



Center for International Development
The State University of New York

International Legislative Strengthening IQC
Contract No. DFD-I-00-04-00128-00

Regional and International Legislative Organizations

A Legislative Brief

Revised for

USAID DCHA/DG
Technical Leadership Agenda in Legislative Strengthening:

by

Jesse Biddle

with

Erika Brockman, Walter Guevara and Fred Matiangi

State University of New York
Center for International Development
State University Plaza
Albany, NY 12246

July 2007

CONTENTS

I.	Regional and International Legislative Organizations	p. 3
A.	Origins of Regional and International Organizations	p. 4
II.	Types of Legislative Organizations	p. 8
A.	International Organization Legislatures	p. 8
B.	Regional Legislatures	p. 11
C.	Legislative Associations	p. 13
D.	Legislative Networks	p. 15
III.	Regional Examples	p. 19
A.	Sub-Saharan Africa	p. 19
B.	Andean Region of Latin America	p. 26
IV.	Technical Assistance and Legislative Organizations	p. 34
A.	U.S. Foreign Assistance and Legislative Strengthening	p. 34
B.	Recommendations for Working with Legislative Organizations	p. 39
	Annex A: Contact Information for Legislative Organizations	
	Annex B: Illustrative Bibliography	

I. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATIONS¹

As is quickly discovered by individuals and institutions that work in or with national legislatures, there are a bewildering diverse set of organizations that link legislative bodies together, both regionally and worldwide. This includes *international organization legislatures* that are deliberative bodies closely affiliated with international organizations, *regional legislatures* which are deliberative bodies formally established among groups of nations, *legislative associations* that serve to directly link independent legislatures to each other, often for professional development purposes, and *legislative networks* which regularly bring together individual legislators around shared interests or concerns. These regional and international legislative organizations all share the similarity of being formed by governing bodies or composed of legislators, and these are the focus of this report.

In passing, it may be noted that there are also innumerable and diverse *legislative strengthening organizations* which work with legislatures and legislative organizations but are not formed by governing bodies or composed of legislators. Just to give a sense of how diverse is this group, worldwide examples would include a) NGOs, such as the Center for Legislative Development in The Philippines and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), b) semi-autonomous development agencies funded by governments such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and International Republican Institute (IRI) in the U.S. and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) in the U.K., c) development assistance private contractors for governments such as Management Systems International and ARD Inc. and d) university-based offices such as Indiana University's Center for International Education and Development Assistance and the State University of New York's Centers for International Development and Legislative Development. A separate report would be

¹ This report was prepared by the State University of New York Center for International Development (SUNY/CID) in support of the Technical Leadership Agenda being developed by USAID DCHA/DG. It reflects a collaborative effort of the Albany-based home office and country offices of SUNY/CID. Fred Matiangi, Chief of Party for SUNY Kenya, contributed to material on sub-Saharan Africa. Erika Brockman, SUNY/CID consultant and former MP in Bolivia, and Walter Guevara, former Chief of Party for SUNY Bolivia, contributed to material on Latin America. The SUNY Bolivia, Kenya, Jordan, Morocco and Zimbabwe offices assisted by conducting interviews with MPs. Lia Cartagenes and Mihaela Muntean provided research assistance. Jesse Biddle, Senior Associate in SUNY/CID Albany, served as research coordinator and senior writer.

required to capture the diversity and functions of such legislative strengthening organizations.

The purpose of this examination of regional and international legislative organizations is to provide information and guidance to practitioners of legislative strengthening, specifically to USAID Democracy and Governance (D/G) Officers, their implementing partners and the large number of experts who are involved in conducting legislative strengthening programs worldwide.² The hope is that these groups of practitioners may benefit from having more information regarding the types and differences among legislative organizations, and benefit from having options for how technical assistance programs may support such organizations directly or may link assistance strategies operating at the national level to regional and international legislative organizations.

A. Origins of Regional and International Legislative Organizations

Some legislative organizations, such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, have long histories and are highly-institutionalized. However, there are also prominent organizations and networks which were only recently formed, such as the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC), established in 2002. The evidence further suggests that there is an ongoing proliferation of legislative organizations. For example, Robert Cutler reports in an article on what he calls “international parliamentary institutions” (IPIs) that just in terms of sheer numbers there were 6 IPIs in the year 1960, 12 IPIs in 1980 and 23 IPIs by 2000.³ Anecdotal confirmation of this trend comes as well from the interviews conducted for this report with experts in the field of legislative strengthening and with Members of Parliament from several nations.

² USAID is a leader in developing strategies for and devoting resources to legislative strengthening. Lessons learned are shared widely and publicly through forums such as the First and Second International Conferences on Legislative Strengthening (held in 1996 in Santa Cruz, Bolivia and 2000 in Wintergreen, Virginia, respectively) and via publications such as the USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening (2000).

³ Cutler’s definition of IPIs covers what this report refers to as international organization legislatures, regional legislatures and legislative associations. He does not count legislative networks that are constituted by individual lawmakers. See Robert M. Cutler, “The Emergence of International Parliamentary Institutions: New Networks of Influence in World Society,” in *Who is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*, Gordon S. Smith and Daniel Wolfish, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

The emergence and growth of these diverse forms of regional and international legislative organizations may be linked to a number of global trends. The first is the spread of political pluralism and the growth of democratic institutions in many parts of the world following the demise of the cold war. Particularly from the mid-1980s onward, indigenous pressure for democratic reform from civil society organizations and mass movements as well as international support for democratic norms and good governance accelerated the adoption of multiparty democracy, competitive electoral systems and democratic practices worldwide.

As this so-called “third wave” of democracy has occurred, a consequence has been the growing importance of legislatures to national political processes and the overall structures of government in emerging democracies.⁴ And, as legislatures seek to modernize and actually fulfill their constitutional and legal mandates as opposed to operating primarily at the behest of the Executive branch, it is understandable that linkages develop within regions and internationally between legislatures, or among different groups within legislatures. Such linkages enable the sharing of experiences and practices as well as enabling legislatures as institutions, and individual Members, to pursue common goals and interests that may exist within regions or internationally.

A second trend promoting regional inter-legislative linkages is the emergence of regional economic blocs in the developing world. Again, historically, this is linked to the end of the cold war which brought a lessening of the pressures on developing nations to maintain strict security and economic alignments with either the west or the east. As this pressure eased, nations sharing borders and historical and geographic ties came to view the creation or consolidation of regional economies as a means of taking advantage of regional resources, economies of scale and reaping benefits from enhancing the growth of regional trade. As part of this trend toward regional economic integration, political institutions are often created or existing ones enhanced to function at the regional level and this commonly

⁴ Samuel P. Huntington’s book, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) popularized the view that democratic transitions were occurring worldwide. The sobering and reflective essay by Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1, January, 2002) urged a re-examination of the more facile views that the observed democratic trends worldwide were deeply embedded or reflected linear movement away from authoritarianism.

includes institutions that link together national legislatures or create new regional legislative assemblies.

A third trend is the inter-related development opportunities and challenges that are commonly captured by the term, “globalization.” As the world shrinks or becomes “flat” as put by Thomas Friedman, due to factors such the spread of international trade as well as of innovative information and communications technologies, there is increased interdependence among nations. Moreover, important developmental opportunities and challenges may be shaped by factors that operate on regional and international levels.⁵ Thus, as put in a USAID White Paper seeking to define the Agency’s challenges for the 21st century, “both ‘goods’ (trade, investment, technology, information skill) and ‘bads’ (disease, weapons, terrorism, narcotics, other criminal activity) now cross borders more readily”.⁶

One of the responses to this globalization or trans-nationalization of development opportunities and challenges is to reinvigorate or create institutions or networks capable of bringing together decision makers from different nations. And international and regional legislative organizations provide precisely the type of deliberative forum or legal structure that can address these transnational development challenges and opportunities.

And a final trend to mention is that the emergence and increased visibility of international and regional legislative organizations may also be linked to the emphasis on the strengthening of national legislatures by bilateral and multilateral assistance agencies and their partners. In part, the provision of assistance to legislatures may be understood as just one element of the overall support by these agencies for government capacity-building. At the same time, however, the focus on legislatures is also consistent with the common strategic orientations by donors to promote democratization and good governance by supporting legislative institutions to fulfill their mandates regarding representation of the public will, substantive participation in the policy and lawmaking processes, and effective budget and public finance oversight. As legislatures are strengthened and modernized this

⁵ See Thomas L. Friedman, *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

⁶ See the USAID White Paper “U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century”, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, January 2004.

generates greater demand by these institutions and their Members and staff for the services and functions being provided by regional and international legislative organizations.

II. TYPES OF LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A quick look at the websites of a number of legislative organizations demonstrates that there are generally lots of other legislative organizations to which links are provided. However, there is no consistent method in use for sorting these organizations into categories. For the purposes of this report, the following categorization of organizations was developed:

- ***International Organization Legislatures*** – deliberative bodies closely affiliated with international governmental organizations;
- ***Regional Legislatures*** – deliberative bodies formally established by national governments or legislatures within a region;
- ***Legislative Associations*** – membership associations for individual national and sub-national legislatures;
- ***Legislative Networks*** – groupings of individual lawmakers from several legislatures interested in a common issue or issues.

These categories are not wholly distinct. For example, regional legislatures may perform functions, such as capacity building activities, that are similar to those of legislative associations. Or, to take another example, legislative associations often function as legislative networks by sponsoring meetings and other activities that are geared toward the particular interests of some lawmakers who participate in the association.

The discussion in this section provides information and commentary on these several types of legislative organizations along with overviews of a small number of the more well known ones. **Appendix A** provides a further listing of prominent organizations broken down into these categories with relevant contact information for practitioners.

A. International Organization Legislatures

These organizations share some features with regional legislatures. They are formal bodies which are usually created by treaties or related international legal mechanisms. They tend

to be well-developed with legal statutes and regulations to govern their operations. And they often replicate structural features seen in national-level deliberative bodies, such as having a plenary body, committees, rules of order and so on. The difference between these two types, however, is that international organization legislatures are affiliated with specific international organizations engaged in security- and governance-related activities while regional legislatures tend to stand separate from other international organizations.

