Senior Indonesian pro-democracy reformer & political leader visits CDI

CANBERRA | CDI was very pleased to sponsor a visit to the Australian National University (ANU) by Dr Hassan Wirajuda, a member of the President of Indonesia’s Advisory Council, former Foreign Minister and leading figure in the promotion of democracy in Indonesia and the Southeast Asian region. Dr Wirajuda visited ANU on 5-6 March 2013 and was the central figure in a program of events organised by CDI around the issue of the role of democracy in Indonesia’s post-Suharto foreign policy.

From the beginning of Indonesia’s era of reformasi (reform) after 1998, Dr Wirajuda was a key architect of the reorientation of the country’s foreign relations. This applied both to responding to new realities of policy-making in a democratic environment and to challenges of integrating pro-democratic initiatives into Indonesia’s regional and global relations.

For CDI, one of the most important recent initiatives in which Dr Wirajuda has played a central part has been the foundation in 2008 of the Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD) in Bali. IPD is the implementing agency for the multi-governmental Bali Democracy Forum (BDF). Dr Wirajuda is Patron of IPD and is closely involved in the strategic direction of both the BDF and IPD. From its formation, the Institute has been one of CDI’s key partner institutions in Indonesia, promoting the strengthening of democratic institutions within Indonesia and supporting regional pro-democracy activities across the Asia-Pacific. Dr Wirajuda was accompanied in his visit to ANU by the Executive Director of IPD, Dr Ketut Erawan.

During his program in Canberra, Dr Wirajuda delivered a public lecture on 5 March entitled “Indonesian diplomacy and the promotion of democracy in Southeast Asia and beyond”. The event was attended by over one hundred and fifty scholars and students from ANU and other universities, as well as representatives from the diplomatic community, think-tanks and NGOs.

On the following day, CDI Director Dr Stephen Sherlock led an in-depth interchange between Dr Wirajuda and Dr Erawan and around twenty members of the Canberra academic and policy community in a roundtable discussion on Indonesia’s role in promoting regional integration and democracy. CDI also took the opportunity to hold planning discussions with Dr Wirajuda and Dr Erawan on upcoming programs of cooperation between CDI and IPD. Both our distinguished guests made a courtesy call on the ANU’s Vice Chancellor, Prof Ian Young.

Click on this link to access more on our website including a video of Dr Wirajuda’s public lecture:
Welcome to CDI. News for autumn 2013

CDI has a mandate to focus on six countries – Indonesia, East Timor, PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji – and to work with other countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific on a case-by-case basis as opportunities emerge and funds allow. Due to increasing pressure on resources, we stick quite closely to those guidelines and keep our primary attention focused on our core countries. We want to ensure that our limited time and funds are expended in places where we have close relationships and where we can respond quickly to demands that emerge from partner institutions and parties that trust CDI and that we know well.

Nevertheless, we also have a number of strategies to keep in touch with developments in countries in the Asia-Pacific that are outside our core mandate. CDI maintains close communication with regionally-focused UN agencies such as UNDP and UNWomen and cooperates with the Pacific Parliamentary Twinning Program sponsored by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA). Our close working relationship with the Institute of Peace and Democracy (IPD) in Bali, which has a wide geographic mandate, enables us to leverage our resources and make a contribution to democratic governance across a broader horizon. For example, CDI supports IPD’s Dialogue on Democratisation between Indonesia, Egypt and Tunisia and is working on a joint program with IPD to encourage new political leaders in the Asia-Pacific region, including from the exciting and rapidly changing political scene in Burma/Myanmar.

But returning close to home, this edition of CDI. News has a special feature on CDI’s work in Indonesia, especially our recent output of research publications. Coverage includes:

• The visit to Canberra by Dr Hassan Wirajuda, Member of the Council of Advisers of the President of Indonesia and former Indonesian Foreign Minister, for a program of meetings on Indonesia’s efforts to promote democratisation in the regional and global context.
• The gathering of Indonesian alumni and friends of CDI in Jakarta.
• New CDI research publications on Indonesia including:
  – CDI Policy Paper on the resolution of disputes in Indonesia’s regional elections by the recently-established Constitutional Court – a significant advance for the institutionalisation of democratic practices.
  – CDI Policy Paper comparing parties and political systems in Indonesia and the Pacific – part of CDI’s efforts to encourage cross-regional scholarship.
  – Issues Paper on problems with Indonesian political parties in the lead-up to the 2014 presidential election.
  – Journal article on the operation of political parties in the Indonesia parliament.

