## Index

Adenauer Stiftung, 13; affiliation with Christian Democratic Party, 78; budget of, 85; campaign-related focus in Russia, 151; Guatemala, party aid in, 104, 105; Latin America, party aid in, 86; limited effectiveness of party aid in Latin America, 164; Mozambique, party aid in, 108; Russia, party aid in, 102, 150 advice and counsel: party aid as, 113-14 Africa: distrust of political parties, 229n2; dominant parties, 36-37; ethnic basis of parties, 37; fraternal party aid in, 117; ideological incoherence of parties, 36; malign dominant party system, 70; multipartyism in, 34; neopatrimonialism in, 37-38; party aid to, 87, 88-89; party development in, 34-38; percentage of women in parliaments, 209; political systems in, 38; poverty and party development, 38; weakness of parties, 35-36 African National Congress (ANC) (South Africa), 36, 37; ideological identification of, 117; party aid to, 87, 88, 228 Afrobarometer Network, 229n2 aggregation, political, 9

Ágh, Atilla, 165 Aiding Democracy Abroad (Carothers), 15 Albania, 153 Alfred Mozer Foundation, 101 Algeria: emasculated party system of, 69; Islamist movement in, 41, 58; party development in, 39 Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) (Peru), 32, 164 Aliyev, Ilham, 155 Alliance of Liberties (Morocco), 109 American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) (Peru), 32, 164 ANC. See African National Congress (ANC) (South Africa) Angola, 87, 88 apartheid, 164 APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (Peru), 32, 164 Al Arabiya, 229n2 ARENA (National Republican Alliance) (El Salvador), 224 Argentina: fraternal party aid, 117; party corruption, 67; party development, 31; stable distributed party system, 70, 226 Aristide, Jean-Bertrand, 147, 155, 159 Armenia, 29, 229n2

Asia. See East and Southeast Asia: South Asia AWEPA (European Parliamentarians for Africa), 108 Azerbaijan, 29, 90 Bahrain, 39 Baltic States, 88, 229n2 Bangladesh: party aid to, 89; party development in, 42, 44; stable distributed party system, 70, 226 Belarus: authoritarian government of, 26; malign dominant party system of, 71, 222; party aid to, 132 benign dominant party systems, 72, 72f, 223 Benin, 35 Berger, Oscar, 170, 178 Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party), 43 Bilal, Gulmina, 229n2 bilateral aid agencies, 138 BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) (India), 43 bloc building, 144-45 Bolivia: decentralization and party power, 34; indigenous movement in, 137; NDI information gathering in, 129; party development in, 32; stable distributed party system, 71, 226 Böll Stiftung, 78, 85 Botswana: benign dominant party system, 70, 223 Botswana Democratic Party, 36 Brazil: party development in, 32; unstable distributed party system, 68, 70, 224 briefcase parties, 6, 21 British Conservative Party: Mozambique, party aid in, 108; as programmatic party, 52; Romania, party aid in, 100; Russia, party aid in, 102 Brumberg, Daniel, 40 Bulgaria, 22, 153 Burma, 44-45 cabals, political, 6-7

Cabrara, Alfonso Portillo, 105 cadre parties. See elite-based parties Cambodia: multipartyism in, 45; partisan aid to, 155; party aid to, 89; personalism in politics, 46 Cameroon, 36 campaign aid, 92-94; effectiveness of, 184-86; fraternal, 150-51; party building vs., 143, 149, 151. See also election aid candidate selection, 95 Casablanca bombings (2003), 174 catch-all parties, 52-53 CCM (Revolutionary Party of Tanzania), 206 Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 99-101 Central America, 229n2 Central and Eastern Europe: distrust of political parties, 23, 24, 229n2; fraternal party aid in, 117; limited effectiveness of party aid, 165-66; partisan aid to, 153-54; party aid to, 88; party development in, 22-25, 237n4; party weaknesses in, 24; post-Communist political structures in, 22; proto-party system in, 23; stable distributed party systems, 71 Centrist Democrat International, 83 Cerezo, Vinicio, 104 change factors in party reform, 131-32 Charter 77 (Czechoslovakia), 22 Chávez, Hugo, 9, 62, 70, 157, 159 Chile, 31, 155 China, 44-45 Christian Democracy: failure in Latin America, 164 Christian Democratic Party (Chile), 164 Christian Democratic Party (Germany), 78 Christian Democratic Party (Venezuela), 164 Christian Democrat International, 83, 173 Christian Social Union (Germany), 78 civic activism: elitist parties vs., 137 civic education, 91, 136

