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■ MAKING DEMOCRACY DELIVER

Democracy's credibility depends, to an important degree, on how its institutions work in practice and on what it delivers. Democracies must be able to tackle issues that reflect the popular will and address issues that affect citizens' daily lives, such as security, jobs, human rights, health, education, social services and infrastructure.

The challenges facing the poor are often rooted in closed political systems where citizens are denied their political voice, where government institutions have no obligation to answer to the people, and where special interests exploit resources without fear of oversight or the need to account to the public.

While democracy does not guarantee economic opportunities for all citizens, it is grounded in the recognition and protection of individual rights, equality before the law, and the values of political pluralism. At the same time, many new democracies are fragile, having inherited serious problems such as debt, ethnic division, disease, poverty and corruption. Even when reform-minded governments are elected, they often gain a governing structure with few channels for popular access. Almost invariably, it is the poor segments of society that suffer the dearth of access to the political process.



A public hearing in Baghlan, Afghanistan

New NDI Website and e-Newsletter

NDI's new website, www.ndi.org, made its debut on Dec. 1. With many new interactive features and links, the site carries information about NDI programs in nearly 80 countries. It also focuses on issue areas in which we work – civic participation, elections, governance, political parties, women's issues, and democracy and technology – and includes news and feature stories about our programs. New sections provide commentary on democracy assistance, NDI's partners around the world, a library of documents that underpin democracy programs, and a searchable database of reports, manuals, training materials and other publications. With the new website the Institute is inaugurating a new electronic newsletter with timely information about NDI events and programs. Go to www.ndi.org to sign up.

Deepening democracy so that it can deliver tangible improvements in people's lives is an overarching NDI objective. The Institute's approach involves partnering with politically marginalized and socially excluded groups and helping them build awareness and influence around their own priorities. It includes fostering substantive, sustained interactions between citizens and public officials. At the same time, it means assisting intermediary institutions, such as parliaments and political parties, to develop their professional capacities and to work on behalf of citizens, ensuring state responsiveness to citizen interests and concerns. How these programs work in practice is illustrated through the following examples:

Afghanistan: Shaping Government Priorities

Notwithstanding the ongoing military conflict, provincial legislatures in Afghanistan, with assistance from NDI, are giving citizens a new role in shaping government programs to respond to their needs. Since 2006, NDI has worked with 19 of the nation's 34 councils to help them develop plans reflecting citizen priorities and oversee their implementation.

This is a first for Afghanistan, where new councilors, participating in the only elected bodies at the provincial level that have a mandate to voice people's concerns, have had to learn democratic governance skills. They have held hearings and roundtable discussions, drafted proposals with citizens, governors and ministries, and conducted dozens of press conferences and radio interviews.

THE WRITTEN WORD...

One way that NDI helps democracy deliver is through a series of publications on how democratic institutions can address issues that affect citizens' daily lives. A full library of these publications can be found on NDI's website, www.ndi.org. Here are some examples:

- *Transparency and Accountability in Africa's Extractive Industries*
- *A Survey of Legislative Efforts to Combat HIV/AIDS in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Region*
- *Bolivia's Political Party System and the Incentives for Pro-poor Reform*
- *Legislative Public Outreach on Poverty Issues, Parliaments and Poverty Series*
- *Legislative-Executive Communication on Poverty Reduction Strategies, Parliaments and Poverty Series*
- *Parliamentary-Civic Collaboration for Monitoring Poverty Reduction Initiatives, Parliaments and Poverty Series*
- *Peru's Political Party Reform System and the Promotion of Pro-poor Reform*

Among the proposals developed are those to prevent poppy cultivation by offering alternative seed to local farmers, promote more equitable allocation among farmers of limited water supplies, construct medical centers in urban and rural areas with adequate male and female medical personnel at each facility, and build additional schools in remote areas to replace tents. Several proposals have been incorporated into provincial development plans.

