



Quarterly Report
INDONESIA: SUPPORTING PARTIES, CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND
THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROCESS
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I. SUMMARY

In the fall of 2000, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) reassessed its program to fit the needs of a post-election Indonesia. While the Institute continues its work with political parties, the legislature and civil society organizations, it has expanded political party and civil society components to include seminars, consultations, and training-of-trainer workshops at the provincial and district levels.

Since political parties are stable components of democratic systems, NDI works to promote the consolidation and development of democratic political parties. This quarter, NDI held the 3rd Political Leadership Academy (PLA), a intensive training program on political leadership and party organizing for young party leaders and activists. Participants were divided into three groups that acted as the founding committee of three political parties. Over the course of the training, the groups developed their own working procedures, identities, platforms, party structures, by-laws and campaign planning. Following the Academy, participants returned to their home districts to design and implement projects to improve the organization and management of their own parties.

NDI also works with elected party representatives and officials at the national and provincial levels to promote ethical, democratic and effective practices. In November, NDI conducted an assessment mission to Papua to evaluate opportunities to assist the local parliament in its efforts to adapt the changes granted by the implementation of special autonomy, and to work with political parties in the province. In December, NDI attended a regional forum on legislative oversight held in Manila that brought together parliamentarians, legislative experts, NGOs and civil society organizations to share 'best practices' in using legislative oversight as a tool for ensuring transparency and accountability in government. The Institute also sponsored the attendance of two DPR Commission chairs, a senior parliamentary researcher and the executive editor of *Tempo* magazine to participate in the conference. This quarter, the Institute continued to provide technical assistance to the research and information service of the People's Representative Assembly (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR), that in turn supports the work of the Legislative Committee (*Badan Legislasi*). Additionally, NDI continued to support the

Indonesian Women's Political Caucus, and sponsored its Secretary-General to participate in a conference on media and transformative leadership in Manila in November.

NDI works with civil society organizations to support public advocacy and NGO management efforts. In November, NDI and the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Indonesia (FISIP-UI) conducted an evaluation of the August sessions of the NGO Certificate Management Program, an intensive training on NGO organizational capacity building. The participants of the Program pointed out certain areas that need improvement, and NDI and FISIP-UI worked to incorporate these recommendations in future sessions. NDI also organized an informal meeting among NGO leaders to discuss the growing negative coverage of the media towards NGOs. The discussion yielded recommendations for future activities and programs. This quarter, the Institute also conducted meetings and consultations to further its work on developing the Legislative Action Network, a web-based database that aims to encourage more informed citizen participation by increasing citizen access to the legislative process. Additionally, NDI collaborated with local NGOs to honor Aung Sang Suu Kyi and her tenth anniversary of being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and to organize a number of activities in commemoration of International Human Rights Day.

Since the opening of political space in 1998, three democratic reform issues have risen to the forefront of national political debate: constitutional reform, electoral reform and decentralization or, as it is known in Indonesia, "regional autonomy". NDI is working in these three areas to support a more informed and participatory process of reforming the country's political institutions. NDI continued to provide technical support to the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Perwakilan Rakyat*, MPR) Working Committee on Constitutional Amendments through regular consultations and the distribution of comparative informational materials. In November, the Institute conducted an in-depth, full-scale observation of the proceedings of the MPR Annual Session, and produced and distributed a public report in English and Bahasa Indonesia on the proceedings to MPR members, research institutions, universities and NGOs. NDI also conducted meetings with the legislature, government and state agencies, the Election Commission and civil society organizations to determine changes in political activity as the result of the recommendations and the Third Amendment of the annual MPR session. In October, NDI collaborated with the Habibie Center to hold an international conference on constitutional amendments to the 1945 Constitution. The conference, which involved various local and international resource persons as well as more than 100 participants, provided a forum for many groups with different propositions on constitutional reform and bore several constructive proposals on the content of the constitution and the reform process.