One way to understand the functioning of international organization legislatures is in terms of parallelism of form; they may be viewed as a branch of an international governing organization just as, as at the national level worldwide, the vast majority of governments include a legislative branch to complement the executive and judicial branches.

Examples of international organization legislatures include:

Pan African Parliament (PAP)

The PAP is the legislative body of the African Union (AU), the latter being a federation of 53 African states formed in 2002. The AU is an amalgamated successor body to the African Economic Community and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and was created in part as an effort to reinvigorate regional governance given the reputation of the OAU as “the dictators club.” The 265 Parliamentary representatives of the PAP are elected by the individual legislatures of the AU states. The seat of the PAP is in Midrand, South Africa.

The PAP has broad objectives, including not only implementing policies and objective of the AU, but also taking measures to promote broad developmental and political goals. These include cultivating respect for human rights; promoting democracy and good governance; and fostering regional economic cooperation. However, as is common for international organization legislatures, the PAP’s powers are largely limited to holding deliberations, making recommendations and using its budget to promote programs and activities consistent with those of the AU. The PAP does have some oversight responsibilities. It is mandated to discuss its own budget and the overall budget of the AU. The PAP makes recommendations prior to the approval of the budget by the Assembly of the AU, which is composed of the heads of state of the AU member nations.

OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE-PA)

The OSCE-PA is the legislative branch of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe which has 56 participating states “from Vancouver to Vladivostok” as noted in the OSCE website. First established in 1975, the OSCE is the world’s largest regional security organization and provides a forum for political negotiations and decision-making in areas such as early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. The OSCE-PA is a 320 Member Assembly organized per the Madrid Declaration which set forth the basic rules of procedure, mandate and so on for the assembly. Participating OSCE member national legislatures appoint their OSCE-PA MPs in rough proportion to populations, and these MPs come together several times a year to help resolve issues of relevance to the OSCE efforts to promote security for the region.

The primary purposes of the OSCE-PA are to promote member-state legislative involvement in the overall activities of the OSCE and to facilitate inter-parliamentary dialogue and cooperation. Declarations and resolutions are adopted at the Annual and other meetings, committees are formed to debate and advise as regards contemporary international issues, an extensive election observation program has been developed over the years, and the OSCE-PA organizes special delegations to visit areas with ongoing or latent security crises. The structure of the OSCE-PA involves General and Ad Hoc Committees that focus on substantive issues as well as Standing Committees, a governing Bureau and a Secretariat to manage the day-to-day affairs of the organization. The OSCE-PA also organizes a prestigious Research Fellowship Program for post-graduate students.

NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NATO-PA)

The NATO-PA is hybrid of a regional legislature and an international organization legislature. It has no formal relationship with NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), being rather an inter-parliamentary grouping of legislators, yet in its function and structures the NATO-PA is organized to maintain a strong working relationship with NATO. Thus, for example, the Assembly’s Standing Committee meets annually with both the Secretary General and the Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council and NATO-PA Presidents participate in the NATO Summits of Heads of State. The NATO-PF was

formerly called the North Atlantic Assembly and, while newer than NATO, is over forty years old.

In general terms, the purpose of the NATO-PA is to foster dialogue among parliamentarians on security issues and Alliance policies, to provide NATO and member governments an indication of collective parliamentary opinion and to strengthen transatlantic relationships. The NATO-PA holds two Plenary Sessions each year, maintains five Committees and organizes a broad array of special activities and programs. Among the latter are special seminars, a New Parliamentarians Program and special forums or dialogues such as the Parliamentary Transatlantic Forum, the Mediterranean Special Group and the NATO-Russia Parliamentary committee.

B. Regional Legislatures

As noted above, regional legislatures share some features with international organization legislatures in being formal bodies (formed by treaties or related legal mechanisms by a regional grouping of nations), well-institutionalized with legal statutes and codified regulations to guide their operations, and having structural features commonly seen in national legislatures. Such bodies provide a forum for deliberations and the issuing of declarations and recommendations. In some cases, they provide a legal process for proposing and supporting legislation on issues that are relevant at regional levels and may be taken up by national or sub-national legislatures. Unlike International Organization Legislatures, however, they tend to stand alone as opposed to being affiliated with a broader international organization or set of organizations.

Generally, Regional Legislatures do not directly exercise lawmaking powers. Rather, they engage in issuing declarations and recommendations that need to be adopted by the participating member states to carry legal authority. In this task, it is a common practice to form committees or working groups to do the initial legwork of gathering information and soliciting views. These regional bodies may more rarely participate in implementation or oversight of laws that may be passed by several member legislatures designed to address common regional issues, should the member states request them to do so. In some cases,

regional assemblies and parliaments also sponsor capacity building activities on behalf of the constituent member legislatures.

Some examples of regional legislatures include:

Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO)

Formed by a Treaty of Institutionalization in 1964, the PARLATINO is a permanent deliberative body that has 22 national parliaments as members and is headquartered in Sao Paulo, Brazil. In the early 1990s, the PARLATINO's legal standing was enhanced, a more complex organizational structure created and objectives clarified with the adoption of a governing Statute and Regulations. The national delegations to the PARLATINO are accredited by the Parliaments of the member states and proportionally represent the parties or parliamentary groups of those Parliaments. The Assembly of the Latin American Parliament meets annually and ongoing business is handled by a Board of Directors and a number of permanent commissions on sectoral and functional issues.

The objectives of the PARLATINO are broad and include promotion of democracy and strengthening of legislative institutions, support for principles of non-intervention and against colonialist and imperialist actions, and the economic integration of Latin America. As with most regional assemblies, however, the mandate of the Latin American Parliament is primarily to offer recommendations and resolutions that are non-binding but may be taken up by the constituent Member Parliaments. At the same time, the PARLATINO has come to be viewed as an influential and important body. It has taken leadership roles in support of Latin American economic development, for example, by promoting the creation of the Latin American Common Market. It has also become a vehicle for continental diplomacy, including condemnation of elements of U.S. foreign policy (e.g., the Homes-Burton Act regarding the economic blockade of Cuba).

Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

The APPF was founded with the support of the former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone with a founding charter, the Tokyo Declaration, signed in 1993. It is a non-exclusive forum in which national-level MPs may participate either as delegates of their

parliaments or in their personal capacities. The member nations of the asia-pacific group span the pacific. The APPF maintains ties with international organizations, such as the APEC and ASEAN, but is an independent organization with a President elected by the Annual Meeting for a three-year term, Executive Committee, Working Groups and other divisions, such as a Technological Working Committee.

Consistent with the role of most Regional Legislatures, the APPF has functioned historically to encourage dialogue among MPs in the region and to encourage and promote regional cooperation vis a vis matters such as economic growth, environmental matters, human rights and regional security. The 1993 Tokyo Declaration and the 1997 Vancouver Declaration lay out areas of consensus among APPF members

C. Legislative Associations

These are associations that are usually created by, or recognized by, national legislatures. Such associations serve to link these legislatures and their members to each other for mutual benefits. They have standing offices, professional staffs and, in some cases, maintain regional branches or chapters.

In many respects, the larger and most well-established legislative associations appear similar to professional societies. They provide forums in which professionals (in this case, lawmakers and legislative staff) working in different contexts (in this case, individual legislatures) can get together periodically to exchange information, develop professional skills and help codify best practices and standards for their profession. Activities are likely to include periodic (often annual) conferences, publications and newsletters, and the provision to members of professional services.

Expressing this perspective well in an interview for this report was the Hon. Priscillar Mishihairabwi-Mushonga of Zimbabwe, who has been active as regards gender issues and public finance oversight within regional legislative associations. She commented:

“The opportunity for networking and learning from other MPs has been most valuable. Unlike other jobs, there is no school for training legislators. You learn through sharing experiences. Regional organizations have the benefit of providing a forum for lessons learned.”

There are also specialized sub-sets of legislative associations that group together national legislatures and legislators sharing regional, historical or normative concerns. Thus, for example, the Assemblée Parlementaire de La Francophonie brings together parliamentarians from Francophone nations to promote the cultures and civilizations of French-speaking nations. And the Parliamentary Union of the Organization of the Islamic Conference Member States (PUOICM) provides a forum for the 47 member Parliaments to promote principles of Islam (such as Shoorā, the Islamic principle of consultation), and enables inter-parliamentary exchanges among PUOICM members and between PUOICM and other governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Examples of established legislative associations include:

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

The IPU is one of the oldest and most well-established of the legislative associations. It functions as a member organization of parliaments (as opposed to of parliamentarians) of sovereign states. It was established in 1889 with a headquarters in Geneva. Over 140 parliaments are members of the IPU. The IPU cooperates closely with the United Nations while a number of international organization legislatures and regional legislatures (e.g., the European Parliament, Latin American Parliament and Pan-African Parliament) are considered associated members of the IPU. The IPU receives funding from its member Parliaments as well as from its partnerships with bilateral and multilateral development assistance agencies.

The IPU conducts varied activities. It holds several worldwide conferences each year that are focal points for dialogue and information-sharing among lawmakers worldwide. It maintains a significant public library and has created online databases (PARLINE and PARLIT) on parliaments and related research. The IPU is also quite active worldwide as a provider of

legislative strengthening services, such as seminars on the roles and responsibilities of parliaments, needs assessments, and targeted assistance to develop legislative service provision. In the latter capacity, the IPU developed partnership relations with development assistance agencies, most significantly including the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU)

The AIPU is a legislative association composed of delegations from 22 Parliaments and Shoora Councils from Arab nations. It was formed following the October War of 1973 as an expression of Arab solidarity and capacity for joint action. The full Conference of the AIPU meets every two years, while the Council, composed of just two Members from each delegation, meets annually. The AIPU has an independent budget provided by contributions by the delegations, as well as donations provided by other Arab organizations. The permanent headquarters is in Damascus, Syria.

