West Bank/Gaza and Yemen.

Over the course of the four-day school, the women shared experiences, learned how to run political campaigns and sought to build a regional network of women with the skills to succeed in politics over the long term.

Some of the women had voted before; others had not. A few of them had run for office; others were planning to, and some dreamed of doing so. Some wore traditional Muslim dress, even full veils; some wore fashionable pants suits.

But they all stood for something potent—the idea that greater participation by women can make this region more democratic, prosperous and safe. Each came with her own style, background and policy ideas. Some were PhD's, lawyers, or academics. Some were mothers and grandmothers.

The women disagreed on many issues, but shared a big goal: to change the politics of their countries.

—U.S. Rep. Jane Harman (D-CA), blogging from Kuwait



Maasouma Al Mubarak (standing left), Kuwait's Minister of Planning, greets a participant at the Campaign School. (Right) Shaikha Al-Nusf, President of Kuwait Women's Social and Cultural Society, at the closing ceremony.

Keynote speakers included Kuwait's first female cabinet minister, Maasouma Al Mubarak; Algerian Member of Parliament Samia Moualfi; Moroccan Member of Parliament Amina Ouchelh; U.S. Rep. Jane Harman (D-CA); and former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell.

"The region as a whole and Kuwait in particular are making progress in increasing women's political participation," said Al Mubarak, Kuwait's Minister of Planning. "This event provides useful, essential political skills for women who are assuming political leadership throughout the Middle East and North Africa."

The women participated in workshops on a variety of topics, including how to build a campaign team, message development, public speaking, voter tracking and fundraising.

Established practitioners from around the world incorporated interactive training techniques, offering the women the opportunity for one-on-one time with experts and colleagues who have had similar experiences.

Participants, presenters, and trainers also took part in a series of panel discussions addressing key issues relating to the promotion of women's participation in political life.

The campaign school took place against the backdrop of upcoming elections throughout the region, including Iraq, Jordan, Algeria, the West Bank and Gaza, and Kuwait, where women won the right to vote earlier this year.

"Encouraging women to stand as candidates and assisting them to run professional campaigns further normalizes the participation of women in political processes, facilitating the shift in social attitudes that would also allow for eventual electoral successes," says NDI President Kenneth Wollack.

The Partners in Participation Regional Campaign School was the fourth in a series supported by the Department of State's Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI). The first three—in Qatar, Tunisia and Jordan—trained more than 150 women from the region to take active roles in political life.

The campaign school in Kuwait was organized by NDI, in cooperation with the Kuwait Economic Society's Women's Committee, the Women's Social and Cultural Society and the International Republican Institute (IRI).

Former African Leaders Declare Support for Democracy



Joining the past African heads of state were former Canadian Prime Minister Kim Campbell (fifth from left) and NDI President Kenneth Wollack (third from left).

Twenty Five years ago, only a few African presidents or prime ministers had retired voluntarily or left office after losing an election. Since 1990, however, that figure has risen to more than 30. While many of these former leaders already serve as role models for their successors and have already been involved in regional humanitarian and democratization efforts, the challenge today is how to best mobilize their skills and experience to help meet pressing continental and international challenges.

In June, at the inaugural gathering in Mali of the African Statesmen Initiative (ASI), 15 former heads of state and government from

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 ASI was conceived almost four years ago following extensive consultations between former African presidents and NDI. The goals of the initiative are to: provide a forum for them 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.

Africa sought ways to continue their contributions to the political and economic well being of their countries and the region.

"We affirm that changes of power and political succession should always be based on constitutional rule and democratic principles," said the group in

NDI's partners in the ASI conference included the Club of Madrid, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the United Nations Development Programme and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

Former Presidents and Prime Ministers at the ASI Conference

Nicéphore Soglo, *Benin*

Ketumile Masire, *Botswana*

Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro,
Cape Verde

Dawda Kairaba Jawara, *The 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*

KOSOVO

Continued from page 1



Albright met with a broad cross-section of Kosovars. "Your challenge is to build a united society in which people from every ethnic group can participate and contribute," she said.

or political affiliation. And finally, Albright urged Kosovo to commit itself to building a multi-ethnic society where "everyone—including Albanians, Serbs, Roma, Bosnians, Ashkali, Gorani, Egyptian or Turk—can live anywhere in Kosovo safely and peacefully."

To help with these challenges, Albright reaffirmed NDI's commitment to remain engaged in Kosovo.

