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# **2006 ANNUAL REPORT**

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## **Executive Summary**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission (HDAC) enjoyed a productive year in 2006, commencing programs with the legislatures of seven developing democracies and approving programs with five additional countries. After selecting the initial partner legislatures in 2005, the Commission undertook its first assistance programs in 2006, sending congressional delegations to six countries and hosting parliamentary delegations from six countries. The Commission also inaugurated material assistance programs in three parliaments, with the cooperation of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Under the leadership of Chairman David Dreier and Ranking Democratic Member David Price, HDAC enabled House Members and congressional staff to personally assist their counterparts in democratic legislatures to build stronger, more effective institutions. Among the notable activities were a program to furnish, equip and train staff of the parliamentary library of East Timor; consultations with MPs from the reform team of the Indonesian House of Representatives; advice on budget analysis and process to the newly created budget committee of the Kenyan parliament; and discussions on legislative oversight with committee chairs in the Afghan National Assembly.

The Commission sent congressional delegations to Indonesia and East Timor in February; to Lebanon and Kenya in July; and to Macedonia and Afghanistan in November. Parliamentary delegations from East Timor, Indonesia, Georgia and Macedonia visited the United States in April, as did delegations from Afghanistan and Kenya in late August and early September. In addition to the parliamentary library project in East Timor, HDAC donated a computer server to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia and library materials to the Lebanese National Assembly. Partnerships with Colombia, Haiti, Liberia, Mongolia, and Ukraine have been established with programs set to begin in early 2007.

As the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress gets underway, the focus of HDAC will shift from initiating partnerships to designing and implementing more robust programs with current partners. The Commission expects to send congressional delegations to partner countries; to invite member and staff delegations from partner countries; and to design material assistance programs for several parliaments. HDAC is also exploring ways to increase cooperation between visits.

## **Introduction**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission (HDAC) was created by the House of Representatives on March 14, 2005, when the House voted 386-2 to approve H. Res. 135, the House Democracy Assistance Commission Resolution. Section 5(c) of that resolution states that the Commission shall prepare an annual report and submit it to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, the Committee on International Relations and other appropriate House committees, the Office of Interparliamentary Affairs of the House of Representatives, and the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

As required by H. Res. 135, this report contains the results of a study on the feasibility of programs of assistance for parliaments of new democracies for the purpose of strengthening their parliamentary infrastructure. It also reviews the activities of the Commission in 2006 and proposes activities of the Commission in 2007.

## **Commission Activities in 2006**

### **Overview**

This year marked the beginning of programming for the House Democracy Assistance Commission, with Members of Congress working with their colleagues in seven parliaments from around the world. Commission Members participated in three congressional delegations to six partner countries (in February, July and November), and delegations from six countries visited the United States for programs in Washington and in Members' districts (in April and late August/early September). The Commission also recommended material assistance programs for parliaments in three countries, and these programs were implemented by USAID.

The congressional delegations were well-received by their parliamentary counterparts, and working sessions were well-attended, with engaged, substantive discussions the norm. Topics were wide-ranging, from the roles and responsibilities of a legislator with MPs from the new country of East Timor to the importance of an independent budget analysis office in Kenya.

Most delegations were enthusiastic about the programs in the United States, which featured meetings between visiting MPs and staff and Members of Congress and their staff. Delegations were provided with an overview of the U.S. legislative and budget process, discussed the roles of House committees, were briefed on the duties of the Congressional Research Service (CRS), and participated in workshops on oversight, analysis and budgeting. For many delegates, the visit to the home district of a Commission Member was a highlight of the program, enabling them to learn the important role of constituent relations for Members of Congress.

The largest material assistance program is in East Timor, where the Commission is providing furniture, equipment and training for the expanded parliamentary library, in cooperation with USAID and the Library of Congress (LOC). The Commission also purchased a computer server in Macedonia and provided materials to the Lebanese parliamentary library.

## **U.S. Programs**

The Commission in 2006 hosted two programs in the United States for delegations from partner parliaments. The first was held from April 18 to 28 for delegations from East Timor, Georgia, Indonesia and Macedonia. The second was held from August 30 to September 9 for delegations from Afghanistan and Kenya. A Lebanese delegation had been invited to participate as well, but was unable to travel due to the conflict in that country. A total of 57 MPs and staff from the six parliaments participated in these programs.

The program in April began with programs in the state legislatures of the hosting Members: the East Timorese delegation in Phoenix, Arizona; the Georgian delegation in Columbia, South Carolina; the Indonesian delegation in Sacramento, California; and the Macedonian delegation in Lansing, Michigan. Participants, however, generally found these programs to be less useful than other parts of the program, and the Commission decided not to include a program in a state legislature for the second set of delegations in late August.

Each delegation was hosted by a Commission Member in his or her home district prior to the program in Washington. These district programs focused on constituent relations and the interaction between different levels of government in the U.S. federal system. Visiting MPs and staff met with district office staff, observed town hall meetings between their host Members and constituents, and shadowed Members for activities throughout the district. The district programs were well-received by delegates; some cited this as the highlight of their program, and the district experiences enabled Commission Members to develop personal relationships with visiting MPs. Details about each district program can be found in the section on programs with each partner legislature.

In Washington, both programs provided visiting MPs and staff with an overview of the House and its legislative operations, with House officers, CRS specialists, and outside experts meeting with the delegations. Delegates also received an overview of the congressional budget process and an introduction to the work of CRS. Programs are included in the appendices.

The programs in Washington sought to maximize Member-to-Member and staff-to-staff contact. Members of Congress met with each delegation to discuss the work of House committees, with a particular focus on the hearing process. The Commission also arranged individual meetings between visiting staff and their House counterparts to allow visiting staffers to have detailed discussions with relevant House staff that related directly to their duties. Members and staff also had an opportunity to talk informally at a reception and a luncheon hosted by the Commission.

The most detailed work in Washington occurred in three daylong workshops tailored to meet the needs of different MPs and staff. One workshop on the workings of the House focused on legislative process and administration and paired House officers and procedural experts with visiting MPs and staff working in leadership, administrative and procedural roles. A second workshop focused on the work of committees and included presentations by CRS and House committee staff regarding research, analysis, and the substance of legislation; it was aimed at visiting committee chairs, their staff and researchers. The final workshop focused on the budget and appropriations process for members and staff of relevant committees and offices.

## **Afghanistan**

Recognizing the importance of a stable Afghan democracy to U.S. and regional security, the Commission moved quickly to establish a program with the Afghan National Assembly following successful national elections in September 2005. HDAC Members approved a program with the directly elected lower house, the Wolesi Jirga, in March 2006. An Afghan delegation visited the United States at the end of August 2006, and a congressional delegation conducted a program in Kabul, Afghanistan in November 2006.

### Congressional Delegation

The Commission conducted its third Member assistance mission in Macedonia and Afghanistan from November 19 to 27, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, Lois Capps and Earl Pomeroy. The delegation met with counterparts from the Wolesi Jirga on November 25 and 26. The delegation was impressed by the commitment of Afghan MPs to build a democratic system in their country and to work within the political structures of the parliament to resolve their differences.

Speaker Yanus Qanooni expressed his thanks to the delegation for the Commission's support and his hope that the Commission can assist the development of his parliament. Referring to the civil war that followed the end of Soviet occupation in 1989, he noted that Afghan leaders now settle their disagreements with voting cards rather than weapons.

Legislative oversight of the government was a major focus of the delegation's visit, most notably in the delegation's meeting with the 18 chairs of Wolesi Jirga committees. Concurrently, two House staffers met with a wide range of Afghan committee staff. The focus on strengthening Afghan committees continued on the second day of the visit, when the delegation separated into two groups and conducted individual meetings with the chairs, vice chairs and secretaries of six committees from the Wolesi Jirga.

A major focus of the Commission's work in Afghanistan will be the parliamentary library, and Chairman Dreier signed a memorandum of understanding pledging HDAC to support that facility during a public ceremony. The library is housed in a newly renovated space, but it is in need of books, periodicals, and other library materials. In September 2006, the Commission had sent a specialist from the Library of Congress office in Islamabad, Pakistan, to assess the needs of the library, and her report and proposal will form the basis of the Commission's project. Training for Afghan library staff will be an important part of the project.

### Parliamentary Delegation

An 11-person delegation from the Afghan National Assembly participated in the second HDAC program in the United States from August 30 to September 9, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the suburban Chicago district of Rep. Mark Kirk before traveling to Washington for the program in Congress. The delegation was led by the Honorable Saleh Saljughy, an MP who serves as the Second Secretary of the Wolesi Jirga, a leadership position, and focused on committee chairmen. Other participants can be found in Appendix C.

In Illinois, the delegation met with Mr. Kirk and his staff and toured his district office to learn how Members of Congress interact with their constituents. Participants also met with local government officials to gain a better understanding of the relationship between different levels of government. The delegation also toured the Great Lakes Naval Station to see how the U.S. Navy trains its recruits.

In addition to the general program in Washington, MPs and staff participated in individual programs targeted to their particular roles and interests. The chairmen of the defense and internal security committees discussed defense oversight in meetings with Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Eric Edelman and officials at the National Defense University and the Army Liaison Office in the House. The internal security chairman participated in meetings at the Drug Enforcement Agency. Staff met with their counterparts on the House Judiciary Committee and in the Office of the Speaker.

## **East Timor**

East Timor gained its independence in 2002, and the Commission program aims to develop both the physical infrastructure and the human capacity of one of the world's newest parliaments. The Commission's first congressional delegation visited East Timor in February 2006, and a Timorese delegation came to the United States in April 2006. The parliamentary library has been a focus of HDAC efforts thanks to a program to furnish, equip and train staff in order to create an information resource for MPs and staff.

### Congressional Delegation

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its first Member assistance mission in Indonesia and East Timor from February 16 to 25, 2006. Led by Rep. Jim Kolbe, the delegation included Reps. Lois Capps, Adam Schiff and Allyson Schwartz. The delegation met with counterparts from the National Parliament of East Timor on February 23 and 24. The Commission program in East Timor was enthusiastically received by members of parliament, a majority of whom participated during the two-day program.

In discussion, both with the entire delegation and during individual break-out sessions, Timorese MPs asked about how representatives balance obligations to their constituents with t loyalty to their party. Important discussions took place during the session on the role of majority and minority parties, the role of staff, and security sector oversight. Congressional staff also conducted a program for Timorese parliamentary staff on how staff should support members.

### Parliamentary Delegation

A 10-person delegation from the National Parliament of East Timor participated in the first HDAC program in the United States from April 18 to 28, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the southern Arizona district of Rep. Jim Kolbe before traveling to Washington for the program in Congress. The delegation was led by the Honorable Francisco Carlos Soares, an MP who

serves as Secretary of the National Parliament, a leadership position. Other participants can be found in Appendix B.

During their time in Arizona, delegates first met with Mr. Kolbe and his district staff in Tucson, gaining a first-hand look at how a Member interacts with constituents. The delegation then traveled to Phoenix for a two-day program in the Arizona state legislature for an overview of legislative operations there.

### Material assistance

During the February 2006 visit of CODEL Kolbe, a memorandum of understanding was signed by Chairman Kolbe, U.S. Ambassador Grover Joseph Rees, and Speaker Francisco “Lu’olo” Guterres. In this MOU the Commission pledged to furnish and equip the parliamentary library and train the staff. In addition, the Commission will provide books and other library materials from a bibliography being compiled by the Library of Congress. This project aims to create a functioning and well-equipped parliament library that can provide information and research service for Members of Parliament in support of democratic governance, high-quality legislation, and effective oversight of the government. USAID has allocated \$175,000 from the HDAC appropriation to pay for the material assistance and training.

At the request of HDAC, the Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington, agreed that the staff of the Library of Congress office in Jakarta should assist in this effort. The LOC role is supportive, with the Dili office of the Asia Foundation taking the leadership. This program will equip the new library and information facility with basic furniture, equipment, and informational resources.. TAF will provide IT resources based on the Library of Congress’ development plan, while LOC will oversee installation of the IT equipment to be maintained on a long-term basis by the parliament’s IT section. TAF will also provide a core set of materials, including relevant reference materials, and coordinate training, which will include training by the LOC, the Department of State’s regional librarian, and the Dili Institute of Technology.

### **Georgia**

The Commission program in Georgia is intended to support the legislature of a country that took great strides toward democracy with its November 2003 Rose Revolution. Many of the leaders of that movement now serve in parliament, and the Commission program aims to assist them in strengthening the committees, support agencies and leadership offices. A Georgian delegation visited the United States in April 2006.

### Parliamentary Delegation

A 10-person delegation from the Georgian Parliament participated in the first HDAC program in the United States from April 18 to 28, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the South Carolina district of Rep. Joe Wilson before the program in Washington. The delegation was led by Deputy Speaker Jemal Inaishvili. Other participants can be found in Appendix B.

The program began in Columbia, South Carolina, with a two-day program in the state legislature, and continued with a three-day program with Mr. Wilson and his district office staff to learn more about constituent relations.

During the Washington program, the Commission arranged specialized meetings for several Georgian participants. Staff from the Georgian Speaker's office met with staff from the office of Speaker Dennis Hastert; budget officials met with staff from CBO; and the research service director met with staff from CRS.

The program with the Georgian delegation, however, did not meet the expectations of the visiting MPs and staff, who viewed it as too basic for an advanced legislature. As a result, the Commission pledged to review the program with the Georgian parliament to make it more specialized and useful for MPs and staff.

## **Indonesia**

The Commission program in Indonesia is designed to assist members in their own efforts to reform their legislature by gaining greater control over its budget and staff, in order to become a more independent legislature. The Commission sent a congressional delegation to Jakarta in February 2006, and an Indonesian delegation visited the United States in April 2006.

### Congressional Delegation

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its first Member assistance mission in Indonesia and East Timor from February 16 to 25, 2006. Led by Rep. Jim Kolbe, the delegation included Reps. Lois Capps, Adam Schiff and Allyson Schwartz. The delegation met in Jakarta with counterparts from the Indonesian House of Representatives on February 20 and 21. The delegation found a receptive audience for its message of strengthening legislative independence among its counterparts in the Indonesian House of Representatives, (DPR).

Speaker Agung Laksono told the delegation that the main problem his parliament faces is its budget, which is set by the executive branch. He expressed need for a more effective library, research and professional staff and for funding to enable MPs to communicate with their constituents and open district offices

The themes of insufficient staffing and lack of budgetary control resurfaced during the delegation's meetings with the Budget Committee and Legislative Committee (BALEG). The delegation's meeting with the House Administration Committee (BURT) focused on the independence from the executive branch that the U.S. Congress enjoys. Recognizing the need for parliament to control its own staff and budget, the DPR created a "Study Team for Improving the Performance of the DPR." Because the team had not yet been inaugurated, a meeting between two members and the delegation had to take place outside the parliament. The sensitive discussion proved lively.

Concurrent with the program for members of parliament, a program for DPR staff addressed basic staff functions, research and reports, preparation for hearings, oversight role, and information management. Participants included committee staff and party staff researchers with a mix of secretariat administrative staff and minimal participation from the research service.

### Parliamentary Delegation

A five-person delegation from the Indonesian House of Representatives participated in the first HDAC program in the United States from April 18 to 28, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the California state legislature in Sacramento and the southern California districts of Reps. David Dreier, Adam Schiff and Lois Capps before traveling to Washington. The delegation was led by Deputy Speaker Muhaimin Iskandar. Other participants can be found in Appendix B.

Chairman David Dreier hosted the delegation in his suburban Los Angeles district, including a luncheon with local media to discuss relations between legislators and the press. The next day, the delegation visited the adjoining district of Rep. Adam Schiff, learning about constituent relations and the operations of a district office. One participant later wrote to the Commission: "I believe all information I gained, along with dialogues and discussions with you are of great sources for Indonesia legislature's performance."

The delegation then traveled to Santa Barbara for a program with Rep. Lois Capps, including visits to a public forum the congresswoman held on Medicare, a university roundtable on religion in public life, and a dinner meeting with local officials. In Washington, the adviser to the Indonesia Speaker visited with staff from the office of Speaker Dennis Hastert, in addition to the general program.

### **Kenya**

The Commission program in Kenya seeks to assist reformers in the National Assembly who are working to make their parliament a more effective legislature by streamlining its internal rules and increasing its capability to analyze budgets and legislation. The Commission sent a congressional delegation to Kenya in July 2006 and invited a Kenyan delegation to visit the United States in late August/early September 2006.

### Congressional Delegation

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its second Member assistance mission in Lebanon and Kenya from June 30 to July 9, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, John Boozman, Rush Holt, Michael Capuano, Donald Payne and Adam Schiff. The delegation met with counterparts from the parliament of Kenya from July 5 to 7.

The visit to Kenya by the HDAC delegation came at an opportune time and established strong personal relationships with the leading reformers in the National Assembly of Kenya. In particular, the creation of a budget committee in the Kenyan parliament during the delegation's

first day of meetings and the establishment of an internal commission to revise the archaic rules of procedure a few weeks earlier fostered a productive environment for the visit. The delegation met with many of the strongest advocates for reform in the parliament and offered guidance on the importance of parliamentary independence and oversight. An assistance session with committee chairs focused on the importance of public hearings and oversight of the executive branch. Speaker Francis ole Kaparo warmly welcomed the visit of the delegation, and encouraged future cooperation through the HDAC program.

A breakfast working session with Members of the Public Accounts and Public Investment Committees discussed the budget process. The National Assembly passed legislation authorizing the creation of a Budget Committee and independent Fiscal Analysis Office during the delegation's visit.