The primary objectives and facilitating activities of the AIPU include to: a) strengthen Arab solidarity, including coordination of Arab parliamentary activities; b) enhance cooperation with the Arab League and other Arab organizations; c) build dialogue and coordinate activities with other legislative associations, such as the IPU, African Parliamentary Union and several European-based associations and regional legislatures; and d) organize parliamentary symposiums and forums for the discussion of important legislative and topical issues. Such issues recently included discussions of regional challenges like terrorism and the strategic issue of water in Arab countries. The AIPU also recently held discussions on the advisability of, and means for, forming an Arab Parliament and a Parliamentary Institute to strengthen the capacity of Arab legislatures.

D. Legislative Networks

These are organizations that operate by bringing into contact and dialogue individual legislators who share specific interests or concerns. While they may have standing offices, as do the more well-established legislative associations, legislative networks tend to be smaller in terms of size and operating budgets. Membership in these networks is generally open to

individual legislators and there is no presumption that these legislators are participating as a representative of their own national legislature.

As regards the apparent increase in the number of legislative networks worldwide, this may be linked to the broader tendency of the globalization process to lead to the creation of new forms of regional and international governmental and non-governmental organization. The International Institute for Sustainable Development refers to global networks in this regards as “a combination of persons (or organizations) usually dispersed over a number of geographically separate sites, with appropriate communications technology to link them up.”⁷ Undoubtedly, the use of modern information and communications technologies has facilitated the growth and dynamism of legislative networks.

Legislative networks may be recognized by their organization around agendas or foci which are germane to specific interests of members. In this regard, legislators have broad and important roles as professionals. They are expected to debate and make laws, scrutinize and modify the government budget, be watchdogs and hold to account the Executive branch, and be the voice of the public. In practice, however, many legislators seek to develop specialized areas of expertise and particular niches in which they can make a name. Legislative networks are one vehicle that can assist as they enable information-sharing, discussion and comparison of experiences in different national contexts, the pooling of resources and an opportunity for lawmakers to rub shoulders with like-minded professionals. Furthermore, the activities of the network itself can become one of the means through which these legislators seek to champion their own agendas and advance their careers. For example, the placing of a conference on anti-corruption in a country with corrupt officials operating out of the Executive branch may be a significant accomplishment for a legislator or legislators seeking to combat such grand corruption.

The following are examples of prominent legislative networks:

Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC)

⁷ Please refer to www.iisd.org/networks/research.

GOPAC was established in Ottawa in 2002 at a conference held at the Canadian Parliament. It is incorporated as a not-for-profit organization under Canadian law. The Global Secretariat is located in Ottawa and is housed in the Canadian Parliamentary Centre, a well-known legislative support organization with close ties to CIDA (the Canadian International Development Agency). Lawmakers from legislatures worldwide can organize and form national chapters of GOPAC, which in turn may be integrated into regional chapters. GOPAC functions as an international network of parliamentarians dedicated to combating corruption and enhancing governmental integrity and promoting good governance.

In terms of activities, GOPAC organizes its work around three pillars. First, with Peer Support, GOPAC supports its members by ensuring they can easily be in dialogue with other lawmakers who may also be publicly opposing corrupt practices. This is important because, in some parts of the world, legislators may fear for their lives if they speak out against corruption. Second, GOPAC also sponsors Education Programs dedicated to assisting legislators to understand their roles as members of a legislature which is a distinct body from the Executive. Thus, GOPAC sponsors conferences, provides training activities (particularly around parliamentarian's budgetary and financial oversight responsibilities) and distributes publications. Lastly, GOPAC seeks to achieve results and assists chapters to develop clear objectives and define measurable outputs of their efforts.

Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB)

Like the GOPAC, the PNoWB is a relatively new, yet rapidly expanding legislative network. Its home office is in Paris. It originated out of the Annual World Bank Conferences with Parliamentarians from 2000-2002. In 2003, the PNoWB took steps to institutionally distance itself from the World Bank by becoming a not-for-profit association under French law.

The mission of the PNoWB is to facilitate dialogue between parliamentarians and multilateral development institutions. This dialogue focuses on the policies and practices of these institutions with respect to issues of international development, development financing and poverty reduction. Members of PNoWB are individual lawmakers. There are also regional chapters which include India, East Africa and the Middle East and North Africa.

The activities of the PNoWB include annual conferences that gather together legislators in the network along with experts and representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations working in and with legislatures worldwide. As well, the PNoWB organizes “Parliamentarians in the Field” whereby parliamentarians from donor countries visit recipient countries and meet with local lawmakers to discuss issues relating to the transparency and accountability of multilateral institutions. The visiting parliamentarians also have the opportunity to become better educated on how donor aid is allocated and how funds are actually used. PNoWB also sponsors Working Groups that enable members to network more intensively. Groups include Parliamentarians Implementation Watch on the Millenium Development Goals and a Trade Working Group.

III. REGIONAL EXAMPLES

The development and specific roles that legislative organizations are playing are distinct for different world regions. While it is not possible in the context of this report to survey all world regions, the following section provides a more in-depth look at sub-Saharan Africa and the Andean Region in Latin America and several important legislative organizations operating in each area.

A. Sub-Saharan Africa

Context for Regional Legislative Organizations

As mentioned in the Introduction to this report, one of the results of the end of the bipolar politics of the cold war was the spread of political pluralism and the growth of democracy in many parts of the world. In sub-Saharan Africa, particularly by the mid-1990s, this trend was reflected in an increase in the competitiveness of Parliamentary elections and more vibrant, multiparty parliaments, and this was often the case even in those nations in which an authoritarian Executive and ruling party yet persisted, such as in Zimbabwe.

Concomitant with this democratization trend was a quest by many African governments to form regional economic blocks to maximize comparative regional resources and enhance regional trade. This explains the birth of such organizations as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Common Markets for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)⁸.

Many of these regional organizations were formed initially to address economic and trade issues rather than political and governance issues. Political and governance issues were often left to the Organization of African Unity (OAU)⁹. While the OAU had a status as a mature

⁸ Other regional organisations thus formed include the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGAD) and the East Africa Cooperation (EAC), which was a revival of the East African Community of the late 60s and early 70s.

⁹ The OAU, which brought together the 53 African states has since transformed itself into the African Union (AU) and with it broadened its initial charter and mandate to include a focus on governance and democracy,

and institutionalized pan-African body, it was also widely perceived by observers as a club of cold war strong-men and undemocratic despots who had taken the reigns of power on the Continent immediately after independence. Not surprisingly, the OAU proved inadequate as a governance mechanism to address issues of concern to the emerging regional blocs.

In order to put in place regional governance bodies that would act more in line with developmental goals, and because many of the concerns of the emerging regional blocs of African nations were sub-Continental, African states sought to supplement the emerging regional economically-focused organizations with sub-Continental governance arrangements.¹⁰

This then is the primary foundation of African regional legislative organizations. These organizations take different forms and institutional characteristics, with their mandates and scope also assuming varied forms from region to region. For example the East African states formed the East African Cooperation to include a regional parliament (i.e., the East African Legislative Assembly), complete with a speaker and a standing legislative institution. In Southern and Western Africa, the solution was to form legislative associations, specifically the SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADCPF) and the ECOWAS Parliamentary Forum (ECOWASPF), respectively.¹¹ A final development is the creation of associations or coalitions of specific committees within the respective regions' parliaments, this being seen most clearly with respect to the formation of associations of Public Accounts Committees.

The Southern Africa Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADCPF)

The SADCPF is an institutional offshoot of the Southern Africa Development Community. It was constituted by the SADC with a view to developing a regional Parliamentary structure to support the capacity of the Community by involving parliamentarians of member states in

peace keeping and economic development of the continent. The Pan-African Parliament, discussed in the previous section, is the legislative body of the AU. Another prominent feature of the AU is the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which integrates efforts to support good governance and regional economic integration into a strategic vision for Africa's future development and participation in the world affairs.

¹⁰ Over the last decade, the regional economic and trade blocs have created mechanisms to address common governance issues with varied levels of success. Among the most successful efforts is the active participation of the ECOWAS in resolving the civil war in Sierra Leone and the credible observation of elections in the Western and Southern Africa states by the ECOWAS and the SADC respectfully.

¹¹ There are plans in the pipeline to make the ECOWASPF a regional legislature.

its activities. Membership in the SADCPF is open to national parliaments, whose countries are Members of the Southern African Development Community.¹² The SADCPF is also intended to provide a regional mechanism, at the legislative level, that would accelerate the process of establishing an enabling environment for regional integration.

The Forum was established in 1996 in accordance with Article 9(2) of the SADC Treaty, which provides for establishment of any autonomous institution within SADC. Among the Forum's objectives are to promote the principles of human rights, gender equality and democracy within the SADC region; to hasten the pace of economic cooperation; to encourage good governance; and to promote the participation of non-governmental organizations, business and intellectual communities in SADC activities. The SADCPF's organizational structure comprises four Organs, namely; Plenary Assembly, Executive Committee, Office of the Secretary General and Standing Committees. Its constitution however provides that the Forum may establish other organs on the approval of the Plenary Assembly. In all, the SADCPF is a well-established organization, with a detailed strategic plan outlining its planned activities and close relationships with the member parliaments.

A significant aspect of the SADCPF is intended to be its Leadership Center, which was formed in 2006 and is yet finding its legs. The Leadership Center was designed to meet the shared and recurrent need to facilitate continued training of Parliamentary Members and staff within the sub-region. To the extent this is possible, it will reduce the cost that individual parliaments currently have to incur sending their Members and staff for training outside the sub-region or even out of the continent. So far it is the only such body of its kind on the Continent.¹³ If this vision is realized in practice, this center will become a hub of legislative training that will boost the human resource capacity in the parliaments of the region.

¹² The SADC member states are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

¹³ In East Africa there has been sustained discussion since 2004 of creating an East African Parliamentary Institute among the National Assemblies of the region following several planning conferences hosted by the SUNY Kenya office with funding from the Ford Foundation and USAID. This institute would provide training and technical assistance services similar to those noted above for the Leadership Centre of the SADCPF.

SADCPF faces challenges in becoming fully institutionalized, especially a lack of resources. Although member countries make contributions to the Forum, its financial needs outstrip the contributions. In this context, the SADCPF also works in partnership with other organizations which hold similar goals and also possess funding, such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The capacity of its staff is another challenge. With a standing staff of around 20 people, the Forum needs more trained personnel to implement its intended programs.