civil society organizations: as alternative to parties, 9–10; bridging gap with parties, 134–35; limitations of, 89, 213–14; narrow definition of civil society, 134–35; party aid and, 91, 134–35; party ties in Central and Western Europe, 23; in Third Wave democracies, 55

civil war: El Salvador vs. Guatemala, effects of, 224–25

clans: in post-Soviet party development, 29–30

coalition-building, 92-93

Cold War: covert party aid in, 142–43; partisan aid as extension of, 154

- Colombia: decentralization and party power, 34; distrust of political parties, 229n2; party development in, 31
- Colorado Party (Paraguay), 32

communication technologies: individualism and, 34

Communism: failed liberalizing reforms ending, 25; as single-party system, 22

Communist Party: re-emergence in Central and Eastern Europe, 23; Russian, 27, 102; Soviet, 86

community development organizations, 135

- conservatism: necessity for, 151-52
- Conservative Party (Great Britain). See British Conservative Party

Constantine Karamanlis Institute for Democracy (Greece), 79–80

context, political: party reform and, 131–32; standardized party aid ignoring, 120, 121

corruption: in party finance, 59, 67, 196–97; political, 67, 152–53

Costa Rica, 31

- counseling, 113-14
- covert party aid, 142–43
- crisis of parties: established vs. Third Wave democracies, 66–68; in Latin America, 30–33; symptoms of, 66

Cuba, 132 Czech Republic, 165

decentralization, 34

decolonization, 45, 48

democracies, new or struggling. See Third Wave democracies

democracy aid, 14; effects of, 161–62; expansion in 1990s, 87; institutional modeling in, 112; lack of scholarly analysis, 14–15; political sovereignty and, 156; subfields of, 14; suspicion about, 142

Democratic Action (AD) (Venezuela), 32, 164

Democratic Convention (Romania), 99, 100, 101

Democratic Party (U.S.), 123

democratic performance: crisis in Latin America, 30–31

- Democratic Progressive Party (Taiwan), 47, 57
- Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) (Mexico), 32

democratization: antipolitical legacies and, 63–64; compression of, 54; party development and, 48; party weaknesses challenging, 12–13, 34, 213

- Demos (Finland), 81, 84
- Department of International Development (Great Britain), 129
- Dhlakama, Afonso, 106, 107, 173, 179–80

Diamond, Larry, 54

diplomacy, 143-45

disempowerment syndrome, 153

distance learning, 128-29

distributed party systems, 70–71, 72f, 73, 224–26

Di Tella, Torcuato, 32

East and Southeast Asia: fraternal party aid in, 117; party development in, 44–47 East Asia Barometer, 229n2

Eastern Europe. See Central and Eastern Europe Ebert Stiftung: budget of, 85; Guatemala party aid, 104, 105; Latin American aid, 86-87, 164-65; Morocco party aid, 109; Mozambique party aid, 108; party aid of, 13, 78-79; Romania party aid, 101; Russia, limited aid to, 150; South Africa aid, 86-87 economic policy, market-based, 62 economic reforms: negative impact on parties, 33-34 Ecuador, 32 effectiveness of party aid, 161-89; absence of transformative impact, 163-66; campaigning improvements, 184-86; citizen indifference to party reform, 180; conditions and structures limiting, 182-84; emergent norms for parties, 188-89; evidence of, 163-64; in Guatemala, 170-72; in Indonesia, 175-76; lasting positive results, lack of, 164-65; limited effects, causes of, 176-84, 214-15; in Morocco, 173-75; in Mozambique, 172-73; organizational development and, 186-88; organizational weaknesses limiting, 180-81, 182; patronage systems limiting, 181; positive effects, 184-89; reasonable expectations for, 217–19; regime change and, 164; resistance by party leadership limiting, 177-80; in Romania, 166-68; in Russia, 168-70; weakness of standard method, 184 Egypt: party development in, 39; suppression of Islamist movement, 41, 58 election aid: campaigning improvements, 184-86; indirect party aid for, 90-91; in Kenya, 146-47. See also campaign aid

electoralism: catch-all parties and, 52; compressed development in Third Wave democracies, 53-58; established vs. Third Wave democracies,

