



Quarterly Report
BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA: POLITICAL AND CIVIC ORGANIZING,
PARLIAMENTARY DEVELOPMENT
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I. SUMMARY

In November 2000, citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) elected public representatives to the national parliament, Federation and Republika Srpska (RS) entity parliaments, Federation cantons, and the Republika Srpska presidency. To encourage the country's transition to democracy, political pluralism, moderation and tolerance must continue to be supported, particularly in the eastern RS and Croat populated areas of the Federation, where ethnic-based, nationalist parties continue to dominate political and economic processes. The recent electoral gains of moderate multiethnic parties provide opportunities to develop a sustainable multiparty system and to consolidate the country's peace process.

Since 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has supported the long-term development of political parties, encouraged citizen participation in the political process, and cultivated professional and transparent legislative bodies. In 2000, NDI is pursuing the following objectives for its political party development program: the enhancement of the organizational capacity of political parties in order to target resources and reach out to voters strategically; and enabling young political activists to possess an applied understanding of the principles of a multiparty, participatory democracy, including rule of law, freedom of information, independent media, and political tolerance and compromise. In the parliamentary development program, NDI is pursuing the following objectives: improving parliamentary party caucuses' internal organization and external outreach, so that structured internal debate can occur; and strengthening parliamentary committees' operations and increasing legislative outreach. With respect to NDI's civic program, the objective for 2000 is to strengthen NDI's Bosnian civic partner organization, the Centers for Civic Initiatives (CCI), organizationally, programmatically, and financially such that it establishes and implements systems to operate and evaluate its work autonomously.

In this quarter NDI conducted the following activities in its political party, parliamentary and civic programs:

Political Party Development Program

- Assisted political parties in assessing voter concerns and measuring the impact of

political messages during the period leading up to the general elections in November through consultations on and analysis of polling data;

- Provided ongoing consultation to central campaign leaders related to November general elections and responded to specific requests for assistance from local party branches; and
- Hosted the first “School for the Development of Democratic Leadership” to begin building a cadre of future leaders and to provide youth activists with an applied understanding of the principles of a multiparty, participatory democracy.

Parliamentary Development Program

- Began drafting orientation manuals for members of parliament (MPs) for both the Republika Srpska National Assembly and the Federation Parliament;
- Developed a job description for the Federation Parliament’s internship coordinator and began discussions on the specific responsibilities of interns; and
- Conferred with party leadership on strategies for caucus and committee development in both the Federation and the Republika Srpska parliaments.

Civic Program

- Consulted with CCI on organizational capacity building issues, including strategic planning, board relations, and staff evaluation;
- Assisted CCI in the implementation of a country-wide domestic election monitoring campaign for the November 11 general elections; and
- Assessed the domestic election monitoring program and election-related activities, including post-election reports and meetings and the work of Coalition OKO.

II. BACKGROUND

General elections were held on November 11 for positions in the Bosnian State Parliament, the Federation Parliament, the Republika Srpska Assembly, Federation cantons, and the president and vice-president of the RS. Although nationalists retained considerable support among the Bosnian electorate, there was increased support for moderate parties. These results built on previous election gains for parties in municipal elections held in April and demonstrated that the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the main multiethnic party in the Federation, managed to consolidate its political support in the face of a challenge by ethnic nationalists.

In the election for Federation seats in the state-level BiH Parliament, the SDP increased its number of seats from the 1998 elections, gaining 18 seats for a total of 37. The nationalist Party for Democratic Action (SDA) and Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) saw a decline in support, losing the majority of parliamentary seats received in the prior election; the HDZ lost

three seats, thereby reducing their number from 28 to 25. In the Federation Parliament race, the SDA and HDZ again had their majority eliminated, while moderate parties, such as the SDP and the Party for BiH (SBIH), received a significantly higher number of seats; for example, the SDP gained five seats for a total of nine.