On its third day in Kenya, the delegation visited the rural constituency of Kajiado South, in southern Kenya. Katoo ole Metito, the local member of parliament, took the delegation to visit three projects that had been funded through the Constituency Development Fund, through which MPs direct funding for infrastructure development in their districts. Among these projects were a rural clinic, a water project, and a primary school addition.

### Parliamentary Delegation

An 11-person delegation from the Kenyan National Assembly participated in the second HDAC program in the United States from August 30 to September 9, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the Alabama district of Rep. Artur Davis before traveling to Washington. The delegation was led by Speaker Francis ole Kaparo; other participants are listed in Appendix C.

In Alabama, the delegation met with Mr. Davis, his district office staff, and with community leaders from the Birmingham area to learn more about constituent relations. The delegation also participated in a medical roundtable discussion at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. The civil rights movement past and present was a focal point of the program, and the delegation held meetings at the Civil Rights Institute, toured important sites in Selma, and visited the birthplace of Coretta Scott King.

In Washington, CBO organized a program for four MPs and staff on the workings of a budget office, which assisted the Kenyans in their work to establish a budget analysis office in their own parliament. The Commission arranged meetings between the Kenyan clerk and his House counterpart, as well as meetings between a Kenyan drafter and staff of the Committee on International Relations and the Office of the Legislative Counsel on drafting legislation.

### **Lebanon**

The demonstrations in Lebanon in Spring 2005 that resulted in the election victory of pro-democracy forces led the Commission to seek to establish a partnership with the National Assembly. This partnership was approved in March 2006, and a congressional delegation visited Beirut in July 2006. The conflict that began eight days later prevented a Lebanese delegation

from visiting the United States; however, HDAC remains committed to cooperation with Lebanese MPs who are working to restore democracy and sovereignty in their country.

### Congressional Delegation

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its second Member assistance mission in Lebanon and Kenya from June 30 to July 9, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, John Boozman, Rush Holt, Michael Capuano, Donald Payne and Adam Schiff. The delegation met with counterparts from the Lebanese National Assembly on July 3 and 4. The Commission's meetings in the Lebanese National Assembly drew an interested, engaged, and sizable group of MPs. A key point made by many MPs concerned the need to move beyond the sectarian system that has governed Lebanese politics for more than 60 years and create a united Lebanese democracy.

Nabih Berri, the Speaker of the Lebanese National Assembly, expressed his support for collaboration between the U.S. House of Representatives and the National Assembly under the auspices of the House Democracy Assistance Commission. He specifically raised the issue of the need to build a research capability within the parliament. The delegation held three assistance sessions with Lebanese MPs, focused on the role of the legislature as an independent branch of government and the necessity of conducting oversight of the executive; budget and finance oversight; and the importance of independent staff and research analysis.

### Parliamentary delegation

Because of the military conflict in July and August, a Lebanese delegation was not able to participate in the HDAC program that began on August 30. The Commission pledged to invite a Lebanese delegation to participate in the next inbound program.

### Material assistance

Prior to the delegation's visit, the Commission had targeted the library as an important resource for the Lebanese National Assembly, and the Library of Congress compiled a bibliography of recommended materials for that facility. Recognizing the importance of a parliamentary library as an independent source of information for MPs, the delegation brought a set of books that represented the first installment of a \$10,000 gift of materials to the library. Two experts from the Library of Congress office in Cairo held concurrent meetings in the parliament with library staff and others to help design a program of assistance to the library.

### **Macedonia**

The Commission seeks to assist the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia in developing its committee structure and outreach to constituents, as well as its information technology infrastructure. HDAC invited a Macedonian delegation to the United States in April 2006, sent a congressional delegation to Macedonia in November 2006, and donated a computer server.

## Congressional Delegation

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its third Member assistance mission in Macedonia and Afghanistan from November 19 to 28, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, Lois Capps and Earl Pomeroy. The delegation met with counterparts from the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia from November 20 to 22. Members and Macedonian MPs had the opportunity to discuss topics ranging from the Assembly's new rules of procedure to the role of government and opposition coalitions. A concurrent staff program gave congressional and Macedonian staff the chance to discuss many of the same topics and to build personal relationships for future contacts.

The delegation began its program in the city of Ohrid, in southwestern Macedonia, discussing constituent relations with local MPs. The delegation then spent two days working with MPs in the nation's capital, Skopje. The Macedonian group included several MPs who had participated in the HDAC program in April in the United States, and they spoke highly of the lessons that they learned during three days in the Michigan district of Rep. Candice Miller. One of them told the delegation, "Everything that I learned in the States I will be able to use to strengthen our young democracy. I know that whenever I have a question, I will be able to talk to you."

Ljubisha Georgievski, the president of the Assembly, also told the delegation of the need for more expert staff, and he spoke of the need for ethics rules in the parliament. Concurrently, U.S. and Macedonian staff exchanged information and perspectives on the Assembly's new draft rules and the work of the commission responsible for rules, mandates, and immunity.

The issue of inadequate staffing was raised in a meeting with the chairs of committees in the Assembly. Concurrently, congressional staff discussed the staff work of committees and the role of information technology. Staff also met with staff of the Research and Analysis Department of the Assembly and discussed several principles that guide the work of a legislative research facility, especially the notion of a legislature having its own dedicated resource of information and analysis. The delegation's final meetings in the Assembly focused on the role of majority and opposition parties and revisited many of the themes covered during the three-day program.

## Parliamentary Delegation

A 10-person delegation from the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia participated in the first HDAC program in the United States from April 18 to 28, 2006. The delegation began its visit in the Michigan state legislature in Lansing before driving to the suburban Detroit district of Rep. Candice Miller, home to the largest Macedonian-American population in the country, before traveling to Washington for the program in Congress. The delegation was led by Deputy Speaker Slobodan Najdovski. Other participants are listed in Appendix B.

In Lansing, the program focused on the work of legislative committees, which is a core element of both the NDI and the HDAC programs in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. The delegation also visited the nearby University of Michigan before traveling to Mrs. Miller's office in Utica, north of Detroit. In addition to learning about the operations of her district office, the delegation participated in several events with the Macedonian-American community in the area.

### Material assistance

During the congressional delegation in November, Chairman Dreier and the delegation had an opportunity to dedicate a plaque just outside the plenary chamber that commemorates the Commission's donation of a \$50,000 computer server to the Assembly. This server will enable the Assembly to move away from its reliance on hard copies of documents and to develop internet-accessible resources like a legislative information system.

The delegation also toured renovated committee meeting areas and a little-used meeting room that President Georgievski plans to convert into a larger parliamentary library, with about 2,500 square feet of space. The delegation asked the Assembly to keep the Commission updated on the progress of this initiative so that the Commission might be able to offer advice and other assistance as the project goes forward.

## **Studies**

### **Introduction**

In accordance with Section 5(b) of H. Res. 135, the Commission conducted studies of the feasibility of assistance programs in eight countries that have established or are developing democratic parliaments that would benefit from assistance by the Commission. Recognizing that several promising candidates in the Western Hemisphere were holding parliamentary elections in late 2005 and early 2006, the Commission decided to undertake two separate regional studies in 2006 – the first for all regions outside the Western Hemisphere, the second looking only at candidates in the Western Hemisphere. The Commission also studied the parliaments of Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon and Ukraine, following a Commission decision to undertake assessments of these legislatures as special cases for immediate consideration.

Staff in February undertook a series of roundtable discussions on candidate legislatures with experts from CRS, USAID, International Republican Institute (IRI), National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and other organizations active in parliamentary strengthening. Following those discussions, staff undertook a desk study of the parliaments in eight of those countries. In March, the Commission reviewed the findings of the desk study and directed staff to undertake on-site assessment visits to three countries: Morocco, Mongolia and Liberia. These visits were conducted from March to July. In each country, staff met with officials from the Department of State and USAID; implementers of the USAID-funded parliamentary strengthening program; members of parliament, including speakers, committee chairs, and party leaders; senior parliamentary staff; and outside organizations that work with parliament.

On the basis of those assessments reports, the Commission unanimously agreed to conduct 2007 assistance programs in Mongolia and Liberia. The Commission decided to defer further consideration of a program in Morocco, believing that fundamental political reforms are needed there for the parliament to play an independent and substantive role in the legislative process and government oversight, as set forth in Section 5(b)(1) of H. Res. 135.

Staff undertook a subsequent roundtable discussion in May 2006 with experts on parliaments in the Western Hemisphere. In July 2006, the Commission reviewed the ensuing desk study and directed staff to conduct on-site assessments of the parliaments of Colombia and Haiti in August and September. On the basis of those assessment reports, the Commission unanimously agreed to establish partnerships in both of those countries.

As the Commission had directed in the previous year, staff undertook additional assessment missions to Lebanon in January 2006, to Afghanistan in February 2006, and to Ukraine in October 2006. On the basis of those reports, the Commission unanimously agreed to establish partnerships in all three countries. In lieu of an assessment visit, the Commission requested a desk study on the feasibility of a program with the Iraqi parliament. After reviewing that study, the Chairman and Ranking Member deferred consideration of a program in Iraq.

Following decisions undertaken by the Commission in 2006, the Commission will begin 2007 with 12 partner legislatures: Afghanistan, Colombia, East Timor, Georgia, Haiti, Indonesia, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Macedonia, Mongolia, and Ukraine.

## **Afghanistan**

A five-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Kabul from February 26 to March 2, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Afghan National Assembly. The bicameral Afghan National Assembly was inaugurated in late December 2005 following the country's successful parliamentary elections in September. The 249-member Wolesi Jirga (lower house) is directly elected on a province-wide basis; the 102-member Meshrano Jirga (upper house) is appointed by district councils, provincial legislatures and the president. The staff assessment focused on the lower house, given that its members are elected.

The Commission was impressed by the apparent commitment of the Assembly's members to the success of a democratic legislature. Militia leaders who fought one another during decades of civil war seem willing to resolve differences through the political process. Likewise, Speaker Yunus Qanooni and all of the MPs with whom the delegation met were receptive toward a partnership with the House. These meetings included conservative Islamic scholars, former communists, mujaddehin fighters and an Afghan-American businessman, as well as the woman serving as deputy speaker. Members and staff were open to advice from the United States and had numerous questions about the American system.

The Commission found that the parliament had received extensive assistance from the UN Development Program (UNDP), which has a two-year, \$15.5 million program, and USAID, which has a three-year, \$8 million contract with the State University of New York (SUNY) Center for International Development. Donors had been working with the staff for a year and with the members since the September 2005 elections; thanks to this early support, the parliament was assessed to be in a good position to receive HDAC assistance. SUNY conducted an orientation for new members before parliament was inaugurated and plans ongoing work, focused on improving the capacity of members and staff and developing the secretariat as an institution. Budgetary expertise was found to be particularly lacking.

Parliament was meeting in the same building used by the pre-1973 legislature, which was quickly renovated by international donors. Plenary chambers are functional, but MPs do not have individual offices, and there are only 10 committee rooms to accommodate the 34 committees between the two chambers. As a result, committees were meeting anywhere from the library to a corner of the plenary chamber. India was reportedly planning to spend \$25 million to rehabilitate the bombed-out Darulaman Palace for the permanent parliament building; the building is large enough, but much work will need to be done to transform its hollowed-out shell. UNDP had provided substantial information technology assistance, and the parliament has 200 networked computers with internet access. There were no plans to create a legislative information system.

The library was well furnished and well staffed (with nine trained librarians), but it lacked basic reference materials. The director expressed a strong interest in establishing contacts between the

Parliament Library and the Library of Congress, including the LOC Islamabad office. She also expressed interest in the LOC Global Legal Information Network (GLIN). The library was found to be in need of additional books and reference materials, as well as staff training in the basic functions of a legislative library. The library staff provided the delegation with a list of books and publications that already have been purchased or requested from other donors.

The assessment delegation found that the Professional and Legal Studies Department was serving as both the research service and legislative counsel, with a director, eight researchers, and two legal drafters. The director of the research unit could benefit from meeting with staff of the Congressional Research Service and House Legislative Counsel. Other staff could benefit from an HDAC training program in Kabul.

Parliament has authority over its own staff of 275 hired through a central human resources office, though the two chambers are moving toward splitting the unified secretariat into units for each house. The Finance Ministry set the FY 2006 parliamentary budget; MPs believed that the parliament may be able to determine its own budget in future years. Professional staff numbered about 40. Committees had one staffer each; plans called for hiring a second staffer for each committee, with the vision of having one policy expert and one clerk for each panel. Despite the context, the parliament appeared to HDAC staff to be an emerging institution that was taken seriously by Afghans, and parliamentarians appeared committed to developing the institution.

The Commission on March 15, 2006, agreed unanimously to a partnership with the Afghan National Assembly, focusing on the directly elected lower house. This program will include work with the committees of the Wolesi Jirga; assistance to MPs and staff who work on budget analysis; training and material assistance to the parliamentary library; and technical assistance to the Professional and Legal Studies Department, both in its role as a parliamentary research service and in legislative drafting.

## **Colombia**

A seven-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Bogota from August 14 to 18, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Colombian congress. The 185-year-old Colombian congress historically had been a weak actor in a political system dominated by the executive. Constitutional changes in 1991 and a new electoral law for the March 2006 elections laid the groundwork for the congress to become a co-equal partner in the legislative process; however, the majority seemed content to defer to President Alvaro Uribe.

Leaders were eager to receive Commission assistance, but chamber presidents and committee chairs serve one-year terms, an obstacle to sustaining reform. A Modernization Commission was created in the last congress to coordinate reform efforts and is a logical interlocutor for the Commission.

The congress that took office on July 20 is made up of a 166-seat House of Representatives, whose members are elected from party lists in each province, and a 102-seat Senate, which is elected from nationwide party lists. Changes to the electoral law resulted in a dramatic reduction of parties winning congressional seats and enabled the creation of pro-Uribe and opposition

blocs. Many parties were found to be organized around the personalities of their candidates rather than ideological platforms. The main challenge then facing the parties in parliament was deciding how they would implement a law reforming legislative procedures, which includes a requirement that their members vote the party line except on “votes of conscience.”

The congress occupied a grand, historic building on the main square of Bogota, and facilities were comfortable. Committee rooms included seating for the public at hearings. Personal staffs were the main source of policy support to members. Members are given a personal office budget that enables them to hire staffs of four to ten at their own discretion. While most used their budgets to employ political advisors and patronage hires, most Members also had a few legislative assistants. Committee staffs were limited in the policy support they can provide; while committees had a dozen employees, on average only two of those were professional staff. This and the absence of a research service leave the congress with little policy expertise. The congressional library provides little legislative support to members and staff.

USAID had funded a \$1.2 million, three-year program to strengthen the Colombian congress that was an adjunct to a larger program of assistance to provincial and local governments. Implemented by Associates for Rural Development, the program established a Legislative Technical Assistance Office (LTAO) and a Citizen Services Office (CSO). The LTAO uses college interns to research exhaustive studies of proposed legislation of several hundred pages. The CSO is an effective constituent liaison, but there is no U.S. counterpart office. The ARD project also developed a proposal for creation of a budget analysis unit.

The Commission on September 28, 2006, approved a partnership with the Colombian congress. This program will emphasize to members and staff the importance of independent research and analysis; support development of a budget analysis unit if it is created; discuss the role of political parties in a legislature; underscore the responsibilities of members to their electorate; and discuss congressional oversight of the executive branch.

## **Haiti**

A six-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Port-Au-Prince from September 11 to 15, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Haitian National Assembly. The delegation found a fledgling legislature struggling to learn and fulfill its role in a nascent democracy. Working conditions were challenging, especially the extreme lack of physical space, with only a handful of serviceable meeting rooms. Only the five Members of the leadership of each chamber have offices; other Members, committees, and support staff lack offices altogether. A donation by the executive branch of two nearby buildings will improve the situation somewhat. Members are proud of the “200-year history” of the parliament, but recognize that an overpowering executive has dominated parliament for most of that time.

Free and fair elections in February 2006 led to the inauguration in July 2006 of a 99-member Chamber of Deputies and a 30-member Senate. A vast majority are serving their first term. Members were uncertain about their roles and responsibilities, and basic member education should form the core of an HDAC program. Because both chambers are popularly elected, it would be appropriate for HDAC to work with both houses.

The National Assembly was found to be overstaffed, and most staff do not serve legislative functions. The Assembly had 400 staff (reduced from 600), yet Members lack personal, committee, or party caucus staff. The Commission could offer its advice on how the staffing structure should be reformed and develop a staff-to-staff program if committee staffs, a research service, and an improved library are developed. Staff in each chamber is under the authority of a secretary general (a former speaker holds this position in the Chamber), and is divided between legislative and administrative branches. The legislative staff includes those responsible for plenary sessions, committee meetings, public relations, and the archives, as well as legislative drafters.

The Capitol's physical space was found to be severely deficient. The parliament consisted of two rundown buildings, one for each chamber. There were five committee rooms for more than 35 committees; constraints are so severe that some committee meetings were held in the personal offices of parliamentary leaders. Haitian MPs believed that their greatest need is for a new facility, followed by office equipment and supplies, training for MPs and staff, and security. In the meantime, the executive branch donated two buildings near the parliament to the National Assembly which were being remodeled. The long-term plan calls for construction of a new \$30 million building by 2010, but funding has not been identified.

The parliament was conducting its own needs assessment, which it was to coordinate with the large number of international donors aiding the parliament. Once that assessment is completed and coordinated with the donors, the Commission might consider material assistance, particularly in the area of research capacity, should the assembly choose to invest in that area. The library was small and lacks recently published materials; the archives are severely lacking in certain areas, such as voting records. Information technology was largely non-existent. There was no Internet access or local area network, and there are very few functioning computers.

One proposal would create a "documentation center" which would house the library, archives, legislative drafters, researchers, and some information technology functions. Should the National Assembly move forward with this project, it could prove to be a project well suited for material assistance from the Commission. Such a project would also benefit significantly from the expertise of CRS in organizing and developing a research service.