67-68; long development in established democracies, 50-53; partisan U.S. party aid fostering, 153-54; post-World War II dominance of, 53 electoralist parties: catch-all vs. programmatic, 52; relaunching of, 57; subtypes of, 54 electoral system reform, 191-92 electronic communication. See information technology elite-based parties: characteristics, 51; civic activism vs., 137; in established democracies, 51; in Latin America, 31-32; in South Asia, 42 El Salvador, 32, 224-25 emasculated party systems, 69, 221-22 enforcement capacity: strengthening of, 200 Erdmann, Gero, 126 Escuela de Gobierno Tomás Moro (Thomas More School of Government) (Colombia), 128-29 Esteves, Fernando, 229n2 European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA), 108 evaluation of programs: external, 140-41; NIMD programs, 126-27; Stiftungen, 126; U.S. party institutes, 126-27. See also effectiveness of party aid excellence of programs: party aid structures encouraging, 137-41 exchange visits and study tours: diplo-

matic vs. party building goals, 144; party aid and, 113, 115; shortcomings, 122

Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) (El Salvador), 224 Fidesz (Hungary), 165 field offices, 140 financial irregularities. See party finance foreign ministries: party aid funding of, 138 - 39former Soviet states: See post-Soviet

states

258

## INDEX

Forum of Political Parties (Guatemala), 205 Fondation Jean-Jaurès (France), 79 Fondation Robert Schuman (France), 80 France: party finance irregularities, 67 fraternal party aid, 116–17; partisanship in, 149–53 Free Democrat Party (Germany), 78 Freedom Party (Austria), 53 Frelimo (Mozambican Liberation Front), 37, 152-53, 172-73 French Socialist Party, 101 Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. See Ebert Stiftung Friedrich Naumann Stiftung. See Naumann Stiftung Fundación Pablo Iglesias (Spain), 79 Gabon, 36 Gaidar, Yegor, 102 Garcia, Alan, 164 General Peace Accords (Mozambique), 106 Georgia: acceptance of democracy, 28; ethnic conflicts in, 29; NIMD information-gathering in, 129-30; partisan party aid in, 156; party aid to, 89, 90, 222; party development in, 26; Rose Revolution (2003), 156 Germany: party finance irregularities, 67 Ghana, 35 globalization: economic policy and, 62 grants, 114 Greater Romania Party, 118 Green parties, 53 Green Party (Germany), 78 Guatemala: civil war in, 224-25; effectiveness of party aid, 170-72; interparty dialogues in, 204-6; NIMD multiparty aid to, 114, 119; oneterm presidency in, 170; party aid to (case study), 104-6; party development in, 32; party instability in, 68, 70, 170, 224-26

Guatemalan Christian Democratic Party, 104 Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), 104, 171 Gunther, Richard, 54

Haider, Jörg, 53

Haiti, 147, 155

Handbook on Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns (International IDEA), 198

Handbook on Monitoring Election Campaign Finance (Open Society Justice Initiative), 200

Hanns Seidel Stiftung. See Seidel Stiftung

Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 78, 85

Honduras, 31

Hungarian Democratic Forum, 165

Hungary, 153, 165

Hun Sun, 155

Huntington, Samuel, 3

Hussein, Saddam, 39

ideological identification of parties: balance in party aid, 149–50; fraternal party aid and, 116–18; incoherence in Sub-Saharan Africa, 36; valuesbased aid relationships and, 116; weakness in Third Wave democracies, 61–62, 117

IFES (International Foundation for Election Systems), 197, 202

Iliescu, Ion, 100, 101

impetus for reform, 199

India, 42, 43, 44

Indian National Congress (India), 42, 43, 50

Indian People's Party (Bharatiya Janata Party), 43

Indonesia: campaigning improvements in, 185; dictatorship under Suharto, 45; effects of party aid, 175–76; ideological identification of parties, 117; lack of support for women candidates, 209; openness to party

