

**Review of the Westminster
Foundation for Democracy**

Volume 3: annexes 8–13

River Path Associates
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Annex 8: Sierra Leone

Table 8.1: WFD activities in Sierra Leone

This table provides a chronology of WFD's activities in Sierra Leone.

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1996–97 | Equipment for National Commission for Democracy Public Meetings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database | Project description: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fund the National Commission for Democracy in Sierra Leone to purchase video and audio equipment. ▪ Equipment to be used to show radio and TV programmes on democracy and human rights at public meetings in parts of the country that do not have regular access to TV and radio. Impact and evaluation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No evaluation is available for this project. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2000–03 | Equipment for Radio Bo. Budget £15,340 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database ▪ Original project proposal ▪ Independent evaluation | <p>Project description:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To fund the purchase of a new, more powerful transmitter, antenna and generator for Radio Bo, an independent radio station broadcasting to the central, eastern and northern regions of Sierra Leone. ▪ Overall objective: to sensitise the rural Sierra Leonean community about the need for reconciliation toward building a lasting peace and to arrest the escalation and entrenchment of a climate of violence nurtured by hatred and misperception of issues. ▪ Four specific objectives covering provision of information; mobilisation; civil society capacity-building; education. ▪ Outputs are attached to each objective. ▪ Evaluation by transcripts, listener surveys, listener groups and media feedback. <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The objectives specified in the application are not referred to in the evaluation report – perhaps unsurprisingly, as the ambitious activities specified (e.g. “organise and air radio panel with the theme of repentance, forgiveness and reintegration” and 22 others) do not relate to the funding provided (purchase of a transmitter). ▪ However, the evaluation confirms that the equipment had been purchased and was being used. ▪ A survey of 120 members of the public was completed, but results are not formally presented. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| February 2001 | First assessment visit to Sierra Leone | <p>British High Commission (BHC) reports that WFD had identified Sierra Leone as a priority country and that “our expectations were high”.</p> <p>The WFD report identified the lack of development of political parties as a significant omission which was having a serious and negative impact on Sierra Leone’s democracy. This was an area not covered by other donors.</p> |
| March 2001 | Second assessment visit to Sierra Leone | <p>WFD identified a very specific need for WFD’s skills, which few others can provide. It argued that the risk of funds being wasted was minimised by the scale of DFID’s programme. The British Council was identified as a potential partner. There was “a unique opportunity to create something new, and to have a lasting and sustainable impact.”</p> <p>A proposal addressed the following areas: strengthening political parties; bridging the gap between people and Government; strengthening the parliamentary process; and building policy skills.</p> <p>A grid was provided outlining outputs: (i) visibly strengthened parties; (ii) cadre of competent trainers; (iii) link established between effective party organisation, policy formulation and communication skills and votes.</p> <p>Indicators of success were also provided. Parties should be (i) capable of differentiating themselves on policy grounds in addition to their leaders; (ii) demonstrate aspects of internal democracy; (iii) be able to raise adequate funds; (iv) be able to attract and retain paid-up members.</p> |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| May/June 2001 | Third assessment visit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “A Report on a Visit to Sierra Leone, 21 May to 4 June 2001” | <p>Aimed to analyse in greater depth the state of the political parties and to determine exactly what training WFD might conduct.</p> <p>A detailed report, prepared by Clare Morris and John Earl, discusses the electoral system, political parties, Government, National Electoral Commission (NEC), and media in Sierra Leone.</p> <p>Recommends a series of training courses to “reflect the poor communications problem as well as the low organisational level of all the parties.”</p> <p>Courses to be run in advance of an election, then planned for either December 2001 or May 2002. See project proposal below.</p> |
| 12 June 2001 | “Political Party Development in Sierra Leone (Phase 1)” | <p>A project proposal with the following elements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political party development as the primary focus. ▪ Commitment to long-term engagement and a cross-party approach. ▪ Co-ordination with International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), DFID and NDI. ▪ Aim: “The principles of democratic accountability are understood and implemented by political parties in Sierra Leone.” ▪ Focus on party membership, communication policies, effective campaigning, and effectiveness and accountability of elected MPs. ▪ Phase 1 – pre-election party work. Phase 2 – post-election party political work. Phase 3 – post-election parliamentary support work. ▪ WFD staff member to be based in Sierra Leone. ▪ Monitoring and evaluation as integral part of the process. ▪ Budget for phase 1: £56k from WFD, £57k requested from FCO. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|-------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Summer 2001 | Staff member employed in Sierra Leone. | <p>Claire Morley appointed as Programme Manager for Sierra Leone and sets up office in NDI building in Freetown.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BHC reports that, despite being parachuted into Sierra Leone with limited knowledge of the country, the Programme Manager was able to establish a viable operation from nothing, develop an extensive network, and build considerable recognition for the organisation. ▪ BHC: “We were very clear about what was needed. We wanted WFD to come and prepare the parties for the presidential and general election. It was a good fit with our strategy and with the thinking in London.” |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3–12 September 2001 | Sierra Leone Cross-Party Training Programme: Training Course 1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Report by Roy Lakey (trainer) ▪ Report by Ronald M Bell (trainer) ▪ Report by John Earl (trainer) ▪ WFD database | Programme with the following elements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Open day on ‘What is democracy?’ attended by 100 people from 14 of 22 political parties, and representatives of army and police, with address from High Commissioner. ▪ Three one-day courses on candidate selection (cross-party), attended by 21, 11 and 17 delegates. ▪ Three one-day courses on political communication (cross-party), attended by 13, 21 and 14 delegates. ▪ Eleven two-hour sessions for individual parties on personal presentation skills, attended by a total of 35 delegates. Impact and evaluation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ One trainer concluded that “a genuine impact was made by this first training visit”; another that all parties made a significant commitment and “we believe a real difference in understanding how to fight a democratic campaign was achieved”. ▪ At least three parties were subsequently found to have cascaded training to others. ▪ Presence of WFD staff on the ground was identified as critical to the success of the training. |
| 1–10 October 2001 | Sierra Leone Cross-Party Training Programme: Training Course 2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Report by John Earl (trainer) ▪ Report by Ronald M Bell (trainer) ▪ Report by Roy Lakey (trainer) ▪ WFD database | Programme with the following elements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Two one-day courses on strategies and tactics, attended by 4 and 10 delegates. ▪ Four one-day courses on campaigning on the ground, attended by 16, 11, 11 and 10 delegates. ▪ Four one-day courses on membership development, attended by 10, 11, 10 and 16 parties. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A two-day course on media management attended by 18 delegates. <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Trainers noted little variation in party platforms and in how challenging delegates found strategy development. ▪ Favourable comments were received on style and content of training, with trainers receiving regular requests for more courses. ▪ Staff presence on the ground was again believed to be important, given an unstable party situation and “very considerable communication difficulties”. ▪ Feedback from parties to BHC suggests “WFD have it about right” in running these and earlier workshops, and that WFD has a “gratifying” success on its hands in Sierra Leone. ▪ Political parties still remember the workshops favourably, although the main opposition party suggests some of the training was insufficiently tailored to the Sierra Leone context. ▪ Evaluation was intended to focus on “positive outcomes for the electorate and party members”. Case studies and participatory monitoring was proposed, but either (i) this activity was not carried out; or (ii) we have not yet received information from this evaluation. ▪ WFD Central staff assessed this project unfavourably (see below). |
| Autumn 2001 | Sierra Leone Cross-Party Training Programme: Provincial Workshops | <p>Workshops were also held in Port Loko, Bo and Kenema.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to BHC, these were regularly oversubscribed, with delegates turning up even when they had not been invited to participate. ▪ According to BHC, WFD’s ability to run activity outside Freetown gained it great credit. <p>Impact and evaluation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No details on format of workshops, or on impact. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20 November 2001 | Visit by WFD Deputy CEO and Programme Manager for Africa. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Telegram from Derek Smith, BHC, 20 November 2001 | Visit by WFD London staff to assess Sierra Leone programme. According to BHC, the visit was not successful: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BHC was keen to extend workshop programme through to March, after elections were delayed until May 2002. ▪ WFD Central only “reluctantly accepted” BHC arguments that workshop programme has been successful. ▪ “The local programme manager seems to have been left in no doubt that the visit report will be highly critical of the training and she is privately concerned for the future of WFD here in Sierra Leone.” ▪ High Commissioner notes: “The aftermath of that visit saw a substantial amount of bridge building by this mission ... My impression has been that there have been too many conflicting messages coming out of WFD London. This left the local WFD management team to pick up the pieces.” |
| December 2001 | Staff member withdrawn from Sierra Leone. | Programme manager withdrawn from Sierra Leone at short notice. |
| Early 2002 | New staff member posted to Sierra Leone. | WFD reconsidered its strategy in Sierra Leone and posted a new programme manager, Catherine Northing, to the country. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BHC reports that the Programme Manager was able to restart the programme despite limited knowledge of the programme and was “highly motivated”. ▪ High Commissioner notes that “The uncomfortably long interregnum left many wondering about WFD’s commitment to the country. We were all glad to see your return in the person of Catherine Northing and the situation was solved, but only just.” |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2001–02 | <p>Communication and Campaign Skills for Women</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database ▪ Proposal | <p>This project was managed by the British Council and run by the Council and the 50-50 Group. The budget was £23,805.</p> <p>The project aimed to increase the proportion of women in the (national) Parliament by training and galvanising groups of peer-influencing women in communication and campaign skills for the forthcoming election.</p> <p>According to the Council:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The project was proposed in early 2001, at WFD's behest, agreed in September 2001, then suspended while WFD reviewed its strategy, then reinstated. ▪ An interim report, project report and independent evaluation were submitted to WFD. These documents were not acknowledged by WFD. ▪ In November 2002 there was a dispute about a final follow-up event which was cancelled at short notice, causing embarrassment to the Council and BHC. ▪ At the time, the British Council Director noted "a consistent lack of clear and direct communications from WFD", and concluded that "there is no particular enthusiasm at WFD for a partnership with the Council in Sierra Leone." <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD does not appear to have copies of the British Council's evaluation reports. ▪ The original project proposal includes details of measures/indicators for evaluating impact. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>11–15 March 2002</p> <p>15 April–6 May 2002</p> | <p>Cross-Party Agent Training for Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Sierra Leone</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Report by Catherine Northing (programme manager). ▪ WFD database | <p>Training programme with the following elements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1½ day training courses in Freetown, Kabala, Makeni, Port Loko, Koidu, Daru, Kenema, Bo and Pujehun. ▪ Twelve sessions attended by a total of 603 delegates from 13 parties. ▪ The courses to give party agents a full understanding of their roles and responsibilities, and ensure they represent their parties effectively on polling day. ▪ The course was delivered by Ghanaian elections expert, Anthony Ekpedor, and a handbook was provided. <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Almost all delegates described the course and trainer as good or excellent. ▪ According to the report, “the impact of the training is difficult to assess due to parties themselves being responsible for further training and deployment.” However, there were more agents than at previous elections, and those met by international observers were well informed. ▪ The report recommends repeating the exercise prior to any forthcoming election, and particularly before the local elections (eventually held in 2004). |
| <p>20–26 June 2002</p> | <p>Win Griffiths MP: Second Visit to Sierra Leone Under the Auspices of WFD</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Report by Win Griffiths | <p>WFD visit by Labour MP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Griffiths was accompanied by WFD’s Africa programme director, Sierra Leone programme manager, and its democracy consultant from Zimbabwe. ▪ Griffiths met a large number of senior political figures, in a visit that aimed to follow up the Roundtable on the Role of Political Parties in Promoting Democracy. ▪ There was also a meeting with the World Bank to discuss “possible support for an aspect of the WFD’s work on strengthening democracy and good governance.” |