USAID signed a three-year, \$3 million program to strengthen the National Assembly with the SUNY Center for International Development. Under the contract, SUNY will implement a legislative strengthening program focusing on Member education and committee strengthening, in close coordination with the Canadian aid agency. While the SUNY program was just getting off the ground, IRI was continuing its work to strengthen political parties in advance of by-elections scheduled for February 2007, and NDI was drawing up plans to help MPs with constituent relations in each of Haiti's 15 political districts.

Given the strong historical ties between the U.S. and Haiti, a Commission partnership with Haiti could play a significant role in helping to jumpstart an effective legislative branch there. Receptivity for an HDAC program was extremely high on the part of the Haitian MPs, across all political spectrums.

On September 28, 2006, the Commission approved a program with the Haitian National Assembly, beginning in 2007. The Commission will assist the Haitian parliament in developing committee operations, including public hearings and oversight; developing ethics rules and an enforcement mechanism; and offering other needed material assistance.

## **Iraq**

Consistent with the House Democracy Assistance Commission's decision of September 28, 2006, HDAC staff did not travel to Baghdad to conduct this assessment report. Rather, as requested, this assessment was made utilizing all available information from the U.S. Government and implementing agencies on the feasibility of an HDAC program with the Iraqi Council of Representatives.

The Iraqi Council of Representatives, the first legislature elected under Iraq's new constitution, took office in spring 2006 and consists of 275 Members. While the Constitution calls for a second body representing the regions to be created, no such action has been taken. The December 2005 election results were largely in line with the sectarian makeup of the country. The Shiite coalition won over 40 percent of the seats and its coalition partner, the Kurdistan Alliance, garnered another 20 percent. Sunni parties received roughly 20 percent, while secular parties generally fared poorly.

The Speaker of the Iraqi Council of Representatives (ICR) is Sunni leader Mahmoud Mashhadani. He has been willing, to some extent, to work with both the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute on improving the technical capacity of the ICR and in particular, his leadership office. Both IRI and NDI have substantial parliamentary strengthening programs ongoing in the ICR.

Security and safety of both Americans and Iraqis is of paramount concern. Security restrictions could limit the effectiveness of a program on the ground in Baghdad, and there is evidence that Iraqi parliamentary staff and Representatives have been directly targeted for attack.

The Commission decided to defer a decision on a program with Iraq until such time as the political and security situation is appropriate for a full staff assessment to be conducted in Baghdad. Members of the Iraqi Council of Representatives are trying to rebuild their country and prevent civil war, so a strong focus on institutional strengthening may be lacking. All political attention for the foreseeable future will be on passing reforms and getting them through the required referendum process. It would be difficult for an HDAC program to be productive in a political environment in which Iraqis are deciding the fate of their country and its government.

## **Lebanon**

A five-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Beirut from January 23 to 27, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Lebanese National Assembly. While a country of fewer than 4 million people, Lebanon has an importance that far outweighs its size.

The most democratic country in the Arab world, Lebanon has had a parliament since 1926, during the French mandate.

The assassination in 2005 of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri led to massive protests in Lebanon by an estimated 1 million people (25 percent of the population). This so-called Cedar Revolution, combined with international pressure led by the United States and France, led Syria to withdraw its military forces, though a significant intelligence presence is believed to remain. The timing was fortuitous, as scheduled elections in May and June 2005 resulted in the “March 14” alliance led by Rafiq Hariri’s son Saad gaining 72 of the 128 seats in parliament. A rival, mostly Christian alliance led by former Gen. Michel Aoun gained 21 seats, and the mostly pro-Syrian Shiite alliance has 33 seats (including 15 seats for the speaker’s Amal bloc and 14 seats held by Hizballah, a terrorist organization).

The Lebanese political system is unique in the way that it apportions all political offices among the various religious communities. Under this system, the speaker’s position is reserved for a Shiite Muslim politician. As a result, Speaker Nabih Berri was re-elected to his post after the Spring 2005 elections, despite the electoral triumph of the reform bloc of Saad Hariri. Thus, the confessional system has led to a situation where a minority politician controls the levers of parliament, both in setting the legislative agenda and controlling the institution. An HDAC program in Lebanon would operate in a delicate political environment of which Members would need to be particularly conscious.

Under the Lebanese system, all staff are hired by the Secretariat, which is controlled by the speaker. There were only about 40 to 50 professional staff for the entire parliament, and most are political loyalists. Most committees had only a clerk who is responsible for administrative matters, so there was no policy expertise or analysis available to chairs or members. Most MPs hired their own receptionists, and they turned to professional colleagues outside parliament to provide policy advice and analysis.

The Lebanese parliament has a functioning library that is regarded highly by many Members, staff, and NGOs. The library seemed to be the main information resource for Members within the parliament. The library organized weekly workshops for Members to familiarize them with the resources and materials available to them from the library. Though small, the library is relatively well furnished. It housed about 20,000 volumes, mostly in French. However, its English-language collections were sparse, consisting of only some 1,500 publications. The library was eager to expand its English-language collections, especially since many Members and staff have fluency in English. The library had extensive unused shelf space, allowing for considerable expansion of its collections. The Library includes a conference room that is widely used for meetings and workshops involving Members and outside groups.

The library is a good candidate for immediate HDAC assistance. HDAC has decided to donate some key reference materials, based on the core bibliography for parliamentary libraries, currently being updated by the Library of Congress. These materials will include books and electronic media; the first donation of books was made in July 2006. USAID has funded a program through the SUNY Center for Legislative Development that focused on technological assistance, such as a legislative information system and a parliamentary website.

Lebanon presents a challenging political and security environment, but it is a country where an HDAC program can prove extremely beneficial in supporting a sovereign Lebanese democracy. While Lebanon always retained elements of democracy, the withdrawal of Syrian forces allowed for free elections to be held. While many Lebanese politicians remain sympathetic to Syria, particularly in the Shiite Muslim-dominated parties, Lebanese politicians regained freedom to maneuver and no longer need to gain approval from Damascus. As a result, House Members have the opportunity to work with Lebanese MPs who are attempting to assert their independence and solidify their sovereign democracy.

The Commission on March 15, 2006, unanimously agreed to a partnership with the Lebanese National Assembly. This program will focus on advice to reformist members of parliament, particularly committee chairmen, who are in a position to play an important role. HDAC will also offer additional materials and advice to the parliamentary library, with the assistance of the LOC office in Cairo, and will work with USAID to identify areas in which the Commission could complement future work that USAID may undertake.

## **Liberia**

A five-member staff delegation visited Liberia from July 8 to 12 for a needs assessment of the Liberian Congress. The delegation found a fledgling legislature struggling to learn and fulfill its role in a nascent democracy. Working conditions were abysmal, with sporadic electricity and sweltering offices far too small for the large staffs. Members prized their institutional independence as a co-equal branch of government, but had not fully grasped the role of the legislature relative to that of the executive, particularly in lawmaking and oversight.

The Liberian political system is explicitly modeled on the U.S. system, with a bicameral congress consisting of a 64-member House of Representatives, elected from individual districts, and a 30-member Senate, with two senators from each county.

Liberia started a rebuilding process after a peace accord was signed in August 2003, ending years of war and poor governance that left it destitute. Free and fair elections in October 2005 led to the inauguration in January 2006 of a congress in which 86 percent of members are serving their first term. Some are former civil war faction leaders or associates of former president and war crimes indictee Charles Taylor, including the new Speaker of the House. Members were uncertain about their roles, responsibilities, and relationship to the executive, and basic member education should form the core of an HDAC program. Because the Liberian constitution was modeled on the American one, the structure of the congress is similar to our own, making the American experience particularly valuable to Liberian legislators.

The Capitol, a 1956 building that houses both chambers, was ravaged by the civil war and was barely functional. The lack of a municipal electric grid left the Capitol dependent on inadequate generators. Offices had electricity for only half a day when the congress was not in session; power was cut to offices during sessions to provide lighting and sound for the chambers.

The Congress was overstaffed and structured so that members did not receive the support that they needed to legislate effectively and exercise oversight. Each House member had 12 personal

staffers on the congressional payroll – often including a cook, driver and gardener at home – while senators had 14 staffers, most of whom were assigned administrative roles. Members did not control their own staff budgets, so hiring fewer staff at higher salaries was not an option. The greatest deficiency was the complete absence of any committee staff. Furthermore, duplication between House and Senate staff was rife, most notably in the dual research departments.

The library was cramped and devoid of current materials; the archives were dark and sweltering, with huge chunks of Liberia's legislative history having been destroyed. Stenographers recorded proceedings by hand and transcribed their shorthand notes on manual typewriters. The House did have a computer room with 11 PCs, but it was located far from the library and not available to senators or their staff.

USAID plans a two-year, \$5 million program to strengthen democracy in Liberia through the Consortium for Elections and Political Processes Strengthening (CEPPS), comprising IRI, NDI and IFES. Under the contract, scheduled to begin August 1, NDI will implement a legislative strengthening program focusing on constituent relations and committee strengthening. Among its goals will be to open committee meetings to the public, develop committee staffs, and build up a research service. IRI will work with political parties, while IFES will work with the national election commission. The other major donor is the European Union, which is funding a two-year, \$1.2 million legislative strengthening program being implemented by Germany's Konrad Adenauer Foundation. That program has set up workshops and exchange programs in Africa and Europe. UNDP is coordinating assistance.

On July 26, 2006, the Commission agreed unanimously to a partnership with the Liberian congress. Depending on the development of the staff structure over the next several months, staff-to-staff assistance could include the Liberian research service; legislative library setup and operations; legislative drafting; stenography, records and archives; and congressional administration. The Commission has sent a recommendation to the leaders of both chambers on how the staff structure might be reformed.

USAID has funded a \$1.8 million renovation of the Liberian Capitol building. The Commission will consider material assistance to the Liberian congress upon completion of this project, at which time it will be possible to assess what additional needs are greatest, as well as where the congress intends to devote its own resources.

## **Mongolia**

A four-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Ulan Bator from May 9 to 13, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Mongolian State Great Hural. The delegation found MPs committed to strengthening their institution and staff who took pride in their role as aides to elected legislators. As a former Soviet-bloc state, the political transition in Mongolia is similar in ways to that in other former communist countries, including the presence of a well-organized former communist party that regularly wins elections. Given the country's location in North Asia, surrounded by Russia and China, the future of its democracy is of strategic importance.

The Hural became more relevant in the wake of the 2004 elections, which produced a thin majority for the former communists after they had dominated 72 of the 76 seats in the previous legislature. Members were directly elected from single-member districts to four-year terms. Senior MPs were committed to developing their institution as an independent branch of government that plays a greater role in the legislative process and serves as a more effective check on the executive. The most notable trend was the decentralization of authority from leadership and a Secretariat to give committees more power and staff (four per committee).

The Hural was well-staffed, well-equipped, and well-housed compared to many legislatures that Commission staff have assessed. MPs each had two personal staff – one in the capital and one in the district. In addition to the 112-person Secretariat, each of the seven committees has its own staff of five or six, including a counsel and a policy expert. Each party caucus was entitled to staff, but the 2004 breakup of the opposition coalition left it ineligible for partisan staff, so the ruling party was the only caucus with its own staff (19). The Secretariat included legislative counsel and central administration.

All MPs and staff have offices in the massive Government House on the central square that also houses the offices of the president and prime minister and their staffs. A successful United Nations Development Program (UNDP) effort gave the Hural sufficient computer infrastructure, and MPs and staff had adequate office space in parliament. The UNDP program also established parliamentary information centers in each province.

USAID has been promoting democracy in Mongolia since 1992; its parliamentary program is being implemented by IRI. IRI successfully assisted the parliament in drafting and passing new procedures, and ethics legislation was a priority. IRI has also worked with the parliament to move to a more decentralized staff structure, with committee staff operating independently of the centralized secretariat. The IRI program focuses in several areas in which the Commission can add value by contributing the personal expertise of House Members and staff, such as committee strengthening and ethics. The Asia Foundation promotes legislation to combat corruption and human trafficking and commissioned a study on strengthening research capacity. A USAID-funded economic analysis center for the government trained MPs and staff to understand economic legislation.

The State Great Hural lacked a significant independent research and analysis center. Two previous incarnations were dissolved in the parliament's first decade. There was an external Policy Analysis Institute, which contracted with outside researchers for studies for the parliament, but it was poorly funded and rarely used. MPs voiced the need for more research and analysis capability, but they evinced little support for paying for it themselves. Several MPs expressed hope that outside donors would pay for a research center. Committee professional staff were the most likely to become experts on a subject and to benefit from CRS advice.

The parliamentary library had an adequate space and appeared to be well-used by MPs and staff. In addition to a sizable collection of Mongolian-, Russian- and English-language books and periodicals, the library staff operated a clipping service that collected articles of interest. Many of the materials were outdated. The library seemed to receive new materials only from donors..

Public committee hearings were permitted under the new procedures, but they remained rare. Instead, committees established “working groups” of MPs, staff, and outside experts to consider each significant bill. MPs and staff expressed hope that the Commission could advise them how to organize and conduct hearings. They also requested advice on House ethics rules and how they are implemented, and on learning more about the decentralized staff structure of the U.S. House of Representatives. The Mongolian parliament presents an excellent opportunity for a Commission program to build on work already undertaken to help develop an independent, democratic legislature.

The Commission on May 25, 2006, approved a partnership with the State Great Hural of Mongolia. This program will focus on committee strengthening; developing and enforcing an ethics code; and constituent relations. House Members and staff may also offer advice on how Mongolia can implement a more decentralized administrative structure. The Commission has agreed to provide modest material assistance, including six fax/copier/scanners and a modest donation of library materials.

## **Morocco**

A five-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Rabat from March 20-25, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Moroccan Chamber of Representatives, the lower house of parliament. The delegation concluded that an HDAC program in Morocco in 2007 would be premature. The Commission shared that conclusion, agreeing on April 5, 2006, to defer consideration of a program in Morocco.

King Mohammad VI remains the ultimate arbiter in Moroccan politics, as he appoints the government. Many Moroccan politicians spoke of how the king must declare his desire for an initiative before they even begin to draft a proposal to conform to his will. While Morocco is not yet a full democracy, the king greatly liberalized the political system in his first seven years on the throne. Constitutional changes began in 1996, but the 1997 parliamentary elections were manipulated. It was not until the current parliament was elected in 2002 that free and fair elections were held. The king promoted liberal initiatives, and most U.S. and Moroccan officials expected him to continue political liberalization.

The 1996 constitution explicitly enables the executive to constrain parliament’s power. Specifically, the constitution permits the finance ministry to reject any amendment or private member bill that increases spending or decreases revenues, thus rendering budget oversight virtually impossible. Furthermore, it permits the government to “declare the unsuitability of any proposal or amendment considered outside the purview of the legislative power” and permits the government to demand an up-or-down vote on a bill prior to consideration of amendments proposed by MPs. Some MPs believed the king would propose constitutional amendments to enhance parliament’s powers, but he had not signaled his intention to do so.

The 325-seat Chamber of Representatives is chosen by universal suffrage for six-year terms. Thirty seats are reserved for women. The lower house is the only branch of government that does not report directly to the King. However, MPs conducted themselves with reflexive

deference to the monarch and not independently. Individual MPs did not have staff, telephones, or faxes and did not appear to seek or know how to seek independent sources of information or outside expertise. Votes were not recorded or published. There was no internal reform caucus.

The Secretary General of the parliament, an executive branch appointee, administered the parliament and drafted legislation. All parliamentary staff were paid by the executive branch. The budget of parliament was \$23 million, of which \$18 million was devoted to salaries. Parties operated in seven parliamentary groups of 20 or more MPs, which appointed deputy speakers. Parties had equipment and were permitted to hire one staffer for every five MPs. Some smaller parties were not part of groups. MPs relied on ministers and on party caucuses for information.

There were only 118 offices for all 325 deputies in the 1920-era building and only 200 employees for the entire Chamber of Representatives. The 270-seat Chamber of Counselors, the upper house, is indirectly elected for nine-year terms, with one-third elected every three years, through regional, local, and professional councils. The staff assessment focused only on the elected lower chamber. Both chambers shared a single plenary hall, and committees from the upper and lower house shared each committee room. This was expected to improve once the Chamber of Counselors moved into its own space next door. The parliament also obtained the nearby Treasury building for office space.

USAID was funding a program through SUNY that focused on strengthening committees (there are six in each chamber), creating a budget analysis office, and developing the advocacy skills of civil society organizations. NDI was working with parliamentary caucuses to increase their understanding of key issues and was working with individual MPs on outreach to constituents and the media. The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) completed a program with staff from the Moroccan parliament and three other Arab legislatures that included visits to the United States. In addition, UNDP worked on information technology in parliament and had a project to create a parliamentary research service.

## **Ukraine**

A four-member staff delegation of the House Democracy Assistance Commission visited Kiev from October 16 to 20, 2006, for a needs assessment of the Verkhovna Rada. The delegation found an advanced legislature that benefited from earlier U.S. assistance programs. While the delegation considered the possibility that the Rada might be too advanced for a Commission program, the final consensus was that an advanced program could benefit the parliament and demonstrate congressional support for Ukrainian democracy, a conclusion that was endorsed by the Commission.

The Orange Revolution in Ukraine in late 2004 boosted Ukrainian democracy. Parliamentary elections in March 2006 were judged the freest and fairest in Ukrainian history. The 450 deputies were elected from a national system of proportional representation, with a 3 percent threshold for entering parliament, which resulted in only five parties gaining seats. Previously, half of deputies were elected from single-member districts, with the remainder entering on party

lists. Deputies were working through the implications of the new system, which was likely to make MPs more dependent on their parties and possibly less responsive to voters.