To complement coverage of our busy Indonesian program, there is also a broad range of reports on CDI activities in the Pacific:

– The Pacific Parliamentary Leadership Dialogue in Canberra, organised by CDI.
– CDI’s efforts to coordinate and support the development of a Council of Pacific Public Accounts Committees.
– Assistance to the modernisation of standing orders in the nine Solomon Islands Provincial Assemblies.

Remember that you can always view and download CDI publications, as well as supporting documentation from activities organised or supported by CDI, on the CDI website at: www.cdi.anu.edu.au

Best wishes
Stephen Sherlock | CDI Director

Feature - New CDI Research on Indonesian Politics

CDI has been sponsoring a wide range of research on politics in the Asia-Pacific region over the last two years and many of the fruits of that research are now beginning to appear, particularly in the area of Indonesian elections and political parties. Recently released research includes a study on the role of the Indonesian Constitutional Court in settling electoral disputes, two papers on Indonesian political parties and a comparative analysis on politics in Indonesia and the Pacific. This research output aims to both contribute to international scholarly investigation into political governance in our region, as well as to inform the development of programs of assistance and dialogue by CDI and other international development agencies.

CDI Policy Paper on Indonesian regional government elections

CANBERRA | Elections at the provincial and level in Indonesia have become a major arena for political competition since the devolution of powers away from Jakarta to the country’s regions since 2001. CDI has initiated a program of research on regional politics in Indonesia to help inform our efforts to expand training and capacity-building activities to the sub-national level in our six target countries. Some of the results of this research were given their first public airing on 21 March 2013 with the launch at the ANU’s Crawford School of Public Policy of the CDI Policy Paper on Indonesian regional government elections.

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Made by committee and consensus: parties and policy in the Indonesian parliament

New research on the way political parties operate in the Indonesian Parliament has been published by CDI Director Dr Stephen Sherlock, in the journal South East Asia Research, from the School of African and Oriental Studies (SOAS) in London. The article was part of a special edition of the journal discussing aspects of the political party system in Indonesia. Other articles in the collection focused specifically on four of the major parties in the country: Democrat Party, Golkar, Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle (PDIP) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Dr Sherlock’s paper analysed the party system from a broader perspective, discussing the way in which Indonesian parties develop their positions on legislative and policy questions in the parliament.

The paper’s main objective was to challenge some common perceptions about how relations between central party organisations and their representatives in parliamentary caucuses are conducted. The paper argues that assumptions about the workings of parties in parliament are often based on scanty evidence and are heavily influenced by hostile attitudes to the parliament common in the media and NGO community. Contrary to assertions that central party leaders exercise strict discipline over their members in parliament, coordination between party and caucus (fraksi) is weak, inconsistent and ad hoc. The policy and lawmaking role usually played by political parties in most parliaments has, in the Indonesian case, largely been supplanted by the parliament’s committee system. The paper concludes that this situation is facilitated by the eschewing of public votes through the process of decision-making by “consensus” (musyawarah untuk mencapai mufakat), an un-transparent and unaccountable practice that is actually a vote by caucus leaders which excludes ordinary members and limits public input into the legislative process.

Click on this link to access Dr Sherlock’s paper and more on our website:

Indonesia’s Ascent: Power, Leadership and Asia’s Security Order - CDI Director presents Issues Paper at ANU Conference

Canberra | Indonesia is receiving increasing attention amongst observers in the Asia-Pacific and globally for its political progress, economic growth and emergence as a more significant player in regional security and international...
diplomacy. Indonesia is widely seen as being on the ascent. CDI Director, Dr Stephen Sherlock, presented an Issues Paper on this subject at a conference of security, political and economic scholars on 14 February 2013 organised by the National Security College at ANU.