Although the SDS prevailed in both the Assembly and presidential elections, multiethnic parties continued to increase their share of representation at the national and regional levels. In the race for Republika Srpska seats in the state-level BiH Parliament, the PDP, SNSD and the SDP all had an increase in their number of seats from the 1998 elections; the SNSD gained five seats, thereby increasing their total to 11, while the SDP increased their number of seats from two to four. In the presidential race, the nationalist Serb Democratic Party (SDS) candidate, Mirko Sarovic, received 49.8 percent compared to his rival Milorad Dodik of the Party of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), who garnered 25.8 percent.

There was still some controversy during the election, although not of the magnitude as past campaigns. The HDZ, led by its president Ante Jelavic, moved to hold a referendum on the status of Croats in the Federation; the "referendum" called for the creation of separate, Croat-based, "political, educational, scientific, cultural and other institutions" across Bosnia. This referendum was subsequently deemed illegal by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE also reported other serious voting irregularities in Srebrenica. However, these events did not mar the overall results of the election; both the OSCE and domestic monitoring groups, such as NDI partner Centers for Civic Initiatives (CCI), reported only minor election irregularities and issued statements confirming that the elections were conducted in a free and fair manner.

The political situation in the RS continues to present additional challenges. Although it was hoped that the moderate parties would gain ground in these elections, the election instead produced a parliament in which no party holds a clear majority. The results show continued strong support for nationalist parties despite their relatively weak platforms for economic renewal and their limited ability to work with many members of the international community to leverage international assistance. The SDS holds the largest number of seats with 31, but requires a minimum of one other party to join with it to form a governing majority in the 83-member Assembly. Overall, 13 parties were elected to the Assembly, but few are in a position to form an official caucus. Only the SDA, SNSD, Party of Democratic Progress (PDP), and the SDS hold the required number of seats (five) to form official caucuses.

These recent events demonstrate that nationalist politics continue to play a role in the political environment of BiH; however there are signs that voters are beginning to favor the moderate, multiethnic parties that have emerged as alternatives. Especially in the case of the RS, where nationalist parties are still in power, it is necessary to continue building opposition that can challenge the current dominant parties and facilitate the growth of democratic structures and processes. In addition, it is necessary to continue building and reforming the institution of parliament so as to create transparent bodies respondent to the electorate. This requires modification of existing parliamentary structures, many of which have remained static under nationalist rule.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Political Party Development Program

NDI's political party program promotes the development of a viable, multiparty system by providing political parties with the tools necessary to strengthen their organizational capacity and to compete effectively in elections. NDI provides consultations and training seminars that assist selected parties¹ in strengthening internal organization and improving public outreach capabilities. In 1998, NDI began a professional development program for six Bosnian political party organizers (regional field coordinators - RFCs) to augment the impact of NDI's program and to develop an indigenous training capability among political parties.

Elections Preparation

In advance of the November 11 general elections, NDI continued election-focused initiatives through October and early November. During this period, NDI completed its series of three training schools focused on election preparation, which ended with Get Out The Vote activities. With polling data provided through Prism Research, NDI also completed three tracking polls and held consultations analyzing these polls with both local and central campaign offices. Finally, NDI conducted train-the-trainer pollwatching schools throughout BiH, continued ongoing consultations with party leaders, and responded to individual parties' specific requests for targeted assistance in such areas as media relations and message development.

Tracking Polls

In advance of the general elections, NDI conducted a four-phase polling project to assist parties in election preparation and strategic planning. While the polling project is an addition to activities described in the workplan for 2000, this project corresponds directly with overall program objectives and serves a particular need during the election period.² The project consisted of a baseline poll followed by three tracking polls designed to evaluate political preferences in Bosnia-Herzegovina, track changes in party support, and measure voter awareness and reaction to party campaign materials. The polls allowed parties to test new messages introduced into the