Despite this, the SADCPF is a viable institution, which has already marked out a place in the governance framework of the SADC region. For example, its election observation program has made credible reports on elections taking place in most of its member countries in the last five years. The organization also enjoys strong political backing by the member parliaments, as evidenced by their regular contributions to the secretariat. SADCPF has been in existence for a while and has established a respectable tradition of program support to member countries, especially in training staff, sharing information and most importantly in its credible, robust election observation program¹⁴.

Associations of Public Accounts Committees – The SADCOPAC and the EAAPAC

One of the interesting and relatively unique features of the development of regional legislative organizations in sub-Saharan Africa has been the creation of formal associations comprised of the “watchdog” Public Accounts Committees of groupings of national parliaments. Two such groupings will be discussed – the SADC Organization of Public Accounts Committees (SADCOPAC) and the Eastern African Association of Public Accounts Committees (EAAPAC).

The parliamentary institution of Public Accounts Committees (PAC) may be viewed as one of the key institutions that contribute to oversight of the Executive branch and for the

¹⁴ The SADCPF has, since inception, observed elections in ten of its member countries with respectable reports written on the observations missions. It has a fully developed election observation manual. SADCPF attracted worldwide attention, and demonstrated its independence and integrity by breaking ranks with the AU and the Commonwealth, when it published a damning report on the Zimbabwe elections. It honestly described the elections as having been rigged and far from being free and fair. Of all African organisations, SADCPF stood out as the most objective and scientific group in the way it went about observing the Zimbabwe election.

monitoring of the use and abuse of public funds.¹⁵ Effective constitutional design has the Auditor General (AG) report directly to the parliament. And in the parliament it is the PAC that reviews the AG's reports on public finances and on that basis makes inquiries, recommendations and, in some cases, demands special audits vis a vis the Executive branch. In many parliaments the Chairman or Chairwoman of the PAC is the Leader of the Opposition and the strong tradition is that opposition MPs be well represented on the PAC.

Given this central role in oversight of the Executive branch, the formation by the national legislatures in parts of sub-Saharan Africa of associations of PACs represents an effort by these legislatures to perform this function better. Moreover, it may be mentioned that the ruling parties of these national legislature, and the executive branches that these ruling parties often strongly influence if not dominate, have sometimes opposed or been quite reluctant to support the formation of these associations. That they have nonetheless formed is a testament both to the efforts and commitment of many MPs as well as the growing institutional independence of parliaments in sub-Saharan Africa from a previous era of being "rubber stamps" for authoritarian governments.

The Southern African Development Community Organization of Public Accounts Committees (SADCOPAC)

In 1997, the Public Accounts Committees of the ten provincial parliaments of South Africa came together with the national Parliament to found the Association of Public Accounts Committees (APAC). In 2002, the APAC hosted a meeting of other PACs of National Parliaments within the SADC region. It is at this exploratory meeting in Kimberly, South Africa that the PACs from the SADC region resolved to form SADCOPAC, which was officially launched in October 2003 in Johannesburg, South Africa. The goals of the SADCOPAC, broadly speaking, are to build the capacity of the member PACs to more effectively execute their oversight roles and develop and disseminate information on best practices for PACs in the region. The organs of the SADCOPAC include the Annual General Meeting, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat.

¹⁵ Other key institutions that may be mentioned that greatly contribute to an oversight capacity are Question Time, when MPs can directly query Ministers of the Ruling Party, and Budget Offices (and, generally, a research capacity), which provide MPs access to detailed information on public finances so as to enable them to fulfil their legal mandate for public finance oversight.

The SADCOPAC is a fledgling organization that is still developing its structures and programs. It faces many challenges including the need to clarify governance arrangements and to develop secure and predictable funding mechanisms. The main challenge for SADCOPAC is to structure the organization in such a way that it can deliver on its mandate. There is the need for the SADCOPAC to develop a capacity-building program for the member PACs and this will, in turn, help create a reliable framework for implementing the organization's programs.

Despite being new and yet developing, the SADCOPAC already enjoys significant political support from the member parliaments. The South African Parliament, in particular, is influential and plays a significant role in influencing the other parliaments in the region to support SADCOPAC. In addition, SADCOPAC is supported strongly by the office of the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) of South Africa, with the secretariat staff operating from premises donated by the CAG. However, other member countries of SADCOPAC have not shown as strong a commitment as South Africa.

In addition, donors like the Canadian Development Agency (CIDA) through the Canadian Parliamentary Centre and USAID have contributed substantially to assist the SADCOPAC.

The Eastern Africa Association of Public Accounts Committees (EAAPAC)

In February 2004, the Public Accounts Committees (PACs) and Auditors General from six national and one regional Parliament from Eastern Africa met at Kenya's coastal town of Mombasa to discuss best practices for PACs as a key watchdog committee of Parliament.¹⁶ After three days of deliberation, the PACs present resolved to form a regional organization of PACs to enhance information sharing, conduct training, exchange ideas on best practices and strengthen the oversight voices of parliaments in the region. The Eastern Africa Association of Public Accounts Committees (EAAPAC) was born. It was agreed that the EAAPAC would have a leadership structure comprising an Executive Committee, formed by

¹⁶ The Parliaments represented at the workshop were Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Sudan, Rwanda and the East African Legislative Assembly, EALA. The workshop was organized by SUNY Kenya and the Kenya National Assembly with sponsorship from the Ford Foundation and USAID.

the chairs of the member PACs and a Secretariat to be based in the Kenya Parliament. The EAAPAC also resolved to hold annual meetings in various member countries. The EAAPAC constitution was approved at a first Annual General Meeting held in December 2005 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.¹⁷

EAAPAC is still very young and in its formative years. Its secretariat at the Kenya Parliament is discussing options for short-term support from several donor agencies. It however faces several challenges. First, it has not been ratified by all member Parliaments and this is delaying agreed financial contributions. Second, the formation of EAAPAC has been driven by a core group of MPs with strong political will to form the association. Given the high turnover of MPs during elections in the region, it is possible the EAAPAC may fail to become institutionalized before this core group dissipates. Lastly, EAAPAC, as with the SADCOPAC, faces the general challenge of a funding constraint.

Resources from donors such as USAID through the Parliamentary Strengthening Programs being implemented by SUNY in Kenya and Tanzania as well as from the Association of Western European Parliaments (AWEPA), World Bank Institute (WBI) and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), have helped support EAAPAC to its position so far. The organization will need further support to complete some of its initial set up preparations such as the development of a membership code, the best practices manual and the development of its Secretariat in the Kenya Parliament. Debate is also occurring within EAAPAC about expanding its membership to include more of the Eastern Africa countries like Ethiopia (which held elections recently), Somalia and the Sudan. There is also the sticky issue that one of its prominent member Parliaments, Tanzania, also belongs to SADCOPAC.

Future Roles of sub-Saharan African Regional Legislative Organizations

Regional parliamentary organizations in sub-Saharan Africa largely enjoy the support of the Parliaments and individuals members, although the national Parliaments themselves tend to

¹⁷ Indicating the growing recognition of the role the EAAPAC could play to support democratization and good governance, the meeting in Dar es Salaam was held with support from the Association of Western European Parliaments (AWEPA), USAID, DFID as well as the National Assembly of Tanzania.

lack the necessary resources to support them. Providing a summary view of the value-added of these regional organizations is the Hon. Peter Oloo Aringo from Kenya, who is the Vice Chairman of the Parliamentary Service Commission of the Kenya Parliament and one of the key architects of Parliamentary reform in East Africa. Hon. Aringo stresses that these organizations enable MPs to “share information and best practices for improved Parliamentary reform”. Aringo notes that sub-Saharan Africa “has suffered the tyranny of executive dictatorship for too long” and that “the path to enhanced democratic governance is institutionally strong legislatures that are able to effectively check the executives”. This however will not happen uniformly in Africa. It will have to be hastened by spreading the good news from more reformed Parliaments to less democratic legislatures and one of the emerging credible and reliable paths to do this is *vis a vis* regional parliamentary organizations.

But as regional parliamentary initiatives take root in sub-Saharan Africa, national governments are also likely to weigh their impacts in terms of national developmental interests. For example, the late Hon. Dr. Bonaya Godana, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Leader of the Official Opposition in Kenya, held the view that regional parliamentary organizations cannot succeed on their own without addressing attendant variables like economic integration. He argued that where economic integration issues have been successfully addressed, such as in the SADC region, parliamentary associations have been equally successful. Where economic and political suspicions exist and thereby less regional trade and economic harmony, regional parliamentary organizations cannot succeed. Therefore, according to Dr. Godana, in engaging with regional Parliamentary organizations, “it is necessary to assess the levels of regional harmony taking into account issues of economic relationships between member nations.”

B. Andean Region of Latin America

Context for Regional Legislative Organizations

As with the sub-Saharan region of Africa, the Andean region of Latin America, comprised of the nations of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, has also seen a significant growth and diversification of legislative organizations. Also, similarly, the origins of Andean

region legislative organizations have reflected the twin historical movements toward greater regional economic integration and toward the development and consolidation of democratic political systems as seen in sub-Saharan Africa. As noted by Hon. Victor Enrique Urquidi Hodgkinson of Bolivia, who is a former President of the Andean Parliament:

“In the case of the Andean Parliament it is clear that its existence is the product of an historical effort of integration coming from the countries of the sub-region. The objectives pursued by the Andean Parliament have always also been related to the promotion of democratic institutionalism, which has recently started to consolidate in the region after a series of military governments which were predominant starting at the end of the 1960s until the 1980s.”

In contrast to the tendency for the creation of legislative associations in sub-Saharan Africa, however, the pattern in the Andean region has been the formal establishment and progressive institutionalization of regional legislatures and international organization legislatures. This is the case clearly for the Andean Parliament as discussed in this section (there is also a Central American Parliament and an Amazonian Parliament). A more recent development is the creation of the MERCOSUR Parliamentary Commission, involving nations from the southern cone of Latin America, which appears to be a precursor for the creation of another regional legislature.¹⁸ None of these Latin American regional assemblies, however, has reached the status of being a parliament representing a community of nations, such as the European Parliament, which is endowed with legislative -- and not just deliberative -- authorities.