| Date | Action | Description |
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| August 2002 | Control of Defence in a Democratic Society, with the British Military Advisory Training Team. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database | Project to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fund participation of a British MP in training for senior security force personnel, civil servants, civil society representatives and parliamentarians. Impact and evaluation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD does not appear to have any records of this project. |
| Late 2002 | Staff member withdrawn from Sierra Leone. | Second programme manager is withdrawn from Sierra Leone at short notice. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2002–03 | <p data-bbox="481 197 960 300">International Alert in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea: Conflict Resolution in the Mano River Union Region</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="481 328 712 352">▪ WFD database <li data-bbox="481 384 725 408">▪ Project proposal <li data-bbox="481 440 696 464">▪ Project report <li data-bbox="481 496 808 520">▪ Independent evaluation | <p data-bbox="978 197 1346 221">Project with budget of £85,425.</p> <p data-bbox="978 253 1099 277">Project to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="978 309 1912 373">▪ Fund International Alert to provide training for key constituencies within civil society in all three countries comprising the Mano River Union. <li data-bbox="978 405 1912 549">▪ Workshops to be held for students, women's groups, journalists and Government officials, and covering good governance, leadership skills, conflict prevention and resolution skills, positive and objective reporting and non-confrontational advocacy. <li data-bbox="978 564 1912 596">▪ Project conducted in conjunction with International Alert's regional partners. <li data-bbox="978 628 1939 804">▪ The project had six objectives: identifying needs and mapping networks; building confidence among NGOs; developing advocacy strategy for targeting Government; supporting various projects; building capacity among youths, students, women's groups and the media; integrating the programme with activity in other parts of West Africa. <p data-bbox="978 836 1245 860">Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="978 892 1939 956">▪ Evaluation is available for a single consultative meeting with journalists (9–13 March 2002). <li data-bbox="978 987 1608 1011">▪ It is unclear what other activities were carried out. <li data-bbox="978 1043 1906 1107">▪ A Mano River Union Peace Forum is believed to still be in existence – with ongoing International Alert involvement. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| November 2004 | Commonwealth Local Government Forum Local Government Stakeholder Workshop | <p>To promote local democracy and good governance. To undertake a local government stakeholder workshop to bring together key stakeholders including senior representatives of national government (Minister, Permanent Secretaries), local government (from the five municipalities), leaders of political parties contesting the election, traditional leaders/chiefs, and important civil society representatives.</p> <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD attended this workshop, which appears to have been successful ▪ Commonwealth Local Government Forum hopes that WFD will continue funding its activity in Sierra Leone. |
| 2002–ongoing | <p>Institutional Strengthening for the Sierra Leone Parliament, proposed by the Clerk of the Parliament</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database ▪ Project proposal summary ▪ Project proposal | <p>Project description:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Original budget was £50,000. An additional budget of £14,990 has now been agreed. We have a brief summary of the original proposal, but the full proposal does not appear to be available. ▪ Funding to provide capacity-building support to Parliamentary Clerks and House Committees by establishing a Research and Information Centre in Parliament. ▪ The project aimed to refurbish and equip a resource centre, recruit and train staff, promote the services and train users. The project also aimed to refocus the existing Parliamentary library. ▪ According to the proposal, the project was intended to be a forerunner to a four-year DFID programme for the Parliament, with WFD funding a start-up phase, and DFID funding coming online in March 2003. <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> |

| Date | Action | Description |
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| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="981 196 1946 300">▪ This project failed, following a dispute with Parliament about whether the resource centre should be staffed by WFD staff or staff reporting to Parliament. <li data-bbox="981 344 1946 448">▪ BHC spent considerable time on the dispute, and stored resource centre computers for around a year. It has urged WFD to rebuild the project before it suffers further loss of resources and reputation. <li data-bbox="981 493 1946 635">▪ At a recent meeting between WFD and a Sierra Leonean parliamentary delegation in London, WFD committed itself to setting up the computers in the NDI resource centre, but moving them to Parliament once the refurbished Parliament building is opened. <li data-bbox="981 679 1946 783">▪ The new project aims to assess the needs of training participants, conduct computer and Internet training, and prepare participants to use resources of future Parliamentary Research Budget. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2004–ongoing | <p>Capacity-Building for the Female Participation in Decision Making Process and Institutional Support (Equipment) for the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy-SL Resource Centre in Moyamba District.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD database ▪ Original project proposal | <p>Project to fund the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Run a series of workshops to enhance the capacity of grassroots communities, particularly women, in the Moyamba District, to enable them to participate effectively in local decision-making processes. ▪ Buy a PA system for a resource centre it is planning to build in Moyamba District. ▪ This project has a budget of £38,775 <p>Impact and evaluation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The project is ongoing. Workshops have been completed. WFD is deciding whether to fund equipment for the proposed resource centre. WFD recently visited the project implementer. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| New project | <p data-bbox="481 194 960 300">Democratic Governance, Human Rights and Peace Education for the Military and Security Forces.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="481 343 750 371">▪ Project application | <p data-bbox="978 194 1798 223">Project by the University of Bradford Department of Peace Studies to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="978 266 1942 411">▪ Practically capacitate the military and security forces in post-war Sierra Leone to play a positive role in consolidating the peace and make a positive contribution to national development, and strengthen the subordination of the military and security forces to civilian democratic control. <li data-bbox="978 454 1912 521">▪ Activities include field visits by academic staff, development of a module on peace education, and training workshops. <li data-bbox="978 564 1794 593">▪ 3,000 military and police officers will benefit from the programme. <li data-bbox="978 636 1682 665">▪ WFD has approved a budget of £68,972 for this project. <li data-bbox="978 708 1912 810">▪ WFD project committee noted the high level of salaries and fees (mostly for University of Bradford staff) which account for 66% of the project's total budget of £221,487. <li data-bbox="978 853 1890 920">▪ WFD is now discussing with the University taking this project forward with reduced salary costs. |

| Date | Action | Description |
|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| New project | Enhancing Women's Participation in the Democratisation Process in Ghana and Sierra Leone. | <p>Project by the Women's Development Agency to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Develop the skills and capacity of women and traditional leaders in Sierra Leone and Ghana to enable them to participate in decision-making processes. ▪ Activities will include public education campaigns, training courses, networking activities, visits and 'mock' women's elections and public meetings. ▪ In year 2, the project will form a forum for women, organise grassroots awareness activities, train women candidates, and establish support networks for women candidates. ▪ A budget of £60,000 has been agreed by WFD. |

Table 8.2: Core-funded spend for Sierra Leone (2002/03–2003/04)¹

This table analyses core project spend in Sierra Leone by WFD Central, by year. It expresses spend per project and per section as a proportion of all core-funded spend for Sierra Leone, and the year's total spend for Sierra Leone.

| | 2002/03 | % core Sierra Leone funding | % total Sierra Leone funding | 2003/04 | % core Sierra Leone funding | % total Sierra Leone funding |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| SIE00001 | £23,805 | 21.78 | 12.09 | | 0 | 0 |
| SIE00004 | £4,353 | 3.98 | 2.21 | | 0 | 0 |
| SIE00006 | £19,565 | 17.90 | 9.94 | | 0 | 0 |
| SL03A01F | | 0 | 0 | £4,000 | 6.55 | 6.31 |
| SIE00003 | | 0 | 0 | £35,158 | 57.59 | 55.44 |
| SIE00003 | £61,565 | 56.33 | 31.27 | | 0 | 0 |
| SL03A02F | | 0 | 0 | £21,892 | 35.86 | 34.52 |
| Total | £109,288 | 100 | 55.51 | £61,050 | 100 | 96.26 |

¹ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD).

Table 8.3: Extra-budgetary funded spend for Sierra Leone (2002/03–2003/04)²

This table analyses extra-budgetary project spend in Sierra Leone by WFD Central by year. Expresses spend per project as a proportion of all extra-budgetary funded spend for Sierra Leone, and the year's total spend for Sierra Leone.

| | 2002/03 | % extra-budgetary Sierra Leone funding | % total Sierra Leone funding | 2003/04 | % extra-budgetary Sierra Leone funding | % total Sierra Leone funding |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| SIE00005 | £87,593 | 100 | 44.49 | £2,370 | 100 | 3.74 |
| Total | £87,593 | 100 | 44.49 | £2,370 | 100 | 3.74 |

² Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD).

Table 8.4: Sierra Leone expenditure (2002/03–2003/04)³

This table analyses total project spend in Sierra Leone by WFD Central by year. It expresses spend as a proportion of total spend for Sierra Leone, and total project spend for the year.

| Core Funding | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| | 2002/03 | % Sierra Leone spend | % total core grant | 2003/04 | % Sierra Leone spend | % total core grant | Total | % Sierra Leone spend | % total core grant |
| WFD Central | £109,288 | 100 | 3.55 | £61,050 | 100 | 2.12 | £170,339 | 100 | 2.86 |
| Total | £109,288 | 100 | | £61,050 | 100 | | £170,339 | 100 | |
| Extra-budgetary funding | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2002/03 | % Sierra Leone spend | % total extra-budgetary funds | 2003/04 | % Sierra Leone spend | % total extra-budgetary funds | Total | % Sierra Leone spend | % total extra-budgetary funds |
| WFD Central | £87,593 | 100 | 14.33 | £2,370 | 100 | 1.16 | £89,963 | 100 | 11.04 |
| Total | £87,593 | 100 | | £2,370 | 100 | | £89,963 | 100 | |
| All funding | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2002/03 | % Sierra Leone spend | % all funding | 2003/04 | % Sierra Leone spend | % all funding | Total | % Sierra Leone spend | % all funding |
| WFD Central | £196,881 | 100 | 5.33 | £63,420 | 100 | 2.06 | £260,301 | 100 | 3.84 |
| Total | £196,881 | 100 | | £63,420 | 100 | | £260,301 | 100 | |

³ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD); IE analysis 93 to 04.xls (WFD).

Table 8.5: BiH and Sierra Leone projects (2000/01–2003/04)⁴

This table analyses the number of projects undertaken in BiH and Sierra Leone between 2000/01 and 2003/04. Expresses number of projects as a percentage of total projects undertaken each year, and provides average spend per project per year.

| | 2000/01 | % total projects | Mean spend per project | 2001/02 | % total projects | Mean spend per project | 2002/03 | % total projects | Mean spend per project | 2003/04 | % total projects | Mean spend per project |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|
| BiH | 31 | 10.47 | £14,279 | 27 | 9.75 | £11,033 | 45 | 10.79 | £7,251 | 34 | 9.97 | £15,040 |
| Sierra Leone | 2 | 0.68 | £9,560 | 1 | 0.36 | £204,164 | 5 | 1.20 | £39,376 | 4 | 1.17 | £15,855 |
| Total projects | 296 | | £11,661 | 277 | | £14,142 | 417 | | £8,858 | 341 | | £9,045 |

| | Average | % total projects | Mean spend per project | High | % total projects | Mean spend per project | Low | % total projects | Mean spend per project |
|-----------------------|-------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|
| BiH | 34.25 | 2.57 | £11,520 | 45 | 10.79 | £15,040 | 27 | 9.75 | £7,251 |
| Sierra Leone | 3 | 0.23 | £40,299 | 5 | 1.20 | £204,164 | 1 | 0.36 | £9,560 |
| Total projects | 1331 | | £10,629 | 417 | | £14,142 | 277 | | £8,858 |

⁴ Source: 444 Review2004.xls (WFD)

Table 8.6: BiH and Sierra Leone projects by region (2000/01–2003/04)⁵

This table analyses the spend and number of projects undertaken in BiH and Sierra Leone within a regional context between 2000/01 and 2003/04. Expresses spend as a percentage of total regional spend (Europe, Africa), and number of projects as a percentage of total regional projects (Europe, Africa).

| | 2000/01 | | | | 2001/02 | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|
| | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects |
| BiH | £442,651 | 17.83 | 31 | 14.76 | £297,899 | 13.35 | 27 | 15.25 |
| Sierra Leone | £19,120 | 3.15 | 2 | 3.64 | £204,164 | 16.50 | 1 | 1.54 |

| | 2002/03 | | | | 2003/04 | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|
| | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects |
| BiH | £326,289 | 14.89 | 45 | 16.07 | £511,364 | 29.07 | 34 | 16.35 |
| Sierra Leone | £196,881 | 17.79 | 5 | 5.68 | £ 63,420 | 6.66 | 4 | 4.00 |

| | Average | | | | High | | | | Low | | | |
|--------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|----------|------------------|----------|---------------------|
| | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects | Spend | % regional spend | Projects | % regional projects |
| BiH | £394,551 | 17.68 | 137 | 40.44 | £511,364 | 29.07 | 45 | 16.35 | £297,899 | 13.35 | 27 | 14.76 |
| Sierra Leone | £120,896 | 9.77 | 12 | 8.45 | £204,164 | 17.79 | 5 | 5.68 | £19,120 | 3.15 | 1 | 1.54 |