The Ukrainian parliament was the best-resourced parliament the HDAC assessment team visited. The parliamentary complex included 13 office buildings, more than adequate office space, and numerous committee and meeting rooms. The main building dates to 1939, when it was built to house the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic; its plenary hall was as technologically advanced as any elsewhere in Europe, with electronic voting, television consoles at every MP's desk, and two big-screen TVs.

The Rada was staffed by 1,100 civil servants, many of whom worked for the 26 parliamentary committees. In addition, each Member of Parliament was allowed to hire four full-time staff in Kiev to serve at the will of the Member; in addition, each MP could have up to 27 volunteers outside of Kiev (one in each province). Additionally, each of the five factions in the Rada was entitled to one paid staffer for every five MPs; each faction had between four and 37 staffers, most of whom were legislative staff.

Ukraine's new 2004 constitution gives the prime minister greater powers relative to the president, and supporters of Prime Minister Yanukovich in the Rada were eager to increase the role of parliament at the expense of the president. Within the parliament, the switch to a party list system had the five factions in the parliament searching for the proper role of parties relative to individual deputies. Members of the Rada welcomed the prospects of increased cooperation with the U.S. Congress. Rada members were eager to discuss pressing policy issues on their legislative agenda and to learn about the U.S. experience in addressing similar issues. The Rada would benefit from HDAC discussions regarding executive oversight, the role of party platforms, and related matters.

U.S. parliamentary strengthening programs showed great success. The Congressional Research Service operated an ambitious program from 1992 to 1996 that introduced computer technology to the Rada and laid the groundwork for today's system; however, CRS efforts to develop a library and research service proved less successful. The USAID-funded program is implemented by the Indiana University Parliamentary Development Project and focused on advanced subjects like the organization of committee field hearings.

The Commission on November 14, 2006, agreed unanimously to a partnership with the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. This program will include advice on how Rada committees can improve their oversight role; the role of parties in a legislature; specific policy issues common to both legislatures; developing and enforcing ethics rules; and how to use information technology to improve transparency and facilitate communication.

## **Proposed Commission Activities in 2007**

### **Introduction**

Section 5(a) of H. Res. 135 provides that the Commission shall undertake activities in three broad areas: (1) Provide expert advice from House Members and staff to members and staff of parliaments of selected countries; (2) Enable members and staff of parliaments of selected countries to learn about the operations of the House of Representatives; (3) Provide recommendations to the administrator of USAID regarding the provision of material assistance.

The Commission will carry out the first activity by organizing a series of delegations of House Members and staff to visit each selected country. Those delegations will meet with members and staff of the parliament of each selected country and will offer expert advice in areas requested by each parliament. The commission will carry out the second activity by organizing programs in the United States for members and staff of selected parliaments. The commission will make recommendations regarding the provision of material assistance to the administrator of USAID on the basis of the findings of the staff assessment visits and the upcoming congressional delegations, with the assistance to be provided out of Economic Support Assistance funds designated for this purpose. The Congress appropriated \$990,000 for HDAC activities in FY 2006. The House Appropriations Committee recommended a \$1 million appropriation for FY 2007 in the Fiscal Year 2007 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, but that bill has not been enacted into law.

### **Outbound delegations**

The Commission plans to conduct technical assistance programs through congressional delegations to partner countries. Provided that the Commission is reauthorized in the 110th Congress, it will have a new Democratic chairman and several new Members. The new Chairman, Ranking Republican Member, and other Members will review the complete program of activities and develop a schedule for congressional delegations to be conducted in 2007. It is anticipated at a minimum that Members will visit the six countries that have not yet hosted delegations: Colombia, Georgia, Haiti, Liberia, Mongolia and Ukraine.

The Commission will also explore additional opportunities to conduct programming on location in partner legislatures. Such programming will draw on the expertise and participation of Members and staff of the U.S. Congress, as well as congressional support agencies and others with expertise in legislative strengthening. The Commission plans to tailor such programming to the specific needs of partner legislatures.

The work of the Library of Congress has been of particular importance to the Commission's efforts. Dr. James Billington, the Librarian of Congress, and his staff have been exceptionally supportive of the Commission's efforts to help develop parliamentary libraries in Afghanistan, East Timor and Lebanon. LOC regional offices in Islamabad, Jakarta and Cairo have played a central role in these efforts. The Commission hopes to continue this cooperation and facilitate visits by LOC staff to those parliamentary libraries to help train staff, improve facilities, and

develop collections. The Commission also plans to underwrite visits by parliamentary library staff to those regional offices for extensive training programs.

Similarly, the Congressional Research Service has been extremely supportive of the Commission's efforts, reflecting the leading role that CRS played in the Frost-Solomon Task Force. The Commission will work with CRS Director Daniel Mulhollan to ensure the continued, invaluable involvement of CRS experts in HDAC's work.

### **Inbound parliamentary delegations**

Bringing MPs and staff from partner parliaments to the United States will remain a central part of the Commission's work. Based on the experience of inbound delegations in 2006, the Commission will refine its programs so that they become more specialized, intensive and tailored to the expectations and needs of participants.

The Commission intends to invite delegations from the six partner parliaments that it has not yet hosted in the United States: Colombia, Haiti, Lebanon, Liberia, Mongolia and Ukraine. Each delegation will participate in a program in Washington and in the home district of an HDAC Member.

The Commission will also explore additional opportunities for programming in Washington and in congressional districts for members and staff of all 12 partner legislatures. Such programming will draw on the expertise and participation of Members and staff of the U.S. Congress, as well as congressional support agencies and others with expertise in legislative strengthening. The Commission plans to tailor such programming to the specific needs of partner legislatures, and anticipates programming focused in targeted areas like committee oversight, budget analysis, or research and analysis.

The Commission has worked with the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL) on previous inbound delegations. ACYPL helped the Commission to organize and implement successful inbound delegations in April 2006 and August/September 2006.

### **Recommendations to the USAID Administrator**

Recognizing the constitutional role of the executive branch, the House Democracy Assistance Commission has asked USAID to administer and disburse funds that the Congress appropriates for the work of HDAC. HDAC material assistance is provided to partner parliaments by USAID on the recommendation of the Commission. The Commission appreciates the close cooperation that it enjoys with USAID and expects that this successful relationship will continue.

The Commission has recommended that USAID fund material assistance to the parliaments of East Timor, Lebanon and Macedonia. In addition, the Commission will consider recommending material assistance in other legislatures.

In East Timor, the Commission recommended that USAID furnish and equip the parliamentary library of East Timor; in Lebanon, materials for the parliamentary library were purchased; and in Macedonia, a computer server was donated to the parliament. These projects are described in more detail in the section on activities in 2006.

In Afghanistan, the Commission has approved assistance to the library of the Afghan National Assembly, and Chairman Dreier signed a Memorandum of Understanding regarding this project during the Commission program in Kabul. The Commission will recommend that USAID allocate \$60,000 for this project in FY 2007; the total cost is estimated at approximately \$150,000. Of the \$60,000 in FY 2007, \$40,000 is to be spent on materials (\$25,000 for serials, \$15,000 for books); \$10,100 for training programs in Islamabad; \$3,700 to set up and administer a website; \$3,500 for audio-visual equipment; and the remainder as a contingency fund. The training will include two Afghan librarians and consist of two three-week sessions, beginning with a broad overview, followed by specialized training.

In Mongolia, the Commission plans to donate six fax/copier/scanner machines to facilitate better communication among committees and facilitate a transition from paper documents to electronic documents. The cost is estimated at \$3,600.

The Commission has not yet approved a material assistance plan for the Haitian parliament, preferring to wait until the parliament completes its own internal needs assessment and for other donors to make their pledges. Similarly in Liberia, the Commission will wait for the completion of a USAID assistance project before committing its own resources.

The Commission is considering providing funding to improve the information technology infrastructure of the Georgian parliament. The Commission will engage in discussions with the leadership of the Georgian parliament about this assistance as part of a broader review of the HDAC program in Georgia.

## **APPENDIX A: FY 2006 Budget Summary**

**FY 2006 HDAC appropriation** **\$990,000**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission receives funding through the Economic Support Fund appropriation in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 2006. It is administered by the Office of Democracy and Governance at USAID.

### **Obligated funds FY 06**

#### **Inbound programs**

Afghan delegation	76,634	(Five other delegations were funded from a one-time State Department grant from the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs)
Interpretation	<u>1,540</u>	
<b>Total inbound programs</b>	<b>78,174</b>	

#### **Material assistance**

East Timor library	175,000	
Macedonia server	50,000	
Lebanon library materials	<u>976</u>	(Amount delivered to date)
<b>Total material assistance</b>	<b>225,976</b>	

**TOTAL OBLIGATED FY 06**

**304,150**

### **Apportioned expenditures FY 07**

#### **Inbound programs**

Six MP delegations	<u>336,000</u>	(Staff delegations for CY 07 may take place after FY 07 ends on Sept. 30, 2007)
<b>Total inbound programs</b>	<b>336,000</b>	

#### **Material assistance**

Afghanistan library	60,000	
Georgia IT hardware	60,000	(Pending HDAC approval)
Lebanon library materials	9,024	(Remainder to be delivered)
Mongolia fax/scanners	<u>3,600</u>	
<b>Total material assistance</b>	<b>132,620</b>	

**TOTAL APPORTIONED FY 07**

**468,620**

**TOTAL OBLIGATED AND APPORTIONED**

**772,770**

**UNOBLIGATED FY 06 FUNDS (HAITI, LIBERIA, OTHER)** **227,230**

(Note: HDAC funding for FY 2007 was still pending as of this report date. In addition, HDAC anticipates additional expenditures following a review of programming conducted by the Commission appointed in the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress, should the Commission be reauthorized.)

**APPENDIX B: April 2006 Washington program**

**PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGE PROGRAM**

**WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

**APRIL 23<sup>RD</sup> – APRIL 28<sup>TH</sup>, 2006**

*Program arranged by:* The American Council of Young Political Leaders

**Sunday, April 23<sup>rd</sup>**

**Travel to Washington, DC**

*Delegations arrive at various times throughout the day. Please see flight schedule for details.*

- 12:52pm           **Georgia:**     Arrive at Washington Reagan National Airport
- 2:40pm           **Georgia:**     *Mr. Jemal Inaishvili arrives at Washington Dulles Intl. Airport*  
Austrian Airlines Flight OS 093 from Vienna; greeted by Mr. Irakli Jgenti, Georgian Embassy
- 4:00pm           **Georgia:**     *Sightseeing tour of Washington, DC*
- 4:20pm           **Macedonia:** Arrive at Washington Reagan National Airport
- 4:30pm           **East Timor:** Arrive at Baltimore Washington Intl. Airport
- 9:59pm           **Indonesia:** Arrive at Washington Reagan National Airport

*Delegations will be escorted by the ACYPL staff and transported by bus to the Doubletree Washington Hotel.*

**Doubletree Washington Hotel**  
1515 Rhode Island Ave. NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
Tel: 202.232.7000

**\*\*\*END OF DAY\*\*\***

**Monday, April 24<sup>th</sup>**

**Washington, DC**

*Please dress in business attire and bring your passport with you for today's events.*

*Breakfast will be available beginning at 6:30am in the Congressional Room, Doubletree Hotel.*

- 8:45am           Transport:     Bus departs Doubletree for morning activities

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**  
1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW  
Washington, DC 20004-3027  
Tel: 202.391.4000

9:30am Introductory Session: HDAC Members

10:00am Presentation: **Professor James Thurber**, American University  
Topic: Introduction to Congress, “How Congress Works”  
thurber@american.edu  
Melissa: mcastle@american.edu  
885.6247

11:00am Presentation: **Mr. Jim Dyer**, former clerk, House Appropriations Comm.  
Topic: The Congressional Appropriations Process  
Cheryl: cfaunce@cwdc.com  
261.4000

12:00pm Presentation: **Rep. Martin Frost and Rep. Jack Buechner**,  
Former Members of Congress Association  
Topic: Rights and Responsibilities of Members  
Contact: Rebecca 222.0972  
rzylberman@usafmc.org

1:00pm Lunch: Hosted by the Wilson Center  
Catered by Aramark, Tom Gubricky

2:00pm Transport: Bus departs Wilson Center for afternoon activities  
**US Department of State**  
2201 C Street NW  
Washington, DC 20520  
Tel: 202.647.4000  
Note: Use 23<sup>rd</sup> St. Entrance; Dean Acheson Auditorium

3:00pm Presentation: **Ms. Alina Romanowski**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of  
State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA)

3:30pm Presentation: **Ms. Frances McNaught and Mr. Rodney Bent**,  
Millenium Challenge Corporation

4:00pm Meeting: **Mr. Jeff Krilla**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State  
Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (DRL)

4:45pm Meeting: Individual meetings with Regional Bureaus  
**Georgia:** *Mr. Matt Bryza, EUR/CARC, Rm. 4517*  
**Macedonia:** *Mr. Chuck English, EUR/SCE, Rm. 5426*  
**East Timor:** *Mr. Sameer Sheth, EAP/PD, Rm. 5318*  
**Indonesia:** *Ms. Angela Dickey, EAP/K, Rm. 5313*

5:30pm Transport: Bus departs Department of State for the Doubletree Hotel  
5:30pm **East Timor:** *Depart for a dinner hosted by Johns Hopkins University*  
**Iron Gate Restaurant**  
1734 N St, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Tel: 202.737.1370  
Contact: Bridget Welsh, [bwelsh@jhu.edu](mailto:bwelsh@jhu.edu)

6:30pm **Indonesia:** *Depart for dinner hosted by the Indonesian Embassy*  
**Embassy of Indonesia**  
2020 Massachusetts Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20036

Evening No scheduled events. Please use per diem provided for dinner.  
\*\*\***END OF DAY**\*\*\*



**Wednesday, April 26<sup>th</sup>**  
**Washington, DC**

*Please dress in business attire and bring your passport with you for today's events.  
Breakfast will be available beginning at 6:30am in the Congressional Room, Doubletree Hotel.*

9:15am	Transport:	Bus departs Doubletree for morning activities
10:00am <i>10:00-10:30am</i>  <i>10:30-11:30am</i>  <i>10:00-11:30am</i> <i>10:00-11:30am</i> <i>10:00-11:30am</i> <i>Rayburn 2172</i>	Meetings: <b><i>East Timor:</i></b>  <b><i>Indonesia:</i></b> <b><i>Macedonia:</i></b> <b><i>Georgia:</i></b>	Delegations meet with respective host Members and staff <i>Observe Hearing: Committee on Appropriations, Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Rayburn 2359 (13 seats)</i> <i>Rep. Kolbe's Office, 237 Cannon</i> <i>Kevin Messner, COS and Kristy Hellmer, Press Sec.</i> <i>Rep. Schiff's Office, 326 Cannon</i> <i>Rep. Miller's Office, 228 Cannon</i> <i>Observe Hearing: Committee on International Relations,</i>  <i>(13 seats – arrive before 10:15)</i>
11:40am	Observation:	Formal House proceedings <small>Note: delegations will observe from the Gallery</small>
12:00pm	Transport:	Walk to Library of Congress, Madison Building <small>Note: Use Capitol-Cannon-Madison tunnel (TBD)</small>
12:15pm	Lunch: Presentation:	Hosted by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) CRS Overview  <small>Library of Congress Madison Building Montpelier Rm, 6<sup>th</sup> Floor Contact: Robert Newlen; rnewlen@crs.loc.gov</small>
2:00pm <i>2:00pm</i> <i>seats)</i> <i>2:00pm</i> <i>Subcommittee,</i>	Meetings: <b><i>Indonesia:</i></b>  <b><i>Macedonia:</i></b>  <b><i>East Timor:</i></b>	Delegations meet with and observe various Committees <i>Observe Hearing: Committee on Small Business, Room 2360 (7</i>  <i>Observe Hearing: Committee on Transportation, Aviation</i>  <i>Rayburn 2167 (12 seats)</i> <i>Meeting with IFES, 234 Cannon</i> <b><i>Mr. Chad Vickery, Mr. Kyle Lemargie, Ms. Mary Lou</i></b>
<b><i>Schramm, IFES</i></b> <i>2:30-3:30</i> <i>5:00-5:30</i> <i>5:00pm</i> Evening:	<b><i>Georgia:</i></b> <b><i>Georgia:</i></b> Transport:	<i>Rep. Wilson's Office, 212 Cannon</i> <i>Rep. Wilson's Office, 212 Cannon</i> Bus departs US Capitol for Doubletree Hotel No scheduled events. Please use per diem provided for dinner.

**\*\*\*END OF DAY\*\*\***

**Thursday, April 27<sup>th</sup>**

**Washington, DC**

*Please dress in business attire and bring your passport with you for today's events.*

*Breakfast will be available beginning at 6:30am in the Congressional Room, Doubletree Hotel.*

8:30am	Transport:	Buses depart Doubletree for morning activities	
			Note: Separate buses for Workshops
9:00am	Workshops:	See detail below	
12:30pm	Lunch:	Formal HDAC Luncheon	
			Rayburn 2255
2:15pm	Workshops:	See detail below	
5:30pm	Transport:	Bus departs for Doubletree Hotel	
Evening:		No scheduled events. Please use per diem provided for dinner.	