¹⁸ The Joint Parliamentary Commission of MERCOSUR was established by the Treaty of Asunción, Paraguay, signed on March 26, 1991, and the Ouro Preto (Brazil) Protocol signed and ratified by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay in December 1994. The Commission's charter endows it with consultative and deliberative powers, including attributions to issue declarations, dispositions and recommendations. As with the PARLATINO and PARLADINO, the objectives of this Parliamentary Commission are closely linked to the common market objectives of MERCOSUR. The Commission's tasks include efforts to achieve uniformity of commercial legislation among member nations and the approval of MERCOSUR legal instruments by the legislatures of member nations. On October 11, 2005, the Joint Parliamentary Commission of MERCOSUR decided took steps toward creating a regional assembly by approving a protocol regarding the “Foundations of the Political Agreement for the Installation of the MERCOSUR Parliament.”

The origins of the Latin American Parliament as well as the Andean Parliament may be specifically traced to prominent efforts in the 1960s to encourage Continental and sub-Continental economic integration. In part, this trend toward regional integration reflected the economic difficulties being experienced in many Latin American nations due to the problems (so-called “exhaustion”) of the predominant import-substitution economic development strategy. Thus, the creation of regional legislatures was part and parcel of the establishment of regional governance structures by the Executive branches of the member states, and these were primarily designed to assist economic integration.

It must also be noted that, by and large, the nations that formed these regional bodies were headed by military governments.¹⁹ Thus, in addition to making declarations and taking actions supportive of the policy and legislative shifts needed to promote economic integration, these bodies also functioned as forums for Latin American and regional diplomatic gestures. Regarding the latter, among the objectives historically established for the Latin American Parliament, for example, is to make declarations and support member nations in opposition to imperialist actions in Latin America.

Over the past several decades as authoritarian and dictatorial regimes were progressively replaced by electoral democracies with stronger representational characteristics, the roles of the standing regional legislative bodies were widened and strengthened. For example, political objectives such as the defense of democracy and internal pacification were progressively added to the standing economic orientations of the regional assemblies. Similarly, these regional organizations have also increasingly become fora for the discussion of, and networking around, social and environmental issues that transcended national boundaries – indigenous people’s rights, gender equality, sustainable development and so on.

The Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO)

On December 10, 1964 individual parliamentarians from various Latin American nations meeting in Lima, Perú signed a declaration of intent to establish a Latin American Parliament. This intent was formalized on November 16, 1987 through the signature at

¹⁹ In the Andean region, for example, Columbia was the only government headed by a democratic government when the Andean Parliament was created.

Lima, Perú of the Institutionalization Treaty by official representatives of eighteen Latin American nations (Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, República Dominicana, Uruguay and Venezuela).

Unlike the situation with respect to the Andean Parliament, the PARLATINO was not created and so is not subsumed under a broader regional governance agreement established by the Executive branches of member nations. In this regard, while the Cuzco 2004 South American Presidential Summit declared the need for a South American Community of Nations, to date there is no formal regional body composed of all Latin American governments. In this sense, PARLATINO stands out as an example of a regional legislature which did not have its origins with Executive Branch regional integration efforts.

The Institutionalization Treaty established the following objectives for PARLATINO:

1. Protection of democracy;
2. Latin American integration;
3. Non-intervention in states;
4. Auto determination (sovereignty) of states;
5. Political and ideological plurality as fundamental for a Latin American community that is democratically organized;
6. Juridical equality among the states;
7. Refusal of the use of force against the political independence and integrity of any state;
8. Resolution of any international controversy by peaceful, just and negotiated solutions; and
9. Prevalence of international law principles to support cordial relations and cooperation among different states.

The Statutes of PARLATINO, which became effective in 1991, and a set of Regulations, further spell out the objectives to be pursued as well as lay out organizational and financial aspects of the organization. In addition to an Assembly and a Board of Directors,

PARLATINO has established 17 Permanent Commissions dealing with diverse sets of issues, such as human rights, the environment, tourism, energy and mines, and so on.

The interviews conducted with Bolivian MPs for this report indicated that membership in PARLATINO and participation on Permanent Commissions was viewed as a good means for sharing information with and learning from MPs and experts from other nations. Examples mentioned included being able to participate in international conferences focused on decentralization and local governance issues, on the uses and problems associated with hydrocarbons and the environment, and on money laundering and anti-corruption measures. The latter, it may be noted, involves collaboration between PARLATINO and GOPAC (the anti-corruption legislative network profiled in the previous section).

The Andean Parliament (PARLANDINO)

The evolution of the PARLANDINO follows a history of regional economic integration efforts built into international agreements and treaties signed by Andean national governments starting with the Cartagena Agreement of 1969. This agreement eventually evolved into the Andean Community of Nations (1996) and the Andean Integration System, which is a complex cluster of agreements and treaties involving trade, business, labor, education, finance, justice, parliaments, ministerial and presidential summits.²⁰ The formal constitution of PARLANDINO took place in La Paz, Bolivia on October 25, 1979 through an agreement signed by representatives of Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Venezuela and Bolivia.

In contrast to the common practice of having member parliaments nominate participants, the PARLANDINO was established with the intent for the individual Members to be elected by direct ballot within member nations. On its face, this would seem to indicate a certain effort to enhance the representative element of this body. However, at best, this is a mixed organizational attribute. As put by Hon. Victor Enrique Urquidi Hodgkinson, President of the Andean Parliament from November 2003- November 2005:

²⁰ The Central American Parliament (PARLACEN) was similarly formed as one of a related complex of organizations. Specifically, PARLACEN was established in 1987 through a treaty signed in Guatemala that established at the same time “other political instances” of a regional character, such as presidential and ministerial summits and meetings of Judicial Branch representatives.

“I wonder if the electoral processes, that by means of a universal and secret vote determine the election of Andean MPs, is or is not justified, taking into consideration that this Parliament does not have legislative capacity. The Andean MPs are not related to their national Parliaments; while they are legitimate representatives they yet cannot influence the decisions taken in their own national legislative bodies. Actually, there are instances in which there are no regulations or framework that allow them to assist in the assemblies of their own national Congress.”

Furthermore, the member nations associated with the Andean Parliament have not harmonized their elections for this body. Thus, for example, for the current parliament, to date only Venezuela and Ecuador have elected their representatives. Perú is due to elect its representatives in April 2006. Colombia has the constitutional framework which authorizes the election of PARLANDINO representatives, but to date has not elected them. Bolivia still lacks the constitutional framework to this effect, but a constitutional convention is due to be elected on July 2, 2006.

Having noted this structural organizational issue, the PARLANDINO has nonetheless established a reputation as an active body which adds value. It is active in the Inter-Parliamentary Union, it collaborates regularly with the PARLATINO and with the MERCOSUR Parliamentary Commission, and it occasionally organizes international conferences of significant regional interest. An example is the International Seminar on Constitution Reforms in Bolivia, a topical event for a country moving toward the election of a Constituent Assembly. PARLANDINO's international conferences usually are supported by international organizations, such as the German Konrad Adenaur and Friedrich Ebert foundations and International IDEA.

Future Roles of Andean Regional Legislative Organizations

It is clear that Regional Legislatures, such as the PARLATINO and PARLANDINO, have functioned as structures which not only have directly addressed issues at regional levels – most prominently, regional economic integration – but have also empowered the MPs who

have participated to be more effective and informed legislators in their own countries. For example, Hon. Fernando Rodríguez Calvo of Bolivia, a longstanding participant in the PARLATINO, commented in an interview for this report:

“In my case, the experience I have acquired as a member of PARLATINO has been more than beneficial. At least 50% of my legislative and management initiatives presented to the Executive authority have been inspired from successful examples that I gathered at events organized or sponsored by PARLATINO.”

He provided as one example that the National Labor Program regarding employment in Bolivia was inspired from a PARLATINO event.

At the same time, the origins of the regional parliaments in initiatives led by Executive authorities, has meant that their initiatives tend to follow and be circumscribed by the interests of these authorities. In this context, it is not surprising that, despite the slow movement by these regional parliaments to seek to address political and social goals, their primary focus has remained on the economic and commercial issues associated with regional integration.

The more recent economic trends, however, may be undermining the viability of the original vision for regional economic integration and so challenging the rationale of these bodies. In particular, the regional integration vision was partially premised on the idea that sub-regions would benefit from preferential markets for member nations, and probably with assigned quotas allowing for subsidized exports. In the current period though the more open, free trade agreements promoted by the United States and international bodies such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) call this premise into question.

Since the original motivation for the Andean integration process was economic, this more recent evolution of the globalization process could lead to the PARLATINO and other regional legislatures to concentrate less on economic issues and more on political and social ones, including parliamentary strengthening and political integration. In this context,

development assistance agencies may be able to work more closely with these bodies as one of the ways of promoting democratic development and encouraging good governance.

While not specifically an Andean region initiative, the MERCOSUR Parliamentary Commission mentioned above is not only a more recently created body than are the PARLATINO and PARLADINO but, more significantly, it is an initiative of democratic governments. For example, the Joint Parliamentary Commission of MERCOSUR was present at the preparatory meetings for the 2004 Cuzco Presidential Summit which declared the need for a regional South American legislative organization not centered exclusively on trade and market considerations.

IV. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A. U.S. Foreign Assistance and Legislative Strengthening

Promoting development in poor and fragile states has increasingly been recognized as a fundamental goal of U.S. foreign policy. Thus, the National Security Strategy issued one year after the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States identified development, along with defense and diplomacy, as one of the three core areas of policy emphasis. USAID in its January 2004 White Paper, “U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century”, provides five operational goals that include multi-faceted attention to development challenges. These goals are:

- Promoting transformational development;
- Strengthening fragile states;
- Providing humanitarian relief;
- Supporting U.S. geostrategic interests; and
- Mitigating global and transnational ills.

As has become clear in this report, the growth of regional and international legislative organizations reflects that these organizations are increasingly important to processes of development. This is most clear with respect to the role of these associations in relation to worldwide trends toward a) democratization and good governance and b) regional economic and political integration.