NDI continued to provide technical support to the Indonesian Forum for New Provinces, a coalition committed to supporting local council capacity building through the development of a trainers network. This quarter, NDI helped the Forum develop training-of-trainer materials for workshops expected in early 2002. In addition, NDI established a technical assistance program with the All Indonesian Association of the People's Provincial Representative Assembly City Councils (DPRD Kota) to support the association's strategy building and local development planning. The Institute has also instigated discussions with the Association of DPRD Municipal Councils (DPRD Kabupaten) to establish a parallel assistance program.

II. BACKGROUND

On June 7, 1999, Indonesia conducted its first free and fair elections in 44 years, marking another step away from its autocratic past toward a new era of democratic transformation. In polling stations spread across thousands of islands, more than 85 percent of the archipelago's 116 million registered voters defied predictions of election-day unrest to cast their ballots for the national and provincial legislatures, and district assemblies. In October 1999, the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Perwakilan Rakyat*, MPR) elected a new president and vice president, Abdurrahman Wahid and Megawati Sukarnoputri, in the most democratic and peaceful transfer of executive power in Indonesia's history. The establishment of a legitimate government through these elections and the formation of a new cabinet at the end of the month heralded a new era of democratic consolidation in the country.

Yet democratization in Indonesia continues to face many challenges. During the more than three decades of President Soeharto's leadership, political organizing was restricted to the three officially recognized political parties, whose leadership was approved by the government, and political intimidation and media censorship were the norm. In addition, while the majority of Indonesians supported the 1999 election process and the broad call for political reforms, the extent to which certain sectors of the New Order, power-holding elite – including perhaps significant portions of the bureaucracy, the military and *Golkar* – have actually accepted the concept of democratic governance and all of its implications still remains unclear.

On July 23, 2001, Abdurrahman Wahid, was removed from office through a Special Session of the MPR and replaced by his vice president, Megawati Soekarnoputri. Severely criticized for failing to calm regional unrest or improve the country's dire economic state, Wahid was likewise plagued by allegations of financial impropriety by himself and those close to him. Wahid's declaration of a state of civil emergency on the morning of July 23 led the MPR to take momentous steps: the vote refuting the validity of the president's order; the declaration of the state of emergency order as against 'state policy'; and, the vote to dismiss the president. In accordance with the Indonesian constitution, Vice-President Megawati Sukarnoputri was appointed by the MPR to serve as head of state for the remainder of the 1999-2004 term of office. The MPR elected Hamzah Haz, the head of the Muslim-oriented United Development Party, to fill the post of vice-president. The transfer of power ended at least nine months of political brinkmanship, conflict and uncertainty.

The Megawati government's initial months in office have received passing, though not extraordinary, marks from both Indonesians and the international community. Indonesia has experienced relative political stability in the face of global and regional tensions, and the country's leadership has managed to strike a fragile balance between supporting Indonesia's western allies and mollifying domestic Muslim pressure. Although there has not been significant progress in overcoming the major political and economic challenges facing the country, modest progress in several areas has continued --- one of which is in the area of constitutional reform. In November, the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Perwakilan Rakyat*, MPR), Indonesia's highest lawmaking body, concluded its annual session with considerable results. Following long and detailed negotiations, the MPR amended the Constitution to allow for a system of constitutional checks and balances rather than vesting sovereignty solely in the MPR. The body

also agreed to establish a regional chamber with autonomous legislative powers, and a Constitutional Court with the power to judicially review legislation, resolve disputes relating to the constitutional powers of state institutions, dissolve political parties, and to rule on motions to impeach. While intense debate surrounded an additional proposed amendment to allow for direct election of the president and vice-president, a consensus on the proposed amendment could not be achieved and further discussion has been postponed until 2002.

Previous NDI Programs in Indonesia

NDI's current work builds directly on previous program activities and relationships in Indonesia. NDI began work in Indonesia in early 1996 with funds from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

In 1996, the Institute began assisting the Independent Election Monitoring Committee (*Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu – KIPP*), the country's first formal independent election monitoring organization. With NDI assistance, KIPP monitored the May 1997 legislative elections and thereby established an important precedent for domestic election monitoring and organized citizen involvement in the political process.

