Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the December - January 2006-07 issue of CDI.News from the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI), Australia. This issue focusses on our recent Political Party Development Course, and a range of forthcoming activities CDI is undertaking with our partners in the Asia-Pacific region to promote greater female representation in parliament.

CDI was established in 1998 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 & systems of 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 parliamentarians, political party officials, 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 at any time by visiting our website: www.cdi.anu.edu.au.

Benjamin Reilly | CDI Director

CDI Newsletter - December - January 2006-07 1
CDI’s inaugural Political Party Development course (PPD) was held from 9 to 20 October 2006 in Canberra, with 14 participants from five countries – Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Fiji. All participants held senior positions in their respective parties, and the group included a cabinet minister, a member of parliament, and an ambassador.

The two-week course was based at the Crawford School of Economics and Government at the Australian National University, and was convened by Mr Norm Kelly.

PPD is a unique training course which provides senior political party officials from Southeast Asia and the South Pacific with the skills and capacity to strengthen their parties and party systems, with the objectives being improved governance and more stable democracies. Specifically the course provided participants with:

- Information on the Australian political system, with insights into how Australian political parties administer and organise themselves;
- An understanding of party theory and the factors that influence the development of party systems;
- A better understanding of parties and party systems in the region;
- Opportunities to develop contacts and networks with other parties in their own countries and throughout the region; and
- Development of links with Australian political parties and other relevant organisations and institutions.

The course relied on the active involvement and support of the main Australian political parties, which was a key component of the program. At the administrative level, the visits to the Labor, Liberal and Greens parties’ secretariats included presentations on the general structure of the party administration, as well as coverage of particular topics such as policy formulation, pre-selection processes, and branch structures.

The opportunity to attend the Nationals’ Federal Conference was a highlight of the course, with many participants indicating that the ability to see first-hand the workings of a party conference debating motions and making policy were particularly useful and applicable for their own parties. It is hoped that these kind of experiences will help promote more tightly-run party conferences, with sensible notice of motions and limits on speakers’ times, around the region in the future. The group also welcomed observing the interaction and accessibility between party members and their parliamentary representatives.

At the parliamentary level, the willingness of Australian parliamentarians of all political persuasions to meet with the group during sitting weeks was very much appreciated. The group met with Members and Senators including...
Political Party Development in Conflict-Prone Societies

CDI has joined with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and the United Nations University (UNU) to lead a major new collaborative international research project looking at “Political Party Development in Conflict-Prone Societies”.

Drawing on a scoping paper prepared by CDI Director Ben Reilly in 2004, the project focuses on political party development in societies divided along cultural, linguistic, religious, gender, regional or other kinds of social cleavages. It looks particularly at whether broad-based political parties can be sustained and encouraged by rules governing their formation, composition, funding and so on. Drawing on some remarkable recent attempts to influence the development of party systems in Asia-Pacific countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Papua New Guinea, the project will examine the potential application of such approaches to other states and regions.

The aim of this project is to synthesize the international experience with party development and party regulation in a policy-relevant book, to be published by United Nations University Press in 2008.

A team of 16 expert authors from Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, and the Pacific have been assembled for this phase of the project. The first authors meeting took place on 26 and 27 October 2006 hosted by the Netherlands Institute of International Relations in The Hague. This meeting brought together experts on political party development, electoral system design and conflict processes, as well as other country and regional specialists. The main topic for discussion was the different forms of regulation and political party engineering applied by domestic, regional and international actors in conflict-prone and post-conflict societies. At this meeting it was confirmed that the second and final author’s meeting will be hosted by CDI in Canberra in the first half of 2007.

A separate meeting for policymakers also took place in The Hague on October 25, with a focus on the role of the international community in political party assistance.

In recent years there has been an explosion of interest in the area of political party assistance as a central aspect of building stronger, more capable democratic systems in new democracies, particularly those emerging from periods of violent conflict.

Particularly in fluid or conflict-prone environments where parties often remain weak and unformed, there is tremendous opportunity for external actors to promote more meaningful parties which can contribute to peace and development.