In this context, development assistance agencies, such as USAID, are confronted with the complex task of considering if and how to work with or support these legislative organizations, depending on how such assistance would be consistent with overall agency goals. Certainly, there may be occasions when assistance for legislative organizations would be consistent with any of the five above-noted USAID operational goals. For example, the

mitigation of global and transnational ills such as HIV/AIDs, may sometimes be pursued effectively with targeted assistance being provided to a legislative network or legislative association that has identified HIV/AIDs as one of its core areas of activity.

For the following discussion, however, the focus will be more circumscribed and will consider the ways USAID Democracy and Governance (D/G) programs, particularly ones associated with strengthening national legislatures, may involve support for regional and international legislative organizations. This focus reflects the reality that the bulk of USAID resources that assist legislative bodies are provided in the context of country assistance programs and that legislative strengthening projects are funded primarily as a means to support overall D/G Strategic Objectives (SOs) that have been identified by USAID Country Missions on the basis of national-level analyses.

Goals of National Legislative Strengthening Programs

It is easy to understand why national legislative strengthening is a common component of national-level D/G SO frameworks for USAID, and is similarly seen in the technical approaches of other development assistance agencies concerned with promoting democracy and good governance. Simply put, a functioning legislative body is an essential component of a national democratic polity and contributes to a balance of power and checks and balances among the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government as well as provides a fundamental means through which the public will may be expressed.

Given their essential role in providing good governance, it is not surprising that legislatures are commonly referred to as the “people’s branch of government”. That is, the institution which provides the best avenue for translating citizen preferences and interests into policies and laws. In many contexts, however, legislatures fail to fulfill this role. In post-conflict environments, the legislature may not meet at all. In the context of authoritarianism, the legislature may be reduced to a “rubber stamp”, in the sense of being institutionally controlled by the Executive branch and not able to function independently. In such contexts, the structures of political parties and the government may provide scant incentive for MPs to act as the “people’s” representative. In equal measure, civil society organizations

and the other branches of government may see little purpose in engaging the legislature in substantive manners.

National legislative strengthening technical assistance programs are thus designed to help build legislative bodies that may not have been functioning at all and to make existing legislatures more effective in carrying out their core functions.²¹ The *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening* identifies these core functions of legislatures to be to “*represent people and groups*, reflecting and bringing their needs, aspirations, problems, concerns and priorities to the policymaking and policy-amending process; *Make laws*, the rules that govern a nation; and *Practice oversight*, assuring that laws and programs are carried out legally, effectively, and according to legislative intent.”²² As a matter of practice, legislative strengthening programs commonly fund technical assistance and activities so as to a) build political will within the legislature for legislative strengthening as a shared institutional goal, b) provide direct assistance to enable the legislature to better perform the three core functions just noted and c) assist the legislature to modernize its management and infrastructure systems so as to be able to meet the challenges associated with its growing organizational complexity.

Pros and Cons of Working with Different Types of Legislative Organizations

As USAID and other development assistance agencies consider linking national legislative strengthening programs to regional and international legislative organizations, several levels of pros and cons should be kept in mind.

Certainly, fiscal incentives exist to accomplish such linking as national-level projects could realize cost-savings through combining what would be similar-but-distinct country-level activities into a regional activity in partnership with an appropriate regional or international

²¹ The USAID Afghanistan Parliamentary Assistance Program, initiated in late 2004 in partnership with the State University of New York’s Center for International Development, is an excellent example of a comprehensive national legislative strengthening program. The USAID scope of work provided funding for activities to help design the basic structures of the parliament, which had not sat since the early 1970s, as well as for ongoing assistance to progressively assist the parliament to fulfil legislative functions established via the constitution and legal frameworks.

²² See *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, Technical Publications Series, Center for Democracy and Governance, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support and Research, USAID (Washington, DC: 2/2000), particularly the Executive Summary and Section IV. Designing Legislative Activities.

legislative organization. For example, a variety of staff training activities for legislative services -- e.g., committee, research, ICT and library, among others – are routinely provided at the level of national projects but could sometimes be provided collectively through a regional legislative organization. To the extent that USAID and other assistance agencies are facing tightening budgets and limited resources for D/G funding and long-term institutional development, such efforts to stretch resources and realize cost-savings may be particularly called for.

Another “pro” to consider is that despite the sincere desire of USAID and its partners involved with national-level legislative strengthening programs to ensure the sustainability of project activities and interventions, the fact is that such projects are designed with limited life-spans and there may not be the will and especially the wherewithal among project beneficiaries to continue them once the project is shut down. Legislative organizations that are not creations of an assistance agency are less likely to suffer this problem. Thus, by linking what may be national-level project activities and goals to a regional or international legislative organization, USAID may also be investing in more sustainable and long-run capacities. In this, while USAID or other development assistance agencies may well have shut down their field offices and filed all final reports associated with a particular national-level legislative strengthening program, the benefits provided may continue to accrue for MPs and staff of the target legislatures for many years to come.

Clearly, in terms of challenges, or “cons”, the diversity and often-yet-evolving capacities of regional and international organizations can make it difficult for USAID officers and implementing partners to determine which organization is most appropriate as a possible partner. Several common sense perspectives may be considered.

First, USAID needs to carefully scrutinize the value-added of activities that may be organized by legislative organizations and keep a wary eye out to avoid buying into what is sometimes referred to as “parliamentary tourism” for MPs and staff. Generally, due diligence is all that is required as USAID officers and implementing partners who are paying attention can distinguish between programs that appeal to MPs or staff by virtue of the location in which they are being held as opposed to the content being provided. Considerations may

include: a) is the program off-the-shelf or is it specifically designed for the participating MPs and staff?; b) is there any outcome to be achieved from the program other than a vague statement or summary of proceedings?; and c) is the program being organized, to greater or lesser extents, in consideration of the defined needs of participating MPs and staff or just on the basis of the capacities of the legislative association itself?

And second, some international organizations, particularly ones characterized in this report as International Organization Legislatures or Regional Legislatures, were formed by executive branches of government and the political cliques that controlled these executives. Thus, their purpose and structures may reflect legacies of authoritarianism. The challenge for USAID is that such organizations are simply not set up to empower legislative reformers or potential reformers. In fact, the reverse may be the case. For example, it is common that when national legislatures are the member institutions of a Regional Legislature, the Speaker, Clerk or Parliamentary Service Commission will select members to participate and, in cases where there is yet a dominant political clique, the selection process often isolates MPs who represent opposition parties or critical voices. Such “adverse selection” processes can even lead to the situation whereby the participants are actually chosen to thwart the formally announced purposes of the gatherings they attend.²³

USAID and other development assistance agencies can avoid buying into legislative organizations of this sort through examining the origins, structures and purposes served by the organization. To give a couple of examples, as a general rule Legislative Networks are much less likely to be subject to these adverse selection processes as they are generally voluntary organizations in which individual MPs self-select to participate. Thus, a GOPAC conference is likely to remain on message as regards anti-corruption issues, strategies and effective practices and so be a good forum for a participating MP to network with and learn from other MPs and experts who may be attending. Another example would be Legislative Associations which were formed by independent legislatures as opposed to being formed by executive branches. Such associations are likely to be effective vehicles for bringing together

²³ This important point is made by Martin Ulrich, “Effective Inter-parliamentary Networks: Observations and Examples”, Paper presented at the Parliamentary Centre’s Conference to establish the Inter-Parliamentary Network on the World Trade Organization (Beirut, Lebanon, March 2004).

reform-minded MPs and legislative staffers. This characterizes the associations of Public Accounts Committees that are forming in sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world discussed above which are formed from the bottom up by national PACs, many of which have Chairmen, and strong participation, from MPs in opposition parties. Such MPs are sincerely interested in oversight and accountability for the uses of public funds.

B. Recommendations for Working with Legislative Organizations

Based on the research for this report, the following are the primary recommendations for development assistance agencies for how to work with regional and international legislative organizations.

1. Work with legislative organizations to deliver training and capacity building activities simultaneously for multiple parliaments

The idea here, as mentioned above, is to generate cost sharing arrangements by providing technical assistance or training activities simultaneously for several parliaments within a particular region. Thus, for example, USAID is funding multiple legislative projects in regions such as sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa. The individual country strategies for these projects commonly have considerable areas of overlap: capacity-building activities related to committee strengthening, budget and public finance oversight, development of legislative services provision by staff, enhancement of legislative ties to the public and civil society organizations and so on. By developing common activities across projects, cost sharing will accrue to each project.

This recommendation would also provide several positive externalities consistent with the development objectives of development assistance agencies. First, the interviews conducted for this report illustrated that a benefit that MPs note from their engagements with regional and international legislative organizations is the opportunity to meet and network with other legislators and then this informal learning is carried by the legislators and used in their own country. And second, given the nature of legislative bodies and the commonly high turnover of MPs across electoral cycles, the need for technical assistance and training is recurrent. Nonetheless, many legislative bodies struggle to fund such assistance and training.

One solution to this problem is to develop strong and sustainable regional legislative organizations that provide collectively for needs that are shared across individual legislatures. As discussed above, the SADC Parliamentary Forum is an example of an emerging body providing legislative services commonly required by diverse parliaments.

2. *Work with legislative organizations to help develop political will for legislative strengthening among the leaders and members of national legislatures*

As has been commented on in this report and is more fully explained in the *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, the delivery of technical assistance to modernize a legislative body requires support and buy-in from a critical mass of legislators in the leadership and in the rank-and-file. Put otherwise, it is not possible to “strengthen” a legislature which, as a collective, does not want to be strengthened.

One of the most effective ways though through which USAID may nurture an understanding of and support for legislative strengthening is by bringing into contact with each other reform-minded MPs from different nations. Such cross-national contact enables MPs to inspire each other by virtue of the work they are doing in their own countries and subsequently to be able to network with each other over time. Considered from the point of view of an individual national legislative program, the effort to build political will may be particularly important at the beginning phases as it can help to nurture champions for legislative reform by putting them in contact with other reformers and providing them with what are often called “demonstration effects” of what has been possible in terms of legislative reform in other countries in the region or internationally.