In early 1998, using NED funds, NDI initiated a partnership with the Center for Security and Peace Studies (CSPS) at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta to promote dialogue about pluralism and democracy among young civilian and military leaders. The program brought together participants from Gadjah Mada University and the National Military Academy (AKMIL) in Magelang to discuss transition issues and the role of the military in a democracy.

Shortly after Soeharto's resignation, NDI rapidly initiated activities to respond to specific needs and requests for assistance in advancing the transition process. In early June, an NDI team provided guidance to reform movement leaders and assessed the political environment to inform the Institute's post-Soeharto programming. In July 1998, using NED funds, the Institute worked with the University of Indonesia to organize an international conference on transition elections and political reform. Later that year, using separate NED funds, NDI brought party activists from six countries to Jakarta to discuss ways to encourage the development of democratic political parties throughout Asia, with a particular focus on Indonesia. Representatives from 12 Indonesian parties participated in the program. Also using NED funds, NDI established a permanent presence in Jakarta in July 1998. A grant from USAID enabled NDI to substantially increase its presence in country and the scope of its democratic development programs. With this grant, NDI supported domestic election monitors, the promotion of dialogue among political actors and political party development. After the June 1999 election, this program's goals changed to meet the needs of a post-election political transition. Thus, the program worked to promote political party consolidation and organization, parties in the legislature and civil society advocacy.

Objectives:

NDI's current work builds directly on previous program activities and relationships in Indonesia. The objectives of NDI's presence in Indonesia are:

- To assist political and civil society leaders to encourage informed public debate and advocacy on issues critical to the success of the democratic transition;
- To support the constructive involvement of civil society in the ongoing transition process and strengthen the ability of civil society groups to work effectively within the new political environment;
- To strengthen the ability of political parties to actively and effectively participate in a democratic, multiparty political environment; and,
- To increase the ability of political parties and individual DPR members to play a meaningful role in public debate, policy development, allocation of public resources and government oversight and to conduct legislative affairs in an ethical, responsive and transparent manner.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. Strengthening Political Parties

1. 3rd Political Leadership Academy (PLA)

NDI held the third session of the Political Leadership Academy (PLA), a training course on political leadership and party organizing for young party leaders and activists. The third PLA, held in Jakarta from October 29 to November 7, had 25 participants from the country's major political parties. Nine of the participants were women.

The opening address, *The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy*, was given by Dr. Rainer Adam, the local representative of the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung Foundation. The training involved several resource persons: Dr. Andi Mallarangeng talked about the Future of Indonesian Democracy, and Dr. Dewi Fortuna Anwar spoke on Democracy in Asia. NDI Senior Advisor Andrew Ellis discussed Constitutional and Legal Reform, and Dr. Bustanul Arifin and Faisal Basri led the exchange on Economic and Social Policy. Bachtiar Effendi and Franz Magnis Suseno talked about Religion and Democracy, Kusnanto Anggoro and Arbi Sanit led the session on Security and Defense. Bambang Harimurti and Donni Ardianto discussed Corruption and Transparency. Helen Ellis, Chofifah Indah Parawansa and Dian Kartika Sari spoke on Women in Politics. PLA participants also had training sessions on communication skills development and media training. Jansen Sinamo of the Mahardika Foundation led the session on communication skills development; and Ira Kusno of Trans TV, Nor Pud Binaro of Jakarta News FM and Taufik Mihardj of Kompas Daily facilitated the sessions on media training. The current U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia, Ralph Boyce, joined PLA participants on November 5 for a 90-minute exchange on the developments of the U.S.-led war against terrorism, and the future of democracy in Indonesia.

Participants were divided into three groups balanced in gender, party and regional representation. The groups acted as the founding committees of three imaginary political parties. Over the course of the training, the groups developed their own working procedures, identities, platforms, party structures, by-laws and campaign plans. The groups also spent a day conducting a street survey and practicing survey techniques.

After having completed the PLA, participants returned to their home districts to design and conduct projects to improve the organization and management of their own parties. Proposed projects include trainings and workshops for members and party leaders at the district and/or village levels on issues related to democracy and party management.