Indonesia: Tracking Spending

In Indonesia, where 40 percent of the national budget is sent to the provinces, NDI is working with local civic groups to help them track spending and have a greater voice in how the funds are spent. There have been some notable results:

In Bandung, community groups discovered that twice as much annual funding was going to schools in one village over another. The shortfalls were so acute that repairs on some schoolhouses were done with wooden cladding removed from others in good condition. The scandal prompted government action that led to equal funding in the region. On Monogon Island, scrutiny of budget data by villagers led to the exposure and dismantling of an illegal fees syndicate that had diverted seven million rupiah from each local school as a facilitation payment for release of annual funding. And in West Java, midwives are now delivering lifesaving hygiene and nutrition advice in local villages as a result of an initiative by citizens who asked the health department for these services.

Mozambique: Addressing HIV/AIDS

In Mozambique, where HIV prevalence is more than 16 percent, NDI is assisting lawmakers to reach out to citizens to address HIV/AIDS issues. The legislators have solicited comments from constituents to help improve the government's response to the epidemic and fix problems they identified. During a site visit to one of the hardest-hit provinces, legislators learned that several workers were laid off as a result of their perceived HIV status. Lawmakers ensured that the offending company was fined under Mozambique's anti-discrimination law. In another instance, the legislators worked to secure funding to retrofit a government-funded orphanage that did not meet local construction standards.

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YEMEN PROGRAM AIMS TO END VIOLENCE, PROMOTE SAFE SCHOOLS

The tribal violence that often erupts in remote areas of Yemen undermines order and government institutions and provides a haven for terrorist activity, poverty and illiteracy. These areas, vast and almost inaccessible, and the commonplace killings and hopelessness among populations stuck in a vortex of tribal conflict were characterized in a 2005 Pulitzer Prize winning series in *The Washington Post*.

The Post articles also focused on an NDI program that is seeking to help end tribal conflict and create optimism where none has existed. Working with tribal leaders, the Institute's program is aimed, among other things, at reducing the effects of violence on the education system and improving student safety. Lack of educational opportunity has taken its toll on Yemeni society. Frustrated, undereducated young people with no job prospects are among those most likely to engage in and perpetuate tribal violence.

The Institute's program began in 2004, when a group of tribal sheiks from the governorates of Mareb, Al-Jawf and Shabwa came together to address the challenges. They organized a non-governmental organization (NGO) – the Yemen Organization for Development and Social Peace – and approached NDI for help in developing conflict resolution strategies that would end so-called revenge killings and promote development in the tribal regions.

Addressing the impact of violence on education has become an urgent priority. Students from the Mareb, Al-Jawf and Shabwa governorates face enormous difficulty traveling to schools because they must cross unprotected into the territories of other tribes. In recent years, many students, teachers, school administrators and faculty were killed in the three governorates, a number of them while on their way to universities in Sanaa and Aden.

In May 2008, NDI helped a coalition of local NGOs, tribal and religious leaders, journalists and the Supreme National

Committee for Addressing Revenge Killing Issues launch a public awareness campaign. The goal is to communicate ways to integrate traditional conflict prevention systems, such as respecting public places as "safe havens," with modern techniques, such as using the media for advocacy and information sharing. Since the launch, the campaign organizers have conducted field surveys of students and educators affected by tribal violence, organized public meetings and events, and published weekly articles in national and local media on the effects of conflict on Yemen's already weak educational system.



Yemeni tribal leaders at the launch of a public awareness campaign

The campaign has also teamed with students to develop a code of conduct for tribal leaders that designates educational facilities as tribal violence free zones, or "safe havens." Student peace convoys have been organized to travel to conflict areas in hopes of encouraging tribal and community leaders to sign the code. Key tribal leaders from the three governorates have already committed their support, urging fellow leaders to follow suit. The campaign has received additional commitments from influential figures at the national and local level, including elected representatives, community and religious leaders, and faculty members from local schools and colleges.

In furthering efforts to understand and reduce tribal violence, NDI is also assisting Mareb College and local NGOs to establish a regional center for tribal conflict research, where students will study the causes and nature of conflict in addition to receiving training in conflict resolution. The center is expected to open in early 2009.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT CONTRIBUTES TO PEACEFUL ELECTION PROCESS IN ANGOLA



NDI's Simão Andre briefs data entry personnel from the National Platform on election day

Following three decades of civil war, Angolans went to the polls Sept. 5 for the first time in 16 years. The parliamentary elections unfolded in a largely peaceful manner, much to the credit of citizens who came out in large numbers, political parties that encouraged members to adhere to a strict code of conduct, and local election monitors who were deployed throughout the country.