Interestingly, cross-national contacts can also serve to lower the resistance or antagonism toward legislative strengthening programs that may exist among some MPs. In the current historical period, this may particularly be an issue for MPs from Arab or predominantly Muslim nations. The following quote from a Moroccan MP from an interview conducted for this report illustrates the extent or depth to which there may be such antagonism:

“The goal of the Inter-Parliamentary Union is to respect parallelism of form among parliaments. Of course, only parliamentary unions can do this. Not

governments working with parliaments and claiming to assist them, and not universities or any other kind of organization claiming to work with the parliaments. These latter forms are invalid and I am against them and against any agreement between a parliament and another form of institution.”

The most effective advocates for legislative strengthening programs are often MPs and staff members from nations that have benefited from well-designed and implemented programs in their own countries. Such advocates may be able to soften attitudes that might resist such softening for years if based only on claims and assertions from USAID officers and implementing partners.

3. *Work with legislative organizations to collect and disseminate information on effective practices for legislative strengthening*

While there is certainly a worldwide trend toward legislative modernization that is consistent with the overall spread of democratic institutions, there also are regionally-specific challenges and, sometimes, regionally-specific solutions to those challenges. For example, the political will to modernize legislative practices and infrastructure may be outstripping resource availability in a number of sub-Saharan nations in which USAID is active, such as Kenya and Tanzania. Thus, there is an increasing demand across a number of Parliaments for solutions to problems such as outdated ICT infrastructure, under-resourced research departments and inadequately trained Clerks capable of supporting increasingly active sector-based and watchdog committees.

Reputable regional legislative organizations could be good vehicles for collecting information and producing resources – such as Best Practices Manuals, databases of regionally-experienced professionals, and dedicated conferences -- that address at a regional level what are the emerging effective practices within nations for legislative strengthening. And knowledge of these effective practices can empower individual legislators. A particularly compelling example may be drawn from the comments by the Hon. Joram Macdonald Gumbo of Zimbabwe, who is the Chief Whip for the ruling Zanu (PF) party, in an interview for this report. He notes that:

“The greatest benefit from these regional organizations is the exposure to what is done in other jurisdictions. For example, concepts such as ‘Questions without Notice’, which are now enshrined in our Standing Order were copied from other legislatures. Further, as a result of our membership in the SADCPF, Zimbabwe decided that committees such as the Public Accounts Committee should be chaired by the opposition. Currently, a new code of conduct and ethics is being drawn up and, again, this is as a result of observing regional trends with SADCPF.”

USAID and other development assistance agencies may choose to directly program financial support to legislative organizations to provide such services. Alternately, it is possible that there could be collaboration across country-based projects to produce a common resource or service through a legislative organization that will benefit each of the contributing projects.

4. *Support financial viable or potentially viable legislative organizations when possible*

With many development assistance agencies seeking to support national legislatures, and with the proliferation of regional and international legislative organizations, the danger comes that the initiatives and activities of legislative organizations may reflect primarily or solely the strategic objective of these agencies to solicit external funds. A good litmus test as to the perceived value of the organization is the extent to which, at least over the long run, financial support for the organization flows from the regional legislatures and governments.

This concern may be most relevant with respect to the creation of parliamentary networks that are focused on narrow or single-issue agendas. While it is understandable and laudable that new information and communication technologies are being used to create “virtual” communities, including of legislators, it would be unfortunate if scarce resources are routinely devoted to networks with limited life spans to the detriment of helping to institutionalize and build the capacity of permanent organizations which are designed to address regional issues in a collective fashion.

There may be occasions in which the single-issue focus of a parliamentary network may make this network a perfect choice for support when USAID or other assistance agencies may have a strong, short-term interest in this issue in a particular country or region. At the same time, the nature of parliamentary networks, in which individual legislators choose to be members, means that these networks are unlikely to be supported over the long run by national and sub-national assemblies and their respective governments. This also raises the question as to the long-run financial sustainability of these parliamentary networks and if, in fact, a number of them are and will remain primarily dependent on funding from bilateral and multilateral donors and so ultimately will remain more responsive to these donors than to individual legislators who are members.

Conclusion

Regional and international legislative organizations are increasingly becoming relevant to the work of strengthening national legislatures. Taking advantage of the services provided or able to be provided by these organizations, however, remains a challenge for development assistance agencies. One issue is that, between the multiple types of legislative organizations and the sheer growth in their numbers, it is easy for assistance agencies to miss opportunities to work with them. Another issue is that, because technical assistance tends to be programmed through country-based strategic frameworks, it may not be easy to not see the strategic value of working with regional and international organizations.

To the extent though that the developmental and political challenges facing national legislatures are shared among countries within regions, and even internationally, there are good reasons for assistance agencies to consider working with legislative organizations. These would include sharing the costs for similar activities across country-based projects, generating political will for legislative strengthening by bringing potential reformers into contact with their peers internationally, developing information on and resources for disseminating effective regional practices for legislative strengthening, and developing regionally-based and sustainable legislative support organizations.

APPENDIX A: CONTACT INFORMATION FOR LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

A. International Organization Legislatures and Regional Legislatures

Andean Parliament

The Andean Parliament was created in 1979 and it currently represents the deliberative body of the SAI (Andean Integration System). The member states are Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, which all account for 120 million people. Its functions are related to participating in the legislative process of putting forward to the bodies of the System draft provisions of common interest. Moreover, it promotes the harmonization of member country legislation and the growth of cooperative and coordinated relations with the Parliaments of the Andean countries and of third countries.

General Secretary:

Santafé de Bogotá - Colombia

Avenida 13 No. 70-61.

Telephone: (571) 2173357

Fax: (571) 3482805

<http://www.parlamentoandino.org>

correo@parlamentoandino.org

Latin American Parliament

The Latin American Parliament (PARLATINO) was founded in 1964 in Lima and it represents a regional, unicameral and permanent organism comprising the national parliaments in Latin America democratically elected by popular suffrage. Among the top objectives set by this organization is Latin American Integration, the defense of democracy and human right, the peaceful and just resolution of international controversies and conflicts, etc.

Av. Auro Soares de Moura Andrade no. 564

Portao 10 – Barra Funda

Sao Paulo, Brazil

CEP 01156-001

Tel.: (5511) – 3824 – 6122

Fax: (5511) – 3824 - 0621

Central American Parliament

The Central American Parliament also known under the name PARLACEN is a permanent regional forum for political representation of Central American integration. It has its origins is the Contadora Group, launched in the 1980s. PARLACEN consists of 20 directly elected representatives from each member state (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Dominican Republic) plus the former presidents and vice presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama as well as 22 appointed representatives of the

Dominican Republic. The goals of the organization are to provide leadership for the strengthening of representative democracy in Central America and cooperation among the institutions dealing with the process of integration.

12 avenida 33-04 zona 05
Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala, 01005, C. A.
Teléfonos: (502) 2424-4600
Fax: (502) 2424-4610
www.parlacen.org

Pan-African Parliament

The Pan-African Parliament unites MPs from across the African continent. It was founded in March 2004 and its ultimate goal is to evolve into a full legislative institution, whose members will be elected by universal adult suffrage. Among the declared goals set by this institution are to facilitate and implement policies leading to the African Union, to promote democracy, to foster peace and stability in the region, to encourage good governance, and to call for transparency and accountability in member states.

Pan-African Parliament
Gallagher Estate
Private Bag X16
Midrand 1685
Gauteng Province
Tel: +27(0)11 545 5000
Fax: +27(0)11 805 1939
<http://www.pan-african-parliament.org>

European Parliament

The history of the European Parliament goes back to 1952 when the 78 members of the European Coal and Steel Industry established a “Common Assembly”. This Assembly got expanded in March 1958 when it got to also cover the European Economic Community and Euratom and the name European Parliamentary Assembly was adopted. The final name of European Parliament became effective starting in 1962. This Parliament represents the parliamentary body of the European Union and its members are directly elected by the EU citizens once every five years. Although it cannot initiate legislature, which makes it different from any of the national parliaments, it can amend or veto any proposal for an EU law or directive introduced by the Commission.

<http://www.europarl.eu.int>

East African Legislative Assembly

The East African Legislative Assembly is the legislative arm of the East African Community, which represents an intergovernmental regional organization which seeks to promote social, economic and political cooperation between the African nations of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. The inauguration of this Assembly took place in 2001, which was the proper occasion for the countries to emphasize the need for cooperation in major interest areas such as transport, communication, security, immigration and the promotion of the investment in the region.

Baltic Assembly

The Baltic Assembly is an international organization, founded in 1991, with the purpose of promoting cooperation between the parliaments of the Republic of Estonia, Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Lithuania. According to its Statutes, the Baltic Assembly is a consultative and coordinating body set to discuss joint projects of mutual interest, addressing common problems related to international, economic, cultural and political issues. Among its most noticeable achievements we can enumerate: the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States, development of the common Baltic economical, educational and information technology space.

Secretariat of the Baltic Assembly:

Tornu 4, Kazarmas III, section C, room 301

Riga, LV 1050 LATVIA

Tel.: (+371) 7225 178

Fax: (+371) 7225 366

<http://www.baltasam.org/cover.htm>

B. Legislative Associations

Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

The IPU is one of the most well-established legislative associations and was founded in 1889. Over one hundred and forty parliaments are members of the IPU. The IPU cooperates closely with the United Nations while a number of regional legislative assemblies are considered associate members. The IPU holds several worldwide conferences each year, maintains a significant public library and has created a online databases (PARLINE and PARLIT) on parliaments and related research. The IPU is also active worldwide as a provider of legislative strengthening services to its members.