1 Since 1996, NDI has evaluated its political party relationships on the basis of a given party's commitment to the constitutional framework of Bosnia-Herzegovina and peaceful pursuit of political objectives, viability as a representative body of the electorate, and willingness and ability to effectively absorb and apply NDI assistance. Based on these criteria, the primary beneficiaries of NDI's political party program are the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina (SDP); the New Croatian Initiative (NHI); the Party of Social Democrats (SNSD); and the Party for Democratic Progress (PDP). The following parties receive NDI assistance in multiparty training settings and in response to specific requests for assistance: the Citizens' Democratic Party (GDS); the Croatian Peasant's Party (HSS); the Democratic Party of the RS (DSRS); the Democratic Patriotic Party (DPS); the Democratic People's Union (DNS); the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP); the Liberal Party of BiH (LP); Muslim Bosniak Association (MBO); the Party for BiH (SBIH); the Party for Democratic Progress (PDP); the Republican Party (RP); the Serb People's Party (SNS); and the Socialist Party of Republika Srpska (SPRS).

2 Polling activities were funded by a separate USAID grant through the Consortium for Elections and Political Processes (CEPPS) but correspond to NDI's overall programmatic focus during this election period. A separate report for this CEPPS program further details NDI's polling activities and includes the polls as attachments.

pre-election dialogue and to measure the effects of issues raised and events that occurred during the election period.

NDI provided the information obtained in these polls to parties through party-specific briefing, and informed USAID and other interested international organizations through informal consultations. For each poll, NDI prepared several reports, including an overview shared with all program partners and select members of the international community, and individual party assessment reports for the SDP, NHI, SNSD and PDP.

Election Campaign Schools

In order to assist program partners in key areas of election preparation, NDI conducted a series of three “election schools” designed to address campaign management, candidate training, and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) operations. Training sessions were designed to impart skills and convey strategic considerations to individuals in specific areas. Training sessions for campaign managers and candidates were held in August and September in several locations in both entities. In late September and October GOTV training was held in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. NDI conducted GOTV training in Sarajevo from September 29 through October 1. A second school was held in Banja Luka from October 6 through 8.

The GOTV training was coordinated in response to changes in the election law that permit direct voter contact on election day, and it built on introductory sessions on GOTV activities held prior to the April municipal elections. In total, NDI trained 180 participants. Separate sessions were held for NHI and SDP in Sarajevo and for SNSD and PDP in Banja Luka; multiparty sessions were held in both locations for NDI’s smaller program partners. Stephan Farry, general secretary for the Alliance Party in Northern Ireland, helped to facilitate the training in coordination with NDI political party field representatives.

During the training session, participants learned how to:

- set a target number of votes and contact only confirmed voters on election day;
- determine how many volunteers would be available on election-day and strategize different ways of using them;
- maintain records of direct voter contact and ways to develop those records; and
- organize a basic GOTV plan from start to finish, including a checklist of key activities.

Finally, the participants broke into groups and developed their own GOTV plans accounting for resource availability, division of labor and a timetable for activities. Each group presented its plan to the larger audience and received feedback and comments from NDI staff and trainers. Parties were encouraged to focus on ensuring that the campaign had enough resources to implement the plan. Several party branches requested additional GOTV training sessions for its members. NDI responded to these requests and RFCs provided follow-up and on-site assistance in party GOTV efforts.

Media Training

In early October, NDI responded to a direct request from the SDP party leadership for media training directed at a select group of its media coordinators and candidates. In total, NDI trained 11 media coordinators and 12 candidates.

The agenda for the media coordinators session included the following topics:

- The role of the media coordinator as principal guardian of the message;
- Ways to ensure media coverage of the campaign and delivery of the message;
- Development of the local message based on the central campaign message;
- Principles behind the message box and ways to apply it in formulating campaign message;
- When and how to develop talking points for the campaign;
- Tools to prepare to ensure the media can easily deliver the message, including a media contact list, pre-programmed fax numbers list, a media kit, campaign activity itineraries for the media, announcement of major campaign events, and issuing of news releases; and
- Campaign events and news conferences.