NDI worked closely with its Angolan partner, The National Platform of Angolan Civil Society for Elections, a network of provincial election monitoring organizations, to encourage citizen involvement in the process and assuage fears that competition would spark violence as it did in 1992 during Angola's first post-independence elections. The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) did not accept the results of that contest and fighting swiftly returned, unleashing the most brutal period of the country's civil war.

This year, a non-partisan Angolan organization observed elections for the first time. NDI supported the efforts of

the Platform to monitor the election process, assisting in the recruitment, training and deployment of more than 1,000 observers in 87 of the country's 164 municipalities. NDI also helped organize an election day command center, where volunteers received and compiled observation data and incident reports sent in by observers from polling stations across the country.

Domestic and international observers reported logistical and organizational challenges and procedural inconsistencies, particularly in the capital, Luanda. But the process was peaceful and UNITA accepted the results, which showed the ruling Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola (MPLA) receiving 82 percent of the vote compared to 10 percent for UNITA. Three days after the election, a UNITA spokesperson conceded, saying that "despite everything that happened, the leadership accepts the election results and hopes the winning party will govern in the interest of all Angolans."

In the post-election period, NDI is working with the National Platform to organize roundtable discussions with its observers, election specialists, political parties and international observer groups to analyze the performance of the Angolan National Election Commission. In addition, participants will explore ways in which the electoral process can be strengthened in advance of the long-awaited presidential election, expected in 2009.

The Platform also will work to build political support for comprehensive electoral reform by encouraging the establishment of an election timeline and revisions to the constitution and 2004 election law.

The largely successful parliamentary elections have brought greater stability to the country, affording more opportunity for political party growth and democratic engagement by citizens at the municipal level. But the challenges remain, such as how to promote accountability and pluralism in a country governed by a dominant political party.

In addition to monitoring the upcoming presidential election, the National Platform plans to observe municipal polls scheduled for 2010 and will then work with local partners to monitor newly-elected local governments.

DEMOCRACY SKILLS HELP ELEVATE AWARENESS OF CHOCÓ CONCERNS

Colombia's department of Chocó, where 82 percent of the residents are of African descent, was the nation's first administrative division designed to give that group some autonomous decision-making power. But the hoped-for empowerment has been slow to materialize in the face of poverty, corruption, violence and neglect.

To help overcome those obstacles, NDI has been conducting a pilot program to improve the skills of Chocoans to organize politically and to alert Colombia's national political parties to Chocó's special concerns and priorities. NDI was actively involved in ensuring transparency for municipal and gubernatorial elections in 2007 and, with assistance from local organizations, is working to increase political participation and help democracy deliver improvements for local citizens.

For the 2007 elections, NDI worked with candidates from 10 political parties, organizing debates and arranging forums on education, health and human rights. During the traditional San Pacho Festival – a 20-day celebration of St. Francis of Assisi ("San Pacho"), the patron saint of Quibdó – NDI collaborated with the Chocó Theater Group to educate politicians and the public on the dangers of vote buying, a common practice in the area. A group of actors played vote trading candidates and citizens, wearing banners that read "I am for sale," while other actors represented politicians and those voters persuaded by legitimate proposals, wearing banners that read, "I am not for sale." The goal was for Chocoans to better understand the importance of electing their leaders based on policy proposals instead of cash favors.

After the elections, NDI organized citizen groups that presented development proposals to the governor- and mayor-elect of the departmental capital, Quibdó. In an unprecedented move, the governor, upon taking office, invited citizen organizations to participate in the creation of a four-year development plan for education initiatives.