change, 132, 175; party aid to, 89, 110-11; party comparison with Morocco, 173-74; party development in, 47; party finance reform, 202; political representation in, 137 information gathering, 129-30 information technology, 34, 52-53, 55-56 Inkatha Party (South Africa), 117 innovation, 137-41 institutional boundaries, 227 institutional modeling, 112, 125 Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) (Mexico), 32 Inter-American Democratic Charter, 82 Inter-American Development Bank, 30, 82 Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, 30, 82, 133 interest articulation, 9 International Democrat Union, 83 International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), 197, 202 International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA): connecting citizens to parties in Peru, 136; handbook on electoral systems design, 192; information gathering in Latin America, 130; party aid of, 81, 82; on party financing systems, 198; party law aid in Peru, 194-95; regional party workshops of, 133 International Republican Institute (IRI): budget of, 85; distance learning programs, 129; fostering collaboration among women, 207; Guatemala, party aid in, 104–5; Indonesia, party aid in, 110; Morocco, party aid in, 109, 173; multipartisan aid to Muslim countries, 153; partisan aid in postcommunist Europe, 153-54; party aid of, 13, 79, 87; party crossovers of staff, 80; political aid to Haiti, 147, 157; Romania, party aid in, 99-100; Russia, party aid in,

102–3, 151; training of trainers in Serbia, 128 interparty dialogues, 202–6 interventionism, 157 investigative journalists: training of, 91 Iran, 39 Iraq, 39, 54–55 IRI. *See* International Republican Institute (IRI) Islamist movements, 41–42, 58 Israel, 39 Italy, 67, 68

Janda, Kenneth, 193

Japan, 45

Jordan: distrust of political parties, 229n2; emasculated party system of, 69; Islamist movement in, 41; multipartyism in, 39

Kazakhstan, 26, 27

Kenya, 71, 146-47

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. See Adenauer Stiftung

Kosovo, 120, 178

Koumintang (KMT) (Taiwan), 47

Kuchma, Leonid, 155

Kuwait, 39, 41

Kyrgyzstan, 27, 90

Labour Party (Great Britain), 101

Laos, 44–45

Latin America: crisis of parties in, 30–33; distrust of political parties, 229n2; economic reforms, 33; elite vs. mass parties in, 31–32; fraternal party aid in, 117; interparty dialogues in, 203–4; limited party aid effectiveness in, 164–65; party aid to, 89; party development, 30–34; party institutionalization in, 237n8; political repression in, 32; stable distributed party systems, 71 Lavalas (Haiti), 147

Justice and Development Party (PJD) (Morocco), 150, 174–75

leader-centric political parties, 6-7 leadership academies, 110-11, 128 Lebanese Cedar Revolution, 39 Lebanon, 39 legislative funding of party aid, 139 legislative strengthening, 91, 96-97 Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 53 Lewis, Paul, 23 Liberal Democratic Party (Russia), 102, 118 Liberal International, 83 liberalization: multipartyism as, 40; party development and, 48-49 Libya, 39 Linz, Juan, 238n11 Lukashenko, Alexander, 155 Lula da Silva, Luiz Inácio, 62 Luxemburg Stiftung, 78, 85 Mainwaring, Scott, 237n8, 238n11 Malaysia, 45 Mali, 35 malign dominant party systems, 69-70; opposition parties in, 71; party development, 72, 72f, 222-23 Marcos, Ferdinand, 45 market reforms, 33-34 mass-based parties, 21; in established democracies, 51-52; in Latin America, 31-32; types of, 51 mass media: individualism and, 34; party development and, 58; weakness in Russia, 222. See also information technology media assistance, 14, 183 methods of party aid, 112-41; advice and counsel, 113-14; autopilot pattern of, 130; bridging civil society/party gap, 134-35; capacitating persons from recipient countries, 140; changing approaches, 215–16; distance learning programs, 128-29; exchange visits and study tours, 113; field offices, 140; flexible resource approach, 120-21, 130, 141; fraternal vs. multiparty,

116-20; improvement strategies, 127-32; information gathering, 129-30; innovation in, 137-41; institutional modeling, 112, 125; material assistance and grants, 114; mythic model of parties, 123-24; nonevaluative approach to, 125-27; operational effectiveness in, 139-41 (See also effectiveness of party aid); outside evaluation of, 140-41; partnership relations, challenges to, 130-31; perceptual gap between providers and recipients, 121; political latitude from funders, 141; political representation, 135-37; regional party meetings, 133; relationshipbuilding as goal of, 125; role configuration in, 114-15; standard methods, 113-16, 120, 124-27; strategic approach to, 131; structural factors in, 219-26; sustained commitments, 140; technical assistance, 124, 199; training (See training activities); transition in, 216; weakness of standard method, 120-27, 184, 215. See also party systems aid