Dr Sherlock’s Issues Paper is entitled “A New Presidency: Indonesia’s third transition and the prospects for policy progress” and examines some critical structural problems in Indonesia’s politics which may hamper further progress in the country. The Paper argues that, despite tremendous progress over the last fifteen years, reform has now stagnated and government at all levels seems to be experiencing policy paralysis in the face of a huge agenda of pressing governmental, economic and environmental problems. A dearth of credible candidates in the lead-up to the 2014 presidential elections reflects a major underlying weakness in Indonesia’s political party system. Not only are the country’s various parties failing to put forward a choice of national leaders, but they also seem unable to produce workable policy options to deal with the agenda of serious national problems. The current sense of satisfaction and confidence within Indonesia’s political elite is justifiable to a certain extent, but it masks a worrying complacency about immediate and urgent policy challenges.

Click on this link to access Dr Sherlock’s conference paper and more on our website:

CDI Policy Paper: Comparing Across Regions: Parties and Political Systems in Indonesia and the Pacific Islands

The six countries that CDI is mandated to focus on – Indonesia, East Timor, PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji – straddle the border between what are conventionally seen as two distinct regions, Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. In fact, there are great commonalities between politics in all these countries and the boundary between two supposedly different regions is a very recent relic of colonial mapmaking, dividing the island of Papua without regard for historical, geographical or cultural reality. The Melanesian world is present in Indonesia and East Timor as well as in the Pacific – some Indonesians even make the claim that their country has the largest Melanesian population.

Over a number of years CDI has attempted to breach the self-constructed walls that exist in the thinking of academics (especially area specialists), policy-makers, government and non-government organisations and political parties and to foster comparative research and cooperation between Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. We have done this by bringing together political parties, parliamentarians and parliamentary staff from both regions for courses and seminars and by sponsoring research which transcends conventional boundaries.

In March 2013, CDI launched a Policy Paper by Dr Ed Aspinall of the Australian National University and Dr Jon Fraenkel of Victoria University in New Zealand, each of whom is a leading scholar on the politics of Indonesia and the South Pacific respectively. The joint paper examines contrasts and commonalities between parties and political systems in Indonesia and the Pacific, in an attempt to stimulate further inquiry and research and to foster greater intellectual interchange amongst scholars working in the two regions.

In contrast to Indonesia, politics in the Pacific Islands seems at first sight more parochial, more fluid and less party-centred. Yet although party systems play a much more robust role at the national level in Indonesia, at the local level, Indonesian politics bears some similarity to those in the Pacific, especially in Melanesia. This CDI Policy Paper seeks out patterns of similarity and difference in political competition in Indonesia and the Pacific Islands. The authors survey five major factors shaping the nature of the party systems in the two regions: 1) broad context (size, geography and economic prosperity); 2) the role of electoral systems and the rules governing parties; 3) ethnic and religious identities; 4) ideological issues or their absence; and 5) how patronage shapes political allegiances. Despite obvious differences, the authors find similar patterns of loose and fluid political party allegiances, especially at the local level.

Click on this link to access this CDI Policy Paper and more on our website:
Parliaments in many Pacific island countries have struggled to establish themselves as credible and effective institutions. They are commonly criticised for being unable to perform their legislative, accountability and representational functions and, in many cases, are seen to be subordinate to the executive arms of government, providing little more than a rubber stamp for executive decisions.

At the same time, elected members of parliament often find themselves consumed by a constant cycle of negotiations to form and re-form government. This process of coalition-making can cause members to overlook the contribution they can make as parliamentarians.

In March 2013 CDI convened its second Pacific Parliamentary Leadership Dialogue (PPLD), in which a select group of influential and emerging MPs from PNG (including the Autonomous Region of Bougainville), Solomon Islands and Vanuatu were invited to come together to talk about what it means to be a parliamentarian today and what they as individuals can do to re-vitalize the performance of their parliaments. Fourteen participants from four Pacific parliaments were represented: four from PNG, two from the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, two from the Solomon Islands and three from Vanuatu. The participants included two vice-ministers, a provincial governor and a deputy speaker.