**Workshop Details**

Delegates will be divided among the following three workshops in the morning and the afternoon:

1) Making Congress Work (HDAC Staff)

Soares (ET)	Kurdadze (Geo)
Viegas (ET)	Gogvadze (Geo)
Branco (ET)	Aritonang (Indo)
Guterres (ET)	Lalcevska (Mac)
de Jesus (ET)	
Pereira (ET)	

2) Research, Analysis, and Dissemination of Information (CRS)

Ximenes (ET)	Siska (Indo)	
Bezhashvili (Geo)	Boneva (Mac)	
Zurabishvili (Geo)	Trombev (Mac)	
Nakashidze (Geo)	Nonkulovski (Mac)	
Narsia (Geo)	Gligorovska (Mac)	
Tharkhnishvili (Geo)	Rushiti (Mac)	Robert Newlan:
<a href="mailto:newlan@loc.gov">newlan@loc.gov</a>		
Inaishvili (Geo)		Angie Harris:
<a href="mailto:aharris@loc.gov">aharris@loc.gov</a>		

3) Fiscal Oversight (CBO)

da Costa (ET)	Iskandar (Indo)
Meneses (ET)	Faishal (Indo)
Paixao (ET)	Najdovski (Mac)
Kovzanadze (Geo)	Ademi (Mac)
Murgilia (Geo)	Latifi (Mac)
Moeis (Indo)	

**\*\*\*END OF DAY\*\*\***



**Workshop details**  
**Thursday, April 27, 2006**  
**9:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m., 2:15-5:30 p.m.**

**Workshop 1 – How Congress Works**  
**Room 234 Cannon House Office Building**

**Participants (9)**

East Timor (6)

Ms. Maria Terezinha Viegas, MP, Vice Secretary of National Parliament  
Ms. Adalgisa Ximenes, MP, Chairman, Committee on Health, Social Issues, Labor & Solidarity  
Mr. Vicente da Silva Guterres, MP, Chairman, Committee on Rights, Liberties & Guarantees  
Mr. Francisco Branco, MP, Committee on Infrastructure  
Mr. Adelino Afonso de Jesus, Secretary General  
Mr. Jose da Costa Belo Pereira, Director of Committee Staff

Portuguese interpretation team

Georgia (2)

Ms. Irina Kurdadze, MP, Speaker's Chief of Staff  
Ms. Thea Gogvadze, Adviser to the Speaker

Indonesia (1)

Ms. Ria Aritonang, Adviser to the Speaker

**HDAC Workshop 1 – How Congress Works**  
**234 Cannon House Office Building**

Session 1 – Legislative Information System (9:00-10:00)

Louis Drummond, Congressional Research Service

Session 2 – Drafting Legislation (10:00-11:00)

Pope Barrow, Legislative Counsel

Session 3 – Role of the Rules Committee (11:15-12:15)

Adam Jarvis, Deputy Staff Director, Committee on Rules

Session 4 – Role of the Clerk (2:15-3:15)

Karen Haas, Clerk

Gigi Kelaher, Assistant Clerk

Frances Chiappardi, Chief, Legislative Operations

Joe Strickland, Chief, Official Reporters

Session 5 – Floor Procedure (3:30-4:30)

John Sullivan, Parliamentarian

Session 6 – Administering the House of Representatives (4:30-5:30)

Jay Eagan, Chief Administrative Officer

**Workshop 2 – Information and Analysis for a Legislature  
Room 316 Madison Building, Library of Congress**

**Participants (10)**

East Timor (1)

Mr. Francisco Carlos Soares, MP, Secretary of National Parliament

Georgia (6)

Mr. Jemal Inaishvili, MP, Deputy Speaker

Mr. Levan Bezhashvili, MP, Chairman, Committee on Legal Issues

Mr. Davit Zurabishvili, MP, Committee on Education, Science, Culture and Sport

Ms. Nino Nakashidze, MP, Deputy Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations

Ms. Tina Narsia, Director, Research Service

Mr. Shota Tharkhnishvili, Chief of Staff, Legal Committee

Georgian interpretation team

Indonesia (1)

Mr. Darul Siska, MP, Vice Chairman, Study Team for Improving the Performance of the DPR

Macedonia (2)

Mr. Tome Trombev, MP, Chairman, Committee on Transportation

Ms. Lence Gligorovska, Secretary of the Committee on Education, Science and Sports

**The Congressional Research Service (CRS)**  
**INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS FOR A LEGISLATURE**  
**April 27, 2006**

Workshop presented by CRS at the request of the House Democracy Assistance Commission

**PART ONE: ROLE OF A NON-PARTISAN CENTRAL RESEARCH SERVICE**

- 9:00 am            Welcome  
**Robert R. Newlen**, Head, Legislative Relations Office, Office of Congressional Affairs and Counselor to the Director, CRS
- 9:05 to 10:00    Introduction to CRS  
**Daniel P. Mulhollan**, Director, Congressional Research Service  
  
**Martin Frost**, Member of Congress, 1979-2005  
**Former Member TBD**
- 10:00 to 11:00   How CRS serves the Congress and resources CRS experts use to keep the Congress informed  
  
**Michael J. Garcia**, Legislative Attorney; Business & Environmental Law Section; American Law Division; CRS  
  
**Julie Kim**, Specialist, International Relations; Europe, Eurasia, and the Americas Section; Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division; CRS  
  
**Mari-Jana Oboroceanu**, Information Research Specialist; Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Section; Knowledge Services Group  
  
**Tangela G. Roe**, Section Head, Government & Finance Section; Knowledge Services Group  
  
**Jim Saturno**, Specialist; American National Government; Government and Finance Division, CRS  
  
**Jon O. Shimabukoro**, Legislative Attorney, Consumer Law Section, American Law Division, CRS
- 11:00 to 11:15    BREAK
- 11:15 to 11:30    Tour of Inquiry Section  
  
**Leona Fox Barber**, Head; Inquiry Section; Legislative Relations Office, Office of Congressional Affairs and Counselor to the Director, CRS

11:30 to 12:00 Demonstration of CRS Web site

**Jennifer E. Manning**, Information Research Specialist; Government & Finance Section; Knowledge Services Group

## **PART TWO: OTHER PROVIDERS OF INFORMATION**

2:00 to 3:00 pm The Law Library of Congress and The Global Legal Information Network (GLIN)

**Rubens Medina**, Law Librarian of Congress

**Janice Hyde**, Program Officer, Law Library

3:00 to 4:00 pm Role of the Professional Committee Staff

**Christine Calpin**, Professional Staff Member, Committee on Ways and Means, Human Resources Subcommittee

**Sean McCluskie**, Legislative Assistant, Hon. Pete Stark

4:00 to 5:00 pm Member Media Relations: Role of the Press Secretary

**Paul M. Cox**, Press Secretary, Hon. David E. Price

**Johanna Maney**, Communications Director, House Rules Committee

**Sam Stratman**, Communications Director, House International Relations Committee

**Workshop 3 – Fiscal Oversight**  
**Room 483 Ford House Office Building**

**Participants (15)**

East Timor (3)

Ms. Quiteria da Costa, MP, Committee on National Defense and Security  
Mr. Rui Meneses, MP, Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs  
Ms. Maria Paixao de Jesus da Costa, MP, Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs

Georgia (2)

Mr. Irakli Kovzanadze, MP, Chairman, Committee on Budget and Finance  
Mr. Teimuraz Murgulia, Director, Budget Office

Indonesia (3)

Mr. Muhaimin Iskandar, MP, Deputy Speaker  
Mr. Ahmad Helmi Faishal, MP, Committee on Trade, Industry, Investment  
Mr. Emir Moeis, MP, Chairman, Committee on Budget

Indonesian interpretation team

Macedonia (7)

Mr. Slobodan Najdovski, MP, Deputy Speaker, Member of Committee on Finance and Budget  
Mr. Abdilakim Ademi, MP, Chairman, Committee on Economic Affairs  
Ms. Silvana Boneva, MP, Committee on Political Systems and Inter-Community Issues  
Ms. Ristana Lalcevska, MP, Committee on Rules and Procedure  
Mr. Latif Latifi, Head of the Sector for Sessions  
Mr. Sandre Nonkulovski, Head of the Sector for Working Bodies  
Mr. Taip Rushiti, Constituent Office Assistant

Macedonian interpretation team



## ***Congressional Budget Office***

### ***Workshop On Fiscal Oversight***

Thursday, April 27, 2006

- 9:00 a.m. Welcome to CBO - Donald Marron, Acting Director
- 9:15–10:00 a.m. Introduction to the Congressional Budget Office & overview of the Congressional budget process  
Melissa Merson, Associate Director for Communications
- 10:00 a.m. Break (Refreshments provided)
- 10:15 – 11:15 Macroeconomic Indicators, Analyses and Projections  
Doug Hamilton, Deputy Director, Macroeconomic Analysis Division
- 11:15 a.m.-  
12:15 p.m. Budget Projections, Baselines, and How Much Things Cost  
Jeff Holland, Unit Chief, Projections, Budget Analysis Division
- 12:15 pm- 2:15 Workshop participants will attend Member luncheon in Rayburn
- 2:15 to  
3:00 p.m. Budget Enforcement Tools & Devices for Control of the Budget Process: What Works and What Hasn't Worked  
Marvin Phaup, Deputy Assistant Director, Macroeconomic Division
- 3:15-4:00 p.m. Measuring the Impact of Federal Burdens on States, Local Governments and the Private Sector  
Teri Gullo, Unit Chief, State & Local Government Cost Estimate Unit
- 4 to 5 p.m. Congressional Panel: How the Committees of Congress Use CBO Analyses, Reports & Services in the Budget Process  
Moderator:  
Sandy Davis, Special Assistant to the Director

#### Participants:

Dan Kowalski, Director of Budget Review, House Budget Committee;  
Kim Hildred, Staff Director, Subcommittee on Social Security, Committee on Ways and Means;  
Alice Hogans, Staff Assistant, House Committee on Appropriations.

## **APPENDIX C: September 2006 Washington program**

### **Monday, Sept. 4 (Labor Day)**

- 11:00 Optional U.S. Capitol tour
- 2:00 Optional tour of Washington
- 5:30-8:00 Kenya: Dinner hosted by Amb. Peter Ogego at his residence,

### **Tuesday, Sept. 5**

- 9:30-10:30 Presentation by Karen Haas, Clerk of the House of Representatives (House floor)
- 10:45-11:45 Introduction to Congress (H-313, The Capitol)  
Walter Oleszek, Senior Specialist, Congressional Research Service
- 12:15-2:00 Meetings and lunch with Afghan and Kenyan program officials from the International Republican Institute and National Democratic Institute (at IRI)
- IRI: Executive Vice President Judy Van Rest  
Middle East and North Africa Regional Director Tom Garrett  
Afghanistan Program Officer Omar Alvi  
Afghanistan Program Assistant Zia Miakhel  
Africa Regional Director Stephanie Blanton  
Kenya Program Officer Maureen Farrell
- NDI: Shari Bryan, Director of Southern and East Africa programs  
Jerry Lavery, Program Officer for Southern and East Africa programs.  
Peter Manikas, Director of Asia Programs  
Ira Nichols-Barrer, Program Officer for Asia programs
- 2:15-3:15 Presentation on budget process (IRI)  
Jim Dyer, former Staff Director, House Appropriations Committee
- 3:30-4:30 Meetings on roles and responsibilities of legislators (IRI)  
Afghan: Meet with former Reps. Jim Coyne (R-PA) and Beverly Byron (D-MD)  
Kenya: Meet with former Reps. Jack Buechner (R-MO) & Andy Maguire (D-NJ)
- 4:45-5:45 Meeting to discuss USAID-funded parliamentary development programs (IRI)  
State University of New York-Center for International Development  
Amb. Robert Gosende, Associate Vice Chancellor for International Programs  
James Ketterer, Director of the Center for International Development  
James Utermark, Chief of Staff, CID  
Dr. Jesse Biddle, Senior Associate, CID (in charge of Kenya Project)

## Wednesday, Sept. 6

- 8:15-9:30 Afghan: Meeting with Marie Royce, Vice President, Lucent Technologies  
1100 New York Ave. NW
- 10:00-10:15 Greetings by Chairman David Dreier and Rep. David Price (H-313)
- 10:30-11:30 Afghan: Meeting with State Dept. Bureau of South Asian Affairs (H-313)  
Kenya: Meeting with State Dept. Bureau of African Affairs (234 Cannon)
- 11:45-12:45 Meetings with USAID officials to discuss U.S. assistance programs
- Afghanistan (H-313):  
Jerry Hyman, Director, Office of Democracy and Governance  
Ami Morgan, Afghanistan Desk Officer  
Barbara Smith, Elections and Political Parties Advisor  
Keith Schulz, Legislative Strengthening Advisor
- Kenya (234):  
Emily McPhie, Deputy Director, Office of East African Affairs, Africa Bureau  
Julia Escalona, Kenya Desk Officer, Africa Bureau  
Ryan McCannell, Democracy Officer, Africa Bureau  
Mark Billera, Democracy Officer, Office of Democracy and Governance  
Achieng Akumu, Democracy Officer, Office of Democracy and Governance
- 1:00-3:00 CRS overview and luncheon (Montpelier Room, Madison Building)
- 3:30-4:15 Afghan: Meet Rep. Jim Kolbe and Appropriations Committee staff (H-144)  
Kenya: Meet Rep. John Boozman and Transportation Committee staff (2167)
- 4:30-6:00 Afghan: Meeting with Rep. Mark Kirk and personal office staff (1717)  
Kenya: Meeting with Rep. Artur Davis and personal office staff (208)
- 6:30 p.m. Optional tour of Library of Congress Jefferson Building
- 7:30 p.m. HDAC reception, Members Room, LOC Jefferson Building

## Thursday, Sept. 7

- 10:00-10:45 Afghan: Judiciary Committee, full committee markup hearing on six bills and motion to issue subpoena to Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao (2141)
- Kenya: Resources Committee, Subcommittee on National Parks, legislative hearing on four bills (1334)

11:00-11:45 Meet with Rep. Candice Miller and House Administration Committee staff (1310)

12:00-12:30 Observe House floor debate from gallery (report to H-124)

12:45-1:45 HDAC Member luncheon (2255 Rayburn)

1:00 Optional midday prayers (2200 Rayburn)

2:00-2:45 Afghan: Meet Rep. Silvestre Reyes and Armed Services Committee staff (2216)

Kenya: International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, hearing on Islamic terrorism (2172)

3:00-3:45 Afghan: International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, hearing on Islamic terrorism (2172)

Kenya: Meeting with Rep. David Dreier and Rules Committee staff (H-313)

4:00-4:45 Meeting with Rep. John Spratt, Rep. Lois Capps, Rep. Artur Davis and Budget Committee staff (122)

6:30 Afghan: Asia Foundation dinner, Brookings Institution, 1717 Massachusetts Ave.

### **Friday, Sept. 8**

9:00-9:30 Closing session: Remarks by Mr. Dreier, Mr. Price, delegation heads (H-313)

9:30-12:45 Morning workshops (see attached workshop programs)

12:45-2:15 Lunch

1:30-2:30 Optional Friday prayer service at Mustafa Center, Annandale.

2:15-4:30 Afternoon workshops

7:00 Afghan: Dinner hosted by Amb. Said Tayeb Jawad, 2341 Wyoming Ave. NW

### **Saturday, Sept. 9**

10:30 White House tour

2:00 Depart for Dulles Airport

5:40 Depart on Northwest Airlines flight to Amsterdam

**HDAC Workshop 1 – How Congress Works (234 Cannon)  
Friday, September 8, 2006**

Session 1 – Administering the House of Representatives (9:45-10:45)

Jay Eagen, Chief Administrative Officer  
Will Plaster, Staff Director, Committee on House Administration

Session 2 – Legislative Information System (11:00-11:45)

Louis Drummond, Congressional Research Service

Session 3 – House Ethics (11:45-12:45)

Ken Kellner, Counsel, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

Session 4 – Drafting Legislation (2:15-3:15)

Pope Barrow, Legislative Counsel

Session 5 – Floor Procedure (3:30-4:30)

John Sullivan, Parliamentarian  
Adam Jarvis, Deputy Staff Director, Committee on Rules

**HDAC Workshop 2 – Information And Analysis For A Legislature (316 Madison Building)  
Friday, September 8, 2006**

Session 1 – Welcome and Introduction and Value of CRS to Members (9:45-10:30)

Robert R. Newlen, Head, Legislative Relations Office, Congressional Research Service  
Daniel P. Mulhollan, Director, Congressional Research Service  
Jennifer Dunn, Former Member of Congress (R-Wash.)