⁵ Source: Source: 444 Review2004.xls (WFD)

Table 8.7: An overview of the WFD Political Party Development Programme in Sierra Leone 2001–03

This table provides a comparison of WFD’s rationale for initiating a programme in Sierra Leone against its current criteria for country programme selection.

| Criteria ⁶ | Sierra Leone Programme |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WFD knowledge of country, neighbourhood and political climate. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The WFD Africa team had limited knowledge of the political situation in Sierra Leone. Its country office was staffed by programme managers who were expected to learn about the country ‘on the job’. |
| Scope for distinctive, British involvement in democracy-building. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The UK’s overriding objective in Sierra Leone was to support peace-building and reconstruction, and prevent any recurrence of the civil war. ▪ The UK was (and continues to be) a leading donor, with governance at the heart of the UK/Sierra Leone development partnership. |
| Scope for partnerships with other agencies (British Council, NDI etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD relied heavily on NDI and the British Council when opening its Freetown office. |
| Potential to support the development of political parties in-country. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political party development was the primary focus of the Sierra Leone programme, with widespread consensus that party development was important in the run-up to the 2002 elections. |
| Potential for party-to-party relationships with Westminster parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There was little scope in Sierra Leone for direct party-to-party relationships, but all work in the initial phase of the programme was carried out on a cross-party basis, with the involvement of the Westminster parties. |
| Presence in the country is compatible with FCO interests. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to BHC: “We were very clear about what was needed. We wanted WFD to come and prepare the parties for the presidential and general election. It was a good fit with our strategy and with the thinking in London.” |

⁶ Taken from *Building on a Strong Idea*, 2003

| Criteria ⁶ | Sierra Leone Programme |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Capacity to manage and support the programme. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The WFD Board was concerned about WFD's ability to manage and support its first country office. ▪ Poor relations with WFD Central led to the termination, at short notice, of the contracts of two in-country programme managers. |
| Strong potential to secure funding for programme following start-up phase. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funding for the programme had been secured in advance of the start-up phase. ▪ It appears that the FCO granted a number of increments during the course of the programme. |

Table 8.8: Making country choices: Sierra Leone Programme

This table shows WFD's rationale for initiating planning a new programme in Sierra Leone against its stated criteria for country programme selection.

| Criteria | Analysis |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WFD knowledge of country, neighbourhood and political climate. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A recent appointment has addressed WFD's limited knowledge of this country. |
| Scope for a distinctive, British involvement in democracy-building. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Strong British links with Sierra Leone. DFID and British Council working in democracy building in Sierra Leone. NDI, part-funded by DFID, is currently the leading agency in the democracy-building field. |
| Scope for partnerships with other agencies (British Council, NDI etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There is scope for partnership with the British Council and NDI – possibly also with UNDP, the World Bank and the EU. ▪ NDI has recently been granted funds from WFD for a joint project. ▪ Given WFD's track record in Sierra Leone, some organisations are sceptical about WFD's capacity to deliver. |
| Potential to support the development of political parties in-country. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political parties are undeveloped and face significant challenges preparing for the 2007 election. ▪ WFD provided support for the 2002 election, but was not involved in the run-up to the 2004 local elections. ▪ Parties are eager for support, but express frustration at what they feel is a history of broken promises. ▪ Relationships with the Sierra Leone Parliament are fragile, but may be on the mend. |
| Potential for party-to-party relationships with Westminster parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Party-to-party relationships may develop from a cross-party or non-partisan programme. |

| Criteria | Analysis |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Presence in the country is compatible with FCO interests. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ BHC believes WFD's presence in-country is compatible with its interests. However, past programme failures have damaged UK interests in Sierra Leone. |
| Capacity to manage and support the programme. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The experiment of staffing an office in Sierra Leone did not prove successful and WFD is not keen to repeat it. ▪ Some partners are sceptical of WFD's ability to manage and support a programme without a presence on the ground. |
| Strong potential to secure funding for programme following start-up phase. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Extra-budgetary funding from the FCO is unlikely to be secured. ▪ Funding from the FCO is unlikely to be forthcoming in the short to medium term. ▪ We are unaware of any other strong leads for future funding. |

Annex 9: The WFD Democracy-Building Programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999–2003

Table 9.1: Core-funded spend for BiH (2002/03–2003/04)⁷

The table shows core project spend in BiH by political parties and WFD Central, by year. It expresses spend per project and per section as a proportion of all core-funded spend for BiH, and the year's total spend for BiH.

| Group | 2002/03 | % core BiH funding | % total BiH funding | 2003/04 | % core BiH funding | % total BiH funding | Total |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|---------------------|----------|
| Conservative | £17,415 | 11.41 | 5.34 | £3,415 | 0.84 | 0.67 | £20,830 |
| BOS00041 | £784 | 0.51 | 0.24 | - | 0 | 0 | £784 |
| BOS00010 | £1,734 | 1.14 | 0.53 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,734 |
| BOS00042 | £8,090 | 5.30 | 2.48 | - | 0 | 0 | £8,090 |
| BOS00011 | - | 0 | 0 | £3,415 | 0.84 | 0.67 | £3,415 |
| BOS00011 | £6,807 | 4.46 | 2.09 | - | 0 | 0 | £6,807 |
| Labour | £50,152 | 32.85 | 15.37 | £150,470 | 36.82 | 29.43 | £200,622 |
| BOS00009 | £17,979 | 11.78 | 5.51 | - | 0 | 0 | £17,979 |
| BOS00006 | £5,858 | 3.84 | 1.80 | - | 0 | 0 | £5,858 |
| BOS00007 | £4,821 | 3.16 | 1.48 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,821 |
| BOS00039 ⁸ | £21,494 | 14.08 | 6.59 | - | 0 | 0 | £21,494 |
| BA04E09L | - | 0 | 0 | £10,000 | 2.45 | 1.96 | £10,000 |
| BA04E11L | - | 0 | 0 | £59,362 | 14.52 | 11.61 | £59,362 |
| BA04E10L | - | 0 | 0 | £24,667 | 6.04 | 4.82 | £24,667 |
| BA04E12L | - | 0 | 0 | £4,000 | 0.98 | 0.78 | £4,000 |
| BA04E14L | - | 0 | 0 | £9,600 | 2.35 | 1.88 | £9,600 |
| BOS00062 | - | 0 | 0 | £13,936 | 3.41 | 2.73 | £13,936 |

⁷ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD).

⁸ WFD informs us that the payment of £21,493.96 may have been misallocated to the Labour Party. However, it states that country and team totals remain unaffected. The Labour Party suggests this total should be £6,692.

| Group | 2002/03 | % core BiH funding | % total BiH funding | 2003/04 | % core BiH funding | % total BiH funding | Total |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| BOS00061 | - | 0 | 0 | £16,352 | 4.00 | 3.20 | £16,352 |
| BA04E15L | - | 0 | 0 | £12,553 | 3.07 | 2.45 | £12,553 |
| Liberal Democrat | £15,432 | 10.11 | 4.73 | -£1,991 | -0.49 | -0.39 | £13,441 |
| BOS00038 | £1,712 | 1.12 | 0.52 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,712 |
| BOS00035 | - | 0 | 0 | -£1,991 | -0.49 | -0.39 | -£1,991 |
| BOS00037 | £8,550 | 5.60 | 2.62 | - | 0 | 0 | £8,550 |
| BOS00012 | £5,170 | 3.39 | 1.58 | - | 0 | 0 | £5,170 |
| WFD Central | £69,663 | 45.63 | 21.35 | £256,809 | 62.84 | 50.22 | £326,472 |
| BOS00049 | £27,590 | 18.07 | 8.46 | - | 0 | 0 | £27,590 |
| BOS00040 | £10,237 | 6.71 | 3.14 | - | 0 | 0 | £10,237 |
| BOS00002 | £7,000 | 4.59 | 2.15 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,000 |
| BA03E04F | - | 0 | 0 | £125,000 | 30.58 | 24.44 | £125,000 |
| BA03E03F | - | 0 | 0 | £23,000 | 5.63 | 4.50 | £23,000 |
| BOS00060 | - | 0 | 0 | £11,447 | 2.80 | 2.24 | £11,447 |
| BA03E01F | - | 0 | 0 | £29,906 | 7.32 | 5.85 | £29,906 |
| BOS00050 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,632 | 1.13 | 0.91 | £4,632 |
| BOS00050 | £9,264 | 6.07 | 2.84 | - | 0 | 0 | £9,264 |
| BA04E07F | - | 0 | 0 | £7,967 | 1.95 | 1.56 | £7,967 |
| BOS00052 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,700 | 1.15 | 0.92 | £4,700 |
| BOS00052 | £7,612 | 4.99 | 2.33 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,612 |
| BA04E05F | - | 0 | 0 | £25,000 | 6.12 | 4.89 | £25,000 |
| BA04E06F | - | 0 | 0 | £7,343 | 1.80 | 1.44 | £7,343 |
| BOS00051 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,989 | 0.49 | 0.39 | £1,989 |
| BOS00051 | £7,960 | 5.21 | 2.44 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,960 |
| BA03E02F | - | 0 | 0 | £15,826 | 3.87 | 3.09 | £15,826 |
| Total | £152,662 | 100 | 46.79 | £408,703 | 100 | 79.92 | £561,365 |

Table 9.2: Extra-budgetary funded spend for BiH (2002/03–2003/04)⁹

The table analyses extra-budgetary project spend in BiH by political parties and WFD Central, by year. Expresses spend per project and per section as a proportion of all extra-budgetary funded spend for BiH, and the year's total spend for BiH.

| | 2002/03 | % extra-budgetary BiH funding | % total BiH funding | 2003/04 | % extra-budgetary BiH funding | % total BiH funding | Total |
|------------------|---------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---------|
| Conservative | £51,342 | 29.57 | 15.74 | £3,472 | 3.38 | 0.68 | £54,815 |
| BOS00033 | £2,558 | 1.47 | 0.78 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,558 |
| BOS00027 | £7,392 | 4.26 | 2.27 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,392 |
| BOS00048 | £6,203 | 3.57 | 1.90 | - | 0 | 0 | £6,203 |
| BOS00047 | £3,768 | 2.17 | 1.15 | - | 0 | 0 | £3,768 |
| BOS00046 | £4,792 | 2.76 | 1.47 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,792 |
| BOS00032 | £3,933 | 2.27 | 1.21 | - | 0 | 0 | £3,933 |
| BOS00056 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,584 | 2.52 | 0.51 | £2,584 |
| BOS00056 | - | 0 | 0 | -£2,584 | -2.52 | -0.51 | -£2,584 |
| BOS00015 | £14,415 | 8.30 | 4.42 | - | 0 | 0 | £14,415 |
| BOS00058 | £2,808 | 1.62 | 0.86 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,808 |
| BOS00045 | £4,109 | 2.37 | 1.26 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,109 |
| BOS00057 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,340 | 4.23 | 0.85 | £4,340 |
| BOS00057 | - | 0 | 0 | -£868 | -0.85 | -0.17 | -£868 |
| BOS00057 | £1,364 | 0.79 | 0.42 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,364 |
| Labour | £10,894 | 6.27 | 3.34 | £26,206 | 25.53 | 5.12 | £37,100 |
| BOS00053 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,405 | 2.34 | 0.47 | £2,405 |
| BOS00043 | - | 0 | 0 | £14,017 | 13.65 | 2.74 | £14,017 |
| BOS00014 | - | 0 | 0 | £9,784 | 9.53 | 1.91 | £9,784 |
| BOS00014 | £10,894 | 6.27 | 3.34 | - | 0 | 0 | £10,894 |
| Liberal Democrat | £25,389 | 14.62 | 7.78 | - | 0 | 0 | £25,389 |

⁹ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD).