B. Legislative Capacity Strengthening

1. Papua Assessment mission.

From November 11 to 17, NDI conducted an assessment mission in Papua to evaluate opportunities to assist the local parliament in its efforts to adapt the changes granted by the implementation of special autonomy, and to work with political parties in the province. NDI Senior Associate and Director for Asia Programs Peter Manikas, Program Manager Tibor Vidos and Program Officer Ananta Gondomono participated in the mission.

The team conducted meetings and consultations with party officials, local legislators, academics, research groups, and civil society organizations. Meetings with Ben Vincent Jeharu, one of the DPRD vice-speakers and John Ibo, the acting speaker of the DPRD revealed the pressing need, perceived by legislators and party chiefs, to install hundreds of provincial rules and regulations in order to implement the special autonomy law. Both leaders expressed the need for capacity building and organizational development programs in light of the implementation of the newly passed special autonomy law. Succeeding meetings with Golkar and PDI-P party officials reiterated a number of concerns related to the lack of educated leaders within the party and a need to bolster party governance and organizational management.

In a meeting with NDI, Frans Wospakrik, the Rector of Uncen, identified the issues most contentious to the implementation of special autonomy in Papua, and stressed the need to have dialogues at all levels since the law provides room for Papuans to have a formal and participative discussion on the history of the province's integration with Indonesia.

2. Supporting DPR's Research and Information Service

NDI continued to provide technical assistance to the DPR's research and information service (P3I), which supports the work of *Badan Legislasi*, the legislating committee of the DPR. Among other assistance initiatives, the Institute supported the Committee's drafting and discussion on a proposed bill on the freedom of access to state information by responding to requests for materials on the U.S. Freedom of Information Act.

3. Legislative Procedures Bill

NDI participated in the planning meetings involving advocacy NGOs and donor grantees to address the newly introduced Legislative Procedures Bill (TCP3), a bill that will regulate the process by which all national legislation is made. The NGOs have expressed a need to campaign for a substantial amendment to allow broader public consultation and participation in legislative drafting. The Asia Foundation, Ford Foundation, PACT, AusAid and CSSP as well as advocacy NGOs Yappika, CETRO, Media Center, LSPP, PSHK have attended the initial meetings. NDI has been selected to coordinate the technical assistance required by the working group.

4. Indonesian Women's Political Caucus

NDI continued to support and assist the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (*Kaukus Perempuan Politik*, KPPI), a multi-partisan organization committed to increasing and strengthening women's participation and representation in Indonesian public life.

NDI sponsored Nurul Candrasari, Secretary-General of the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus, to participate in a conference on media and transformative leadership in Manila from November 8 to 10. The Institute also continued to conduct meetings with the Women's Caucus to discuss collaborative and support initiatives in 2002.

5. Legislative Oversight conference in Manila

NDI Indonesia Resident Director Keith Jennings and Program Officer Ananta Gondomono attended the *Regional Forum on Legislative Oversight*, a conference that sought to provide a venue for parliamentarians, legislative experts, government administrators, NGOs, civil society organizations, and media professionals to share 'best practices' in using legislative oversight as a tool for ensuring transparency and accountability in government. More than 100 participants from 18 countries attended the two-day conference in Manila.

NDI also sponsored the attendance of Ibrahim Ambong, chairman of DPR Commission I, the body responsible for legislation on political affairs and security; Max Moein, chairman of Commission IX, the body in charge of legislation on finance; Partopgi Nainggolan, a senior researcher of the DPR information and research service, and Dian Basuki, executive editor of Tempo magazine.

Among the many interesting points discussed, the NDI-sponsored delegates noted the factors identified by conference participants that promote and hinder effective legislative oversight, and the significant role that civil society plays in supporting legislative oversight. Some of the recommendations identified by the conference include the need to improve NGO advocacy skills and the need to install a self-regulating code of conduct for NGOs.

C. Supporting Civil Society

1. NGO Certificate Management Program Evaluation

In November, NDI, the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Indonesia (FISIP-UI), and the Program Advisory Group conducted an evaluation of the NGO Certificate Management Program, an intensive training that offers technical instruction on organizational capacity-building to NGO managers and individuals working with NGOs. NDI and FISIP-UI conducted two sessions of the Management Program in August.