In a four day program of briefings and discussions participants were encouraged to distinguish between their roles as politician and as parliamentarian; to reflect on the tensions that exist between being a community advocate, member of a political party, policy maker, legislator and accountability agent; and, to consider the critically important contribution that parliament can make to good governance.

Dialogue participants met with colleagues from the Commonwealth Parliament and the ACT Legislative Assembly to discuss:

- balancing relationships between the parliamentary, executive and judicial branches of government;
- exercising parliamentary power, especially law making, policy review and administrative accountability and financial scrutiny powers; and upholding ethics and integrity in parliamentary leadership.

These discussions were guided by an expert panel of Dr Kay Patterson (former Australian Senator and Cabinet Minister), Professor Stephen Martin (former Australian MP and Speaker of the House of Representatives) and Trevor Rowe (former senior official in the Australian parliament).

The aim of the Dialogue was to foster new ways of thinking about parliamentary leadership, so that Pacific parliaments can assume their place as effective institutions of government. In 2013, as in 2012, we were encouraged by the high level of commitment shown by participants and we look forward to reconvening follow-up Dialogue sessions in each participating parliament to encourage alumni MPs to mobilise networks for change within their own parliaments.

Click on the link for more on our website including the full report, program, list of participants and images from PPLD 2013:
Better Financial Oversight in Pacific Parliaments - Towards a Council of Pacific Public Accounts Committees

SUVA | Parliaments around the world commonly appoint committees of elected members to help oversee the financial management of executive governments and their agencies. In parliaments based on Westminster traditions, such committees are typically called public accounts committees (PACs). The committees can greatly enhance the capacity of parliaments to hold Ministers and government officials to account for their expenditure of public funds.

While most Pacific parliaments have appointed PACs to help scrutinise executive government, few have been able to perform this function well or consistently. Over the last decade a number of development partners, including CDI, have provided training and advisory support for members and staff of Pacific PACs — through a mix of in-country training programs, multi-country residential training programs, study visits and technical assistance. Such support is greatly valued by recipients and demand is likely to continue for some time.

But international experience suggests that more can be done to support the emergence of effective scrutiny capacity in parliaments. In other parts of the world, regional associations of PACs have been established to help committee members and staff share information and experience. The most successful of these associations have become self-directed communities of practice, providing forums for problem solving and networking.

On 18 March 2013, CDI and the World Bank Institute (WBI), with support from the United Nations Development Program Pacific Centre (UNDP) convened a meeting of stakeholders from Pacific parliaments and their development partners to discuss the possible establishment of a self-directed learning network for members and staff of PACs. The meeting was conducted at the UNDP Fiji multi-country office in Suva and was attended by representatives of the following organisations:

- the PACs of the parliaments of Tonga, Kiribati and Tuvalu
- the Auditors-General of the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu - who are also secretaries to their PACs
- the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)
- the Pacific Parliamentary Partnerships Program, managed by the Australian Commonwealth Parliament
- the Commonwealth Secretariat’s Commonwealth Pacific Governance Facility (CPGF)
- the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS)
- the Pacific Association of Supreme Audit Institutions (PASAI)
- CDI, WBI and UNDP.

The meeting was facilitated by CDI Deputy Director Grant Harrison, Professor Peter Loney (Convenor of the Legislative Leadership and Governance Group at Alfred Deakin Research Institute) and Mitch O’Brien (WBI Governance Specialist).

Participants at the meeting agreed that a network of PACs in the Pacific could make a valuable contribution to improving the capacity of the committees. Such a network could contribute to better public administration and greater public confidence in the institutions of government. The network would not be just another conference but be a community of practice, with an emphasis on knowledge sharing and peer-to-peer learning.

While different views were expressed about network membership, there was agreement that core membership should comprise the members and the staff of PACs or committees with similar responsibilities. Network events would be open to Auditors-General from Pacific countries, as well as capacity building partners such as CDI and WBI.

Although CDI and WBI had taken the initiative to arrange this initial planning meeting, it was agreed that Pacific PACs themselves will lead the next phase of development. A working group of senior Pacific PAC leaders was established to consider the next steps in the process. CDI and WBI will provide technical and liaison assistance in support of the working group.