| | 2002/03 | % extra-budgetary BiH funding | % total BiH funding | 2003/04 | % extra-budgetary BiH funding | % total BiH funding | Total |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| BOS00022 | -£923 | -0.53 | -0.28 | - | 0 | 0 | -£923 |
| BOS00021 | £1,811 | 1.04 | 0.55 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,811 |
| BOS00028 | £1,050 | 0.60 | 0.32 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,050 |
| BOS00019 | £1,766 | 1.02 | 0.54 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,766 |
| BOS00020 | £863 | 0.50 | 0.26 | - | 0 | 0 | £863 |
| BOS00029 | £16,845 | 9.70 | 5.16 | - | 0 | 0 | £16,845 |
| BOS00054 | £2,933 | 1.69 | 0.90 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,933 |
| BOS00013 | £1,043 | 0.60 | 0.32 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,043 |
| <i>WFD Central</i> | £86,002 | 49.53 | 26.36 | £72,982 | 71.09 | 14.27 | £158,985 |
| BOS00018 | £2,388 | 1.38 | 0.73 | - | 0 | 0 | £2,388 |
| BOS00030 | £20,000 | 11.52 | 6.13 | - | 0 | 0 | £20,000 |
| BOS00024 | £22,578 | 13.00 | 6.92 | - | 0 | 0 | £22,578 |
| BOS00034 | £1,231 | 0.71 | 0.38 | - | 0 | 0 | £1,231 |
| BOS00034 | - | 0 | 0 | £8,017 | 7.81 | 1.57 | £8,017 |
| BOS00034 | £7,947 | 4.58 | 2.44 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,947 |
| BOS00017 | - | 0 | 0 | £13,884 | 13.52 | 2.72 | £13,884 |
| BOS00017 | £8,544 | 4.92 | 2.62 | - | 0 | 0 | £8,544 |
| BOS00059 | - | 0 | 0 | £16,048 | 15.63 | 3.14 | £16,048 |
| BOS00023 | - | 0 | 0 | £23,066 | 22.47 | 4.51 | £23,066 |
| BOS00016 | £7,291 | 4.20 | 2.23 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,291 |
| BOS00025 | £16,000 | 9.22 | 4.90 | - | 0 | 0 | £16,000 |
| BOS00025 | - | 0 | 0 | £4,000 | 3.90 | 0.78 | £4,000 |
| BOS00025 | £23 | 0.01 | 0.01 | - | 0 | 0 | £23 |
| BOS00031 | - | 0 | 0 | £7,967 | 7.76 | 1.56 | £7,967 |
| Total | £173,627 | 100 | 53.21 | £102,661 | 100 | 20.08 | £276,288 |

Table 9.3: BiH expenditure (2002/03–2003/04)¹⁰

The table analyses total project spend in BiH by political parties and WFD Central, by year. Expresses spend per section as a proportion of total spend for BiH, and total project spend for the year.

| | Core funding | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| | 2002/03 | % BiH spend | % total core grant | 2003/04 | % BiH spend | % total core grant | Total | % BiH spend | % total core grant |
| Political parties | £82,999 | 54.37 | 2.69 | £151,894 | 37.16 | 5.27 | £234,893 | 41.84 | 3.94 |
| <i>Conservative</i> | £17,415 | 12.63 | 0.56 | £3,415 | 0.84 | 0.12 | £20,830 | 3.71 | 0.35 |
| <i>Labour</i> | £50,152 ¹¹ | 32.85 | 1.63 | £150,470 ¹² | 36.82 | 5.22 | £200,622 | 35.74 | 3.36 |
| <i>Liberal Democrat</i> | £15,432 | 10.11 | 0.50 | -£1,991 | -0.49 | -0.07 | £13,441 | 2.39 | 0.23 |
| WFD Central | £69,663 | 45.63 | 2.26 | £256,809 | 62.84 | 8.91 | £326,472 | 58.16 | 5.47 |
| Total | £152,662 | 100 | 4.95 | £408,703 | 100 | 14.19 | £561,365 | 100 | 9.41 |
| | Extra-budgetary funding | | | | | | | | |
| | 2002/03 | % BiH spend | % total extra-budgetary funds | 2003/04 | % BiH spend | % total extra-budgetary funds | Total | % BiH spend | % total extra-budgetary funds |
| Political parties | £87,625 | 50.47 | 14.34 | £29,678 | 28.91 | 14.57 | £121,987 | 43.42 | 14.97 |
| <i>Conservative</i> | £51,342 | 29.57 | 8.40 | £3,472 | 3.38 | 1.71 | £54,815 | 19.51 | 6.73 |
| <i>Labour</i> | £10,894 ¹³ | 6.27 | 1.78 | £26,206 | 25.53 | 12.87 | £41,783 | 14.87 | 5.13 |
| <i>Liberal Democrat</i> | £25,389 | 14.62 | 4.15 | £0 | 0 | 0 | £25,389 | 9.04 | 3.12 |
| WFD Central | £86,002 | 49.53 | 14.07 | £72,982 | 71.09 | 35.84 | £158,985 | 56.58 | 19.51 |
| Total | £173,627 | 100 | 28.41 | £102,661 | 100 | 50.42 | £280,971 | 100 | 34.48 |

¹⁰ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD); IE analysis 93 to 04.xls (WFD).

¹¹ WFD informs us that £21,493.96 included in this total may have been misallocated to the Labour Party. However, it states that country and team totals remain unaffected. The Labour Party suggests this total should be £35,321.

¹² This includes a payment of £38,628.80 made on 29 March 2003 and therefore probably not accounted for by the Labour Party until its next financial year.

¹³ The Labour Party informs us that it received a payment of £4,683 in this year. However, this payment was issued by WFD in 2001/02.

| | All funding | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| | Spend | % BiH spend | % all funding | Spend | % BiH spend | % all funding | Total | % BiH spend | % all funding |
| Political parties | £170,624 | 52.29 | 4.62 | £181,573 | 35.51 | 5.89 | £352,196 | 42.05 | 5.20 |
| <i>Conservative</i> | £68,757 | 21.07 | 1.86 | £6,888 | 1.35 | 0.22 | £75,645 | 9.03 | 1.12 |
| <i>Labour</i> | £61,046 | 18.71 | 1.65 | £176,676 | 34.55 | 5.73 | £237,722 | 28.38 | 3.51 |
| <i>Liberal Democrat</i> | £40,821 | 12.51 | 1.11 | -£1,991 | -0.39 | -0.06 | £38,830 | 4.64 | 0.57 |
| WFD Central | £155,665 | 47.71 | 4.21 | £329,792 | 64.49 | 10.69 | £485,457 | 57.95 | 7.16 |
| Total | £326,289 | 100 | 8.83 | £511,364 | 100 | 16.58 | £837,653 | 100 | 12.36 |

Table 9.4: Cashflow for BiH (1998/99–2003/04)¹⁴

The table analyses payment against projects taking place in BiH for 1998/99–2003/04 against extra-budgetary funds received from the FCO. It shows annual surplus/deficit against fund, and cumulative surplus/deficit.

| | 1998/99 | 1999/00 | 2000/01 | 2001/02 | 2002/03 | 2003/04 |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Extra-budgetary funds received | £50,000 | £195,701 | £138,589 | £108,964 | £216,151 | £176,746 |
| Extra-budgetary funds spent | £27,128 | £223,682 | £240,834 | £84,116 | £176,158 | £105,783 |
| | £18,994 | £3,866 | £8,405 | £3,558 | £14,415 | £9,784 |
| | £8,134 | £24,028 | £6,088 | £6,249 | £7,291 | £14,017 |
| | | £6,627 | £1,605 | £3,600 | £1,043 | £13,884 |
| | | £19,630 | £4,908 | £898 | £10,894 | £23,066 |
| | | £4,461 | £5,205 | £24,968 | £3,094 | £4,023 |
| | | £7,926 | £80 | £11,701 | £8,544 | £7,967 |
| | | £12,442 | £13,409 | £4,272 | £2,388 | £7,667 |
| | | £8,695 | £4,000 | £11,028 | £863 | £2,403 |
| | | £3,915 | £5,461 | £3,658 | £1,811 | £2,584 |
| | | £3,606 | £1,754 | £8,788 | -£923 | £4,340 |
| | | £5,232 | £6,325 | £2,761 | £1,766 | £16,048 |
| | | £10,798 | £577 | £2,635 | £22,578 | |
| | | £8,000 | £19,257 | | £16,000 | |
| | | £16,041 | £8,798 | | £7,392 | |
| | | £36,524 | £2,987 | | £1,050 | |
| | | £4,800 | £2,521 | | £16,845 | |
| | | £14,036 | £10,564 | | £20,000 | |
| | | £12,607 | £19,650 | | £3,933 | |

¹⁴ Source: Funds held at Westminster Foundation for Democracy and their source (WFD).

| | 1998/99 | 1999/00 | 2000/01 | 2001/02 | 2002/03 | 2003/04 |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | | £8,000 | £23,055 | | £2,558 | |
| | | £1,219 | £11,613 | | £8,639 | |
| | | £11,229 | £27,800 | | £4,109 | |
| | | | £898 | | £4,792 | |
| | | | £5,022 | | £3,768 | |
| | | | £24,968 | | £6,203 | |
| | | | £2,479 | | £2,933 | |
| | | | £5,266 | | £1,364 | |
| | | | £4,529 | | £2,808 | |
| | | | £1,997 | | | |
| | | | £2,383 | | | |
| | | | £9,230 | | | |
| Annual surplus/deficit | £22,872 | -£27,981 | -£102,245 | £24,848 | £39,993 | £70,963 |
| Cumulative surplus/deficit | £22,872 | -£5,109 | -£107,354 | -£82,506 | -£42,513 | £28,450 |

Table 9.5: Labour Party Projects in BiH

The table provides an overview of all Labour Party projects in BiH, complete with payment and final report details where we have them.