5, chemin du Pommier

Case postale 330

CH-1218 Le Grand-Saconnex / Geneva

Switzerland

Telephone: (4122) 919 41 50, Fax: (4122) 919 41 60

www.ipu.org

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA)

The CPA is a composite of different branches formed in different legislatures of the Commonwealth (UK) that are Parliamentary democracies. Founded in 1911, the main missions of the CPA include those of good governance, of democracy and elections, and of human rights, while special attention is also paid to gender sensitizing. CPA programs provide a regular means of consultation among Commonwealth Members for fostering co-operation and promoting the study of and respect for good parliamentary practice. The CPA holds an annual Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference where Global political issues and developments in the parliamentary system are analyzed.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

Suite 700, Westminster House
7 Millbank, London SW1P 3JA, UK
tel: +44 20 7799 1460
fax: +44 20 7222 6073
pirc@cpahq.org

Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU)

Founded in the wake of the October War of 1974 when there was a pull for Arab Solidarity, the AIPU acts as a geopolitical group of the IPU. There are 22 member states in the AIPU. In addition to strengthening Arab Solidarity, the mission of the AIPU also includes expanding union membership, developing and maintaining relationships with organizations such as the Arab League and holding symposiums and forums to discuss issues specific to the union. The AIPU also publishes a quarterly entitled, "The Arab Parliament" in addition to bulletins and pamphlets.

Mr. Nour Eddine Bouchkouj
Secretary General, Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union
Damascus
Syrian Arab Republic
Fax: +963 11 613 02 24
Tel.: +963 11 613 00 42 / 613 02 23
info@arab_ipu.org

African Parliamentary Union (APU)

In some way similar to the AIPU, the APU also functions as a geopolitical group. Founded in 1976 its main purposes are to bring together the parliamentary institutions of all African States, to encourage contacts among African Parliamentarians and between African Parliamentarians and Parliamentarians of other continents, and to contribute to the strengthening of the parliamentary institution in Africa, the promotion of democracy, and the realization of the objectives of the Organization of African Unity for the establishment of a lasting peace. The APU has 35 member states.

African Parliamentary Union.
Secretariat-General
30 Boulevard Roume - Plateau district.
P.O. Box V 314 Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire.
Phone : (225) 20 21 86 05 / 20 21 37 57 (switchboard)
(225) 20 21 21 77 (Secretary-General's office)
Telecopy : (225) 20 22 20 87
upa@africaonline.co.ci

Asian-Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF)

The APPF is a loosely-structured and non-exclusive forum of national parliamentarians who participate either as delegates of their parliaments or in their personal capacities. The APPF, which was founded by the former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, seeks to provide opportunities for national parliamentarians of the Asia Pacific region to identify and discuss matters of common concern and interest and to highlight them in a global context; to deepen their understanding of the policy concerns, interests and experiences of the

countries of the region; to examine the critical political, social, and cultural developments resulting from economic growth and integration; to encourage and promote regional cooperation at all levels on matters of common concern to the region; and to play the roles of national parliamentarians in furthering in their respective countries a sense of regional cohesion, understanding and cooperation.

www.appf.org.pe

Southern African Development Community Organization of Public Accounts Committees (SADCOPAC)

The SADC Parliamentary Forum is the Community's parliamentary institution, and was established in 1996 in accordance with the SADC Treaty. Membership is open to the national assemblies of parliaments whose countries are members of the SADC. The SADCPF provides a regional mechanism at the legislative level to help establish the legislative, regulatory, policy, institutional and democratic environments for regional integration.

Secretary General: Dr. Kasuka Mutukwa
Executive Assistant: Mr. Takawira Musavengana
Tel: +264 61 246461, 249321
Fax: +264 61 254642
info@sadcpf.org
www.sadcpf.org

Postal Address:
Private Bag 13361 - WINDHOEK
Namibia

Physical Address:
SADC Forum House
Parliament Gardens, Love Street / off Robert Mugabe Avenue
Windhoek, Namibia

National Conference of State Legislatures(NCSL)

NCSL provides research, technical assistance and opportunities for policymakers to exchange ideas on the most pressing state issues. NCSL is an effective and respected advocate for the interests of state governments before the U.S. Congress and federal agencies. The National Conference of State Legislatures' Executive Committee is the governing body and also implements the policies and supervises the disbursement of funds.

Email: ncslnet-admin@ncsl.org

Assemblée Parlementaire de La Francophonie(APF)

APF was founded in Luxembourg in 1967 and acts as a bridging organization of the many different Francophonie nations and their different Assemblies. The assembly is comprised of four different committees, each addressing a different issue.

Siège et Secrétariat général

235, bd Saint-Germain 75007 Paris - France
Tél. : 33 1 40 63 91 60
Télécopie : 33 1 40 63 91 78

C. Legislative Networks

Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA)

(PGA) is a unique network of over 1300 legislators from 114 parliaments engaged in a range of action-oriented initiatives that promote democracy, peace, justice and development throughout the world. PGA works under the political direction of a 15-member Executive Committee. This structure allows PGA to effectively push policies at the national, regional, and international levels. The leadership also includes an International Council that represents all the regions of the world. PGA works closely with the UN system through the advisory body of the United Nations Committee for PGA comprising ambassadors to the UN, high-level UN officials, and some leading NGO representatives.

211 East 43rd Street, Suite 1604
New York, NY 10017
U.S.A.
Tel: 212-687-7755
info@PGAction.org

Global Legislators for a Balanced Environment (GLOBE)

GLOBE provides a forum in which parliamentary leaders from different countries work together to forge balanced, informed policy responses to pressing global environmental challenges. The main objectives of the organization are to enhance the awareness in parliaments of international environmental policy and legislation; to promote and coordinate efforts to support such policies and legislation; and to contribute to generating a global debate on environmental policy by creating networks among parliamentarians and opportunities for exchanges between parliaments on environmental policy questions.

Globe International Secretariat
C/o GLOBE USA
Attn: Timothy Bagley
1636 R Street NW, Third Floor
Washington, DC 20009
Tel: 202 293 9090
Fax: 202 293 9098

Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB)

The First World Bank conference with Parliamentarians, held in The Hague in May 2000, was organized by the European Vice Presidency of the World Bank with the intention to inform MPs (Members of Parliament) about the Bank's role in poverty reduction, to exchange views on the role of parliamentarians in international development and to engage MPs in reflection on future development challenges. From this initial meeting, a core group of parliamentarians who were interested in pursuing the dialogue on a regular basis launched

the initiative which has today become the Parliamentary Network on the World Bank (PNoWB).

PNOWB Secretariat
66 avenue d'Iéna
75116 Paris, France
tel: (33) 1 40 69 30 55
fax: (33) 1 47 23 74 36
secretariat@pnowb.org
www.pnowb.org

Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC)

The Global Organization Against Corruption (GOPAC) is an international network of parliamentarians dedicated to good governance and combating corruption throughout the world. Founded in 2002 at a conference hosted by the Canadian House of Commons and Senate, GOPAC has over 400 members around the world, organized into regional and national chapters.

Parliamentary Centre
255 Albert St., Suite 802
Ottawa Ontario K1P 6A9 CANADA
Tel: 613-237-0143
Fax: 613-235-8237
parlcent@parl.gc.ca

African Parliamentary Network against Corruption (APNAC)

The African Parliamentarians' Network against Corruption is Africa's leading network of parliamentarians working to strengthen parliamentary capacity to fight corruption and promote good governance. The APNAC Annual General Meeting is held every two years.

Augustine Ruzindana
MP (Uganda)
Parliament of Uganda
P.O. Box 7178 or Box 9503
Kampala, Uganda
Tel: 256-41-256-903
Fax: 256-41-256-901
chairman@apnacafrica.org

Parliamentary Network for NEPAD

The NEPAD strategic framework document arises from a mandate given to the five initiating Heads of State (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa) by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to develop an integrated socio-economic development framework for Africa. The 37th Summit of the OAU in July 2001 formally adopted the strategic framework document.

The Development Bank of SA
1258 Lever Road

Midrand (Johannesburg)
1685
South Africa Tel: +27 11 313 3716
NEPAD Secretariat P.O. Box 1234
Halfway House
Midrand
1685

Governance Program

+27 11 313 3574 (tel)
+27 11 313 3583 (fax)
cunninghamn@nepad.org

Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament

The Parliamentary Network for Nuclear Disarmament (PNND) is a global network of parliamentarians from more than 40 countries working to prevent nuclear proliferation and achieve nuclear disarmament. They are dedicated to providing parliamentarians worldwide with up to date information on nuclear weapons policies and to helping parliamentarians become engaged in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament initiatives.

Aotearoa-New Zealand — Program Office
Alyn Ware, Global Coordinator
PO Box 23-257
Cable Car Lane
Wellington, Aotearoa-New Zealand
Tel: +(64) 4 385-8192
Fax: +(64) 4 385-8193
Alyn@pnnd.org

APPENDIX B: ILLUSTRATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carothers, Thomas, 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Carothers, Thomas, 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm" in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 13, No. 1.

Charnovitz, Steve, 2002. *Trans-parliamentary Associations in Global Functional Agencies*. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=324320>.

Cutler, Robert M., 2001. "The Emergence of International Parliamentary Institutions: New Networks of Influence in World Society," pp. 201-209 in *Who is Afraid of the State? Canada in a World of Multiple Centres of Power*, ed. Gordon S. Smith and Daniel Wolfish. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Diamond, Larry, 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Friedman, Thomas L., 2005. *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux Press.

Huntington, Samuel P., 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Juraitis, Julia and Martin Ulrich, no date. *The Inter-Parliamentary Forum of the Americas (FIPA): Creating a Virtual Parliament*. For copies, contact Martin Ulrich, ulricm@parl.gc.ca.

Nakamura, Robert and John Johnson, 1997. *Legislative/Parliamentary Experience Inventory and Analysis*. Center for Democracy and Governance, Global Bureau, USAID.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas, ed., 1995. *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ulrich, Martin, 2004. *Effective Interparliamentary Networks: Observations and Examples*. Parliamentary Centre Conference to establish the Inter-Parliamentary Network on the World Trade Organization. Beirut, Lebanon.

USAID, 2000. *USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*. Center for Democracy and Governance, Global Bureau.

USAID, 2004. *U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century*. Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination

USAID, 2005. *Fragile States Strategy*.

Williams, John, 2004. *Building Parliamentary Networks* (full reference being sought).

Witte, Jan Martin, Wolfgang H. Reinicke and Thorstein Benner, 2000. "Beyond Multilateralisms: Global Public Policy Networks" in *International Politics and Society*, Vol. 2.