Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the September 2005 issue of CDI.News from the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI), Australia.

CDI was established in 1998 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Hon Alexander Downer, to assist in the development and strengthening of democratic institutions in developing countries. CDI’s work combines technical assistance and capacity building programs, networking, and interpersonal and knowledge exchange, including the dissemination of CDI’s original research on democracy and its institutions. Our focus countries comprise Indonesia and Timor-Leste in South East Asia and Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu in Melanesia.

CDI’s central goal is to support these regional focus countries in strengthening their Political Parties & Parliamentary Governance. Accordingly, CDI works to:

- Improve the operation and understanding of parliamentary machinery by members of parliament and parliamentary staff in focus countries
- Strengthen political parties in focus countries through improving the knowledge and skills of members and officials of political parties
- Extend networks in the region between Australian political party officials, parliamentarians and parliamentary staff and their counterparts from focus countries

CDI’s core budget is provided by AusAID, Australia’s Agency for International Development.

CDI.News will keep you informed periodically of our activities and events, and you can access this information and more at any time by visiting our website @ www.cdi.anu.edu.au

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Responsible Parliamentary Government Course Wraps up in Canberra

The fourth CDI Responsible Parliamentary Government Course (RPG) was conducted by CDI in conjunction with the ANU’s Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government (APSEG). The course is designed primarily for mid-level parliamentary officials and examines the fundamental principles and practices of responsible parliamentary government. Using the Australian Commonwealth Parliament as the principal example, the course covers issues including constitutional foundations, the main activities of parliament, and related structures for accountability and scrutiny of administration. The curriculum includes class-based learning including course work guest lectures, and field trips to local councils, and state and federal legislatures.

Officials from the parliaments of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Papua New Guinea participated. Ten of the thirteen participants were women. Sadly, proposed students from Timor Leste and Fiji were unable to attend this year’s course.

Currently the only course of its kind in the world, the RPG was taught and coordinated by CDI’s Indonesia/Legislative specialist, Dr Stephen Sherlock.

Foundations of Public Leadership: The 7th CDI Pacific Parliamentary Forum

December 2005 will see the running of the 7th CDI Pacific Parliamentary Forum (PPF) in the Fiji Islands. Previously known as the Pacific Parliamentary Retreat, CDI has conducted this project annually since 1999 and it has developed over this time into a core element of CDI’s program. Building on regional institutional and personal networks of members of parliament (MPs), the 7th PPF seeks to explore the foundations of public leadership in the Pacific Islands, Australia and New Zealand and thereby strengthen and enhance the political governance of Pacific Forum Island Countries (FICs).

The 7th PPF will provide a forum for select Pacific representatives to discuss public leadership with regional and international colleagues in a practical, non-partisan and dynamic environment. Participants will be exposed to new ideas, and engage and exchange with fellow political practitioners.

Conceived and supported by CDI and the Parliament of the Republic of the Fiji Islands, the PPF constitutes part of Australia’s ongoing support for elected public officials, secretariat staff and the formal institutions of political governance in the Pacific. Importantly, support and funding will be forthcoming from NZAID for the 7th PPF. Participants and facilitators will be invited from 12 countries across the region, namely PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Timor Leste, Samoa, Tonga, Niue, Cook Islands, Nauru, New Zealand and Australia. CDI strongly encourages and promotes the inclusion of young and emerging female and male leaders in this 2005 cohort as CDI places a premium on encouraging the advancement of women and young Pacific political leaders.

Reports and detail from all previous Pacific Parliamentary Retreats can be found at the CDI website:
In late August, CDI Acting Director, Michael Morgan attended the 7th World Meeting of Democracy Promoting Foundations. Hosted by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and Swedish democracy promoting foundations, the conference brought together practitioners and academics for two days of intensive presentations and discussions on the obstacles to democracy, and the coordination and development of best practice in democracy promotion.

Sessions addressed women in political decision making, democracy and poverty obstacles to credible elections, the consequences for democracy of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, consequences of International Party aid, learning in international assistance to political parties, armed conflict and regime change.

CDI remains committed to drawing from and contributing to international best practice in pursuit of its party strengthening activities.

Government and Opposition - Roles, Rights and Responsibilities

CDI participates in Commonwealth Workshop in Nadi, Fiji Islands.