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VIII.BOS.4.L.JP Report obtained from the Labour Party. | Bosnia: SDP Party Development | £63,636 | £64,086 (99/00) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Bosnia-Herzegovina to purchase necessary equipment as part of their party development programme starting in winter 1999. | <p>Report by the SDP.</p> <p>The project aimed to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build communication systems • Equip local party offices in Republika Srpska (RS). • Equip central office and parliamentary clubs. • Support parliamentary work and election campaigns. <p>According to the report a quantity of equipment was purchased, although descriptions are somewhat vague – e.g. local offices in RS received “equipment including computers with printers and accompanying equipment, as well as faxes and photocopiers where needed.”</p> <p>The party lists a number of benefits it believes it has received – such as “higher levels of enthusiasm and involvement by activists” – as a result of better equipped offices.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VIII.BOS.8.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD Women's Training in Republika Srpska | £6,480.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to assist the Independent Social Democrats of Republika Srpska (SNSD) to attend a two-day study programme in the UK for four women activists on the organisation and development of women's organisations. Summer 1999. | Cancelled |
| VIII.BOS.9.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD Youth Training in Republika Srpska | £6,480.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to attend a two-day study programme in the UK for four young leaders on the organisation and development of youth organisations. Summer 1999. | Cancelled |
| VIII.BOS.11.L.J | Bosnia: SDP Elections Assistance | £51,252.00 | £53,496 (99/00 and 00/01) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia Herzegovina to produce materials for the municipal elections in April 2000. | SDP printed 260 copies of billboard posters, 30,000 B1 posters and 50,000 three-colour leaflets. Copies of the leaflets are provided as part of the project report. |
| VIII.BOS.12.L.J | Bosnia: SNSD Party Development | £21,905.00 | £21,905.45 (99/00) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to improve co-ordination between their national and regional offices through the purchase of equipment beginning in February 2000. | SDP reports that it purchased a laser printer, digital photocopier, nine PCs, nine faxes, printers and scanners, and installed the equipment. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00007 Report provided by the Labour Party. | Bosnia: SNSD - Local Government Training | £5,483.00 | £4,820.76 (02/03) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to organise a workshop on the roles and responsibilities of local councillors. Autumn 2001. | <p>Cath Garrett and Howard Knight visited the Independent Social Democrats and undertook a training and development seminar with locally elected representatives.</p> <p>The seminar was due to run for the equivalent of two full days, but was restricted to a single full day because of travel delays.</p> <p>The report suggests future areas for assistance, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development of skills for elected representatives • development of capacity at municipality level • development of an election campaign strategy. |
| BOS00008 | Bosnia: SDP Elections Assistance | £13,585.00 | £14,944.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP in Bosnia to produce, in preparation for the general elections in November 2000, leaflets (200,000), posters (50,000) and badges, and to arrange outdoor information stalls. | The report notes that posters, jumbo posters, thematic leaflets, badges, cards, stickers, flags and umbrellas were produced. Information stalls were also used. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00009 | Bosnia: SDP Youth Forum Training | £22,288.00 | £17,979.23 (02/03) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the Youth Forum of the SDP of Bosnia and Herzegovina with youth development workshops. Winter 2002. | <p>A report from the SDP notes that the project accomplished its objective to train 300 young activists. 300 booklets were also printed. 12 seminars were held.</p> <p>The report notes that the project improved the party's field work, but that turnout by young people at the election was disappointing.</p> <p>The Labour Party assessed this programme. The assessor noted that it was difficult to assess objectively whether the programme had improved skill levels, but there was a consensus that the seminars had proved popular and effective.</p> |
| IX.BOS.7.L.JP Report obtained from the Labour Party. | Bosnia: SDP Elections Preparation | £31,237.00 | £31,181.00 (00/01) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP in Bosnia to produce materials and arrange public meetings in preparation for the general elections in November 2000. | <p>A report was prepared by the SDP in November 2000.</p> <p>The report lists outputs from the project as 450,000 leaflets, 50,000 posters and 182 jumbo posters – plus another 20,000 'blank' posters (for announcing meetings etc.) and 20,000 badges.</p> <p>The SDP states that it would have been unable to fulfil its marketing plan without Labour Party help.</p> |
| IX.BOS.10.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD Election Materials | £10,000.00 | £10,000.00 (00/01) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to produce election campaign materials in preparation for the November 2000 elections. | <p>A joint report is provided for this project, IX.BOS.11.L.JP and IX.BOS.12.L.JP. The report states that £10,000 provided a contribution for the production of 60,000 posters, £9,030 was spent on leaflets, badgers, stickers and pencils, while £9,453 was provided for placing campaign advertisements in national newspapers. A detailed description of how money was spent is included.</p> <p>The party stated that it was very visible during the election campaign, and that this would have been impossible without WFD assistance.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|---------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| IX.BOS.11.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD Election Assistance | £9,453.00 | £12,354.00 (00/01) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to produce posters in preparation for the November 2000 general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina. | See above. |
| IX.BOS.12.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD Production of Posters | £10,000.00 | £10,000.00 (00/01) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to place campaign advertisements in national newspapers on the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Autumn 2000. | See above. |
| BOS00003 | Bosnia: Training for SDP Officials | £6,800.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia and Herzegovina to organise a two-day training programme in the UK in spring 2001, for four party officials to look at the transition from opposition to government. | Cancelled |
| BOS00004 | Bosnia: SDP Party Development | £5,550.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia and Herzegovina to organise an exchange training programme, in spring 2001, for three officials from the SDP Leaders Office to look at the transition from opposition to government. | Cancelled |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00005 | Bosnia: SDP Party Development | £13,343.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia-Herzegovina to organise a two-stage programme for 30 participants on policy development in Sarajevo and the UK in autumn/winter 2001. | Cancelled |
| BOS00062 | Bosnia: SNSD - Local Government Discussions | £18,397.00 | £13,935.64 (03/04) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to organise a series of local government discussions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Autumn 2001. | <p>Report by Roy Lakey and Ruth Bagnall.</p> <p>A two-day workshop appears to have taken place in October 2003.</p> <p>The trainers report that “we both very much enjoyed a workshop which buzzed with expectation and excitement from beginning to end.”</p> <p>Participants believed that “the workshop is adapted to our situation... [providing a] good basement for creation of the BiH-wide campaign activities.”</p> <p>There is no report of any other workshop in this “series of local government discussions.”</p> |
| X.BOS.10.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD - Political Awareness for Youth | £8,858.00 | £9,855.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD with a series of public debates in February 2002 to raise political awareness among young people. | Report not available – in archives. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| X.BOS.11.L.JP | Bosnia: SNSD - Production of Leaflets | | £10,265.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to produce leaflets on the work of the party and distribute over six months from October 2001. | Report not available – in archives. |
| X.BOS.16.L.JP | Bosnia: SDP Production of Materials | £13,983.00 | £13,983.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the production of posters, in February 2002, in the run up to the 2002 elections. | A joint report, prepared by the SDP, covers this project: X.BOS.17.L.JP and X.BOS.18.LJP. The report notes that a number of posters, jumbo posters, thematic leaflets, badges and radio and video spots were produced. Quantities of materials are not provided. |
| X.BOS.17.L.JP | Bosnia: SDP Campaign Materials | £22,432.00 | £22,432.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP of Bosnia and Herzegovina to produce leaflets and posters, from October 2001 to February 2002, in preparation for the 2002 parliamentary elections. | A joint report, prepared by the SDP, covers this project: .BOS.17.L.JP and X.BOS.18.LJP. The report notes that a number of posters, jumbo posters, thematic leaflets, badges and radio and video spots were produced. Quantities of materials are not provided. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00006 | Bosnia: SNSD Local Government Discussions | £21,200.00 | £5,857.07 (02/03) £15,248.00 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD with a series of local government discussions in preparation for the local elections. The discussions were to take place between May and October 2002. | <p>A report was submitted in October 2002.</p> <p>It covers discussions that took place in 20 municipalities following the integration of the Party of Independent Social Democrats and the Democratic Socialist Party. Meetings were held with citizens to discuss local problems including heating, water supply, building of local roads, etc.</p> <p>The author of the report concludes that it was a successful project as the SNSD achieved success in the national election, and the citizens were satisfied with the local problems that were solved.</p> |
| BOS00039 | Bosnia: Political Corruption Party Ethics | £13,020.00 | £6,662.96 (02/03) | To fund the Labour Party to gather information for a potential series of workshops for representatives from sister parties from the Balkans on political corruption. | <p>A report was submitted in July 2001.</p> <p>It covers a workshop on party ethics, which the presenter concludes was well received and successful.</p> <p>There were no other workshops for this project in BiH. It was a regional, not a BiH-specific, project.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00061 | Bosnia: SNSD Party Financing Workshops | £16,989.00 | £16,352.47(03/04) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to organise a 12-month project on party financing, commencing in September 2003. | <p>Report by Roy Lakey (Labour Party).</p> <p>Report by Zoran Ruzicic (Nenad Bastinac Foundation).</p> <p>Lakey's report covers the first of six regional seminars, which was held in July 2003.</p> <p>Ruzicic's report covers the remaining seminars which were run by the Nenad Bastinac Foundation.</p> <p>126 delegates attended the seminars, which appear to have each been 1.5 days long.</p> <p>Lakey believed the first seminar was "excellent" and that younger delegates participated especially actively.</p> <p>The Foundation team was "very satisfied with the outcome of the sessions. These sessions were extremely creative and well attended...Some municipal boards have already started implementing the methods of financing which they adopted in the seminars.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| BA03E08L | Bosnia: SDP and SNSD Training | £22,932 (04/05) | | <p>To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP and the SNSD with a project aimed at helping young and aspiring MPs and activists in BiH to become active in agenda building and the policy-making process. The project will take place in January 2004.</p> <p>Website, three workshops, three working sessions, two presentation meetings and a final workshop in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla for 20 young party activists.</p> <p>Final workshop to be attended by Labour Party.</p> | Cancelled |
| BA04E09L | Bosnia: SDP Party Development | £64,111 (04/05) | <p>£10,000.00 (03/04)</p> <p>£40,082.10 (04/05)</p> | <p>To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP to organise a series of workshops on party development in preparation for the 2004 municipal elections. This project will take place in spring 2004.</p> <p>Three workshops with party leadership, campaign team and communication experts. Follow-up three months later.</p> | This project is ongoing. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BA04E10L | Bosnia: SDP Production of Materials (Posters) | £28,683 | £24,667.20 (03/04) £4,015.80 (04/05) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP with the production of jumbo posters for the municipal elections in October 2004. This project will take place at the beginning of 2004. Evaluation will be by a report and copies of materials. | A single report covers this project and BA04E11L. The report was written before the project took place in order for payment to be released before the election date. It states that "our plan is to print 250,000 copies of B2 posters, 600,000 A4 leaflets, 400,000 A5 leaflets and a certain number of empty posters." |
| BA04E11L | Bosnia: SDP Production of Materials | £69,019.00 (03/04) | £20,733.00 (03/04) £38,628.00 (03/04) £9,657.20 (04/05) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP with the production of materials for the municipal elections in 2004. This project ran from March to October 2004. | A single report covers this project and BA04E10L. The report was written before the project took place in order for payment to be released before the election date. It states that "our plan is to print 250,000 copies of B2 posters, 600,000 A4 leaflets, 400,000 A5 leaflets and a certain number of empty posters." |
| BA04E14L | Bosnia: SNSD Election Campaign | £44,154 (04/05) | £9,600 (03/04) £33,968.02 (04/05) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to organise a two stage project on running a local election campaign in preparation for the municipal elections in 2004. This project will take place in early 2004. First stage: four workshops for activists. Second stage: support for print materials. | This project is ongoing. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BA04E15L | Bosnia: SNSD Voter Turn-Out | £15,691 (04/05) | £12,552.58 (03/04) | <p>To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to organise a campaign to encourage their voters to participate in the October 2004 local elections. This project will take place in early 2004.</p> <p>Activity to promote registration. Activity to promote voting during the campaign.</p> | <p>The majority of activity appears to have been aimed at voter registration and was carried out in 2003/04.</p> <p>The remaining funds will presumably be spent during the election campaign.</p> <p>The project is ongoing.</p> |
| BA04E13L | Bosnia: SNSD Discussion Forums | £11,680.00 | | <p>To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD with a series of local government discussions in preparation for the local elections. The project will begin in February 2004 and be completed in December 2004.</p> | <p>This project is ongoing.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| BA04E12L | Bosnia: SDP Youth Forum Newspaper | £17,951 (04/05) | £4,000 (03/04) | <p>To fund the Labour Party to assist the Youth Forum of the SDP to produce a newspaper for young people. This project will take place in spring 2004.</p> <p>Nine issues will be produced over an 18-month period.</p> <p>Evaluation will be by copies of the newspaper and report.</p> | This project is ongoing. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00014 Report obtained from the Labour Party. Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: SDP training on work of elected representatives | £38,470.00 | £898.00 (00/01) £10,893.77 (02/03) £9,784.00 (03/04) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP in Bosnia to organise workshops to train the newly elected (April 2000) Social Democratic Party's MPs and councillors on their roles and responsibilities as elected representatives. As part of the training, a handbook for the newly elected municipal councillors, as well as MPs, will be prepared. The project will take place in two stages. Stage one will run from July to December 2000 for local councillors and stage two from January 2001 to July 2001 for the MPs. | <p>A report was provided by Alan Haworth from the Labour Party in April 2002. The report covers a single seminar attended by Ernie Ross and Alan Haworth.</p> <p>The report is mostly descriptive. In terms of evaluation, it notes that:</p> <p>“The arrangements were that the participants would complete appraisal sheets after the end of the sessions, so their view of our contributions is unknown at the time of writing this brief report. However, as indicated elsewhere, there was a very positive feedback from the participants at a personal level and a genuinely warm appreciation of our efforts.”</p> <p>The report does not provide any detail on the handbook for municipal councillors.</p> <p>It does note that “a further 19 seminars of a similar nature [are] now planned”.</p> <p>This project is ongoing and a further report will be submitted on completion of the project.</p> |
| BOS00043 Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: SDP Party newsletter | £38,985.00 | £24,968 (01/02) £14,017.00 (03/04) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP to produce a bi-weekly party newsletter starting in September 2000 for two years. | <p>Report by Svetozar Pudaric, August 2003.</p> <p>Implementation was delayed until March 2001. A bi-monthly newsletter was published. The newsletter did not exert a strong influence on citizens, but did build party unity. Important skills were learned.</p> <p>The SDP planned to continue publishing the newsletter.</p> <p>It is unclear from the report how many copies of each edition were printed. The report states that WFD contributed 50% of the total cost.</p> |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BOS00053 Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Assessment Visit | £1,670.00 | £2,404.62 (03/04) | | Report by Roy Lakey and Nabila Sattar, November 2003. Three-day visit carried out to “test the validity of the political development of three political parties: the SDP, SNSD and the break-away SDU.” “The visit was extremely helpful in providing an insight into developments in the country...It is evident that further work is required with the SDP and SNSD.” |
| VII.BOS.14P.L.J Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Twinning of Party Branches with SDP, SDBiH and SNSD | £35,594.00 | | To fund the Labour Party to organise the twinning of party organisations in the UK with those in Bosnia in order to facilitate exchanges around the theme of party organisation, campaigning and the role of local authorities. Winter 1999. | Cancelled |
| VII.BOS.8P.L.JP Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: SDP Health Policy Seminar | £24,894.00 | £5,205.42 (00/01) | | Report by Claire Healy, Report by SDP July 2000. 1.5-day seminar 15–16 July, plus discussions with party on 14 July. 24 party experts, six party functionaries, four Labour experts. Seminar identified three main challenges to party: increase funding; define a basic package of care; set out policies for reform of system. SDP comments that seminar will lead to the development of a health policy document for presentation to the party's main board. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VII.BOS.9P.L.JP Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Training Elected Representatives on their Roles and Responsibilities. | £12,357.00 | £12,442.74 (99/00) £225.45 (99/00) | To fund the Labour Party to hold a two-stage training programme for the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia (SDP). The first stage, December 1999, will involve three representatives of the SDP attending a training programme at Labour Party headquarters over two days, during which they will be introduced to the role of the elected representative. The second stage, February 2000, will comprise a workshop for a larger group of elected representatives. Facilitated by the three representatives who attended the first stage, and led by Labour Party trainers, the workshop will transfer the know-how gained in London to SDP elected officials in Bosnia. | Three reports have been provided for this project – from Penny Chalton; Alan Howorth and Sioned-Mair Richards; and from the SDP itself. Chalton provides an evaluation of the initial training programme. Participants report on a range of areas where they have learned from the programme. Howorth and Richards report on the programme, and note that all participants believed the seminar had been successful. They noted that they had learned as much from the SDP as they had disseminated from their experience in Britain. 20 SDP candidates attended the session in Sarajevo, of whom 12 were subsequently elected at the Municipal Elections. |