"Your friends are confident that you will succeed, and that we will see emerge here in Kosovo a society that

respects the rights of all and has therefore earned the respect of people and governments in every corner of the Earth," she said.

In early October, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan recommended the start of negotiations on the final status of Kosovo. Talks are expected to begin before the end of this year.

NDI Chairman Madeleine Albright visited Azerbaijan after her trip to Kosovo. To see her remarks from Pristina and Baku, visit the NDI website at www.ndi.org.

Indonesia Women's Caucus Receives First Madeleine K. Albright Grant

Efforts to advance women's political participation in Indonesia were recognized as NDI presented the first Madeleine K. Albright Grant to the Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (*Kokus Perempuan Politik Indonesia* or KPPI).



A packed hall at the Mayflower Hotel on May 4, 2005, where NDI presented the grant to KPPI.



KPPI Chair Gefarina Djohan said the grant would be used to help her group increase women's representation and leadership in Indonesia's political parties.



(From left to right) Former Member of Congress and Vice Presidential Candidate Geraldine Ferraro, NDI President Kenneth Wollack, KPPI Chair Gefarina Djohan and NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright.

These funds will give us the wherewithal to involve the mothers and daughters and sisters of our nation. Together, we will build on the political investment of women in Indonesia.

—KPPI Chair
Gefarina Djohan

Women's Political Caucus of Indonesia (KPPI)

The main role of the Women's Political Caucus is to help Indonesian women who seek elected office and provide capacity-building skills for those already in government. The KPPI includes women from a broad cross-section of political parties.

The Caucus was formed following a workshop sponsored by NDI in 2000. It has grown into a movement with more than 50 offices throughout the country and has trained women

from parties, civic groups, trade unions, academia and the media.

In 2003, the KPPI successfully lobbied for an amendment to Indonesia's constitution recommending that 30 percent of political party candidates be women. Women's representation in the House of Representatives increased from 8.8 to 11.9 percent after the 2004 elections.

Money and Politics in Africa

With multiparty systems in place for only a short time, low levels of economic development and traditional political constituencies based on tribal, ethnic and regional interests, many African political systems remain fragile. It is therefore important that these systems not be undermined by political corruption, since the single greatest asset of democracy is the faith and support of ordinary citizens in the political process.

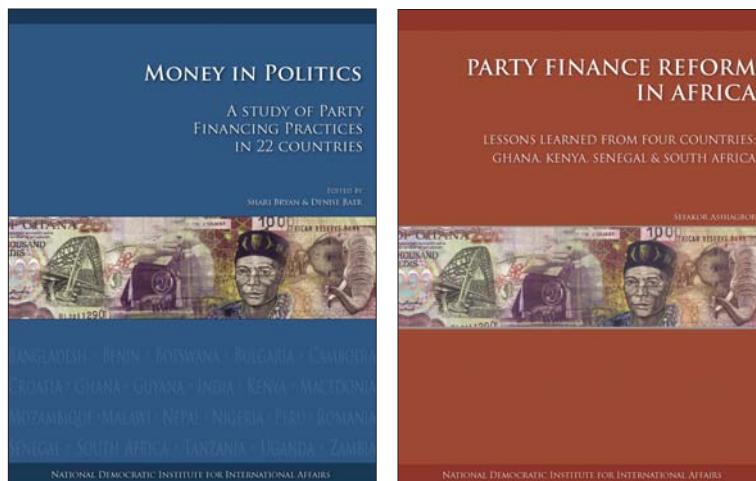
Until now, little data has existed to help understand the complexities of party financing in new democracies, particularly in Africa.

A new NDI study on the relationship between money and politics—called the African Political Party Finance Initiative (APPFI)—contains some encouraging news for Africa: most of the money raised and spent on political campaigns appears to come from legitimate sources and is being spent for genuine political purposes. The study also finds an awareness among African politicians of the dangers of corruption and a willingness to confront them.

Last year, NDI examined party finance practices in 22 countries around the world, including a dozen African nations, with the

aim of understanding how corruption in political party financing threatens economic and social development on the continent. Following the collection of data, NDI supported initiatives by civic groups in Ghana, Kenya, Senegal and South Africa that address the negative role that money can play in politics.

Despite the study's positive news about the sources and use of money in African politics, the research also indicates areas of concern, such as the wealthy business



interests that fund campaigns in order to gain access to lucrative state contracts. It also highlights the personal risk of bankruptcy many candidates face as they try to raise money for elected positions and the enticement to abandon political competition in exchange for money.