- Mexico: distrust of political parties, 229n2; electoralism in, 57; party corruption in, 67; party development in, 32
- Middle East: fraternal party aid in, 117;
  Islamist movements in, 41–42;
  malign dominant party systems in, 70; multipartyism in, 39–40; opposition parties in, 41; party development, overview, 38–42; republics vs. monarchies, 39–41; unpopularity of parties, 40, 229n2; weakness of parties, 38–39, 41
  Milosevic, Slobodan, 155, 156, 164
- Milosevic, Slobodan, 155, 156, 164
- Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (Germany), 83 Mohamed VI (King of Morocco), 132
- Moi, Daniel Arap, 71, 146
- Moldova, 29
- money politics, 46

Mongolia, 45

Montt, Ríos, 105

Morales, Evo, 137, 226

- Moroccan Socialist Union of Popular Forces, 150
- Morocco: effects of party aid, 173–75; emasculated multiparty system, 39, 220–21; fraternal party aid to, 150; Islamist movement in, 41; marginality of parties in, 68; openness to party change, 132, 174, 221; party aid (case study), 108–10; party comparison with Indonesia, 173–74; party law aid, 194; suppression of Islamist movement, 58; unpopularity of parties, 40; U.S. party institutes' work in, 132
- Movement for Multiparty Democracy (Zambia), 36
- movement parties, 53
- Mozambican Liberation Front (Frelimo), 37, 152–53, 172–73
- Mozambique: benign dominant party system, 70, 223; effectiveness of party aid, 172–73; NIMD multiparty aid to, 114, 119; partisanship and party aid, 152–53; party aid to, 87, 88, 106–8; signing of General Peace Accords, 106
- Mozer (Alfred) Foundation, 101
- multiclass integrative parties, 32
- multilateral organizations, 13; aid to opposition parties, 159–60; focus on inter-party communication, 106; multiparty methods of, 118; party aid funding, 85; party aid goals, 147–48; party systems aid, 191; political neutrality of, 139
- multiparty aid: exclusion of nondemocratic parties, 118; fraternal vs., 116–20; movement toward, 216; of multilateral organizations, 118; of Naumann Stiftung, 150; of NIMD, 118, 119, 149; party selection for, 118–19; of U.S. party institutes, 118, 153

Multiparty Dialogue (Guatemala), 205 multiparty systems: in East and Southeast Asia, 45; emasculated, 220–22; growth in, 3; as liberalization, 40; in Middle East, 39–40; parties blamed for state's ineffectiveness, 5–6; republics vs. monarchies, 39–40; stable distributed, 70–71, 72f, 73, 226; in sub-Saharan Africa, 35; unstable distributed, 70, 72f, 73, 224–26 Munro, Neil, 229n2

Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), 235n26

- Namibia: benign dominant party system, 70; party aid to, 87, 88
- National Action Party (PAN) (Mexico), 32, 57
- National Advancement Party (PAN) (Guatemala), 170, 178, 187
- National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI): budget of, 85; civic education in Peru, 136; election aid (2002) to Kenya, 146-47; fostering collaboration among women, 207; Indonesia, party aid in, 110–11; information gathering, 129; leadership academies, 110-11, 128; on money politics, 46; Morocco, party aid in, 109-10, 194, 221; Mozambique, party aid in, 108, 173; multipartisan aid to Muslim countries, 153; party aid of, 13, 79, 87; party cross-overs of staff, 80; regional party workshops in Asia, 133; Romania, party aid in, 101; Russia, party aid in, 102-3; three-party training in Kosovo, 120; training of trainers in Serbia, 128
- National Endowment for Democracy (NED): funding of party institutes, 84; as legislative funding gateway, 139; U.S. party institutes in, 79
- National Front (France), 53
- Nationalist Party (South Africa), 117
- National Republican Alliance (ARENA) (El Salvador), 224

National Republican Institute for International Affairs. See International Republican Institute (IRI)

National Salvation Front (Romania), 100

Naumann Stiftung, 13; affiliation with Free Democrat Party, 78; budget of, 85; Indonesia, party aid in, 111, 150; Morocco, party aid in, 109; Russia, party aid in, 102

NDI. See National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

NED. See National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

neopatrimonialism: poverty and, 61; in South Asia, 43; in sub-Saharan Africa, 37–38

Nepal: emasculated party system of, 69; party aid to, 89; party development in, 42, 44

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD): budget of, 85; external evaluation of party programs, 127; funding for, 84; information gathering in Georgia, 129; interparty dialogues and, 203, 204, 206; monetary grants to parties, 114; multiparty aid of, 118, 119, 149; party aid in Guatemala, 105–6; party aid of, 13, 81