A workshop entitled Government and Opposition – Roles, Rights and Responsibilities was held in Nadi, Fiji Islands, 29-31 August 2005. This event was organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in co-operation with the Pacific Islands Forum and the Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations.

Over 60 participants from 15 Pacific nations attended the workshop. Australia was represented by former President of the Senate the Hon Margaret Reid, Chairman of the Joint Committee of Public Accounts and Audit the Hon Bob Baldwin MP, and CDI Executive Officer Mr Luke Hambly.

The Hon Margaret Reid chaired the first session of the workshop entitled ‘How Should Governments Govern?’, The Hon Bob Baldwin co-introduced session six on ‘Accountability: Oversight Institutions, The Media and Civil Society’ with a presentation on the workings of the Australian Joint Committee of Public Accounts and Audit, and Mr Luke Hambly co-introduced session four on ‘Political parties and Elections’ with a presentation outlining the main points of the CDI Working Paper precirculated to workshop participants entitled ‘Political Parties, Parliamentary Governance & party Strengthening in Melanesia: Issues and Challenges.’

In this paper, the authors chart avenues for political party strengthening in the Melanesia states of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu and explore the advisability of adopting stronger national regulatory frameworks for parliamentary parties, strengthening and democratizing internal governance arrangements and/or broadening the appeal of political parties beyond specific groups of voters. The paper synthesises international best practice regarding engaging with political parties and the results of a recent major research program undertaken by CDI on political parties in the Pacific Islands.

The paper seeks to contextualise political parties in Melanesia, exploring the bases of their fluid party structures,
and outlining the effects that fissiparous political parties have on political governance. It also provides a synopsis of international approaches to political party strengthening and political party engineering and makes some preliminary suggestions about how these elements might be synthesised to form the basis of engineering, capacity building and strengthening strategies for Melanesian parties.

The full paper is available on the CDI website through the link below, and as a work-in-progress will be greatly informed through the debate and discussion that ensued at the Nadi workshop, both on the subject of political parties specifically and across all sessions over the three days, the balance of which explored issues and questions including 'How should Oppositions Oppose?', 'The Challenge of Leadership', 'Reforming Parliament', and 'The Broader Context - Gender and Human Rights.'

As is evident in these themes, the Commonwealth's purpose in organising this workshop was to '... bring together representatives of governing parties, opposition parties and civil society from commonwealth countries in the Pacific to discuss their relationship with each other and their contribution to the democratic process.'

The workshop participants acknowledged that many Pacific nations are in transition, and constructive and useful discussion about the problems, challenges and opportunities for the region at this time flowed from all sessions.

The Indonesian state has been in a process of transformation since the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998. The first wave of reform under the unelected Habibie government of 1998-99 saw the removal of restrictions on civil rights such as freedom of speech, association and assembly, the creation of a range of new political parties and organisations, and the country's first democratic election in over 40 years in June 1999. The movement of the parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat [DPR]) back into the centre stage of political life and the subsequent election of a new President then led to a series of constitutional reforms that were completed in 2003. The constitutional reforms strengthened the powers of the parliament and eliminated most of the powers of the previously powerful quasi-legislative body, the People's Consultative Council (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat [MPR]). The power to elect the President was removed from the MPR and was placed in the hands of the people through direct election. In addition, a new assembly, the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) or Regional Representative Assembly/Council was created with the intention of increasing the role of the regions in making laws.

As a new representative assembly with some quite unusual features, the DPD has not yet been analysed in any detail. This study provides an introduction to the structure and operation of the DPD and examines some of the key issues that have emerged in discussion and debate about the DPD in its early formative period. The study considers certain questions about whether the DPD is as representative of the regions as its proponents would claim, whether it has provided a new entry point for regional aspirations into political and policy debate and what problems the DPD faces in attempting to define a role for itself in the future of Indonesian politics. The full Working paper is available on the CDI website via this link:

Full Paper

Indonesia’s Regional Representative Assembly: Democracy, Representation and the Regions


The Indonesian state has been in a process of transformation since the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998. The first wave of reform under the unelected Habibie government of 1998-99 saw the removal of restrictions on civil rights such as freedom of speech, association and assembly, the creation of a range of new political parties and organisations, and the country’s first democratic election in over 40 years in June 1999. The movement of the parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat [DPR]) back into the centre stage of political life and the subsequent election of a new President then led to a series of constitutional reforms that were completed in 2003. The constitutional reforms strengthened the powers of the parliament and eliminated most of the powers of the previously powerful quasi-legislative body, the People’s Consultative Council (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat [MPR]). The power to elect the President was removed from the MPR and was placed in the hands of the people through direct election. In addition, a new assembly, the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD) or Regional Representative Assembly/Council was created with the intention of increasing the role of the regions in making laws.