The participants of the Management Program rated the training highly --- the first group's evaluation garnered an approval score of 82%, and the second yielded a score of 80%. The participants pointed out certain points that may be improved. First, participants expressed the need for an overall facilitator or 'training master' to coordinate the various resource persons. Second, participants pointed out the time insufficiency allocated for session that resulted in some material being incompletely presented. Third, participants responded better to practitioners rather than academic speakers, and were more receptive when sessions were interactive. Members of the Program Advisory Group recommended that the role-play approach or a simulation be integrated in future sessions of the Management Program.

NDI developed a video on the NGO Management Certificate Program to circulate and make available to NGO managers and members who were not able to participate in the August sessions and to other interested parties.

2. Discussion on Media Coverage of NGOs

On November 13, NDI organized an informal meeting among NGO leaders to discuss the growing negative coverage of the media towards NGOs. The discussion served as an opportunity for the Institute to gather input from NGO leaders on how they think the public perceived them. The leaders generally agreed that public trust in NGOs was declining since many alleged NGOs are being used to exploit the movements of individuals and to threaten and blackmail businesses. Former President Wahid's issuance of the decree dissolving parliament in July had split NGOs, and many are now very exclusive and devote little or no attention to social accountability. The leaders added that donors have encouraged this behavior to some degree since they have competed in sponsoring similar projects in the same locations, leading to a 'contractor approach' in NGO planning; and have a tendency to support the 'elitist approach' to advocacy.

The leaders gave NDI a number of recommendations for future activities and programs. The leaders expressed the need for a code of conduct among NGOs, however minimal. They suggested that NDI organize seminars on codes of conduct, serial workshops to identify common ground among NGOs, and dialogues with donors to identify common agendas.

3. Legislative Action Network

NDI continued its work on developing the Legislative Action Network (LAN), a web-based database that aims to encourage more informed citizen participation by increasing citizen access to information on the legislative process. The LAN shall include substantial data on the voting and legislative work record of DPR members and their parties. In its work on this project, NDI held discussions with Yayasan Indonesia Berdaya, an organization initiated by a group of

journalists with the vision of empowering democratic public communications through civic education, popular participation in public policy advocacy and information transparency.

4. Salute to Aung Sang Suu Kyi

NDI collaborated with Solidamor (Solidarity Without Borders), a local NGO committed to work for the respect of human rights and the materialization of civil society empowerment, to hold a panel discussion and cultural evening on December 8 in honor Aung Sang Suu Kyi and her tenth anniversary of being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The panel included Yuli Ismartono, a veteran journalist and close friend of Suu Kyi; Smita Notosusanto, and international political observer; and Yeni Rosa Damayanti, a renowned activist. Yuli described the personal sacrifices Suu Kyi made in her struggle. Smita illustrated the current regional and international support for the democracy movement in Burma. Yeni pointed out the student and women's movements in Burma aligned to the democratic effort. The panelists asserted that Indonesia should assume a leadership role in the region to advocate for and support democracy in Burma. The discussion was followed by a series of cultural performances, including a reading of Suu Kyi's writings, a band concert, and a human rights monologue.

5. International Human Rights Day

NDI worked with several local NGOs to organize a number of activities in commemoration of International Human Rights Day, December 10. The Institute collaborated with Yappika, KontraS, LSPP, LPIST, Elsam and Offstream to conduct seminars on the evaluation of human rights enforcement in 2001; religion, multiculturalism and the press; and human rights today in the eyes of the Indonesian youth. The organizers also hosted a film showing and a human rights poster exhibition. The activities involved nearly 200 participants, including journalists, NGO members, high school students and local human rights activists.

D. Transitional Components

Constitutional and Electoral Reform

1. 2001 MPR Annual Session

In its ongoing observation of the constitutional reform process, NDI continued to provide technical support to MPR Working Committee on Constitutional Amendments, especially in the critical period leading up to the MPR Annual Session. The Institute conducted regular consultations between NDI staff experts and MPR members, and distributed discussion papers and other informational resources on presidential electoral systems, comparative constitutional arrangements, and their political implications.