The two candidate sessions focused on what candidates should say to voters and how to do that most effectively. Specific topics included:

- Establishing a campaign message based on voter concerns;
- Building the trust of the electorate;
- Developing a message (mock exercise) and delivering it on television; and
- Improving on-camera skills.

Train-the-Trainer Pollwatcher Workshops

In October, NDI's regional field coordinators conducted training on pollwatching techniques. While NDI previously trained as many activists and volunteers as possible, the training prior to November's elections was targeted toward a focused group of party activists and conducted in a train-the-trainers format. These participants were then responsible for training their own ranks of party activists and volunteers. Training sessions were held throughout BiH, including Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Prijedor, Bijeljina, Trebinje and Mostar. As in past elections, the RFCs produced a pollwatcher manual to handout at each session. The manual was based on the Centers for Civic Initiatives' election observer handbook and updated to account for changes in election procedure and law.

Party Training and Consultations with Party Leaders

As in the spring election campaign, NDI met with party leaders in both entities on a regular basis through the fall to discuss pre-election developments. Responding to requests for training and support, NDI offered all program partners a menu of available resources and possible election training, allowing party branches to choose topics most relevant to their needs.

Throughout this quarter, NDI met with: SDP President Zlatko Lagumdžija; SDP General Secretary Carlo Filipović; NHI President Kresimir Zubak; SBiH President Harris Silajdžić; BiH Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlić; SNSD President Milorad Dodik; SNS President Biljana Plavšić; PDP President Mladen Ivanic, DSP President Nebojsa Radmanović; HSS President Ilija Simić; and DNS General Secretary Radomir Trivić. These meetings afforded opportunities to provide advice and support to the central campaigns, evaluate the impact of NDI training and determine the most effective support NDI could deliver at the local level. NDI also assisted parties in analyzing polling reports and assessing how to implement changes in the election plan and party message development based on the findings.

School for the Development of Democratic Leadership

From November 26 through December 1, 2000, NDI/BiH hosted a School for the Development of Democratic Leadership in Neum. The goal of this five-day conference was to enable youth activists to expand their understanding of the principles of a multipartisan, participatory democracy beyond the scope of elections and political parties. The training and discussion sessions highlighted: legal reform; human rights and social issues; political institutions and processes; and skills-building to foster effective citizen participation. The format included small group discussion sessions, large plenary lectures and discussions, and dinner discussions. Participants attended three discussions for each of the main topics (legal, political, social and human rights, and skills building). Five large plenary discussions were also held on the role of an ombudsman, environmental issues, social tolerance, the role of the media and corruption. At the end of each day, time was set aside for the participants to meet in small groups of 12 to further discuss an issue raised during the day.

Participants were between the ages of 18 and 30 and represented political parties, nongovernment organizations, student groups and trade unions from throughout the country. NDI's local staff selected participants through a competitive application process. The conference format included a combination of lectures, plenary sessions, small group discussions and group exercises in order to allow the participants to apply their understanding of the topics. Approximately 20 trainers and speakers participated in the conference, including NDI resident representatives from Bosnia and elsewhere in the region, representatives of the international community (including the USAID Deputy Mission Director, the US and Canadian Ambassadors and the Director of the World Bank), and leaders within the Bosnian community.

The focus within each of the four curricular areas is elaborated below.

- *Legal reform in democratic development:* the fundamental tenants of rule of law and methods for legal reform in a post-totalitarian system; the impacts of corruption on the legal, political and social systems; and examples of citizen campaigns conducted to reform or create laws in BiH.
- *Human rights and social reform in democratic development:* norms and values associated with basic human rights and which institutions in BiH promote and protect them; challenges to social equality and possible strategies promoting women, youth, and minority participation; and successful models of youth activism and social reform in BiH.