Because accurate information is often unavailable in the 22 nations studied, NDI's research teams relied on their long-standing relationships with local political leaders. They interviewed more than 440 people, including members of parliament, candidates, civic leaders, regulatory officials and members of the media.

One of the study's main recommendations for Africa is the need for an increased focus on political party strengthening and development. Since the mid 1980s, the bulk of democracy assistance has been earmarked for strengthening governing institutions such as legislatures and judiciaries. Yet, it is becoming increasingly clear that political parties—the training grounds for presidents, prime ministers and other elected officials—must not be ignored. The APPFI research contends, after all, that corrupt political parties are unlikely to form good governments.

For more recommendations and a detailed country-by-country analysis, the full report is available on the NDI website at www.ndi.org.

NDI OPENS OFFICE IN BRUSSELS

A key to promoting democracy effectively in a world of limited resources is international cooperation. NDI's programs have been most successful when the Institute has joined with others to support democratic values, institutions and practices.

In order to strengthen multinational cooperation, NDI's new Brussels office opened its doors on May 30.

"At a time when European governmental and non-governmental actors are becoming more involved in democratization projects, I'm pleased to have the opportunity to share NDI's experience," says Leo Spaans, who heads the new office. Spaans previously directed NDI's political party programs in Mozambique, and parliamentary and civil society programs in Malawi.

One of NDI Brussels' top priorities is to increase the awareness of the Institute's activities among European decision-makers, especially members of the EU Parliament and development organizations.

"Our Brussels office allows us to participate in meetings, workshops and conferences in Europe," says Spaans. "We feel it's important to develop cooperative approaches and partnerships with Europeans involved in democratization initiatives."



Leo Spaans

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 recently 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. Published in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and with support from the Government of Belgium, the handbooks are available in Arabic, French, Spanish, Russian and English.

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

Parliamentary-Civic Collaboration for Monitoring Poverty Reduction Initiatives

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Parliaments and Poverty Series Toolkit No. 2

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

Legislative-Executive Communication on Poverty Reduction Strategies

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Parliaments and Poverty Series Toolkit No. 1

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

Legislative Public Outreach on Poverty Issues

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Parliaments and Poverty Series Toolkit No. 3

NEPAL

Continued from page 1

former Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle traveled to Kathmandu on behalf of NDI in July.

In meetings with the King, civil society representatives and political party and business leaders, Senator Daschle urged them to come together to resolve the crisis, which he says “imperils progress and democracy.”

“All personal and partisan considerations should now be put aside for the good of the Nepali people,” Daschle said. “The need for reconciliation between the King and the mainstream political parties is immediate.”

Daschle urged King Gyandendra to restore all civil and political rights, including

freedom of the press and the right of free expression. He also called for political parties to regain their strength and representation in parliament, citing the important need for balance between the executive and legislative branches of government.

As for the political parties, Senator Daschle said they must also do their part to alleviate the political crisis.

“Parties should commit publicly to genuine reform, internal democracy, transparency and accountability and remove corrupt figures from their ranks,” he said. “They should also offer a clear and detailed blueprint for change, progress and peace to the people and recapture the Nepali people’s faith through their actions and commitments.”



Nepalese journalists interview Senator Daschle in Kathmandu.

Senator Daschle's full remarks from Nepal are available on the NDI website at www.ndi.org.

ON BOARD

Featuring Three New Members of the NDI Board

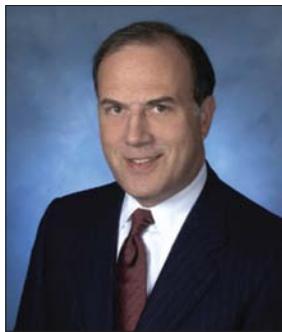
Erskine Bowles served as President Clinton's White House Chief of Staff from 1996-98. Before that, Bowles headed the U.S. Small Business Administration. He recently served as U.N. Deputy Special Envoy for Tsunami-Affected Countries.

Robert Liberatore is DaimlerChrysler's Senior VP for Global External Affairs and Public Policy. Liberatore worked on Capitol Hill for 10 years, including four years as Staff Director for then-Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd.

Judith McHale is President and Chief Operating Officer of Discovery Communications Inc. (DCI). Among her achievements is the creation of the Discovery Channel Global Education Fund, which provides free educational programming to more than a quarter of a million students in Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe.



Erskine Bowles



Robert Liberatore



Judith McHale

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