NDI conducted an in-depth, full-scale observation of the proceedings of the MPR Annual Session from November 1 to 10. The Institute has produced and distributed a public report in

English and Bahasa Indonesia on these proceedings to MPR members, research institutions, universities, and civil society and NGOs.

The Institute conducted meetings with members of the legislature, government and at state agencies, the Election Commission and civil society organizations to determine changes in political activity as a result of the recommendations and the Third Amendment of the annual MPR session. NDI met with members of the legislature responsible for the revision of political and electoral laws. Consultations were initiated with Zein Badjeber, the Chair of the Legislative Committee (*Badan Legislasi – Baleg*) in charge of the legislative drafting process. NDI also met with Teras Narang, the Chair of DPR Commission II, which handles internal affairs and political laws. In these meetings, NDI reaffirmed its efforts to continue providing technical assistance and commentaries on certain bills, particularly those on the electoral law, political law and constitutional court law. In addition, NDI conducted meetings with Jakob Tobing, the Chair of the MPR Special Ad-hoc Committee in charge of constitutional amendments. NDI continued to observe the Committee's debates and to provide technical assistance on issues pertinent to the 2002 Annual Session and the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution. This Amendment will address the structure of the MPR, the second round of debates on presidential selection, national currency, education, social welfare, and constitutional provisions on religion.

2. Publication and Distribution of Bicameralism Seminar proceedings

The Institute published and distributed the proceedings and findings of the NDI Indonesia – Rektor Forum seminar series on comparative bicameral systems and processes held in June that sought to increase understanding among Indonesian actors involved in the constitutional reform debate about the working mechanisms and the historical contexts of different bicameral systems. 500 copies of the published proceedings were distributed to members of the Ad-Hoc Committee I MPR Working Body prior to the beginning of the MPR Annual Session, and to research centers, NGOs, and other parties interested in the country's constitutional reform.

3. NDI-Habibie Center International Conference on Constitutional Amendments

NDI, in cooperation with the Habibie Center, held an international conference from October 1 to 4 on constitutional amendments to the 1945 Constitution. The conference, which involved more than 100 participants, provided a forum for many groups with different propositions on constitutional reform, and bore several constructive proposals on the content of the constitution and the reform process. The event involved the participation of both international and local resource persons: Dr. Heinrich Shoeller from Germany, Dr. Amara Raksasataya from Thailand, Dr. Wilfrido Villacorta from the Philippines, Dr. Sakuntala K. Rajasingham from International IDEA, NDI Senior Advisor Andrew Ellis, and the Habibie Center's Prof. Jimly Ashidiqi and Prof. Harun Al Rasyid.

Concurrent with the preparations of this conference, NDI organized a series of meetings and discussions among the international resource persons and MPR representatives, Ad-Hoc Committee I MPR Working Body members, the NGO Coalition for a New Constitution, research organizations, academia, media professionals, and civil society organizations.

The conference resulted in a draft constitution that was presented to the MPR. Copies of the proceedings of the conference were published and distributed to MPR members prior to the beginning of the MPR Annual Session, and to law schools, research centers, NGOs and other interested parties in Indonesia.

Regional Autonomy

1. Indonesian Forum for New Provinces

NDI continued to provide technical support to the Indonesian Forum for New Provinces (FIPB), a coalition committed to supporting local council capacity building through the development of a trainers network accessible to DPRD members in the new provinces. FIBS was formed by representatives from the new provinces of Bangka and Belitung, Banten, Gorontalo and North Maluku that participated in an interactive session facilitated by NDI in February as part of a larger regional workshop in Banten. This quarter, NDI provided technical assistance in developing training-of-trainer materials for the FIPB's future workshops. FIPB expects to begin conducting trainings in early 2002.