Click on the link below to access more on our website including a full report of the 18 March Suva meeting:

www.cdi.anu.edu.au
Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnerships Forum

SYDNEY | A group of female parliamentarians from across the Pacific have agreed to work together on a dozen priorities to enhance gender equality in Pacific politics.

The women from 19 parliaments spanning the Pacific Island states, Australia and New Zealand met in Sydney for two days for the inaugural Pacific Women's Parliamentary Partnerships (PWPP) Forum. The forum was co-hosted by the Australian Parliament and the w.comm parliamentary group and was the first step in the five-year PWPP, which is part of the Australian Government’s Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development initiative funded through AusAID.

Twelve priorities for Pacific parliaments were identified and developed during the forum. These included mentoring between Pacific and Australian parliamentarians; an online network to facilitate discussion; workshops for MPs and parliamentary staff; and a yearly forum to continue the momentum created in Sydney. CDI Program Manager Luke Hambly participated in the forum, making a presentation on CDI’s Women in Politics (WiP) work in Melanesia since 2008.

Federal House of Representatives’ Speaker, Anna Burke, re-affirmed the Australian Parliament’s commitment to the project. The group agreed that support from international donors and community based organisations will also be needed to share responsibility for implementing the goals.

Click on the link for more on our website including further detail from the Sydney forum, the Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development initiative and CDI’s work contributing to improving women’s representation in Asia and the Pacific:

www.cdi.anu.edu.au

Solomon Islands - Speakers & Clerks Modernise Provincial Assembly Standing Orders

HONIARA | CDI has been working with the Solomon Islands Ministry for Provincial Government and Institutional Strengthening (MPGIS) since early 2012 on a project to modernise and standardise the standing orders of Solomon Islands’ nine Provincial Assemblies.

In February 2013, Kevin Rozzoli, CDI Associate and former Speaker of the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, facilitated a two-day workshop in Honiara designed to finalise this phase of the process. The workshop brought together the Speakers and Clerks of all nine provincial assemblies to test, debate and settle on new draft standing orders. The amendments constitute a much improved legal framework for Assembly meetings and a better outline of proper process. New procedures will provide an effective means by which members can give voice to the concerns of their constituents.

The workshop was formally opened by the Speaker of the National Parliament, Sir Allan Kemakeza, with an address from the Minister of Provincial Government and Institutional Strengthening (and CDI Alumnus), the Hon. Silas V. Tausina, who complimented CDI on the progress of its Provincial Government Development Program.

Showing impressive commitment, the workshop participants considered 226 draft standing orders line-by-line by deliberating on the following five questions.

- Were the drafted standing orders satisfactory?
- If the existing standing orders were basically satisfactory, could they be improved?
- Had practices developed and become accepted which were not covered by the standing orders, and which would benefit from being codified?
- Were there problems confronting the Assemblies that appropriate standing orders could address?
- Were there procedures that could be adopted from the National Parliament or other legislative bodies that could be of benefit?

Numerous minor amendments were made and 33 new standing orders were added. Three appendices were also added comprising pro forma documents to assist members. In line with requests from the Speakers and Clerks, the standing orders are an amalgam of traditional standing orders and details of process, in order to provide maximum information in one document. At the conclusion of the workshop it was unan-

continued over
imously requested that a third draft incorporating the changes be completed as soon as possible so the standing orders could be adopted during the coming round of meetings.

Following adoption of the new standing orders in each province, workshops to familiarise members with the new standing orders are now being run with CDI’s assistance.

Consideration is also being given to the possibility of making a training film that will help with the ongoing education of members.

Click on the link below to our website to access more reporting on all our work assisting provincial assembly standing orders reform in Solomon Islands:

Parliamentary Scrutiny in Afghanistan - PAC delegation visits ANU

CANBERRA | Parliaments around the world grapple with the challenge of scrutinizing the actions of executive governments effectively. The challenge for parliaments in developing countries is compounded by the fact that public sector financial management systems are often not robust. This is the situation in Afghanistan. Budgets are not clearly aligned with community needs, public expenditure is not well managed and corruption has become entrenched.