| Project Number | Project Title | Budget | Expenditure | Project Synopsis | Project Report |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VII.BOS.25P.L.J Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Joint Policy Seminars | £24,894.00 | | To fund the Labour Party for a further year to hold three policy seminars jointly for the SDP, SDBiH and the SNSD. The seminars will consider the policy-making process and move the debate from ethnic politics to areas of concern to people on a day-to-day basis, such as education, social and economic issues. Winter 1999. | Cancelled |
| IX.BOS.5P.L.JP Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Social Democratic Party Development | £27,800.00 | £27,800 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SDP to purchase telephone and computer equipment for municipal organisations in Republika Srpska and the Federation. Summer 2000–2002. | The report shows that 65 PCs, two file servers, printers, photocopiers, software and a projector were purchased, along with the installation of dial-up and/or broadband Internet connection, and the creation of the SDP website. The project has helped achieve better access to information, insight into party decisions, and more effective dissemination of party information and events. |
| IX.BOS.17P.L.JP Extra-budgetary | Bosnia: Independent Social Democrats of Republika Srpska Party Development | £19,257.00 | £14,573 (99/00) £4,683.40 (01/02) | To fund the Labour Party to assist the SNSD to further strengthen their party structures during Autumn 2000 through the purchase of equipment for municipal offices. | The report shows that 20 PCs, faxes, printers, scanners and phone systems were purchased. The project has helped achieve better exchange of information; insight into membership numbers and the structure of the party; and more effective dissemination of party messages. |

Table 9.6: Summary of information available for Labour Party projects

The table summarises information from table 9.5.

| | Completed | Ongoing | Cancelled | Total | Report available | Report not available |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Core | 20 | 5 | 6 | 31 | 18 | 2 |
| Extra-budgetary | 6 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 6 | - |
| Total | 26 | 6 | 8 | 40 | 24 | 2 |

Table 9.7: An Overview of the WFD Democracy-Building Programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999–2003

The table provides a comparison of WFD's rationale for initiating a programme in BiH in 1999 against its current criteria for country programme selection.

| Criteria | BiH Programme |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WFD knowledge of country, neighbourhood and political climate. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The WFD Europe team had, and continues to have, detailed knowledge of BiH and the Balkans. |
| Scope for distinctive, British involvement in democracy building. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In 1999 BiH was seen as “staggering from one election to another, with only the formal trappings of the democratic process.” ▪ Britain had “played a prominent role in BiH’s economic and civic reconstruction.” ▪ The proposal outlined a four-year programme, funded by supplementary FCO funds, to “help the development of multi-party democracy in BiH.” ▪ WFD hoped that “British links will be valued by the Bosnian organisations and it will be understood that these links will be maintained only if certain patterns of behaviour are followed.” ▪ In the long term, it was hoped that “exposure to the British democratic practices will allow Bosnians to understand the British concepts of political conduct.” |
| Scope for partnerships with other agencies (British Council, NDI etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In 1999 WFD made a commitment to “seek to reinforce and complement the democratisation programmes carried out by OSCE and other international agencies...to regularly consult with these agencies and co-ordinate efforts to achieve greater impact.” |
| Potential to support the development of political parties in-country. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In 1999 non-nationalist political parties were seen as facing a “daunting task, but given time, adequate support and gradual and growing disenchantment with nationalist politics, such civic parties will have an opportunity to build an effective base among the electorates of both entities of BiH.” |

| Criteria | BiH Programme |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Potential for party-to-party relationships with Westminster parties. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 80% of money was to be committed to party-to-party work, and 20% to cross-party and civic development projects. ▪ Party-to-party work was intended to build on existing links between the three major British political parties and opposition parties in BiH. |
| Presence in the country is compatible with FCO interests. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to the programme proposal, the programme was initiated by the FCO. ▪ The FCO gave WFD “a remit to develop and co-ordinate a programme of assistance for non-nationalist political parties and other civic initiatives capable of encouraging public participation in the democratic process.” ▪ WFD described British strategy as working for peace and stability through implementation of Dayton, reinforced through support for restoration of basic services, “as well as helping build foundations for civic and democratic development of the country.” ▪ According to WFD, the FCO saw political parties as vital to democratic development and believed that “open, democratic and modern parties are the only acceptable replacements for ruling nationalist interests.” ▪ The FCO provided a budget of £200k per year over four years. |
| Capacity to manage and support the programme. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The programme required close co-operation between WFD Central and the political parties. It is possible that lack of capacity led to the failure to provide final reporting etc. for the programme. |
| Strong potential to secure funding for programme following start-up phase. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funding for the programme had been secured in advance of the start-up phase. |

Table 9.8: Evaluating WFD’s Extra-Budgetary Programme in BiH

The table shows commitments WFD made to evaluating its WFD Democracy-Building Programme in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1999–2003, and action that was taken against each of these commitments.

| WFD commitment | WFD action |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Comprehensive final report for each project. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ There were 77 extra-budgetary projects. We requested final reports for the 10 projects completed in 2002/03–2003/04. Not all submitted reports were satisfactory; see table 9.5. |
| Projects to use variety of methods of evaluation – surveys, workshops, media coverage etc. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ We have found that evaluation is limited and variable in quality. |
| WFD to arrange specialist independent evaluation for each project. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Project partners appointed an independent – usually non-specialist – evaluator on a <i>pro bono</i> basis. |
| Conduct baseline assessment at programme start time. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To our knowledge, baseline assessment was not completed. |
| Undertake evaluation of programme over four-year span. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2001 evaluation was described as the first of its kind for WFD. Evaluation was based on sample of 15 projects out of 37 completed. Sample was suggested by WFD and political parties. ▪ Further independent evaluation of the programme is thought not to have been commissioned. |
| Develop quantitative and qualitative indicators from information obtained on field trips. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to the terms of reference for the 2001 evaluation, “we need to explain why we don’t have performance indicators – times have changed, [it] was not thought of when we started. Although clear objectives were set, the emphasis on identifying performance indicators had not been developed at the time of the inception of the project.” |
| Submit evaluation reports on regular basis to FCO and Board. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2001 evaluation is thought to have been submitted to FCO and Board. ▪ Further formal evaluation is not thought to have been completed. |
| Prepare final report providing an analysis of success of project, judged against original objectives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not completed. |

Table 9.9: Evaluating WFD’s extra-budgetary programme in 2001

WFD commissioned a mid-way evaluation of its programme. The table shows results of that evaluation against the reviewer’s own terms of reference.

| Area | Criteria | Results according to the 2001 evaluation |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Questions for reviewer (taken from evaluation terms of reference). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What is WFD’s track record and capacity to implement political development projects? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The evaluation states that “over the past 3 years of the program work with political parties, significant progress has been made not only in terms of elections results, but also in terms of the establishment of viable, democratic political parties.” ▪ This finding is based primarily on positive feedback from the political parties. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Has the programme addressed the key issues relevant to democratic development in Bosnia? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This question is not addressed effectively. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Has the programme been successful in achieving its objectives? If so, which areas of work met with the most success? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The evaluation does not address objectives systematically. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How were the WFD and its British partners viewed by grantees? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The evaluation finds that grantees hold WFD in high esteem. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have the FCO funds been used in the most efficient way? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The evaluation finds that “all documentation indicates that funds were spent for the stated purpose.” It does not address this question further. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Are there any changes that will need to be made to ensure the remainder of the project is managed successfully? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The evaluation addresses this question in detail and makes a number of general recommendations, as well as specific recommendations for the Foundation and each Westminster party. |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Have the funds been used in accordance with the principles set out in the initial proposal? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ This question is not addressed. |

Annex 10: Serbia and Montenegro

Table 10.1: Making Country Choices – SaM programme

The table shows WFD's rationale for initiating planning a new programme in SaM against its stated criteria for country programme selection.

| Criteria | Analysis |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| WFD knowledge of country, neighbourhood and political climate. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD has detailed knowledge of the country, neighbourhood and political climate. At present its network in SaM is probably stronger than in any other country. It also has knowledge of the language. |
| Scope for distinctive, British involvement in democracy-building. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD believes it should focus its programme on the lack of public confidence in political institutions, public disengagement and the need to build trust between citizens and politicians. ▪ WFD Central has the following aims: strengthening public institutions to allow them to offer a genuine service to the public, reduce corruption and reduce politicisation; and positioning civil society organisations to play a key role in the process of re-engagement, by educating the public in political activism, lobbying and advocacy. ▪ WFD Central is consulting with civil society organisations to identify themes for its programme. It appears likely to concentrate on local government structures, and to concentrate activity on a limited number of municipalities. ▪ WFD Central believes political parties should focus on communicating more effectively with the public by developing strong local organisations; engaging in active voter contact exercises; developing better policies; and making these policies accessible to the public. ▪ Political parties in SaM have not yet been involved in the consultation process. In the UK, Westminster parties appear to have somewhat limited buy-in to the programme focus and are keen to maintain separation between their activities and those of WFD Central. ▪ That said, current party-to-party activity is not dissimilar to that envisaged by WFD Central for the future programme. |

| Criteria | Analysis |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Scope for partnerships with other agencies (British Council, NDI etc.)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The British Council is focused on the UK-SouthEastEurope Leader's Forum. Three projects are being developed in the people and politics strand: 'Closer to People - Tomorrow's Politicians'; 'Participative Policy Making'; and 'Politicians at Work'. British Council Serbia and Montenegro is leading on the latter project. ▪ WFD was contracted to help develop UK-SEE forum political strand, but is not participating in the operational phase of the project, in order to free resources for its own programme development process. ▪ WFD will explore the potential for partnership with NDI and other foundations once it is able to demonstrate the success of the initial phase of its programme. |
| <p>Potential to support the development of political parties in-country.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Political parties face considerable strain in SaM – due to both the scale of the political changes facing the country, and the relentless pace of the electoral cycle. |
| <p>Potential for party-to-party relationships with Westminster parties.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Labour has an existing relationship with the Democratic Party (DS) and Social Democratic Party (SDP). The DS was the largest party at the recent local elections. ▪ The Conservative Party is working with the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) and has a more limited engagement with G17+. The DSS was the third largest party at the recent local elections. ▪ The Liberal Democrats are running projects with the Civic Alliance which, until recently, was in coalition DS. ▪ The smaller parties have recently undertaken as assessment visit in SaM, but further details are not yet available. ▪ Westminster parties are unlikely to develop links with the other major force in SaM politics, the Serbia Radical Party (SRS), which was the second largest party at the recent local elections, and is the largest party in the Serb Parliament. The SRS is regarded as an undemocratic, anti-reform force, although some commentators believe its position is moderating slightly. ▪ Westminster parties appear to have stronger relationships with political structures in Serbia than Montenegro. |