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Full Paper

CDI Programming mission to Papua New Guinea

From 21-26 August 2005, CDI Acting Director, Michael Morgan undertook a programming mission to Papua New Guinea to gauge interest in a proposed dialogue on the operation of political parties in Melanesia’s largest nation state. Organised in consultation with the PNG High Commission and the Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates (OLIPPC) Commission, the proposed activity seeks to bring together political party practitioners, academics, journalists and civil society from Australia and PNG in a dialogue on political governance and party processes. On the basis of preliminary consultations with the major stakeholders in Port Moresby, the major themes will be internal party governance, party discipline and party funding requirements.

The activity represents the second major output for CDI’s new focus on political parties, the first being its soon-to-be released edited collection, Political Parties in the Pacific Islands. The activity is scheduled for the first quarter of 2006.
2005 Reagan-Fascell Fellows at the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington

Having taken up his Reagan-Fascell Fellowship in early 2005, Former CDI Director and current CDI associate Mr Roland Rich introduces us to the diverse interests and work of his research colleagues at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) in Washington.

Roland Rich, former Director of CDI, is working on the consolidation of democracy in the Asia Pacific.

Andrew Finkel is a prominent freelance journalist who has been based in Istanbul, Turkey, since 1989. He has served as a correspondent and freelance contributor to a number of publications and broadcasting organizations, including Time, The Times, The Economist, and CNN. He has been a featured columnist in the Turkish language press for the daily newspapers Sabah and Milliyet. An expert on Turkish politics, he is the co-editor of Turkish State, Turkish Society (1990). Mr Finkel’s project consists of two parts: the first focuses on the media’s ambivalent role in Turkey’s current process of reform, while the second involves formulating a methodology whereby Turkish journalists can help raise the standards of their own industry.

Dr. Hoon Jaung is a professor of political science at Chung-Ang University in Seoul, Korea. He has also served as editor-in-chief of the Korean International Studies Review and author of numerous articles and book chapters on Korean politics. Dr. Jaung has served as a key member of the Task Force on the Reform of the Presidency, organized by the East Asia Institute (EAI) to redefine the role of the presidency (2002–2003) and as coordinator of the EAI Task Force on the Reform of the Electoral System, Political Parties, and the National Assembly (2003–2004). During his fellowship, he proposes to write an essay on the “accountability deficit” in foreign policy making in South Korea since the country’s democratic transition. His essay will explore the sources and patterns of this deficit by examining the apathy of the National Assembly, the changing nature of public opinion, and the enhanced impact of civic associations on foreign policy decision making.

Dr. Fatimakhon Ahmedova is a lecturer at Khujand State University in Tajikistan and a leading specialist at the Center for Democratic Transformations, a nongovernmental organization working to prevent conflict and curb human rights violations in Central Asia. She has worked as a country coordinator and specialist on conflict management for the FAST Early Warning Project of the Swiss Peace Foundation in Khujand, and also for the United Nations Office for Project Services in Khujand. During her fellowship, Fatima is examining how ethnic and political conflicts in the Ferghana Valley of Central Asia may be continued on page 6
resolved in ways that bring peace and democracy to the region.

Dr. Guobiao Jiao is associate professor at Beijing University’s College of Journalism and Communications. A prominent journalist at Chinese Cultural Newspaper from 1996 to 2001, he has published widely on issues of journalism in China. Following the appearance online of his March 2004 essay condemning the Chinese government’s Central Propaganda Department and his continued efforts to promote freedom of the press and human rights in China, he was suspended from his teaching duties. During his fellowship, he will explore historical and contemporary perspectives on the Chinese media, including an analysis of the impact of the Internet in China. He plans to write a series of articles on the challenges and prospects for the media in China, for eventual publication resolved in ways that bring peace and democracy to the region.