Session 2 – How CRS serves the Congress; Resources CRS Experts Use (10:30-11:45)

Michael J. Garcia, Legislative Attorney, Congressional Research Service  
Julie Kim, Specialist in International Relations, Congressional Research Service  
Tangela G. Roe, Supervisor, Information Research Specialists, Congressional Research Service  
James V. Saturno, Specialist on the Congress, Congressional Research Service  
Jon O. Shimabukuro, Legislative Attorney, Congressional Research Service

Session 3 – Demonstration of CRS Website (12:00-12:30)

Jennifer E. Manning, Information Research Specialist, Congressional Research Service

Session 4 – Law Library of Congress and Global Legal Information Network (12:30-1:00)

Donna Scheeder, Director, Law Library Services

Catered lunch arranged by CRS (1:00-2:00)

Session 5 – Member Media Relations: Role of the Press Secretary (2:15-3:15)

Emily Kryder, Press Secretary, Rep. Lois Capps  
Johanna Maney, Communications Director, House Rules Committee  
Sam Stratman, Communications Director, Millennium Challenge Corporation

Session 6 – Role of Professional Committee Staff (3:30-4:30)

Christine Calpin, Professional Staff Member, House Ways and Means Committee  
Vince Morelli, Specialist in International Relations, Congressional Research Service  
Winsome Packer, Professional Staff Member, House Homeland Security Committee

**HDAC Workshop 3 – Budget process and oversight (H-313 The Capitol)  
Friday, September 8, 2006**

Session 1 – President’s budget request: Role of OMB (9:30-10:30)

Austin Smythe, Executive Associate Director, Office of Management and Budget

Session 2 – Congressional budget analysis: Role of CBO (10:45-11:45)

Melissa Merson, Communications Director, Congressional Budget Office

Session 3 – Dividing the Pie: Congressional budget resolution (11:45-12:45)

Jim Bates, Staff Director, House Budget Committee

Session 4 – Power of the Purse: Appropriating funds (2:15-3:15)

John Scofield, Communications Director, House Appropriations Committee  
Committee on Appropriations staff

Session 5 – Legislative Branch Appropriations: Setting Congress’ Budget (3:30-4:30)

John Scofield, Communications Director, House Appropriations Committee  
Committee on Appropriations staff

## **Participant list**

### **Session 1 – How Congress works (8)**

Saleh Saljughy, MP, Second Secretary, Wolesi Jirga (Dari)  
Abdul Ghafar Jamshedi, Head of Public Sessions, Wolesi Jirga  
Sayed Zaman Hashemi, Director of International Relations, Wolesi Jirga  
Francis ole Kaparo, MP, Speaker, National Assembly of Kenya  
Peter Oloo Aringo, MP, Vice Chair, Parliamentary Service Comm., Natl. Assembly of Kenya  
Samuel Ndindiri, Clerk, National Assembly of Kenya  
Kipkemboi arap Kirui, Assistant Clerk, National Assembly of Kenya (afternoon only)  
Nancy Gitau, USAID/Kenya, Office of Democracy and Governance

### **Session 2 – Research and information (10)**

Noorulhaq Olumi, MP, Chairman, Defense Committee, Wolesi Jirga  
Fazel Azim Zalmy Mujadidi, MP, Chairman, Internal Security Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Dari)  
Mohammad Saker Kargar, MP, Vice Chairman, Int'l Affairs Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Dari)  
Mawlawi Din Mohammad Azami, MP, Secretary, Education Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Dari)  
Ahmad Ali Jebraili, MP, Government Affairs Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Dari)  
Zahra Sahak, Legislation Committee staff, Wolesi Jirga  
Njoki Ndungu, MP, National Assembly of Kenya  
Katoo ole Metito, MP, National Assembly of Kenya  
Kilonzo Kiema, MP, National Assembly of Kenya  
Kipkemboi arap Kirui, Assistant Clerk, National Assembly of Kenya (morning/lunch only)

### **Session 3 – Budget process and oversight (6)**

Al. Haj Bidar Zazai, MP, Chairman, Budget Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Pashto speaker)  
Abdul Kabir Ranjbar, MP, Chairman, Government Affairs Committee, Wolesi Jirga (Pashto)  
Joseph Lagat, MP, Chairman, Budget Committee, National Assembly of Kenya  
Oburu Odinga, MP, Chairman, Finance Committee, National Assembly of Kenya  
Justin Muturi, MP, Chairman, Public Investment Committee, National Assembly of Kenya  
Peter Munya, MP, Chairman, Young Parliamentarians Association, National Assembly of Kenya

**HDAC September 2006 inbound program**  
**Individual meetings**

**Wednesday, Sept. 6**

- 8:30-9:30      Afghan: Mr. Olumi meeting at National Defense University  
Lt. Gen. (Ret.) David Barno, Director  
Prof. Ali Jalali, former Afghan Minister of Interior
- 9:00-10:00     Afghan: Mr. Mujadidi meeting at Drug Enforcement Agency, 700 Army-Navy  
Thomas Harrigan, Chief, Enforcement Division  
James Soiles, Section Chief, Enforcement Operations for Europe/Middle East  
State Department representative
- 10:30-1:00    Afghan: Ms. Sahak meetings with Judiciary Committee staff (2138 Rayburn)  
Phil Kiko, General Counsel/Chief of Staff

**Thursday, Sept. 7**

- 8:30-9:30      Afghan: Mr. Mujadidi meeting at FBI, 935 Pennsylvania Ave. NW  
Mike Heimbach, Section Chief, Counterterrorism Division  
Art Cummings, Washington Field Office, Counterterrorism Division
- 9:00-9:55      Afghan: Mr. Olumi meeting in Army Liaison Office (Rayburn HOB)
- 9:00-10:45     Kenya: Messrs. Aringo, Lagat, Muturi, and Ndindiri meeting at CBO (483 Ford)  
Contact: Melissa Merson, Associate Director for External Affairs, 6-2602  
Meeting with Jeff Holland and Budget Analysis Division
- 9:15-10:45     Kenya: Mr. Kirui meeting with Legislative Counsel (136 Cannon)
- 9:30-10:30     Afghan: Mr. Mujadidi, meeting with Deputy Assistant Attorney General  
Mary Lee Warren, Criminal Division, Justice Department (FBI HQ)
- 10:00-10:45    Afghan: Mr. Olumi and Mr. Hashemi, Armed Services Committee hearing on  
military tribunals (2118)
- 11:00-12:30    Kenya: Mr. Kirui meeting with Dan Freeman & David Abramowitz, HIRC (2170)

**Friday, Sept. 8**

- 11:00-11:45    Afghan: Mr. Jamshedi meeting with Jay Pierson, Speaker's Office (Capitol)
- 5:30-6:00      Afghan: Mr. Olumi and Mr. Mujadidi meet with Eric Edelman,  
Undersecretary of Defense for Policy (The Pentagon)

## **APPENDIX D: February 2006 CODEL to Indonesia and East Timor**

### **Summary**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its first Member assistance mission in Indonesia and East Timor from February 16 to 25, 2006. Led by Rep. Jim Kolbe, the delegation included Reps. Lois Capps, Adam Schiff and Allyson Schwartz. The delegation met with counterparts from the Indonesian House of Representatives on February 20 and 21 and from the National Parliament of East Timor on February 23 and 24. On February 22, the delegation met with provincial government and security officials on the Indonesian island of Bali to discuss counterterrorism cooperation. Overnight transit stops included Honolulu and Guam.

In Indonesia, the delegation's most significant parliamentary meetings came with Speaker Agung Laksono and with members of parliament from the Legislative Committee, the House Administration Committee, and the Team to Improve the Working of Parliament. Delegation Members stressed the importance of parliament having control of its own budget and its own staff. Their Indonesian counterparts noted that the executive branch sets the budget of parliament at an unreasonably low level and that most parliamentary staff is employed by the executive-branch Secretariat. The delegation also met with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, government ministers and economic officials, and the inter-parliamentary relations committee and U.S. friendship group to discuss bilateral relations.

In East Timor, Chairman Kolbe signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Speaker and the U.S. Ambassador in which the Commission pledged to furnish and equip the parliamentary library. USAID has contracted with the Asia Foundation to implement the project, with the expert assistance of the Library of Congress Jakarta office. Chairman Kolbe was invited to address a plenary session of the National Parliament of East Timor on the role of the legislature as an independent branch of government. He and the other delegation Members also discussed the role of individual Members in a legislature and how to use staff, as well as discussing legislative oversight of the security services with the relevant committee.

### **Indonesia**

The delegation found a receptive audience for its message of strengthening legislative independence among its counterparts in the Indonesian House of Representatives, or DPR. The structure of the DPR was set up during the several decades of dictatorship that preceded the democratic transition in 1998, and the institution has not transformed itself to reflect the development of Indonesian democracy. Most notably, the parliament's budget is set by the executive branch and administered by an executive branch agency, the Secretariat, whose 1,400 employees far outnumber the 122 "expert staff" directly employed by parliament.

During its time in Jakarta, the delegation was joined by former Rep. Doug Bereuter, now President of the Asia Foundation. The delegation began its meetings in the DPR in the office of Speaker Agung Laksono, who said the main problem his parliament faces is its budget. The budget is set by the Ministry of Finance and administered by the DPR Secretariat, itself an organ

of the executive branch. He noted that he himself has only one personally selected adviser, with the other 10 staffers in his office assigned by the Secretariat. He cited the need for a more effective library, research and professional staff as major concerns, as well as the need for funding for MPs to communicate with their constituents and open district offices.

The delegation understood of the Speaker's concerns, and the need for parliament to control its own budget and staff was the main theme of the delegation's time in Jakarta. At a public ceremony to formalize the relationship between the Commission and the DPR, Chairman Kolbe told his Indonesian counterparts, "The challenge that you now face is to transform institutions created under a different political system into the institutions needed for democracy to thrive." For his part, Speaker Laksono emphasized that the program constitutes a two-way partnership between the U.S. and Indonesian Houses of Representatives, not an attempt by the U.S. Congress to dictate to its Indonesian homologue.

The themes of insufficient staffing and lack of budgetary control marked the delegation's meetings with the Budget Committee and Legislative Committee (BALEG). The Budget Committee noted that it does not have enough professional staff, so "we mostly accept what we receive from the government." The Legislative Committee, which is also revising parliament's rules of procedure, told the delegation that it is in the process of drafting revisions to the state budget law to enable parliament to have an independent budget. Chairman Kolbe welcomed this initiative, saying, "This is the single most important thing you can do. It is impossible to act as an equal branch of government if you depend on the executive for your money. And you need to pay professional staff salaries sufficient so they can afford to say in parliament."

Recognizing the need for parliament to control its own staff and budget, the DPR is creating a "Study Team for Improving the Performance of the DPR," with a three-month mandate to recommend reforms. Because the team had not yet been inaugurated, a meeting between two members and the delegation had to take place outside the parliament. The sensitive discussion proved lively. "We have to push our way to reform," one member told the delegation.

A meeting with the House Administration Committee (BURT) was one of the most substantive of the visit. Indonesian MPs peppered their American counterparts with a host of questions ranging from member and staff compensation to the role of the media to whether the congressional seniority system is truly democratic. Most questions, though, focused on the independence from the executive branch that the U.S. Congress enjoys. This nuts-and-bolts discussion on the political and administrative workings of both legislatures was continued in a series of meetings with various Indonesian parties. Each Member of Congress met individually with a small group of Indonesian MPs, and the discussion addressed both internal topics – like how congressional salaries are set and individual office budgets managed – and broader political issues – like the role of third parties and party discipline.

The delegation also discussed issues in the bilateral U.S.-Indonesia relations with members of parliament during meetings with party leaders, the U.S. Caucus, and the Committee for Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation. The delegation also had dinner with Indonesian economic officials, including Finance Minister Sri Mulyani Indrawati.

Concurrent with the program for members of parliament, Dan Getz, a professional staff member with the House International Relations Committee, conducted a program for DPR staff. In four sessions, Mr. Getz addressed basic staff functions, research and reports, preparation for hearings, oversight role, and information management. Participants included some committee staff and party staff researchers with a mix of secretariat administrative staff and minimal participation from the research service. The party expert staff appeared eager to learn how legislative staff can better provide analysis to prepare members for committee work and practical training. The session addressing strategies for preparation for hearings and oversight drew good interaction with participants and good questions about the legislative process in the United States and separation of powers issues. Staff engaged in discussion of the various reasons for convening investigative hearings and the need for informing legislation and oversight of executive branch.

The delegation concluded its stay in Jakarta with a visit to the office of President Yudhoyono, also attended by Defense Minister Juwarno Sudarsono and Air Marshall Djoko Soeyanto, the new chief of the Indonesian military. President Yudhoyono said his three great tests will be the future of reforms, democratization and economic recovery. He spoke of counter-terrorism cooperation, promoting democracy in Southeast Asia, military reform, and reconciliation with East Timor. He also asked for an increased number of Indonesian military officers to study in the United States. Chairman Kolbe said President Yudhoyono was a great example of the value of the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, of which the president is a graduate.

In Jakarta, the delegation met with several senior counterterrorism officials, including the heads of the counter-terrorism office and a special police detachment, as well as two Supreme Court justices. The delegation went on to the island of Bali for meetings on the subject of counterterrorism with Governor Dewa Made Beratha; Putu Wesnawa, the Speaker of the provincial legislature; Police Chief Soenarko Danu Ardanto and other police officials; consuls based in Bali, and tourism officials. The governor asked whether the State Department travel warning for Indonesia – which “continues to warn U.S. citizens to defer non-essential travel to Indonesia” – could be lifted. Chairman Kolbe promised to consult with the State Department when it planned to review the warning. The police chief noted that his force needs additional screening devices for ports and the airport, as well as additional training. Chairman Kolbe pledged to request an expansion in U.S. counter-terrorism training programs for Bali and to ask whether it might be possible to provide additional narcotics detection equipment.

## **East Timor**

The Commission program in East Timor was enthusiastically received by members of parliament, a majority of whom participated during the two-day program. The highlight was the signing of a memorandum of understanding by Chairman Kolbe, U.S. Ambassador Grover Joseph Rees, and Speaker Francisco “Lu’olo” Guterres, in which the Commission pledged to furnish and equip the parliamentary library, with the assistance of the Library of Congress office in Jakarta, which the delegation had visited. In addition, the Commission will provide books and other library materials from a bibliography being compiled by the Library of Congress.

During his speech before a plenary session of parliament, Chairman Kolbe encouraged Timorese MPs to assert themselves as an equal branch of government and to ensure that the interests of their constituents are represented in the legislation they pass. “You must ensure that you have the information and resources that you need to legislate wisely,” he told MPs. “You have the authority to make your parliament a strong part of this democracy; I urge you to use this power to ensure that the people of East Timor are well-represented.”

In discussion, both with the entire delegation and during individual break-out session, Timorese MPs asked about how representatives balance their obligation to their constituents with their loyalty to their party. Because 75 of the 88 Timorese MPs were elected by party list, they necessarily must be more responsive to their parties, to whom they owe their seats. A major issue facing the parliament is passing an election law to govern the 2007 parliamentary elections, given that the previous elections were conducted under United Nations supervision. Chairman Kolbe suggested that the election law of El Salvador could serve as a model, and he promised to send materials on other election laws to his Timorese counterparts.

An important discussion took place during the session on the role of majority and minority parties. Mr. Schiff, who served in the majority in the California State Legislature and is in the minority in the House, emphasized that the majority wants minority support in order to share responsibility for controversial decisions, which can allow the minority to achieve some of its goals in shaping legislation. He said the minority party should do what is best for the country – supporting good legislation and working to defeat legislation with which it disagrees. Mrs. Capps spoke of the need to cooperate so two parties could produce better legislation than one party alone. Mrs. Schwartz noted that once elected, legislators represent all voters, not just those who supported them.

Mr. Schiff opened a discussion on the role of staff with a description of how his staff supports him. He emphasized that his staff reports only to him, and not to any larger body like a Secretariat. He noted that this ensures loyalty and that his staff provides him with unbiased information. The Timorese MPs noted that (1) they don’t have the resources for expert staff; (2) they only have administrative staff; and (3) committee staffers are required to support multiple committees. Chairman Kolbe responded by saying that East Timor will never be similar to the United States in terms of raw numbers of staff, but he emphasized the need for an independent, professional staff.

The last seminar that the delegation conducted was focused on security sector oversight with Committee B, which is responsible for foreign affairs, the military, police, and intelligence services. Chairman Kolbe noted that in the U.S. the military has always been under civilian control. In response to several questions, Mr. Schiff explained that most police in the U.S. were operated by state and local governments, and that there was no national police force in the U.S. Mr. Schiff added that the concept of civilian military control includes civilian control over the military budget. Committee MPs indicated their desire to cooperate with the U.S. on security and noted the need for East Timor to develop a navy capable of patrolling its maritime borders and interdicting trespassers, when necessary.

At the same time, Mr. Getz and HDAC Staff Director John Lis, along with Ambassador Rees, a former staffer for the Committee on International Relations, conducted a program for Timorese parliamentary staff. The Timorese spoke of the need to increase the expertise of their staff, many of whom have only junior high school or high school educations, and of the difficulty in hiring qualified staff when salaries are restricted by the civil service pay scale. Sharing a complaint of legislative staff everywhere, they asked why they earn the same salary as civil servants while working longer hours. They also emphasized the importance of developing the parliamentary library as a resource for staff.

In addition to the meetings in parliament, the delegation met with President Xanana Gusmao, the charismatic leader of the Timorese independence movement against both Portuguese colonial rule and Indonesian occupation. President Gusmao noted the need to build civil society in a country where the occupation ended only in 1999 and independence came just four years ago. He said the biggest challenge to Timorese democracy is supporting the opposition in the 2007 elections. The ruling Fretilin party controls both the government and a majority of parliament, and there is concern that the election law could be used to solidify its grip on power. In response to Mr. Schiff's question about the penal code that recently passed parliament, which criminalizes defamation, Mr. Gusmao said he would ask the prime minister to withdraw the law for revision, rather than force the president to veto it.

On the subject of economics, Mr. Gusmao noted that East Timor has already realized \$400 million from oil and gas development in the Timor Sea, and he expected that figure to reach \$1 billion by the end of 2006. He also expressed his desire to expand the coffee and tourism industries. Chairman Kolbe suggested that marketing Timorese coffee to a niche market was advisable, and he encouraged development of a destination resort on East Timor that would complement the mass tourism of Bali, with which East Timor cannot compete.

The delegation also visited a Peace Corps site in the town of Liquica, about 45 minutes west of Dili, where they learned about a program to promote maternal and infant health and visited a school library being funded by USAID and assisted by the Asia Foundation.

## **APPENDIX E: July 2006 CODEL to Lebanon and Kenya**

### **Summary**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its second Member assistance mission in Lebanon and Kenya from June 30 to July 9, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, John Boozman, Rush Holt, Michael Capuano, Donald Payne and Adam Schiff. The delegation met with counterparts from the Lebanese National Assembly on July 3 and 4 and from the parliament of Kenya from July 5 to 7. Other meetings included a July 1 lunch in Lisbon with Portuguese MPs; a July 2 dinner in Cyprus with the U.S. ambassador; July 8 meetings in Monrovia with President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Liberian parliamentary leaders; and a July 8 reception with officials of Embassy Dakar in Senegal.