2. Technical Assistance Program for the Associations of DPRD Kota and Kabupaten

In October, NDI established a technical assistance program with the All Indonesian Association of DPRD Kota (City Councils, ADESKI) to support the association's strategy-building and local development planning. NDI financially supported ADESKI's national strategic planning meeting in Batam from November 7 to 10, and is working to identify a consultant to provide technical expertise in addressing the management needs of the local councilors' association and in developing materials for training-of-trainers initiatives. The Institute has also instigated discussions with the All Indonesian Association of Kabupaten (Municipal Councils, ADKASI) to establish a parallel assistance program.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

A. Strengthening Political Parties

1. 3rd Political Leadership Academy

- The Academy gave 25 young party leaders the tools to better understand the importance of developing and managing a political party through efficient working procedures, well-defined internal structures, and relevant by-laws. Through interactive training sessions, Academy participants were also given the means to acquire better skills to communicate effectively through the media.
- Academy participants were given tools to better develop and articulate party platforms and political messages. Participants gained a better understanding of the importance of party platforms as a means for issue-based campaigning, instead of developing a campaign or a party around a personality or figurehead.

- Discussions with various resource persons provided Academy participants with information and insight to develop personal criteria in analyzing the problems Indonesia faces in its democratic transition.

B. Legislative Capacity Strengthening

1. Papua Assessment mission

- NDI improved its understanding of the local geo-political conditions and current issues in Papua.
- With the information obtained through the assessment mission, NDI can better tailor program activities to fit the local needs, concerns and capacities of Papua.

2. Supporting DPR's Research and Information Service

- The technical assistance and informational materials NDI provided contributed to a more informed debate on a number of legislative topics, including the freedom of access to state information.

3. Legislative Procedures Bill

- NDI's initial participation in the grantee and advocacy NGO group to address legislation on how all national legislation is made extends the group's access to technical assistance and support on issues relevant to its current focus and future initiatives.

4. Participation in Legislative Oversight conference

- In supporting their attendance to the conference, NDI helped key actors involved in the national legislature take part in an opportunity to share with and learn from regional contemporaries.
- The DPR Commission I and Commission IX chairmen met with NDI after the conference to discuss short-term and long-term initiatives drawn from the recommendations identified at the conference. The Commission chairmen have instigated discussions on organizing study missions and the provision of technical assistance to enable committee members to conduct meaningful and transparent legislative deliberations.

C. Supporting Civil Society

1. NGO Certificate Management Program evaluation

- Through the evaluation, NDI obtained participants' input on aspects of the program that need improvement. With this information, the Institute and FISIP-UI can better tailor the future sessions of the NGO Certificate Management Program.

2. Discussion on Media Coverage of NGOs

- NGOs recognize the challenges they face in light of negative media coverage and are able to identify measures that encourage and lead to possible solutions.
- Through the discussion, NDI obtained insight and information useful to developing activities and programs to respond to this particular concern.

3. Salute to Aung Sang Suu Kyi

- The panel discussions led participants to acquire more knowledge of the life and struggle of Aung Sang Suu Kyi, and the current movements among civil society components in the region and around the world advocating for democracy in Burma.

4. International Human Rights Day

- Nearly 200 participants acquired a greater understanding of human rights and present-day human rights enforcement.

D. Transitional Components

Constitutional and Electoral Reform

1. 2001 MPR Annual Session

- NDI gained an in-depth understanding of the issues facing the MPR, allowing the Institute to assist MPR members in a responsive and timely manner. NDI's continued observation of the reform process will allow the Institute to continue to provide technical assistance to the MPR working body on constitutional amendments.
- Through consultations and the distribution of informational materials, NDI helped members of the international donor, journalistic, and academic communities in understanding the political significance and the constitutional ramifications of the MPR annual session
- Through intensive monitoring of the MPR annual session, NDI was able to produce a detailed analysis of the MPR session and the amendments and decrees passed during that session. NDI's report has reached a readership in the MPR, local and international research centers, universities, NGOs and among parties interested in constitutional reform.

2. Publication and Distribution of Bicameralism Seminar proceedings

- Through the provision and circulation of materials on bicameralism, NDI assisted in developing a more informed debate. MPR members continued to discuss the mechanisms of different bicameral systems in the 2001 Annual Session, and one of the results of the deliberation is the establishment of a second chamber of regional representatives in the legislature.