- *Political institutions and processes in democratic development:* the role and responsibility of political parties; the characteristics of effective political leaders; the interaction between political parties, legislative bodies, and civil society; methods to promote citizen participation in the political system; and the function of elected institutions in representing citizen concerns.
- *Skills-building to foster effective participation in a democratic society:* group decision-making processes, negotiation techniques and consensus-building; fundamental communication techniques for developing and delivering a political message; and advocacy techniques to implement change and reform within an organization or a community.

Parliamentary Development Program

Federation

Federation Parliament Orientation Manual

In preparation of the convening of a new parliament, the new NDI resident representative in the Federation, Len Kuchar, who is from Canada, and local staff began drafting an orientation manual for the new members of parliament in the Federation. Practical issues, such as services in parliament, administration and roles of MPs, will be included as well as a section on skills-based topics for incoming MPs. Sections will be devoted to the role of committees, the Rules of Procedure, analyzing legislation, and the responsibilities of parliamentarians in all roles – as an MP, a member of a caucus and a representative of constituents.

NDI is working in conjunction with the speaker of the parliament to ensure the manual is representative of the needs of MPs and that it has the full support of the leaders of parliament. It is hoped that the speaker will write the introduction to the manual. The manual will be introduced during the initial sessions of parliament and will be supplemented by orientation seminars for multiparty groups of MPs.

Federation Parliament Internship Program

NDI, in conjunction with the parliament, is developing the framework for a Federation Parliament internship program. Based on the pressing need for resources, both human and material, facing the parliament, the internship program will serve two critical functions: it will introduce university students to the structure and function of parliament while allowing them to develop skills in policy analysis and research; and it will alleviate staffing shortages for MPs and committees.

A full-time internship coordinator will work with the NDI-federation parliamentary staff to develop the outlines of the program, work with universities to determine a credit-based system for participating students, recruit students and oversee the work of the students in the legislature. A job description for the internship coordinator is being written, and discussions with universities regarding university credit for interns will begin in January. As the program develops, it may expand to include more students, and it may serve as a model for a future internship program in the RS.

Evaluation of Federation Parliament

Federation Parliamentary Representative Len Kuchar conducted an informal assessment of the current structure of the Federation Parliament after an extensive series of consultations and visits. Challenges exist for both incoming and returning MPs in logistical and political areas. He noted the lack of physical space afforded to the MPs as well as the lack of material resources. He also noted the challenges facing this parliament, which does not have many full-time representatives and which currently has inherent incentives for MPs to maintain the status quo. For example, part-time parliamentarians would have to forfeit their regular income were they to increase their committee or plenary schedules.

Republika Srpska

Political Party Consultations

The new resident representative in the Republika Srpska, Shauna Martin, who is also from Canada, and NDI staff conducted political party consultations with the SNSD, the SNS and the Democratic Party of Pensioners (DSP) and conferred with party leadership on upcoming opportunities for caucus and committee work. These orientation activities and consultations enabled NDI to assess the needs and challenges of the Republika Srpska National Assembly (RSNA).

While it is evident that the function of the opposition will be an important component in the continuation of the development of democratic institutions in the RS, Martin also began consultations with select parties on strategies to increase their influence working in committee and other structures of the legislature.

Republika Srpska National Assembly Orientation Manual

An orientation manual for the members of the RSNA is currently being drafted. This orientation manual builds on information gathered through NDI's previous consultations and workshops with MPs. The completed manual will be introduced at a multiparty seminar for the induction of new members in February. Although some sections of the manuals for both the Federation and the RS MPs will include some of the same information, there will also be specific sections addressing the different needs of the two parliaments.

Consultation with CCI – Constituency Outreach

Martin and NDI parliamentary staff met with a representative the Centers for Civic Initiatives to discuss citizen outreach and advocacy campaigns. In conjunction with the orientation seminars and caucus development work, Martin will be working with select parties on improving constituency outreach. To that end, NDI and CCI discussed the possibility of involving CCI in MP constituency outreach activities and other citizen education activities.