Click on this link below for all the detail on PPD in 2006:

Political Party Development Course

CDI is pleased to announce that PPD Convenor Mr Norm Kelly has accepted an invitation to join our specialist group of associates.

Teresa Gambaro MP, Bob Sercombe MP, Tanya Plibersek MP, Senator Rachel Siewert, and Jacqui Burke MLA (ACT). The sessions with these representatives were particularly useful for demonstrating the relationships between the parliamentary and lay wings of parties. The inclusion of party whips in the program also provided an insight into the organisation and discipline of party representatives in parliament.

The experience and expertise of former parliamentarians and party officials was also integral to the value of PPD. Of particular importance were the presentations from Tony Eggleton AO (former Federal Director of the Liberal Party and Chair of CDI’s Consultative Council); Vicki Bourne (former Democrats’ Senator, and CDI Consultative Council member); and Stephen Swift (former Democrats’ Campaign Director).

As this was the inaugural PPD, the content and structure of the programme was assessed closely. Overall, the course design worked well, providing a good mix of presentation and participation. While fitting all of the essential elements of the course into a tight two-week program was demanding, it also helped to ensure participation by sufficiently senior party officials.

Most participants also used the opportunity of visiting Canberra to further their links with Australian parties and organisations, as well as interacting with their diplomatic and expatriate communities. In addition, the Australian government’s Office for Women provided opportunities for the two female course participants from PNG to meet with Australian women political representatives outside the course.

It is expected that the links CDI has now made with political parties in the region, through the nomination process and PPD itself, as well as other CDI activities in our focus countries, will assist in identifying further suitable applicants for future PPD courses.

Importantly, the PPD sessions have also helped Australian parties and parliamentarians to gain a better understanding of some of the issues and challenges that confront parties from the region.

CDI Newsletter - December - January 2006-07 3
The meeting focussed on the role of parties in post-conflict environments and the activities of different international agencies in this field. As well as academic experts, the meeting heard contributions from a range of international agencies working in this field.

Speakers included Pippa Norris from the United Nations Development Program, Ivan Doherty from the National Democratic Institute, Ken Janda from Northwestern University, Roel von Meijenfeldt from the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Tim Sisk from the University of Denver, Marc Saxer from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Krishna Kumar from USAID, Per Nordlund from International IDEA, and Ben Reilly from CDI.

The expert meeting was convened by the Clingendael Institute, the Netherlands’ international affairs institute, and acted as a lead-in to the joint CDI-IDEA-UNU authors’ workshop which started the following day.

Click on this link for more detail on this project:

## Improving Women’s Representation in the Pacific

Improving the representation of women in political leadership is an issue that cuts across all of CDI’s work program. CDI’s focus region of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific has one of the world’s lowest levels of female representation in parliament. The figures are stark: of CDI’s six target countries of Indonesia, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, only East Timor has more than 20 percent women in parliament, and the South Pacific has one of the lowest levels of female representation in the world, with most countries having only a handful of female MPs.

CDI places great emphasis on issues of gender equity in all our activities, particularly our core mandate of strengthening political parties and parliaments, and puts considerable effort into increasing the participation of women in these fora. This emphasis has been enhanced with a number of specific recent CDI initiatives on the representation of women in new democracies:

### Promoting Women in the Pacific Islands

CDI Program Manager Daniela Capaccio visited Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Fiji in early October, and Vanuatu in November, for discussions with various organisations involved in promoting women in politics in the Pacific Islands. The visits were a scoping study of the initiatives that these organisations are undertaking as well as possible involvement in the ‘Including Everyone’ sessions that will be part of the CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue, discussed below.

Ms Capaccio met with representatives from many organisations including - in PNG - the National Alliance Party, Oxfam, Meri Kirap Sapotim (MIKS), and Women in National Government Strategies (WINGS) - in Solomon Islands - The National Council of Women (NCW), and Vois Blong Mere - and in Fiji - Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS), Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (PIANGO), and the Fiji Women’s Rights Movement (FWRM).