In Lebanon, the delegation met privately with Speaker Nabih Berri and held three open sessions with MPs, plus an Independence Day luncheon with Lebanese MPs. Among the topics discussed were the role of the legislature as an independent branch of government; how to conduct oversight of the executive branch; the legislative rule in the budget and appropriations process; the rule of law; and the importance of parliamentary staff and independent sources of information and policy analysis. The delegation also met with Prime Minister Fouad Siniora to discuss bilateral relations and Lebanon's democratization process.

In Kenya, the delegation had an excellent series of meetings with senior parliamentary leaders, including Speaker Francis ole Kaparo. Among the most important were a two-hour breakfast meeting to discuss budgetary and appropriations oversight, just one day after the Kenyan parliament had voted to create its own budget committee. The delegation met also with Deputy Speaker David Musila, who is chairing an internal commission to revise the archaic rules of procedure, and with the leaders of government business and the opposition, among others. The delegation also traveled to the constituency of Kajiado South, in southern Kenya, and spent the day with the local MP, visiting infrastructure projects funded by the Constituency Development Fund money available to each Member of Parliament.

### **Lebanon**

The Commission's meetings in the Lebanese National Assembly drew an interested and engaged group of MPs, as many as 20 for two of the sessions. A key point made by many MPs concerned the need to move beyond the sectarian system that has governed Lebanese politics for more than 60 years and create a united Lebanese democracy. Emphasis was also placed on the need for Lebanon to adopt a new electoral law as the current one was imposed by a Syrian-dominated government and designed to favor their allies in Lebanon.

Prior to the delegation's visit, the Commission had targeted the library as an important resource for Lebanese National Assembly, and the Library of Congress compiled a bibliography of recommended materials for that facility. Recognizing the importance of a parliamentary library as an independent source of information for MPs, the delegation brought a set of books that represented the first installment of a \$10,000 gift of materials to the library. Two experts from the Library of Congress office in Cairo held concurrent meetings in the parliament with library staff and others to help design a program of assistance to the library.

Upon arrival in Beirut, the delegation visited the U.S. Embassy where it received a Country Team and Security briefing led by Ambassador Jeffrey Feltman and Deputy Chief of Mission Christopher Murray. The delegation also paid their respects at the memorial to the victims of the U.S. Marine barracks bombing in the early 1980s, as well as the memorial to assassinated former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

The delegation paid a courtesy call on Nabih Berri, the Speaker of the Lebanese National Assembly. He expressed his support for collaboration between the U.S. House of Representatives and the National Assembly under the auspices of the House Democracy Assistance Commission. He specifically raised the issue of the need to build a research capability within the parliament, and was also keenly interested in the impending visit of 10 Lebanese MPs and staff to Arkansas. (The crisis in Lebanon that began the week after the delegation's visit forced a postponement of this visit until April 2007.) Regarding the future of Lebanese democratization and the disarmament of Hezbollah, Berri explained his initiative to launch a "National Dialogue" consisting of Lebanese from all sects in order to resolve these issues of critical importance to the future of Lebanon.

Following its meeting with Speaker Berri, the delegation held its first parliamentary assistance session with Lebanese MPs, focused on the role of the legislature as an independent branch of government and the necessity of conducting oversight of the executive. The session was well attended by over two dozen MPs, and Members seemed invigorated at the fact that this National Assembly represented the first independent parliament in more than two decades. Additionally, some MPs expressed their frustration with the executive branch, indicating that they were almost entirely dependent on the government for information, which puts them at a severe disadvantage in terms of oversight and independent analysis. Lebanese MPs also spoke of the need to revise the rules of procedure; to hire professional staff for committees; and to increase transparency by opening committee hearings to the public. Many MPs expressed their strong support of Lebanon's participation in the HDAC program, though a few used their time to criticize U.S. Middle East policy.

The delegation participated in a luncheon with Lebanese civil society leaders, many of whom are focused on either the National Dialogue (aimed at resolving the sectarian divide and moving towards compliance with the UN Security Council's mandate for the disarmament of Hezbollah) or the electoral law reform process. While the civil society leaders felt that both problems could be resolved, they found it unlikely that the implementation of the needed reforms would be put forward by the current government because of the threat to the confessional system.

An afternoon parliamentary assistance session was held with members of the Lebanese Budget Committee on budget and finance oversight. CODEL Members explained the U.S. budget process as established by the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, focusing on separate responsibilities of authorizing and appropriating committees. For their part, the Lebanese expressed their frustration at their lack of independent information to analyze the budget, the executive's recalcitrance to provide greater budgetary transparency, and the limited time within which they have to consider the government budget.

Following the session, the delegation met with Lebanese Prime Minister Fouad Siniora at the Grand Serail, the Ottoman-era seat of government. The Prime Minister explained that the Arab world had a long history of democratic governance and that authoritarian systems were actually the result of British and French mandates during the colonial era. The continuation of those systems, Siniora said, was the result of the Palestinian conflict which had fomented coups and anti-democratic sentiment throughout the region. He added that there can be no real solutions to any problem in the Middle East without the resolution of the Palestinian situation.

The Prime Minister added that Lebanon had proven that it could be a model for all the Arab world, that it can achieve change through peaceful means. Lebanon's democracy, he said, was not important just for Lebanon, but actually the entire Arab world. Siniora admitted that many problems and challenges remained for the Lebanese people, but Lebanon was moving in the right direction for the first time in many years. Finally, Siniora expressed his tragically prescient fear that certain deals (with Iran, Syria, etc.) may be concluded at the expense of the Lebanese. He worried that Lebanon would become a battleground for conflicts between other regional powers. He asked for public U.S. assurances that this would not be the case. Nine days after the July 3 meeting, Israel launched a major offensive targeted at Hezbollah forces in southern Lebanon, but which also damaged much of Lebanon's critical commercial and civilian infrastructure.

On its second day in Lebanon, the delegation held its third and final parliamentary assistance session, chaired by Robert Ghannam, the chairman of the Committee on Justice. The final session focused on the importance of independent staff and research analysis. Commission Members explained that the U.S. system consisted of personal staff for Members, professional committee staff, and independent support agencies such as the Congressional Research Service and Congressional Budget Office. The Lebanese MPs expressed their desire for such staff, but concluded that under current budget circumstances it was not feasible. They lamented the fact that the National Assembly lacks a truly independent research service and that each committee has but a single staffer, who may or may not be versed in the subject matter of the committee.

The delegation then was hosted by Ambassador Feltman at his residence at Embassy Beirut for an Independence Day celebration with several dozen Members of the Lebanese parliament. Ambassador Feltman and Congressman John Boozman made brief remarks in support of Lebanon's efforts to further democratize, and Lebanese guests spoke in great detail of the need for closer ties between the U.S. Congress and the National Assembly.

## **Kenya**

The visit to Kenya by the HDAC delegation came an opportune time and established strong personal relationships with the leading reformers in the National Assembly of Kenya. In particular, the creation of a budget committee in the Kenyan parliament during the delegation's first day of meetings and the establishment of an internal commission to revise the archaic rules of procedure a few weeks earlier fostered a productive environment for the visit. The delegation met with many of the strongest advocates for reform in the parliament and offered guidance on the importance of parliamentary independence and oversight.

The delegation laid the foundation for future cooperation and assistance to the Kenyan parliament. The Commission invited Speaker Francis ole Kaparo to lead a delegation of eight MPs and two staffers to the United States in late August and early September to learn more about the workings of the House of Representatives and how its experience might be relevant for Kenyan reforms. The Commission will maintain close contact with USAID/Kenya, the parliamentary strengthening program of the State University of New York, and the parliament itself to explore further staff assistance in Nairobi. This could include a staff delegation to offer expert advice on the operations of a budget committee, parliamentary budget office, research service, library, rules of procedure, and legislative drafting.

The Commission's first meeting in Kenya was with Speaker Francis ole Kaparo, of the Kenyan National Assembly. The meeting was positive and the Speaker warmly encouraged the visit of the delegation and current and future cooperation through the HDAC program. He noted that there was a growing consensus of the need to reform the Kenyan parliament and transform it from the rubber-stamp parliament it had been under the autocratic regime of President Daniel arap Moi, to an independent branch of government. He and the delegation discussed efforts to improve the research service and library, as well as the importance of ethics rules for Members. The Speaker also noted that CODEL Dreier was the largest U.S. Congressional delegation to visit the National Assembly in history.

Following the meeting with Speaker Kaparo, the delegation held a similar meeting with the Vice President and Leader of Government Business in the parliament, Moody Awori, himself a Member of Parliament (as are all Kenyan elected officials). Vice President Awori, who is responsible for setting the parliamentary calendar, also expressed his support for the Commission's mission in Kenya.

The Commission held a subsequent meeting with a representative of the main opposition party in parliament (KANU), Justin Muturi. Uhuru Kenyatta, the leader of KANU was unavailable to meet with the delegation due to a by-election that was taking place. Mr. Muturi echoed the Speaker and Vice President's support for the Commission's work in Kenya, and underscored the need for the National Assembly to become a more independent body with greater oversight responsibilities. He criticized the government's lack of transparency and its practice of withholding information from the legislature.

Following these meetings, the delegation traveled to U.S. Embassy Nairobi, where it received a series of briefings on Kenyan politics and counter-terrorism programs in the Horn of Africa. Subsequently, the delegation attended a luncheon on the National Assembly grounds hosted by Deputy Speaker David Musila, who is leading the commission that is reviewing the parliament's standing orders, or internal rules of procedure.

The delegation had the honor of observing the opening of a session of the National Assembly, at which the delegation's presence was publicly noted by Speaker Kaparo. While sitting in the Speaker's gallery, the Commission witnessed question time between MPs and governmental ministers.

The Commission then held a parliamentary assistance session with National Assembly committee chairs focused on the importance of public hearings and oversight of the executive branch. The Kenyan MPs agreed that public hearings would be a positive step forward and said they were working to make them a reality, given the physical constraints of the parliament's committee rooms. They added that the dearth of information provided by the government made oversight difficult, if not impossible, and the lack of trained professional staff compounded the problem. The HDAC delegation was interested to learn that the two primary audit and oversight committees of the Kenyan National Assembly are chaired by members of the minority party (but the majority party maintains the overall advantage on each committee). That evening, the delegation attended a dinner held in its honor by the Speaker, which was widely attended by a number of MPs.

Also that afternoon, House staff from the Commission and the Committee on Rules met with their Kenyan counterparts to discuss the shape of staff-to-staff programs. Among the areas that will be addressed in both Washington and Nairobi will be the legislative role in the budget process; policy analysis; work of constituency offices; the role of committees in legislation and oversight; and legislative drafting. In addition, Rules Committee staff pledged to work with Kenyan parliamentary clerks as they assist MPs in revising the parliament's standing orders.

On its second day in Kenya, the Commission held a breakfast working session with Members of the Public Accounts and Public Investment Committees on the budget process. The National Assembly passed legislation authorizing the creation of a Budget Committee and independent Fiscal Analysis Office during the delegation's visit, so the timing was fortuitous. HDAC Members, at length, described the congressional budget process, including the separation of authorization and appropriation functions. Particular attention was paid to the "power of the purse" of the Congress, and that Congress could completely ignore the President's budget proposal should it so choose. The structure and important role of the Congressional Budget Office was also highlighted. Among the significant number of Kenyan MPs who attended, was Peter Aringo, the key MP behind the passage of the budget legislation.

Following the budget working session, the delegation held a much more contentious meeting with the Foreign Relations and Legal Affairs Committees of the National Assembly, at which Kenyan MPs expressed dissatisfaction with some aspects of U.S. policy toward Kenya, particularly in the counter-terrorism field. Chairman Dreier responded by noting that after September 11, 2001, a strong alliance was formed to fight terrorism, which included Kenya. He noted that the attack on the U.S. Embassy was an attack on democracy, not just the U.S., and that compensation should be paid by the perpetrators of the crime (al-Qaeda) and not the victim (the United States). He also added that crime and terrorism are linked, but said he hoped the Kenyans recognized that they and the U.S. had much more in agreement than disagreement.

HDAC and Rules Committee staff held a concurrent meeting with staff of the National Assembly. The U.S. and Kenyan staff discussed how parliamentary staff should be structured to best support the Members of Parliament, while recognizing the limited size of the Kenyan parliamentary staff, particularly the understaffed, four-person research department. Kenyan staff requested further advice on legislative drafting and issues such as a freedom of information act and defense oversight.

Following the foreign relations meeting, the delegation took a tour of the National Assembly, where they saw firsthand its severely inadequate library, its fledgling research center, the Members' rather substantial gym and car park, the ceremonial plenary chamber, and the office of an individual MP. After the conclusion of the parliamentary tour, a number of delegation Members undertook the opportunity to visit Kibera, the poorest section of Nairobi, and witness ongoing American NGO work there.

That evening, the Commission met with international correspondents from such news agencies as the New York Times, Reuters, and the Associated Press, to discuss HDAC's mission in Kenya and also get the journalists own viewpoints as to the progress of democratic reform, particularly parliamentary reform, in the country. That evening, U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Leslie Rowe hosted a reception for the Commission where they interacted with a number of civil society, parliamentary, and Government of Kenya counterparts.

On its third day in Kenya, the delegation left Nairobi at dawn for the rural constituency of Kajiado South, in southern Kenya near the border with Tanzania. Katoo ole Metito, the local Member of Parliament, took the delegation to visit three projects that had been funded through the Constituency Development Fund. This fund comprises 2.5 percent of the government budget, and it is divided among the 224 MPs. Each MP uses a share of the fund to pay for infrastructure development in his or her district, with a 15-member advisory board providing significant input into which projects the MP decides to fund.

The first project was the Kimana Health Center, a substantial annex to a small rural clinic that offers basic medical services and preventive health care, including AIDS awareness. Chairman David Dreier was asked to dedicate the clinic. The delegation also visited the Sinet water project, which protects a freshwater spring from contamination and then pipes the clean water five miles to town. Rep. David Price, the ranking Democratic Member of the Commission, was asked to dedicate the water tower in town. The final project was the refurbishment of a building at Namelok Primary School, made necessary in part by the government's recent action making primary education free, which has swollen the nation's schools. At all three projects, the MP and delegation were welcomed by hundreds of enthusiastic residents, giving the delegation insight into the relationship between an MP and constituents.

In Kajiado South, the delegation also received a briefing from the deputy director of the Kenyan Wildlife Service on its efforts to improve Kenya's tourism infrastructure and protect its famed wildlife and visited the USAID-funded Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary, a private game preserve that rents the land from the local community and creates jobs for local residents. The Commission additionally visited a traditional Masai village to learn more about their culture and customs.

## **Liberia**

On July 8, the delegation traveled from Nairobi to Monrovia, Liberia. During its five hours on the ground in Monrovia, the delegation met with President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf to discuss the reconstruction of Liberia, particularly the need to get the Monrovia electrical grid up and running. President Sirleaf expressed her gratitude to the U.S. Agency for International

Development for contributing to this immense undertaking (the Presidential Mansion and Capitol Building are completely reliant on half-functional generators), and she noted that it was the key campaign promise she intended to complete during her first 150 days in office. She also added that, while no one would be satisfied with their allocations under her administration's first budget proposal, they did highlight education for special attention in order to rebuild the human capacity in Liberia. At the meeting's conclusion, Chairman Dreier presented President Sirleaf with a plaque of appreciation from the city of Monrovia, California, which Chairman Dreier represents.

Following the meeting with President Sirleaf, the delegation met with the legislative leadership of the Liberian parliament. Among the few dozen MPs in attendance were Edwin Snowe, the Speaker of the Liberian House of Representatives and Isaac Nyenabo, the President Pro Tempore of the Liberian Senate. The delegation discussed the prospects for a future HDAC program in Liberia, which would need to be approved by the full Commission, and the needs of the Liberian parliament. For their part, the Liberian legislative leadership indicated their strong desire to engage in a partnership with the United States, noting that Liberia is the only other country in the world with a governmental system matching that of the United States. At the end of the visit, Chairman Dreier announced that four staff members of the delegation would remain behind in Monrovia to conduct a staff assessment of the feasibility of an HDAC program with the Liberian Congress. That assessment was subsequently conducted from July 9 to 12.

## **APPENDIX F: November 2006 CODEL to Macedonia and Afghanistan** **Summary**

The House Democracy Assistance Commission conducted its third Member assistance mission in Macedonia and Afghanistan from November 19 to 27, 2006. Led by Chairman David Dreier, the delegation included Reps. David Price, Lois Capps and Earl Pomeroy. The delegation met with counterparts from the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia from November 20 to 22 and from the Afghan National Assembly on November 25 and 26. Other meetings included November 23 consultations with the prime minister of Kosovo and the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, as well as Thanksgiving dinner with U.S. troops at Camp Bondsteel; a November 24 dinner with the U.S. Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan; and a November 27 luncheon with the U.S. Ambassador to Finland and members of the Finnish parliament.

In Macedonia, the delegation began its program in the lakeside city of Ohrid by meeting with almost 20 MPs from that electoral district to discuss constituent relations. In Skopje, the delegation met privately with Ljubisha Georgievski, the president of the Assembly, and held four open sessions with MPs, plus two luncheons and a dinner at the parliament. Among the topics discussed were rules of procedure; committee work, public hearings and oversight; the role of government and opposition coalitions; and bilateral relations. Three concurrent meetings were held between congressional and Macedonian staff. While in parliament, the delegation dedicated a computer server that the Commission had earlier donated to the Assembly. The delegation also met with President Branko Crvenkovski and Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski to discuss bilateral relations and Macedonia's progress toward NATO membership, and with Deputy Prime Minister Imer Selmani to discuss implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement.