IV. RESULTS

Political Party Program

- As a result of NDI polling activity, a number of program partners adjusted their election planning to make research and voter identification key elements of their campaign. Parties, such as the SDP, SNSD, PDP, and NHI, developed campaigns that have been increasingly responsive to the needs and wishes of voters.
- Following NDI's media relations training, many SDP media coordinators focused their campaign message and concentrated on maintaining that message in all public events. As a result, many local SDP branches were effective in conveying a clear, coherent and identifiable message. Some SDP branches also refined their media approach by delegating speaking authority to those best able to speak on particular issues.³
- The Party for Democratic Progress's communication during the national pre-election period was targeted to its voter base and the "persuadables" and focused consistently on its campaign message identified in NDI polling. Interviews, posters, press conferences and party tribunals were organized around communicating the message that would garner the most votes from their electoral universe.
- Using a number of NDI-introduced techniques and strategies, the SNSD, PDP and SNS identified areas of core support and employed a combination of voter contact strategies designed to establish a personal connection to voters. Following are examples:
 - The SNSD resumed a door-to-door campaign to complement traditional outreach in Banja Luka, Prijedor, Pelagicevo and Bijeljina. In addition, SNSD Bijeljina introduced a telephone canvass.
 - The PDP, a new convert to NDI voter contact strategies, dedicated considerable energy toward conducting door-to-door canvasses and distributing those surveys to the public.
 - The SNS conducted door-to-door visits to identify its constituency. As a result, SNS learned the voting intention of 9,500 voters – an unprecedented success for this party.
- Per NDI's recommendation, the SNSD Pelagicevo branch used a voter's list to track election day turnout, employed a telephone committee and recruited drivers to transport SNSD voters unable to travel to the polling station on their own. The Pelagicevo

³ Quotes from SDP Party representatives:

"Based on your suggestions, I provided my party with media contacts, their schedules, and deadlines. I also supply other branches with information about our events and reports from them the next day."

"We now specialize candidates according to issues so they don't all have to be experts on all issues."

"According to your previous suggestions we conducted serious preparation to stay on message. We also worked on using the bridging technique. Now, the candidates I work with have to stay on message and use opportunities to present the SDP platform and be exposed to media opportunities. We also have something significant with the party's name on it like a badge, and I encourage candidates to express optimism in their face."

campaign manager plans to maintain voter contact between elections, including the use of a quarterly newsletter.

- Applying lessons learned from NDI, the PDP devised an entity-wide campaign organization. The PDP crafted a comprehensive organizational plan for each constituency in the Republika Srpska, including candidate training sessions, targeted goals for campaign managers, and municipality-level voter contact plans aimed at door-to-door activities.
- With the assistance of RFC Mladen Popovic, PDP created 50,000 surveys, encouraged competition among candidates and created thousands of candidate cards and targeted propaganda. PDP candidates conducted 8,000 meetings attended by 52,000 citizens.
- Following NDI's GOTV schools and targeted assistance, NHI conducted targeted literature drops, engaged in direct voter contact, and identified and monitored voter turnout at the polls.
- Following direction from NDI, NHI President Kresimir Zubak reinforced to branch operations the need to conduct grassroots campaigning. As a result, NHI's Usora branch distributed 3,000 questionnaires resulting in 57 new members. In Livno, surveys were distributed, thank-you notes delivered to volunteers, and 16 people trained in door-to-door techniques. Branches in Orasje and several localities in central BiH accomplished similar results.
- RFCs noted that their interactions and exchanges among various branches of each party stimulated healthy competition among party branches. As party members heard of or witnessed the successes of other branches, they were inclined to try these techniques.
- Through the course of the School for the Development of Democratic Leadership, participants forged close personal and valuable professional relationships. At the conclusion of the school, the delegates formed a committee charged with maintaining correspondence among participants.