The first two feature articles below are drawn from papers delivered at the American Political Science Association (APSA) annual meeting 2005. Visit the APSA website for further research and information through this link:

**The American Political Science Association**

**Intra-party Competition and Clientelism: An Analysis of Public Sector Employment in Argentina and Turkey**

This article entitled ‘Intra-party Competition and Clientelism: An Analysis of Public Sector Employment in Argentina and Turkey’, was written by Ozge Kemahlıoğlu and prepared for delivery at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the America Political Science Association, September 1 - September 4, 2005.

“(in all modern parties) there is a continual latent struggle. Every oligarchy is full of suspicion towards those who aspire to enter its ranks, regarding them not simply as eventual heirs but as successors who are ready to supplant them without waiting for a natural death.”

Robert Michels, Political Parties, 1962

Distribution of public jobs through political patron-client networks has been taking new forms as a result of the political and socio-economic changes in Argentina and Turkey. Earlier social science literature predicted that political and economic development and reduction in available public resources in developing democracies such as Argentina and Turkey, would result in the replacement of particularistic relationships such as patronage networks with more universalistic state-citizen relationships. However, in most such countries, violations of equal access to public resources and informal inequality in political rights have persisted. Such violations have significant consequences for the political legitimacy of democratic regimes that are still in the process of consolidation, and for the degree of inequality in the actual distribution of material resources. As such, it is necessary to analyze and understand the factors that shape these new forms of particularistic networks that have been emerging as a result of the changing political and socio-economic context.

**The Strategy of Dominant Party Politics: Electoral Institutions and Election Outcomes in Africa**

This article entitled ‘The Strategy of Dominant Party Politics: Electoral Institutions and Election Outcomes in Africa’, was written by Dennis P. Patterson & Leslie Fadiga-Stewart. It was prepared for delivery at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the America Political Science Association, September 1 - September 4, 2005. The abstract is as follows:

Politics in many African countries today is defined by simultaneous differences and similarities. What we mean by difference is that the rules under which elections are conducted are different across countries. Some countries, Botswana and Zimbabwe, conduct elections under first-past-the-post plurality systems while others, like Namibia and Burkina Faso use list PR systems. In terms of similarities across countries, despite the variety of electoral rules employed, election outcomes in the above mentioned African nations are quite similar. Specifically, almost all legislative elections in Africa result in some form of dominant party systems, and this is true for those where dominance is sustained by authoritarian politics as well as those where transitions to democracy have occurred. While a number of explanations for this phenomenon exist in the literature, we take a step back and examine the strategies that governing parties use to maintain their electoral dominance. We accomplish this by using data from available Afro Barometer surveys and mapping how countries are different in terms of the groups that support their dominant parties.
The UN Democracy Fund

On July 4, 2005, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced the establishment of a UN Democracy Fund. The idea for the Fund was first articulated by President Bush in a speech before the UN General Assembly last fall and has been embraced by the 141 nations that attended the third ministerial meeting of the Community of Democracies in Santiago, Chile in April 2005. The UN Democracy Fund builds on the UN General Assembly’s commitment to promote and consolidate new and restored democracies, as expressed in a resolution adopted in 2003.

UN Democracy Fund

No Lasting Peace and Prosperity without Democracy & Human Rights

NIMD Policy paper commissioned by the EU

This policy paper is the result of a study into the financial instruments available to the European Union for its Democracy and Human Rights activities in third countries and in particular the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). The study was commissioned by the Subcommittee on Human Rights of the European Parliament, working on a mandate of the Foreign Affairs Committee. An independent research team undertook the study under the guidance of the The Hague-based Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD).

Recognising the profoundly changed international context and the lessons learned from more than a decade of human rights and democracy assistance, the study advocates a more ‘upfront’ and strategic approach to democracy and human rights support by the European Union in third countries. In addition, it is recommended that the efforts of the EU institutions become more systematically aligned with the expertise available in European civil society. The study presents a number of concrete options for improving the quality of the EU’s democracy and human rights assistance. Taken together these suggestions would constitute a new and more comprehensive architecture for democracy and human rights promotion.

Full Paper

All suggestions and comments are welcome

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