In Afghanistan, the delegation spent two days with the leadership of the Wolesi Jirga, the lower house of parliament, and with the leadership of its committees. The delegation met privately with Speaker Yanus Qanooni before signing a memorandum of understanding pledging the Commission to assist the Afghan National Assembly in developing its library and in training library staff, in cooperation with the Library of Congress. Members met with chairs of all 18 committees to discuss administration and organization of committees, while staff conducted a concurrent session with Afghan committee staff. The delegation then held individual meetings with the leadership and staff of six of those committees. Luncheons with a group of women MPs and with the parliamentary leadership gave Members an opportunity to speak with their counterparts in a more informal setting. The delegation also met with commanders of U.S. military forces in Afghanistan and with President Hamid Karzai.

### **Macedonia**

The Commission's delegation to the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia was enthusiastically received by the host parliament. Over the course of three days of meetings and social events, Members of the Commission and Macedonian MPs had the opportunity to discuss topics ranging from the Assembly's new rules of procedure to the role of government and opposition coalitions. A concurrent staff program gave congressional and Macedonian staff the chance to discuss many of the same topics and to build personal relationships for future contacts.

The delegation began its program in the lakeside city of Ohrid, in southwestern Macedonia, meeting with most of the 20 MPs who were elected in July from District 5, one of six electoral districts from which MPs are chosen by a proportional party-list system. The Macedonian group included several MPs who had participated in the HDAC program in April in the United States, and they spoke highly of the lessons that they learned during three days in the Michigan district of Rep. Candice Miller. One of them told the delegation, “Everything that I learned in the States I will be able to use to strengthen our young democracy. I know that whenever I have a question, I will be able to talk to you.”

A major topic of conversations in Ohrid concerned the constituency offices that the National Democratic Institute (NDI) had created in the previous parliament, which have not been reopened since the July elections due to uncertain financial support. Those offices used space in municipal buildings to give MPs from each political party space in which to meet with constituents. MPs were vocal in their desire to have district offices, particularly because individual members do not have offices in the main parliament building. Delegation members agreed to explore how the Commission might work with NDI to have the offices reopened and staff salaries paid, while noting that a recurring expense like staff salaries must quickly be assumed by the parliament itself. As MPs met with U.S. Members of Congress, U.S. and Macedonian staff held a separate discussion on constituent relations. Brad Smith, professional staff member of the House Rules Committee, and Tommy Ross, legislative assistant for Mr. Price, shared their experience in working with constituents in their Members’ districts, and listened to Macedonian staff elaborate on the obstacles they face in conducting constituent outreach.

Ljubisha Georgievski, the president of the Assembly, greeted the delegation in Ohrid and invited Members to a private meeting the following day in Skopje. The Speaker told the delegation of the need for more expert staff, and he spoke of the need for ethics rules in the parliament. Per the Chairman Dreier’s promise, the Commission has subsequently provided copies of the House and Senate ethics manuals to guide the Assembly’s effort to revise its rules. In the subsequent meeting with Mr. Georgievski and party caucus leaders in parliament, Macedonian MPs called for less restrictive rules on debate and for more work to be done in committee, and they again cited the need for more staff. Rep. David Price noted that it would be difficult for the Assembly to reach adequate staffing levels until it gained control of its own budget from the Ministry of Finance.

Concurrently, U.S. and Macedonian staff exchanged information and perspectives on the Assembly’s new draft rules and the work of the commission responsible for rules, mandates, and immunity. Brad Smith and Julie Kim, a foreign affairs specialist at the Congressional Research Service, elaborated on the work of the Rules Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives. They noted that the Rules Committee is mainly a function of the majority party, and they contrasted that with the House ethics committee, which is based on party parity. Participants draw comparisons between the U.S. House of Representatives’ emphasis on efficiency and expediency, and the recognized need in the Macedonian assembly for greater deliberation and legislative branch input into the government’s legislative proposals.

The issue of inadequate staffing was raised in a Nov. 22 meeting with the chairs of committees in the Assembly. Committees have only one staffer each, and the Macedonian chairs said that the effectiveness of a committee depends on the initiative and strength of the chair. Mr. Dreier encouraged the chairs to make the committees stronger, noting that the “real work of the U.S. Congress” is done in committee and parliament’s power is enhanced when committees play a greater role. Rep. Earl Pomeroy emphasized the importance of fairness to the opposition in committees at the expense of efficiency, holding extensive public hearings and allowing open debate in markup sessions. Mr. Price again encouraged the Macedonian committee chairs to unite to seek greater funding for parliament so that more committee staff could be hired.

Concurrently, Mr. Smith and Ms. Kim discussed the staff work of committees and the role of information technology. Macedonian assembly staff discussed several structural and technical challenges in their work, such as limited space and computer capacity, as well as procedural limitations like the lack of scheduled working days for commissions. U.S. staff discussed the role of committee staff in providing specialized expertise in congressional committees, as well as similar challenges such as scheduling and jurisdictional issues. U.S. staff also discussed the role of IT, in particular internet resources, both in terms of accessing information for committee work and in disseminating legislatively-focused information to congressional offices and committees.

Ms. Kim also met with staff of the Research and Analysis Department of the Assembly and discussed several principles that guide the work of a legislative research facility, especially the notion of a legislature having its own dedicated resource of information and analysis. Possible options on the scope and emphasis of a nascent research institution were discussed, as were ideas about having an organizational mission, emphasizing client service, conducting outreach to Members, and networking with outside institutions. Macedonian staff discussed recent changes to their organizational structure and coordination between the Secretary-General’s office, the documentation unit, and other legislative bodies. The recent orientation for new Assembly Members was cited as a useful means to inform new MPs of the resources and services available to them, including in the area of parliamentary research.

The delegation’s final meetings in the Assembly, focused on the role of majority and opposition parties and summarized the points of the three-day program, while giving Members a first-hand look at some of the political disputes within Macedonia. Again, Macedonian MPs called for committees to play a greater role in the work of the Assembly, and minority MPs voiced their concern that their voice must be heard in committee, a sentiment echoed by Mr. Pomeroy. He also emphasized the importance of MPs making their points concisely and professionally, without personal attacks on other MPs.

Mr. Price reminded his Macedonian counterparts that both the government and opposition coalitions should recognize the importance of keeping the executive accountable. Both congressmen agreed that the minority does not have a right to stop the legislative process, and at the end of the day, a vote needs to be taken. Unfortunately, much of that session was taken by an internal Macedonian debate as to whether the largest ethnic-Albanian party had a right to be invited to the government coalition so that Albanian voices might be heard, a point of contention since it was the No. 2 Albanian party that was asked to join the government.

Chairman Dreier and the delegation had an opportunity to dedicate a plaque just outside the plenary chamber that commemorates the Commission's donation of a \$50,000 computer server to the Assembly. This server will enable the Assembly to move away from its reliance on hard copies of documents and to develop resources like a legislative information system. The delegation also toured a little-used meeting room that Mr. Georgievski plans to convert into a larger parliamentary library, with about 2,500 square feet of space, plus renovated committee meeting areas. The delegation asked the Assembly to keep the Commission updated on the progress of this initiative so that the Commission might be able to offer advice and other assistance as the project goes forward.

The delegation's three days of meetings in Macedonia also provided opportunity to discuss U.S.-Macedonian relations and the country's foreign policy goals of joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union. President Branko Crvenkovski stated that Macedonia's relations with Washington "are of the highest importance," and Mr. Dreier assured him that "you should be sanguine on NATO membership."

The delegation also met with Deputy Prime Minister Imer Selmani to discuss the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement, which ended a political crisis between the country's ethnic-Macedonian majority and the ethnic-Albanian minority, a topic also discussed with the president and prime minister. Mr. Selmani reiterated the government's commitment to the Ohrid agreement, and the delegation expressed its support, noting that the agreement might provide a model for neighboring Kosovo to resolve its ethnic tensions. Both the executive branch leaders and the Macedonian-U.S. Friendship Group in parliament indicated that independence for Kosovo would be acceptable to them, with the conditions that the international community is likely to place initially on an independent Kosovo.

Members of the delegation had several opportunities to meet their Macedonian counterparts in social situations as well, such as a pair of luncheons and an ornate dinner hosted by the president in the parliament's banquet hall. Members from both legislatures exchanged contact information and pledged to remain in contact as the Assembly proceeds with its efforts to become a more effective legislature in a young democracy.

## **Afghanistan**

The visit to Afghanistan by the HDAC delegation reinforced the intention of Members of Congress to work with the members of the Wolesi Jirga in their efforts to create a strong, effective legislature. The delegation's trip to Kabul reciprocated a visit by eight MPs and three staffers from the Wolesi Jirga to the United States in late August and early September, visiting both the suburban Chicago district of Rep. Mark Kirk and Washington. Meetings in the Wolesi Jirga focused on the leadership of the institution and on strengthening the committee structure. During the two-day visit, Chairman Dreier and the first deputy speaker of the Wolesi Jirga signed a memorandum of understanding, by which the Commission pledged to help develop the parliamentary library in conjunction with the Library of Congress. The delegation was impressed by the commitment of Afghan MPs to build a democratic system in their country and to work within the political structures of the parliament to resolve their differences.

Speaker Yanus Qanooni, a leading political figure in Afghanistan, personally expressed his thanks to the delegation for the Commission's support. In addition to meeting the delegation in his office, Speaker Qanooni hosted a luncheon with the delegation and the five-person leadership of the Wolesi Jirga, which facilitated a more informal discussion of the challenges facing the Afghan legislature.

Speaker Qanooni expressed his thanks to the delegation for the Commission's support and his hope that the Commission can assist the development of his parliament. Referring to the civil war that followed the end of Soviet occupation in 1989, he noted that Afghan leaders now settle their disagreements with voting cards rather than weapons.

In the meeting with the speaker, Chairman Dreier expressed the Commission's support for the Wolesi Jirga, particularly the parliamentary library project. "Our commitment to help you build your democracy is not one that we will shy away from," he said. "I am confident that the American people will support this effort, because it is in our national security interests that the Taliban not return and we build a free, democratic Afghanistan."

President Hamid Karzai welcomed the delegation's efforts to help Afghanistan build a democratic system, and he echoed Mr. Qanooni's thoughts about the importance of having Afghans from different regions and viewpoints work through the political process. The meetings with President Karzai and members of parliament also featured discussion of bilateral relations and the current situation in the country. Mr. Karzai expressed concern that the government of Pakistan, and particularly the governor of its Northwest Frontier Province, were not being helpful in controlling Taliban and al Qaeda fighters on their territory, a sentiment that was shared by some MPs

Legislative oversight of the government was a major focus of the delegation's visit. Mr. Qanooni welcomed this, and the theme of oversight was echoed in the delegation's meeting with the 18 chairs of Wolesi Jirga committees. In response to a chairman's question, Mr. Price noted that the power of the purse and the power to confirm presidential appointees are two of the legislature's most important checks on the executive.

The meeting with committee chairs was sophisticated and specific, with discussion touching on topics like overriding vetoes, the relationship between the legislative and judicial branches, and the effect of case law on the legislative intent of Congress. One recurring theme was the lack of technical staff for committees, each of which has a single staffer. Mr. Price, a political science professor at Duke University, referred to his doctoral dissertation when he told the Afghan chairs that strong committees are a product of strong chairs who want to influence public policy and staff who are expert and politically astute.

Concurrently, two House staffers met with a wide range of Afghan committee staff. Mr. Smith opened up the meeting by explaining the structure, process and role of Committees in the U.S. Congress. Lara Alameh, professional staff member on the House International Relations Committee, focused on the evolution of the U.S. Congress over the past 200 years and emphasized how the U.S. legislature is set up to deal with conflict. Many of the questions by Afghan counterparts focused on the hiring process of staffers in the U.S. Congress, the relationship between personal and committee offices and topics relating to ethical standards.

The focus on strengthening Afghan committees continued on the second day of the visit. The delegation broke in half and conducted individual meetings with the chairs, vice chairs and secretaries of six committees from the Wolesi Jirga: Legislation; Finance and Budget; Defense and Homeland Security; Internal Security; National Economy, Agriculture, Rural Development and Non-Governmental Organizations; and Public Health, Youth, Sports and Labor. The congressional delegation included Members of several counterpart House committees and subcommittees: Rules; Budget; Ways and Means; Agriculture; Military Quality of Life and Veterans Affairs Appropriations; Homeland Security Appropriations; and Health Subcommittee of the Energy and Commerce Committee.

For the most part, these individual committee meetings were focused and productive, with the Members of Congress gaining valuable insight into the Afghan system and politics, and the Afghan MPs asking specific questions about the operations of congressional committees. In the budget meeting, Rep. Lois Capps described how the U.S. federal budget is a “statement of priorities.” She and Mr. Pomeroy learned about some of the challenges facing their Afghan counterparts; for example, more than a third of the \$830 million government budget comes from international donors who stipulate how their money should be spent, restricting the flexibility of the Afghan government and parliament. Mr. Pomeroy suggested that the committee hold hearings with government ministers and meetings with international donors to help them work with the parliament to plan a coherent spending plan.

The session with the Defense Committee was especially insightful, as Chairman Nooralhaq Olumi described his efforts to increase the size of the army to reduce the demands on U.S. and coalition forces and to reduce corruption in the ranks. He complained that the government was not responsive to his idea, a sentiment with which Mr. Price commiserated. “Our system is not perfect,” he said. “We have doubts sometimes about our ability to influence defense policy.”

Midway through its first day in Kabul, the delegation had an opportunity to have lunch with a dozen women MPs in the home of Marnie Gustavson, an American who has returned to her childhood hometown of Kabul to work with Afghan women. The delegation was inspired by their stories of courage in the face of personal danger and even physical assaults, and Mrs. Capps in particular encouraged them to persevere in their effort to represent and advance the interests of Afghan women.

A major focus of the Commission’s work in Afghanistan will be the parliamentary library, and Chairman Dreier signed a memorandum of understanding pledging HDAC to support that facility during a ceremony that was covered by the local and international media. The library is housed in a newly renovated space, but it is in need of books, periodicals, and other library materials. The Commission in September had sent a specialist from the Library of Congress office in Islamabad, Pakistan, to assess the needs of the library, and her report and proposal are likely to form the basis of a Commission project. Training for Afghan library staff is expected to form an important part of the project.

Outside of parliament, the delegation had breakfast with U.S. troops based at Camp Eggers as part of Operation Enduring Freedom and received a classified briefing from U.S. commanders. They also had dinner at the residence of Deputy Chief of Mission Dick Norland with USAID

representatives and the country directors of the State University of New York/Center for International Development, the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute and the Asia Foundation to discuss their work with the Afghan parliament and political parties in the country. HDAC is cooperating with SUNY/CID to complement the USAID-funded parliamentary strengthening program that is being conducted in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program. The delegation also met with representatives of NGOs and small enterprises in Afghanistan that endeavor to improve the health, education and economic well-being of Afghan women.

## **Kosovo**

On Thanksgiving Day the delegation drove from Skopje to the UN-administered territory of Kosovo to enjoy a Thanksgiving Dinner with some of the 1,700 U.S. troops serving there as part of NATO's 17,000-strong Kosovo Force, which has been involved in peacekeeping since 1999. Members dined with troops from California and North Carolina in the massive mess hall of Camp Bondsteel, the headquarters of the U.S.-led Multinational Task Force East, outside the city of Orahovac, and expressed their thanks to the soldiers for their service.

Brig. Gen. Darren Owens, of the 36th Infantry Division of the Texas National Guard, and his staff briefed the delegation on the responsibilities of the task force and potential challenges as Kosovo moves toward independence early next year. The 36th Infantry was in the process of handing over its duties to soldiers from the 29th Infantry Division, a National Guard unit primarily made up of units from Virginia, Maryland and Massachusetts. General Owens, who will relinquish command in December, described the highlights of his one-year tour, including transforming a multinational brigade into a smaller task force; consolidating the base structure; and encouraging greater involvement of the Kosovo Protection Corps and civilian authorities as the territory moves toward independence from Serbia.

The delegation also met with Prime Minister Agim Ceku to discuss the final status of the territory. The prime minister expressed disappointment in the decision by UN envoy Martti Ahtisaari to delay his recommendation on final status until after the January 21 Serbian elections, but declared that Kosovars "haven't lost confidence" in the final status process. Mr. Ceku said he would encourage Serbs to remain in Kosovo and help build a "modern, multiethnic, secular country" that will work toward EU membership. He outlined plans to create additional municipalities in Kosovo so that 82 percent of the territory's Serbs would live in Serbian-majority towns, and he said Kosovo would welcome assistance from Belgrade to fund Serbian schools and cultural institutions, provided that the money be channeled through the central Kosovar government.

The delegation also met with Steven Schook, the principal deputy special representative of the secretary general at the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). Mr. Schook, a retired U.S. military officer, cited the economy as the biggest challenge to Kosovo becoming a successful country; in particular, the need to move the black economy into the formal sector. He expressed hope that Kosovo's lignite coal reserves would attract outside investment once final status is resolved, with

the hope that the country could not only meet its energy needs, but become an energy exporter to the region.

Mr. Schook told the delegation that Mr. Ahtisaari is likely to issue his report soon after the Serbian elections in January, which would trigger a transition period of 90 to 120 days for UNMIK to transfer authority to Kosovar authorities. He cited the need to replace passports, create a foreign ministry, and assume police and justice function as the top challenges for the Kosovar government. Mr. Schook urged the Members to send a message to the Secretary of State that a new UN resolution on Kosovo's status needs to happen "as soon as possible" and should clearly state that the territory will be an independent country, albeit one that will cede sovereignty in some areas to KFOR and to an International Civilian Office led by the EU, which will function somewhat like the Office of the High Representatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