V. EVALUATION

Political Party Program

Despite the gains made by the progressive parties in BiH, the international community was once again disappointed with the electoral results. As NDI's political party program in BiH has devoted most of its time and resources over the past year toward election preparation and campaign development assistance to parties, NDI reviewed campaigns with political party leaders at the conclusion of the election period, both in isolation and in relation to electoral performance. Overall, NDI's approach through the election period has provided valuable and targeted assistance to political parties as they developed and implemented campaigns. Through the distribution of polling information and analysis, ongoing consultations with party leaders, visits to branch offices, and outreach and hand-on assistance provided by the RFCs, NDI

contributed to the efforts of parties that were receptive to NDI's techniques and had the institutional capacity to effect a coordinated campaign. This particularly applies to SDP and PDP. In both cases, the party leadership embraced NDI's strategies as a blueprint for organizing their campaign and this approach was reinforced through party ranks.

Fundamental problems in each party organization, however, do remain. Most parties do not allow adequate time for planning and preparation of a campaign and begin preparing only 45 days before an election. Smaller parties, particularly in the Federation, appeared relatively inactive throughout the campaign period and were, in fact, less visible than during the April 2000 municipal campaign. Sequencing campaign activities also remains a problem among many parties. In several cases, parties designed campaign materials prior to conducting their own research or reviewing NDI's polling information. Those parties were then reticent to revise their message to correspond to voter interests and were not able to effectively target messages to voters. There was a significant range between the quality of campaigns fronted by various branch offices.

In the future, NDI will work with central campaign leaders to better coordinate their approach and would focus the assistance of the RFCs on priority regions in a few key areas rather than a shotgun-style approach. This would allow for greater follow-up and more intensive advice. In the wake of the elections, many parties have been active in analyzing election results, recognizing strengths and responding to deficiencies. NDI will continue to assist these parties in strengthening their organization.

Both program participants and speakers alike applauded NDI for the organization and content of the School for the Development of Democratic Leadership. Participants expressed enthusiasm about their experiences and gratitude for NDI's efforts. Many participants visited NDI's offices in the weeks following the school to express their interest in continuing cooperative relations with NDI. More importantly, participants indicated a strong interest in maintaining contact with each other and proposed reuniting the group in one year to expand on discussions initiated in Neum. Pre- and post-school evaluation forms filled out by participants also demonstrated the effectiveness of the conference and its impact on the participants and their work. The results of these two surveys are being translated by NDI local staff and will be analyzed in coming months.

Due to the busy campaign season and the postponement of the youth conference from August to November, NDI was unable to plan and implement a second Party Forum for Democratic Development. At this point in time, such an activity is not anticipated in the near future.

Parliamentary Development Program

The OSCE recently introduced a parliamentary support project, the components of which will be applied initially to the state-level parliament and subsequently to the entity-level parliaments. The focus of NDI's work has continued to be on the development of the entity-level parliaments, as these are the institutions that continue to wield much of the power and decision-making ability. However, NDI will also continue its cooperation with other international

organizations, such as the OSCE, with the ultimate aim of increasing governing capacity at the state level.

Federation

The obstacles identified by Kuchar in the informal assessment present challenges to the development of democratic structures and processes in the Federation. The intricate structure of the political system at all levels encourages corruption or political bias, and the ability of international administrators to override government decisions is problematic. The objectives of NDI's work with parliament – to improve parliamentary party caucuses' internal organization and external outreach, strengthen parliamentary committees' operations and increase legislative outreach – are affected by these challenges. However, the work that is being done to strengthen the institutions of parliament and the work planned for 2001 address these challenges and aim to provide additional means of working within the legislative structure and overcoming resource needs.

Republika Srpska

In 2001, the parliamentary program will have to draw delineations between program activities that respect the decision of the electorate, which has given a plurality of seats to nationalist parties, and those that work with specific opposition parties. The reluctance of many in the international community to provide support to the nationalist parties provides an opportunity to do focused work with the opposition parties to develop and consolidate their position in the legislature.