In Vanuatu, Ms Capaccio held meetings with the President of the National Council of Women, Jenny Ligo and political parties, including the Vanuaaku Pati Women’s Wing President, Maryline Arnhambat Abel, on work in assisting women to be more involved in the political process.

A full report on Ms Capaccio’s activities over recent months will be posted on our web site following the conclusion of the the 8th CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue in Samoa.

### Political Party Development

CDI’s inaugural Political Party Development course (PPD) included a special session on women in political parties. Course participants met with a range of female political leaders from across the Australian political spectrum including Tanya Plibersek MP, Teresa Gambaro MP, and Senator Rachel Siewert at the federal level, and Karin MacDonald MLA, Mary Porter MLA, and Jacqui Burke MLA at the Territory level. The course also included a special session on women in politics featuring presentations from Penny Reader Harris from the Liberal Party of Australia and Tanya Pilbersek from the Australian Labor Party, on the role of women in their respective party organisations.

### CDI & the Office of Women

On the initiative of the Office for Women, a side program to CDI’s PPD was held in which two female participants from PNG - Joyce Grant and Monica Hasimani - were included in meetings with government ministers and senior officials in Canberra and Sydney. This activity was designed to extend the participants’ awareness of, and access to, a range of individuals, organisations and networks in Australia that can provide formal and informal assistance for their work as party leaders in PNG. These meetings also enabled Joyce and Monica to share their experiences with Australian parliamentarians, political parties and others who

continued over
gained a deeper understanding of the issues and challenges women face in their work with their political parties in PNG.

**The 8th annual CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue – ‘Including Everyone’**

A feature of this year’s Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue, to be held in Samoa in December, is a full-day’s programming devoted to the theme of ‘Including Everyone’, which aims to explore the obstacles and opportunities of formal political representation and leadership facing women in the Pacific. Sessions will focus on the role of women in political parties, parliament, and national leadership, and will include participants such as Senator Marise PAYNE - Australia, Ms Judith COLLINS MP - New Zealand, Hon O’Love Tauveve JACOBSEN MP - Niue, Ms Maryline Arnhambat ABEL, Vanua’aku Pati National Coordinator & Women’s Wing President - Vanuatu, Ms Anna PADARATH Young Women’s Officer, Fiji Women’s Rights Movement - Fiji, Ms Angela MANDIE-FILER, Women in National Government Strategy (WINGS) - PNG, and Ms Joyce GRANT, General Secretary, National Alliance Party - PNG.


Launching the 2nd of CDI’s new Policy Papers on Political Governance on 16 November, Indonesian scholar Wahida Zein Br Siregar discussed the challenges to women’s political representation in Indonesia. In 2004, Indonesia introduced a non-compulsory quota system in which political parties were asked to nominate 30 percent women in their lists of parliamentary candidates. However, the 2004 election still resulted in only a small proportion of women being elected to the national parliament. Wahida’s paper argued that the greatest obstacles to women’s election are found in the institutional design of electoral systems and the structure of political parties.

She also canvassed various possible reforms which would improve the representation of women in the Indonesian national, regional and local parliaments, such as changes to the electoral systems and reforms to the existing quota system which could improve its operation in the future.

In her paper, Wahida also expounded on the role of political parties in nominating women to winnable positions, and the broader issue of internal party procedures in contemporary Indonesia. This included detailed information on the internal governance arrangements of Indonesia’s political parties, which has never before been published. Wahidah’s research stimulated a great deal of discussion at the paper’s launch, which was attended by scholars, government officials and members of the Indonesian community in Australia.

Wahida Zein Br Siregar is a lecturer at Fakultas Dakwah, The Sunan Ampel State Institute of Islamic Studies, Surabaya, Indonesia, and is currently a PhD student at the Department of Anthropology, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU.

Click on this link for more information and to access a pdf of Wahidah’s paper:

**CDI Visits Vanuatu, Fiji, & Samoa**

CDI Deputy Director, Quinton Clements, visited Vanuatu from 7 - 10 November to discuss plans for the CDI training workshop for Members of Parliament. The workshop, ‘Committees & Constituency Relations’ will be held in March 2007 in Port Vila.