| Criteria | Analysis |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Presence in the country is compatible with FCO interests.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The FCO has eight objectives in SaM, including support for stable and democratic government in SaM, respecting international standards. ▪ Its strategy for the country identifies the following milestone: maintenance of pro-reform policies in Serbia and Montenegro, and election of pro-democratic candidate as Serbian President. ▪ The Embassy in Belgrade values the work of both WFD Central and the Westminster political parties. It believes that all WFD activities are complementary to its own, but thinks party-to-party activity is more clearly differentiated from the projects it is able to fund. ▪ It approves of the geographic spread of WFD's work, especially activity that takes place beyond Belgrade. ▪ It is interested in whether there is potential for future WFD engagement with those nationalist parties that show signs of moderating their policies. |
| <p>Capacity to manage and support the programme.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WFD has identified three options for managing its programme: a representative office; supervision from London; or a programme board. ▪ It is unlikely to staff an office in the short to medium term. ▪ A programme board is the preferred option of the WFD executive, although this has yet to be approved by the WFD Board or Westminster parties. We think it unlikely that the Westminster parties will respond positively to the proposal. ▪ WFD envisages a 12-person advisory board: representatives of local NGOs; representatives of Serbian political parties; a Post representative; two WFD staff members. ▪ It suggests the board should have the following roles: development of relationships in-country; advice on strategic objectives; project appraisal, monitoring and evaluation; oversight of project expenditure. ▪ The board would meet five times a year; receive administrative and financial support from WFD; and report to the WFD Board on an annual basis. |

| Criteria | Analysis |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Strong potential to secure funding for programme following start-up phase.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li data-bbox="815 213 2087 280">▪ WFD is looking to run the programme for at least three years. It plans to make an investment in the region of £120k from Central funds, and hopes that parties will invest a further £80–100k. <li data-bbox="815 306 2087 411">▪ DFID has a Regional Assistance Plan for the Western Balkans for 2004/05–2008/09. It has declining resources for SaM, is focusing on facilitating policy dialogue, and is reducing the number of projects it is funding. The WFD programme is unlikely to meet DFID’s criteria for funding future projects. <li data-bbox="815 437 2087 542">▪ There is some potential for joint funding of projects through FCO programme funds, although GOF funding in SaM is likely to be focused on integration of ethnic minorities into the education system and media programming, with a focus on ethnic minorities. <li data-bbox="815 568 2087 673">▪ WFD hopes to attract funding from other foundations, but it has yet to explore the potential for doing this formally. An assessment visit in April 2004, however, found interest among international organisations in working with WFD. <li data-bbox="815 699 2087 804">▪ USAID is spending £5m over three years on establishing open, effective and participatory local government, with a focus on civic participation and policy reform. There is potential for co-operation here – but also potential for overlap. |

Annex 11: Other Organisations in the Democracy-Building Field

Table 11.1: Other organisations' activities

The table provides a brief overview of a selection of organisations who work in the democracy-building field, with a focus on party political development.

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| International Democrat Union | "Countries can only develop their full potential if they develop recognising the ideals of liberal democracy, freedom of the individual, and the need for economic growth to be based on individual initiative and free, competitive enterprise economies." | Americas, Asia Pacific, Caribbean, Africa, Europe | Centre and centre right | Not known | www.idu.org |
| National Endowment for Democracy (NED) | "The Endowment is guided by the belief that freedom is a universal human aspiration that can be realised through the development of democratic institutions, procedures, and values." | Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Middle East and the former Soviet Union | Independent, non-partisan | \$36m giving around 300 grants of an average of \$500k each | www.ned.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| National Democratic Institute | “The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organisation working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions.” | Worldwide | US Democratic Party | Not known | www.ndi.org |
| International Republican Institute | “IRI believes that freedom is a universal aspiration that can be realised through the development of democratic political parties, good governance, strong civic institutions and transparent election procedures. The Institute is guided by the fundamental American principles of individual liberty, the rule of law and the entrepreneurial spirit.” | Africa, Asia, Eurasia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and North Africa | Independent non-partisan | Funded through NED and USAID – budget not known | www.iri.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy | “The main objective behind IMD is to support the process of democratisation in young democracies by strengthening political parties as the pillars of parliamentary democracy in order to help create a well-functioning, sustainable, pluralistic system of party politics.” | Africa, Latin America, Asia | Independent non-partisan | €7.6m with country programmes of €5m | www.nimd.org |
| Stiftungen | “The Association of German Foundations represents the foundation community in Germany. It raises awareness of the diversity of the German and international foundation world among its members as well as with politicians, the media and the public.” | Germany | Independent | Not known | www.stiftungen.org |
| Deutsch-Russischer Austausch | “Commitment to social activism, representation of the interests of disadvantaged social groups, and independent media are essential components of the new democracy in Russia...The DRA offers continuing education and exchange programmes and facilitates the search for contacts with Western partners.” | Russia | | Not known | www.austausch.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| Inter-Parliamentary Union | “The Union is the focal point for world-wide parliamentary dialogue and works for peace and co-operation among peoples and for the firm establishment of representative democracy.” | Worldwide | Independent | 9.91m CHF | www.ipu.org |
| International Foundation for Electoral Systems | “As emerging democracies have begun to mature, it has become clear that the challenges they face extend well beyond the mechanics of elections. If democracy is to thrive, a society must also have other, less visible – but equally important – attributes, including an informed, engaged civil society, the rule of law, respect for human rights and public officials who are accountable to the citizens they serve. Together with fair and transparent elections, these elements form the foundation for sustainable democracy.” | Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe, Eurasia and Middle East & North Africa | Independent | \$27m | www.ifes.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| Christian Democrat International | “The Christian Democrat view of society offers each person the prospect of being able to thrive as an individual with specific talents, alongside other individuals in the society. Christian Democrats have clear answers to the new challenges facing the international community. Placing themselves alongside the citizens, they are building a world which also offers prospects to future generations.” | Worldwide | Democrat and related parties | Not known | www.idc-cdi.org |
| Ford Foundation | “The Ford Foundation is a resource for innovative people and institutions worldwide. Our goals are to: Strengthen democratic values, Reduce poverty and injustice, Promote international cooperation and Advance human achievement “ | USA, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Russia | Independent | Gives grants of \$489m | www.fordfound.org |
| Open Society Institute | “OSI and the network implement a range of initiatives that aim to promote open societies by shaping Government policy and supporting education, media, public health, and human and women's rights, as well as social, legal, and economic reform” | Africa, Latin America & Caribbean, Central & Eastern Europe, Central Eurasia, Russia, Ukraine & Belarus, South-East Europe, South-East Asia, Turkey & the Middle East and the US | Private and independent | Gives grants of \$400–500m | www.soros.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Liberal International | “There are a number of common principles which unite all liberal parties from Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe; human rights, free and fair elections and multi-party democracy, social justice, tolerance, social market economy, free trade, environmental sustainability and a strong sense of international solidarity. Naturally in the application of these principles in different national circumstances there is diversity among liberal parties” | Worldwide | Liberal | £180k | www.liberal-international.org |
| Socialist International | “Democratic socialism is an international movement for freedom, social justice and solidarity. Its goal is to achieve a peaceful world where these basic values can be enhanced and where each individual can live a meaningful life with the full development of his or her personality and talents and with the guarantee of human and civil rights in a democratic framework of society.” | Worldwide | Social Democrat, Socialist and Labour | £1.2m | www.socialistinternational.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights | "The principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law form a cornerstone of the European Union" | Sub-Saharan Africa, Mediterranean–Middle East, Caribbean, Pacific, Asia, Latin America, newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, South-East Europe | All party | €125m | http://europa.eu.int/com/m/europeaid/projects/eidhr/index_en.htm |
| Office of Democracy and Governance, USAID | "To make democracy and governance programs more effective and strategic in scope." | Africa, Asia and the Near East, Europe and Eurasia and Latin America & the Caribbean | Independent | \$12.8m | www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance |
| Council for a Community of Democracies | "Our aim is to foster awareness of the importance of democracy both as a central organising principle of official Government foreign policy and as the basis of international alliances of non-governmental organisations devoted to the strengthening of democracy" | Worldwide | Independent | Not known | www.ccd21.org |

| Organisation | Mission | Geographic Focus | Party Political | Budget | Website |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| World Movement for Democracy | “To strengthen democracy where it is weak, to reform and invigorate democracy even where it is longstanding, and to bolster pro-democracy groups in countries that have not yet entered into a process of democratic transition.” | Worldwide | Independent | Sponsored by NED, Confederation of Indian Industry and Centre for Policy Research India. Budget not known | www.wmd.org |
| International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance | “IDEA's objective is to help improve the design of key democratic institutions and processes through improved knowledge and understanding of issues that condition democratic progress.” | Worldwide | Independent | Around \$11m from contributions from Member states and funds obtained through a variety of sources. | www.idea.int |

Table 11.2: Donor activities in Serbia and Montenegro

This table was prepared by WFD to show the activities of donors in SaM.