The meetings NDI had with party representatives in December showed how little formal connection there appears to be between parties and MPs. The meetings also demonstrated a continued need for NDI's work with women and youth in the political process. While 30 percent of the candidates on the ballots in the November elections were women, only 16 women were elected to the 83-member RSNA (roughly 19 percent). NDI's work has concentrated mainly on the structures of the RSNA; however, these developments indicate a need to address the influence of certain groups within parliament and to work with parties in parliament as well.

Much of the focus of the RS parliamentary program to date has been on the need for changes in the rules and procedures of the Assembly. Substantial work has been done in this area, including several consultations and workshops with members of the previous parliament, most recently in June 2000. The November 2000 elections presented a difficulty in continuing this work. While there is still a need for greater transparency and clarity in the rules of the Assembly, the SDS already seems to have an understanding of the Rules of Procedure, so there is little likelihood that they will see the need for change – especially to give a greater voice to minority parties in the Assembly. On the other hand, more than 60 percent of the members are new, which may present a challenge to the smooth functioning of the parliament in the early days but may also present opportunities for progress in the attitudes and rules in the RSNA.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Political Party Program

As Bosnia enters a non-election period, political parties have a unique window of opportunity to strengthen their organizational operations in the long term. In light of this, NDI will conduct a series of consultations with select Federation and RS political parties in February, focusing on approaches to strengthening and democratizing their internal operations. Senior NDI party experts will conduct workshops in: long-term party financing; outreach; policy development; internal communications; internal party democracy; and campaigns as organization-building opportunities. These consultations will result in individual party workplans featuring areas for NDI follow-up during the balance of 2001.

Parliamentary Development Program

Federation

After Parliament convenes, orientation seminars will be held for new MPs to introduce the procedural information manuals and provide supplemental skills-based information. New MPs will be introduced to the rules, regulations and workings of the Federation Parliament.

An internship coordinator for the Federation Parliament internship program will be hired, and the framework for the internship program will be set in place. Conversations with universities regarding university credit for interns will begin as well as a determination of the selection process for interns.

Committee consultations will begin in order to outline strategies and determine appropriate activities. This will be done in coordination with the internship program, with the idea that interns will be able to research issues and topics pertinent to the respective committee, thereby strengthening the committee's ability to review and act on pending legislation.

Republika Srpska

A multiparty seminar for new members of the National Assembly will be held when the Assembly convenes. At this time the procedural manual for the RS National Assembly will be introduced and supplemental information will be provided, including discussions on the Rules of Procedure, the function and role of committees and caucuses, and constituency outreach.

Following this orientation seminar, individual caucus consultations will begin in February to outline possible strategies for cooperation and determine activities that will strengthen the functioning of the caucus. Currently there are changes pending in the rules regarding the structure of caucuses; the Assembly is deciding whether to decrease the minimum number of MPs in a formal caucus from 5 to 4. Regardless of the outcome, NDI will work with both formal and informal caucuses.

Workshops with MPs addressing constituency outreach will begin in March and will focus on various communications techniques that MPs can use. In addition, CCI will conduct a seminar on establishing links with constituencies.

Civic Program

December 31, 2000, marked the end of the formal partnership between NDI and CCI. CCI will continue its citizen-based advocacy efforts working with both international and Bosnia-based organizations, using the skills and experience gained during the nearly four years of work and development with NDI.

Based on CCI's growing influence and expertise in civic work in BiH, NDI is looking forward to consulting with CCI, and other NGOs involved in Coalition OKO, on outreach and constituency relations issues that affect NDI's continuing work in political party and parliamentary development. With a period of more than two years anticipated before the next elections, the ability of parties and MPs to work with advocacy groups and address citizen concerns is critical to maintaining and augmenting support. NDI will work with CCI and other groups on bridging the gap between constituents and parties as an integral step to long-term party development.

ATTACHMENTS:

Letter of Appreciation from HSS

Letter of Appreciation from PDP