3. NDI-Habibie Center Conference on Constitutional Amendments

- Participants were given a venue to conduct constructive discussion on various propositions on constitutional reform, and the conference reaffirmed the important role of citizen participation in the constitutional reform process.
- A draft constitution to be presented to the MPR was produced through the coordination efforts of conference participants.
- Through the circulation of published conference proceedings and discussions organized among resource persons and key actors involved in constitutional reform, NDI has helped broaden the discussion and debate on constitutional reform developments.

Regional Autonomy

1. Indonesian Forum for New Provinces

- NDI's provision of technical support and assistance to the Forum helped bring about and sustain a vehicle for implementing future training-of-trainers and other programs focused on local council capacity building.

2. Technical Assistance Program for the Associations of DPRD Kota and Kabupaten

- NDI's initial steps in its technical assistance program laid the groundwork necessary to determine the associations' needs and to develop the proper programmatic response to local legislative capacity strengthening.

V. EVALUATION / CONCLUSIONS

Objective 1: To assist political and civil society leaders to encourage informed public debate and advocacy on issues critical to the success of the democratic transition.

- NGOs realized the challenges they face in light of negative media coverage, and identified the need to establish a code of conduct among NGOs.
- Participants were given a venue to conduct constructive discussion on various propositions on constitutional reform, and the conference reaffirmed the important role of citizen participation in the constitutional reform process.

Objective 2: To support the constructive involvement of civil society in the ongoing transition process and strengthen the ability of civil society groups to work effectively within the new political environment

- By refining the NGO Certificate Management Program, future participants of the program will benefit from an improved process of conducting training on organizational, structural, human resource and finance management.

Objective 3: To strengthen the ability of political parties to actively and effectively participate in a democratic, multiparty political environment

- Through the PLA, 25 young party leaders gained knowledge and skills to improve organizational governance and management of political parties. Participants gained a better understanding of the importance of party platforms as a means for issue-based campaigning, instead of developing a campaign or a party around a personality or figurehead.
- PLA participants developed cross-party relationships and acquired greater understanding of the importance of working across party lines. As young leaders progress and move up through their party's hierarchy, this understanding will help them avoid partisan bickering that may lead to legislative gridlock.

Objective 4: To increase the ability of political parties and individual DPR members to play a meaningful role in public debate, policy development, allocation of public resources and government oversight and to conduct legislative affairs in an ethical, responsive and transparent manner

- By supporting their attendance to the legislative oversight conference, NDI helped key actors involved in the national legislature meet their counterparts, and share experiences and ideas on legislative oversight as a means to ensure accountability and transparency in government. DPR Commission leaders have sought to develop short-term and long-term initiatives based on findings and recommendations from the legislative oversight conference.
- With the findings of the Papua assessment mission, NDI will be able to better design a program to fit local concerns, particularly the need to help local legislative capacity strengthening.
- Support for the national associations of regional district and municipal leaders will provide a needed forum for problem sharing, learning, policy development and ultimately, a community of peers.
- Through NDI's provision of technical support, the Indonesian Forum for New provinces is moving forward in organizing training-of-trainer workshops and other programs focused on local council capacity building.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Strengthening Political Parties

NDI will undertake preparations for constituency relations workshops in North Sulawesi and East Kalimantan in late January 2002.

A Regional Training Program for PDI-P members in West Java will be held in Bandung in January 2002.

The 4th PLA is planned for April 2002.

Legislative Capacity Strengthening

NDI will continue meetings with DPR Commission I to discuss a possible study mission, and with Commission IX to discuss workshops on bill-drafting.

Supporting Civil Society

NDI will conduct a workshop on Advocacy and Video Technology in February 2002.

The third session of the NGO Management Certificate Program is planned for July 2002.

Transitional Components

The Indonesian Forum for New Provinces will hold a training-of trainers workshop in Anyer, Banten province from January 21 to 25.

NDI will participate in the CETRO-led workshop on the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law in Aceh.