This year, in an expanded program, NDI is helping Chocó meet the many challenges that the region continues to face. The Institute is helping arrange forums to increase dialogue among political party leaders to address the role of parties in reducing poverty and hunger. The forums have focused on developing multi-party policy agreements and bringing more people into the planning process. In a September forum, Barrancabermeja Mayor Carlos Contreras – a 2006 alumnus of an NDI-sponsored academy that promotes political party reform and modernization in Latin America – presented the participatory planning process he has implemented in his administration. As mayor of a large Colombian city affected by conflict, Mayor Contreras was able to share best practices from another region that faces similar issues.



A Chocó Theater Group performance to educate the public on the dangers of vote buying

NDI is also working to increase and diversify participation in Chocoan politics by conducting activities in remote towns and supporting participation by civil society groups and young people, which has led to a record number of youth, women, and minorities playing an active role in their communities. As one program participant commented, "We know what needs to be done to improve Chocó. We simply lack the technical skills to accomplish it. This is what NDI helps us achieve."

NDI TO HONOR ARCHBISHOP TUTU, WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF BURMA



Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 2008 Democracy Award

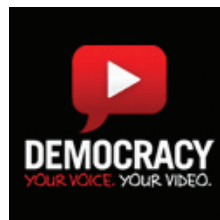
The struggle for democracy in Burma will be a focus of NDI's 2008 Democracy Awards Luncheon as the Institute honors two champions of that cause – Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Women's League of Burma.

Christiane Amanpour, chief international correspondent for CNN, will serve as master of ceremonies at the Dec. 15 luncheon in Washington, DC.

Archbishop Tutu will receive the W. Averell Harriman Democracy Award, which is presented to an individual or organization that has demonstrated a sustained commitment to democracy and human rights. A Nobel Peace Prize winner for his leadership in overcoming apartheid in South Africa, Archbishop Tutu is being honored for his global efforts on behalf of democracy since the democratic transition in South Africa, including his relentless advocacy for democracy in Burma and the release of Aung San Suu Kyi, the world's only imprisoned Nobel Laureate and the inspiring leader of Burma's non-violent democracy struggle.

The Women's League of Burma (WLB), an umbrella organization of 12 women's groups from different ethnic backgrounds, will receive the 4th annual Madeleine K. Albright Grant. Winners are selected from a competitive pool of applicants and receive \$25,000 to support an initiative promoting women's participation in civic or political life. The Women's League will use the funds to allow 14 young women from Burma – currently enrolled in an intensive, six-month training program at the WLB's Emerging Women Leaders School in Thailand – to return to their ethnic communities within Burma and along the border areas. The women will conduct two-week training sessions for other emerging women leaders that will address such key concerns as health, human trafficking, party engagement and local leadership.

DEMOCRACY VIDEO CHALLENGE



An innovative new project, the Democracy Video Challenge, is designed to increase the global dialogue on democracy. NDI has partnered with the State Department, other democracy organizations, film and media organizations and others in a competition that invites

citizens from around the world to create short videos that complete the phrase: "Democracy is..."

Winning filmmakers from six regions of the world will receive all-expense paid trips to the United States with stops in Hollywood, New York and Washington, where their videos will be screened and they will meet with representatives of the film and television industry as well as democracy advocates and others. The deadline for submissions is Jan. 31. More information is available at www.videochallenge.america.gov.

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With NDI support, legislators have reached over 12,000 citizens through public forums, hearings and visits to government-funded AIDS projects. By discussing HIV openly, they are working to reduce HIV stigma, one of the greatest impediments to accessing drugs and services. They have also collaborated with more than 400 civic groups and reached thousands more citizens through media interviews. With civil society's input, the parliamentarians drafted legislation to carry out needed reforms.

Macedonia: Service from Constituency Offices

With assistance from NDI, Macedonia's parliament has created a nationwide constituency office network as part of its efforts to serve the public. NDI worked with members of parliament to locate space for 65 offices, identified a donor to provide equipment, and hired and trained assistants to publicize and manage the offices and handle citizen queries.

Citizens were quick to use the offices, leading to the first direct communication in Macedonia between MPs and constituents. Topics of citizen requests vary from social services, housing, employment and health to bankruptcy procedures, property regulations, privatization, and the bidding process for public tenders. The offices have received more than 124,000 individual visits and registered over 12,000 cases. In total, nearly 6,000 have been resolved.