In recent years the Afghan Government and its international development partners have made a concerted effort to strengthen public sector financial management and accountability. Part of this program has been to encourage the Parliament to exercise more fully its Executive oversight responsibility. The lower house of the Afghan Parliament has appointed a Public Accounts Sub-Committee (PAC) to hold the

CDI Indonesia - Friends & Alumni Gathering in Jakarta

JAKARTA | On 28 February 2013 the Hotel Meridien in Jakarta was the venue for a gathering of some of the many people who have participated in CDI activities in Indonesia over the years. Hosted by CDI Director Dr Stephen Sherlock, the reception was an informal get-together where representatives of a wide range of institutions and organisations could catch up. Over fifty people from the Indonesian parliament, political parties, NGOs, international organisations and embassies, including AusAID and DFAT, took up the invitation. A special guest was the former Indonesian Foreign Minister and Member of the President of Indonesia’s Advisory Council, Dr Hassan Wirajuda.

For CDI, an event like this helps us keep in touch with alumni from our courses and workshops. CDI organises a wide range of training and interchange activities in Canberra and, increasingly, inside our target countries as well. We want to sustain a two-way flow of information and ideas with our former course members, and encourage networks of connections amongst participants themselves. We also hope to deepen connections with the many different organisations whose support makes our work in each country a success. CDI maintains a large contact list and we keep our network updated through CDI News, but nothing can compare with a face-to-face gathering.

The reception was a great chance for colleagues and friends to exchange information about their work and share some gossip about happenings in the political world. This was the second gathering we have held in Jakarta and we are planning more for the future as CDI’s presence in Indonesia grows.

Click on this link for more on our website:
Government and its agencies to account for the way public money is spent.

In February 2013, a delegation of members and staff from the Afghan PAC visited Australia for meetings with counterparts in the Australian parliament to learn more about the practice of parliamentary oversight. As well as visiting the Australian parliament and the office of the Australian National Audit Office, the delegation visited ANU for meetings with Dr Kirill Nourzhanov from the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies and Dr Stephen Sherlock and Grant Harrison from CDI.

In a lively open forum, Dr Sherlock and Mr Harrison talked with the group about the principles of parliamentary oversight, about the duties and powers PACs, about the role of MPs in exercising the oversight function of parliament and about the relationship between Auditors-General and PACs.

Click on this link for more on our website:

International Women’s Day Award

The work of CDI’s Luke Hambly in supporting increased political representation for women in the Asia-Pacific region was recognised by the ANU at an awards ceremony in Canberra on International Women’s Day 2013.

Luke received a Certificate of Recognition for being a gender champion at ANU.

In 2008, under Luke’s guidance, CDI developed and held the inaugural Women in Politics (WiP) Course in Canberra for participants from a number of countries in the Asia Pacific Region in response to the clear need to support women wishing to advance in politics in the region. In Asia, women currently hold less than 18% of elected parliamentary seats and the Pacific Islands fare even worse with 3% and several Pacific Island States having no women parliamentarians at all.

The course has now run successfully for four years with a total of 481 applicants and 72 participants. WiP aims to support the emergence of more gender-balanced political representation. Specifically, the course aims to help improve women’s political representation by:

- enhancing political leadership and practical campaigning skills;
- enabling participants to understand barriers to women’s political representation in their own countries and region and to develop nationally-specific strategies to overcome these barriers; and,
- fostering national and regional networks.

In a recent survey of WiP participants, an independent researcher found that since attending the WiP course: twenty-five participants (out of thirty-three) are now involved in activities specific to increasing the number of women candidates in the Asia-Pacific; nineteen are involved in some type of political campaign; ten have now joined a political party; and seventeen have progressed within their own political party. Ten have stood for election at national level; two won their seats. Two women stood and won their seats at Provincial level and one has stood and won her seat at local level.

The outcomes above are both a tribute to the women participants and the contribution of CDI’s WiP course in assisting these women’s political development.

Luke’s efforts in initiating, managing and maintaining this course are worthy of recognition. Luke’s colleagues at CDI are proud to acknowledge Luke’s commitment and achievement.