Mr Clements also met with and briefed the two Members of the Vanuatu Parliament, Hon. Philip Boedoro and Hon. Steven Kalsakau, nominated to attend the CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue in Samoa. Mr Clements also held discussions on other CDI activities such as the Responsible Parliamentary Government and Political Party Development courses.

Click on this link for more detail:
Mr Clements also visited Fiji and Samoa from 21 to 25 November 2006. The primary purpose of Mr Clements' visit was to prepare for CDI's 8th annual Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue to be held in Samoa from 11 to 13 December 2006 and to discuss future co-operation with regional agencies.

In Suva, Mr Clements held discussions with the Secretary-General of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS), Mr Greg Urwin, and his staff on CDI's work in the region and the forthcoming Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue in Samoa. Mr Clements also met with the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hon. Pita Kewa Nacuva MP, and the Secretary-General to Parliament, Ms Mary Chapman, and the two members of parliament nominated by the Speaker to attend the Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue, Hon. Asaeli Masilaca MP and Hon. Monica Raghwan MP. Mr Clements also met with Mr Garry Wiseman of the UNDP Pacific Sub Regional Centre to discuss areas for cooperation between CDI and the UNDP in strengthening parliaments in the region.

In Apia, Mr Clements met with the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly, Dr FETUAO Toia Alama, to discuss preparations for the Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue. Mr Clements also met with the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Hon. TOLOFUAVALELEI Falemoe Leitetaua MP, and the Hon. FIAME Naomi Mataáfa MP, Minister for Women, Community and Social Development, Mr Clements also met with and briefed H.E. Phillip Allars, Australian High Commissioner to Samoa.

CDI Director Ben Reilly presented a paper at an international meeting of scholars at the ANU in Canberra in late July to assess the progress of the East Asian region a decade after the Asian economic crisis of 1997-98. Dr Reilly examined the impact of the crisis on the region's fledgling democracies, and looked at how they have responded to the challenges of the financial crisis by reforms to their institutions of democracy. He argued that a little-noticed consequence of this process has been strikingly congruent reforms to key political institutions such as electoral systems, political parties, and parliaments. Across the region, these reforms have been motivated by common aims of promoting government stability, reducing political fragmentation, and limiting the potential for new entrants to the party system.

Follow this link for more on the East Asia After the Crisis project, including a copy of Dr Reilly's paper:

East Asia - A Decade After the Crisis

CDI Director Ben Reilly was a participant in the 8th Congress of King Prajadhipok's Institute (KPI), Thailand's leading democracy promotion and training organisation, on 3 - 5 November. The Congress focused on the issue of constitutional reform in Thailand, a burning issue following the military coup of September which removed former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra from power.

The 8th KPI Congress featured presentations from a range of Thai and international experts and political leaders, with the keynote presentation being delivered by former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy.

The Congress also provided an opportunity to build plans for future cooperation between CDI and KPI, beginning with a new project examining the use of codes of ethics for parliamentarians in the Asia-Pacific region.

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The 8th KPI Congress in Session

CDI in the Republic of Korea

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Council discussion focussed on the challenges facing Australia in the South Pacific region, as well as issues of CDI’s work towards improving women’s representation in the parliaments and political parties of the region; and opportunities for CDI to engage further with state level parliaments and political party organisations in our future work. The need to carefully coordinate CDI’s activities with other actors in the field was also emphasised. Overall, the Council strongly endorsed CDI’s strategic direction and work program and encouraged a similar approach for the year ahead. Click on this link for the full report from this meeting on our web site:

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Media Contributions

Recent CDI media contributions to debate and analysis of governance issues in the Asia-Pacific include:

6 December | Quinton Clements was interviewed on Perth’s RTR FM 92.1 about the military takeover in Fiji.

Ben Reilly wrote on the problems for democracy posed by military forces in the Pacific Islands, in the Wall Street Journal Asia.