NDI HOSTS 500 INTERNATIONAL LEADERS AT DENVER CONVENTION

"We know that democracy is the one road we can all walk down together," said NDI Chairman Madeleine K. Albright as she welcomed 500 international visitors from more than 100 countries to NDI's International Leaders Forum (ILF) at the Democratic National Convention in August.



Speaker Pelosi at ILF

In addition to having a firsthand look at the convention proceedings, the visitors took part in a series of bipartisan symposiums that extended throughout the convention week. They examined such issues as how democracy can deliver dividends for citizens, combating global poverty, international relations, and the role of primaries, nominating conventions and presidential debates in the U.S. election process.

Among the visitors were current and former heads of state, speakers of parliament, elected officials, cabinet ministers, political party leaders and more than 100 ambassadors from the Washington-based diplomatic corps.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who spoke at the program's opening reception, expressed her enthusiasm for the leaders' opportunity to see "our democracy in action."

Speakers included former President Bill Clinton; former Vice President Walter Mondale; the foreign policy advisors to then-presidential candidate Barack Obama; former World Bank President James Wolfensohn; Millennium Challenge Corporation CEO John Danilovich; former Senate

Majority Leader and NDI Board Member Tom Daschle; Paul Kirk and Frank Fahrenkopf, former chairs respectively of the Democratic and Republican National Committees; former Virginia Governor and now Senator-elect Mark Warner; journalists Tom Brokaw, moderator of "Meet the Press," *Washington Post* columnists Eugene Robinson and E.J. Dionne, and Paul Gigot and Cynthia Tucker, editorial page editors respectively of *The Wall Street Journal* and *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*; and actor/director and advocate Ben Affleck.

In organizing the symposiums, NDI partnered with the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Club de Madrid, 2008 Rocky Mountain Roundtable, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver, the United Nations Foundation's Better World Campaign, ONE Campaign Vote '08, and the Center for U.S. Global Engagement.

U.S. COMMISSION AND NDI AID OTHER COUNTRIES ORGANIZING DEBATES

In addition to sponsoring the U.S. presidential debates, the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates has partnered with NDI to assist groups in dozens of countries seeking to establish debates of their own. In a publication distributed to those attending the 2008 U.S. debates, the commission said that for many years it has teamed with NDI "to provide technical assistance to emerging democracies and others, using meetings in Washington, video conference calls abroad, or small teams of experts who travel on-site to help inaugurate debates." The Commission cited joint efforts with NDI in Argentina, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Nigeria, Peru and Poland.

"NDI and our partners overseas have benefitted from the experience and expertise of the Commission," said NDI President Kenneth Wollack. "Candidate debates in new and emerging democracies have become an increasingly effective means of reducing tensions, promoting fair electoral competition and enhancing civic education efforts."



At ILF, former heads of state and government discuss how to ensure that democracy delivers real dividends. The leaders were from Yemen, Norway, Canada, Chile, Ireland, Sudan, Peru and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The panel was moderated by NDI Chairman Albright and former German Vice Chancellor Joschka Fischer.

NDI RELEASES NEW PUBLICATIONS ON CANDIDATES, ELECTIONS AND CONSTITUENT RELATIONS



Three new NDI publications address different aspects of the democratic process – selecting candidates for legislative office, establishing the legal framework for democratic elections and conducting effective constituent relations. Electronic copies are available on NDI's website, www.ndi.org.

Selecting Candidates for Legislative Office, a guide for political parties and practitioners, is the latest in NDI's *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives* series, which examines different aspects of political party organization. *Promoting Legal Frameworks for Democratic Elections* aims to help leaders of political parties and civic organizations, legislative drafters, electoral authorities, journalists and representatives of international organizations in the development of election laws and legal frameworks for democratic elections. *Constituent Relations: A Guide to Best Practices* is designed to assist elected representatives with practical approaches and concepts for organizing and carrying out effective constituent relations.

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2030 M Street, NW, Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20036-3306
Tel: 202 728 5500
Fax: 202 728 5520
www.ndi.org