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| USAID | | | | | | |
| Development Alternatives Inc. | Local Government, Civic Participation | Serbia Local Government Reform Programme Activities focusing on political issues such as civic participation and policy reform (citizens' assistance centres, one-stop permitting centres, training, equipment) | Civil servants Local politicians Citizens | To establish open, effective and participatory local government To increase citizens' and NGOs' involvement in, and access to, local government | Training Institutional support Technical assistance Equipment | 2001–05 \$26.8 million |
| | Local Government (Regional project) | Website for local government organisations and associations on improving local government management, decentralisation, policy, EU accession criteria, etc. | Associations and organisations focusing on local government | To develop the capacity of NGOs to communicate more effectively with local government leaders | Technical assistance | 2001–04 \$1,325,000 |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Freedom House | Civil Society (Regional project) | Cross-border network of NGOs in South-East Europe Grants to NGOs in SEE in capacity building, promotion of transparency and tolerance Linking Stability Pact country NGOs via an interactive database and website | NGOs | To strengthen the capacity of NGOs to inform public opinion and influence public policy | Technical assistance Training Conference Institutional support Grants | \$2,400,000 2002–06 |
| | Rule of Law (Regional project) | Impact assessment of rule-of-law activities in SEE Recommendations regarding changes in assistance strategies and approaches Lessons learned, challenges and constraints | Legal community NGOs working on rule of law | To provide analyses of effectiveness and impact of rule-of-law programmes in the region | Analysis and evaluation | \$730,000 2001–03 |
| USAID | Gender (Regional project) | Political skills training of women leaders Women's NGO development through small grants | Women leaders | To advance women's economic and political leadership in the Yugoslav successor states | Training Grants | \$2,723,134 2000–02 |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| NDI | | | | | | |
| | Political Parties | <p>Training of trainers (Serbian political party organisers)</p> <p>Training on public opinion research, platform development and local governance</p> <p>Training for women and youth political leaders</p> <p>Networking events for women in the NGO and political sectors</p> | <p>Political parties</p> <p>Women and youth leaders</p> | To contribute to the development of transparent, accountable and participatory political parties | <p>Training</p> <p>Networking events</p> | |
| | Civic Participation | <p>Network of constituency relations offices giving citizens direct access to Government offices and bringing elected officials and citizens together to discuss reform initiatives</p> | <p>Citizens</p> <p>Local government</p> | To improve communication between citizens and local government and to increase confidence in political institutions | <p>Institution-building</p> <p>Training</p> | |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | Civic Participation | Leadership skills training for young political activists through study trips to Parliament, Ministries and other institutions | Young political activists | To improve the skills and capacity of young activists to participate effectively in political life | Study visits | |
| | Legislature and Government Ministries | Assistance for newly elected officials Assistance for Government Ministries and parliamentary committees on improving communication and co-ordination on draft legislation Internet resource centre in Parliament to improve information sharing and enhance legislative research capacity | Politicians | To build Parliament's profile as a credible legislative body and enhance the transparency and efficiency of the legislative process | Training IT equipment | |
| | Civic Participation | Election and organisational assistance to Centre for Free Elections and Democracy | Citizens NGOs | To help guarantee free and fair elections and promote citizens' participation and oversight | Training Advice | |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| NDI (Montenegro) | | | | | | |
| | Civil Society | Support for election monitoring Parliamentary guide, political party code of electoral conduct and parliamentary internship programme Work on Public Information Act and regulations on media coverage in political campaigns | NGOs | To strengthen the capacity of civic organisations to hold Government accountable | Training Technical assistance Equipment | |
| | Legislature | ICT assistance to Parliament (PCs to key MPs and staff, restructuring of parliamentary website) Internet and Press Centre equipped with 10 computers for use by MPs and staff IT training for parliamentary staff and MPs | MPs Parliamentary staff | To improve the Parliament's transparency and accessibility to the public | Training Equipment Technical assistance | |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| IRI | | | | | | |
| | Local Government | <p>Training and consulting activities</p> <p>One-stop service centres (advice and training)</p> <p>Programme to make municipal information more accessible to constituents (Internet, hotlines, requests for information)</p> | <p>Local politicians and officials</p> <p>Citizens</p> | To promote communication between municipal governments and their constituents and improve the accessibility of government services | | |
| | Political Parties | <p>Training on building voter databases, targeting voters and direct voter contact</p> <p>Cooperation with youth wings of parties – creating plans of action and helping them expand their role in party activities</p> <p>Sharing of public opinion research</p> | Political parties | To contribute to the development of participatory, accountable and democratic political parties | Training | |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|--------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | Political Institutions (Government Ministries) | <p>Training seminars for Government Ministries to improve internal organisation (press conferences, public relations, etc.)</p> <p>Consultation with individual Ministries to help build communications plans and design strategies</p> <p>Public opinion research and focus groups to help Ministries test their reform campaigns</p> | Government Ministries | To help Government Ministries to improve internal and external communications | <p>Training</p> <p>Advice</p> <p>Research/polling</p> | |
| | Civil Society | <p>Assistance to NGOs with organisational development and strategic planning</p> <p>Training on running single-issue campaigns, public information efforts and fundraising</p> <p>Work with NGOs on GOTV campaigns</p> | NGOs and civic groups | To contribute to the development of diverse, inclusive and empowered civic groups capable of playing an active role in the political process | <p>Training</p> <p>Technical assistance</p> | |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Konrad Adenauer Stiftung | | | | | | |
| | Media | Seminar on the EU for journalists Seminar on EU media law | Journalists | To improve the capacity of journalists to research and report on EU developments and to present objective analysis of the costs and benefits of EU membership | Training | 14 days |
| | Corruption | Roundtable on European standards re: corruption at local level | Local politicians Local officials | To improve the knowledge and understanding of EU anti-corruption standards in local government | Roundtable | 1 day |
| | Political Parties | Study visit for MPs from DSS, G17 Plus and SPO to German Parliament | MPs | To contribute to the development of transparent, accountable and participatory political parties | Study visit | 5 days |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | Local Government / Inter-ethnic Tolerance | Regional conference on inter-ethnic tolerance and co-operation of citizens in local governments for NGOs and representatives of local government | NGOs Local government | To improve regional co-operation and sharing of experience on inter-ethnic relations | Conference | |
| Friedrich Ebert Stiftung | | | | | | |
| | Local Government | Regional workshops on local government reform and decentralisation (financing, cross-border co-operation, participation of citizens) | Local politicians Local officials | To facilitate an exchange of experience and best practice between municipalities in the region | Training Research and policy assistance | €50,000 2001–ongoing |
| Council of Europe | | | | | | |
| | Local Government, Civic Participation (Regional Project) | Training workshops and conferences on transparency and accountability. Pilot projects in selected municipalities on institutional development | Local decision-makers and administration Local communities, NGOs | To promote transparency, accountability and the highest ethical standards in local politics | Technical assistance, Training workshops | €362,000 2002–05 |

| Organisation | Sector(s) | Synopsis of activities | Target groups | Purpose | Methodologies | Duration/budget |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| CIDA | | | | | | |
| | Rule of Law | Training on alternative dispute resolution, caseload management, court administration and pre-trial conferences Training of trainers in fair trial standards and procedures | Judges | To facilitate dialogue and knowledge transfer among judges on judicial independence and impartiality | Seminars, training sessions | Canadian \$1,350,000 2001–05 |

Annex 12: Global Opportunities Fund

Table 12.1: Global Opportunities Fund Non-Project Costs

| | £m | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 2003/04 | 2004/05 | 2005/06 |
| Total GOF Programme | 34.7 | 54.8 | 74.7 |
| Programmes Directly Run by GOF¹⁵ | 9.6 | 25.8 | 41.4 |
| Admin Fund | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Admin Fund as % of total programme | 5.8% | 3.6% | 2.7% |
| Admin Fund as % of GOF Programme Support | 17.2% | 7.2% | 4.6% |

¹⁵ Programmes include Emerging Markets; Islamic World; Climate Change and Energy; Counter Terrorism; Re-Uniting Europe; Human Rights, Democratisation and Good Governance.

Annex 13: Comments from WFD Governor

Figure 13.1: Letter from James Bewsher, WFD Governor

13 December 2004

Riverpath Review of WFD

I am writing in response to the draft Riverpath report on the WFD recently circulated to members of the WFD's Board. I write to you in my capacity as an independent member of the Board and based on my experience as an independent consultant. There are three interrelated points I wish to make about the report:

1) The WFD's history, structure and changes over time

I was appointed to the WFD's Board last year and as such am the newest member of the Board. As a consultant and trainer I have worked for and with WFD staff and political officers for nearly ten years. In that time I have dealt with four different Chief Executives. I am aware that the WFD has been through considerable internal turmoil involving some complex staffing problems. These in turn have led to financial difficulties, the legacies of which I am dealing with as a member of the Foundation's audit committee.

Dealing with the legacies of the past and moving to a new and more structured future has been the dominant feature of my time on the board. However, none of this history or the current change programme is reflected in the report. The past and the present are dealt with as one and the same thing. This has the effect of tarring the current Board and staff with the legacy of the past. Perhaps most significantly this approach significantly devalues the review's worth as a tool for the Foreign Office and the Board to seriously evaluate the worth and work of the Foundation.

It is noticeable that whilst the report has overwhelming detail on areas of criticism, it does not even include the most basic information on the staffing history of the organisation. I could not find a list of past chief executives and their periods of office, of past and present staffing, of current and past staff vacancies or any explanation of the organisation's internal structure. This information is crucial to a realistic assessment of the past, present and future workings of the Foundation.

Whilst the report is free with its criticism of the Board's financial controls on some earlier overseas projects it appears to lack the basic contextual information such as who was the Chief Executive at the time, the staff involved, the financial structures in place at the time

and whether or not the staff or the Board have taken appropriate action to rectify the situation and put in place new systems to ensure that such a situation will not arise again. Again, without such information the report is of little use in making a serious assessment of the current working of the Foundation.

Perhaps most astounding is the lack of any substantive reference to, or analysis of, the working of the Board. In particular, there is no recognition, let alone analysis, of the Board's attempts to deal with the past and change the style and direction of the organisation. I could not find any analysis of the role of the governors or assessment of the strengths or weaknesses of the current balance of party and independent governors. The Board, its vision and the way it conducts its business is fundamental to any NDPB. It is after all what differentiates an NDPB from a government department.

2) Understanding of the work of the WFD.

I think that I am the only independent governor with extensive practical experience of the Foundation's core business of promoting international democratic development through support and training for political parties and political institutions. Over the last ten years I have organised and run such training in Central and Eastern Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa and in the Far East. I also have extensive experience of organising election observation missions for the British Government and for the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). I believe that I was appointed to the Board of the WFD precisely because of this experience.

When we met to discuss the review I talked at some length about the benefits of the WFD's work and how, in my experience, it compared with the approach of other international organisations working in this field. I also talked of the need for the Board to spend more time reviewing the quality of its training programmes, discussing and promoting best practice and evaluating the outcomes of its activities.

My comments do not seem to have been reflected in the report. The report does tabulate the details of a particular programme, how many workshops were completed, what they cost, etc. However, it does not seem to deal in any substantive way with the fundamental issues of the Foundation's methodology, whether the mechanisms adopted are appropriate, how they fit with current international thinking on the promotion of democratic development or whether the issues of standards and quality are being considered in the Foundation's work. By way of comparison, it is like school inspectors preparing a report which looks in depth at the financial management of the building and the cost per pupil but doesn't bother to look at whether the school uses the latest teaching methods or whether the style of teaching is really appropriate to the pupils. Without such an assessment it is hard to see how the report can be of use in making a considered evaluation of the work and worth of the Foundation in promoting democratic development.

3) Issues of balance and of trust

As mentioned earlier in this letter I wish to make some comments on the report based on my experience as an independent consultant who has carried out numerous reviews for agencies as diverse as the Electoral Commission, the Food Standards Agency and the Community Fund.

In my experience, such reviews are conducted on the basis of an unstated trust between the consultant conducting the review and the members of the organisation being reviewed. This unstated agreement is that individuals being interviewed will be open and honest about their organisation on the understanding that the consultant will do his or her best to accurately reflect their views in the descriptive part of the report and take a balanced approach in the analytical part of the report. With this unwritten agreement participants in the review can expect positive and negative comments about their organisation but accept that the assessment and recommendations are fair and reasonable.

I do not believe that the report as drafted comes any way close to meeting these basic criteria. I approached our meeting with openness and the expectation of a balanced report. Sadly, I do not find in the report any reflection of the positive points I made about the Foundation based on my practical experience of its work. Nor did I see any reflection of the considered points I raised about some of the complex issues facing the Foundation.

To give one example, in our discussion I expressed concern at the amount of time that the Board and the Foreign Office seemed to spend discussing the details of the Foundation's internal management. I went on to say that this left little time for the Board to give detailed consideration to issues of quality and service delivery. I firmly expressed the view that the Board should spend more time on these issues if it was to develop and maintain the highest standards in the delivery of its work.

In the review you state that Foreign Office staff expressed concern at the amount of time that the Foreign Office spends on the Foundation. This is accepted as fact without any comment as to whether it is necessary or appropriate. As far as I can see there is no mention of the views expressed by me and by other governors of the impact of the Foreign Office's involvement in the internal management of the Foundation. Nor is my desire for the Board to spend time looking at the quality of our work reflected in the report. The review, as written, gives only a partial picture - and a partial picture does not enable Ministers, the Foreign Office or the Board to make sensible judgements about the Foundation.

In my view this approach permeates the report. Anyone who has been involved with the Foundation can see that the content of the report is highly selective and its tone overly critical. This leads to a highly unbalanced representation of the organisation. In my view, it betrays the trust of those of us who entered into the review in good faith.

As well as the issue of trust, there is the wider issue of balance. In the draft report historical events are reported in great detail without any explanation of their context. There is no chronology and no substantive reporting of the causes of problems that we all recognise arose in the past. There is then no detailed report or analysis of the changes that have been put in place to turn the organisation around. This has the effect of conflating the past with the present. I believe that because of this lack of context and related analysis the report is fundamentally flawed. It cannot and does not provide a balanced assessment of the organisation which can be accepted by all the parties involved.

More significantly, in my opinion these weaknesses mean that the report does not provide a sound basis for Ministers to make a realistic assessment of the current work and future role of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

I hope that you will be able to make substantial changes to the tone and content of your report to reflect the issues raised in this letter. I would also request that this letter is included in the appendices of the report to ensure that my views are accurately reflected to those who will be considering its findings.

Yours sincerely

Jim Bewsher