17 November | Ben Reilly spoke to Channel 7 TV, SBS, & ABC Drivetime Radio (Sydney) about pressures for a transition to democracy in Tonga following the November rioting in Nuku’alofa.

16 October | Ben Reilly spoke to The World Today (ABC Radio) about Australia’s relations with Papua New Guinea.

6 October | Ben Reilly was interviewed by Newsweek magazine about the consequences for Southeast Asian democracy following the coup in Thailand.

Dr Reilly’s new book, Democracy and Diversity: Political Engineering in the Asia-Pacific, which will be published next month by Oxford University Press.

Click on this link for more information:

Web page

8th CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue

‘National Interest & Local Concerns’

Samoa | December 2006.

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The 2006 Dialogue will provide a forum for Members of Parliament from the Pacific Island countries, Australia and New Zealand to discuss public leadership with regional and international colleagues in a practical, non-partisan and dynamic environment. Creating personal networks among MPs and with regional institutions, the Dialogue explores the foundations of public leadership in the Pacific Islands in order to enhance understandings of governance in the region. A feature of the event this year is a full-day’s programming devoted to the subject of ‘Women in parliamentary politics in the Pacific’.

Conceived and supported by CDI, in association in 2006 with the Legislative Assembly of Samoa, the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), New Zealand’s International Aid & Development Agency (NZAID), and the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) - who are sponsoring the participation

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CDI Media Home page

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of representatives from the new Bougainville House of Representatives - the annual CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue constitutes a key part of Australia’s ongoing support for elected public officials, their staff and the formal institutions of political governance in the Pacific. CDI places a premium on encouraging the advancement of skills transfer to young Pacific political leaders, particularly women leaders.

Participants will focus on ways of mediating between their constituents’ concerns and the national interest, advancing the representation of women in Pacific parliaments, learn about parliamentary practice and the political system in Samoa, and gain a better understanding of the regional institutional structures. The Dialogue will also contribute to improving political governance in partner countries by exposing participants to new ideas and enabling them to engage with fellow political practitioners on issues of parliamentary practice, constituency politics and the role of women in political representation, and the management of governance challenges in the Pacific through regional approaches.

Click on this link for more detail:

CDI Pacific Parliamentary Dialogue

**Feature Articles, Events, & Links**

Voting For Thugs
Kevin Deegan-Krause

"Sometimes voters knowingly keep leaders with autocratic tendencies in power. Supporters of Democracy should understand why."

‘When Alyaksandr Lukashenka, president of Belarus, claimed 86 percent of the ballots in his country’s recent presidential election, observers not only criticized him for cheating but also for doing so unnecessarily. As the Economist complained, “It is hard to beat a dictator who would probably win even if he didn’t rig the vote.” In trying to understand Lukashenka’s reasons for excess, observers tended to overlook another, more fundamental question of motivation: why would citizens support a leader with so little regard for the voters that he would rig his own re-election? Nor are Lukashenka’s voters particularly unusual. A long list of post-communist leaders—including Franjo Tudman in Croatia, Slobodan Milošević in Serbia, Vladimír Meciar in Slovakia, Leonid Kuchma and Viktor Yanukovych in Ukraine, and Vladimir Putin in Russia—have achieved substantial popular support despite a clear distaste for any electoral rules except those that worked to their own advantage.’

This feature article comes from the ‘Thinking Out Loud’ section of democracy at large, Vol 2, No 3, 2006.

CDI & the Journal of Democracy

The newest volume in the acclaimed Journal of Democracy book series, Electoral Systems and Democracy, features a chapter by CDI Director Ben Reilly on ‘Dealing with Divided Societies’. Dr Reilly examines the use of preferential voting systems in countries such as Fiji and Papua New Guinea, and assesses their effectiveness as a means of encouraging accommodation across ethnic lines. The Journal book series highlights selected essays originally published in the Journal of Democracy, the world’s pre-eminent policy journal concerning democracy and the democratic experiences of different regions in the world.

Click on this link for further details and to order Electoral Systems and Democracy:

All suggestions and comments are welcome to cdi@anu.edu.au

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@ http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/cdinews/cdinews.htm