Netherlands Institute of International Relations, 85

Network on Contextual Politics in Developing Countries, 137

new or struggling democracies. See Third Wave democracies

Nicaragua, 32, 155

Nigeria, 67

- NIMD. See Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)
- nongovernmental organizations (NGOs): activist focus of, 134–35; as alternative to political parties, 10; civil society aid and, 91; connecting local government to, 135; monitoring of party finances, 200; political

limitations of, 89; in Third Wave

democracies, 55

nonparty democracy, 9-10

Noriega, Manuel, 155

North Korea, 45

Norwegian Centre for Democracy Support, 81, 84

- OAS. See Organization of American States (OAS)
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), 78–79
- Office for Democratic Institutions and and Human Rights (ODIHR), 82

oligarchs, 29

- Olof Palme International Center: affiliation with Swedish Social Democrat Party, 78; budget of, 85; party aid of, 79; party aid to Romania, 101
- Open Society Justice Initiative, 200

opposition parties: controversy over U.S. aid to, 157–58; in former Soviet states, 27; legitimacy of party aid for, 156–60; under malign dominant systems, 71; in Middle East, 41; multilateral aid to, 159–60; partisan party aid for, 154–56; party law controlling, 193–94; weaknesses of, 223

Orange Revolution (Ukraine, 2004), 156, 229n2

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 78–79

organizational development. See party development

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), 158; Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), 82; party aid of, 13, 81

Organization of American States (OAS), 158; Forum of Political Parties (Guatemala), 205; information gathering in Latin America, 130; Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, 30, 82, 133; multiparty aid of, 118; party aid in Guatemala, 105–6; party aid of, 13, 81–82; response to crisis of parties, 30; Unit for Democracy Promotion, 82 OSCE. *See* Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) outreach activities of parties, 95–96

- Pakistan: distrust of political parties, 229n2; Islamism in, 44; marginality of parties in, 68; party development in, 43
- Palestine, 39, 41
- Palme Center. See Olof Palme International Center
- Panama, 155
- PAN (National Action Party) (Mexico), 32, 57
- PAN (National Advancement Party) (Guatemala), 170, 178, 187
- parallelism: in political party decline, 66–67
- parliamentarism, 22, 48–49
- parties of power: in former Soviet states, 27, 28
- partisanship, 148–56; aid recipients' views of, 152–53; campaign aid vs. party building, 143, 149, 151; fraternal, in European party aid, 149–53; ideological balance and, 149–50; as justified interventionism, 157; legitimacy of partisan party aid, 156–60; multifaceted approach to election reform, 153–54; semiauthoritarian regime and party aid, 154–55; universalistic ideas in, 151–52; in U.S. party aid, 153–56
- party. See political parties; specific party *terms*
- party aid, 77–111; amounts spent on, 84–86; case studies, 99–111, 166–76; challenges for, 227–28; civil society aid and, 91, 134–35; covert, 142–43; as decentralized domain, 78; as democracy aid (*See* democracy aid);

diplomatic objectives, 143-45; direct, 91-97; effects of (See effectiveness of party aid); election aid (See campaign aid; election aid); fraternal, 116-18, 149-53; funding sources, 83-84, 137-39; goals of, 97-99, 98f, 162; growth in, 86-90; ideological balance in, 149-50; indirect, 90-91; international organizations and, 13-14, 81-82; legislative strengthening, 91, 96-97; methods (See methods of party aid); multiparty (See multiparty aid); organizational development (See party development); partisanship in (See partisanship); political consulting vs., 94; political orientation of staff, 125, 151-52; prodemocratic character of, 148; providers of, 78-81, 114-15; reform limits in, 216-19; scholarly analysis, lack of, 14-15; skepticism about value of, 162; socioeconomic, 137; suspicion about, 142-43; transformative impact, absence of, 163-66; trends in, 89-90; unanswered questions about, 15-16; Western political party ties to, 14. See also party foundations; party institutes

party capacity: strengthening of, 199–200

party development: advice and counsel on, 113–14; antipolitical legacies in, 63–64; in Central and Eastern Europe, 22–25; common characteristics of, 49–50, 65–66; constraints on policy choice, 61–63; emergent norms for, 188–89; in established democracies, 50–53; evolutionary stages of, 48–49, 51–53; incremental changes and, 187, 218–19; information technology and, 52–53, 55–56; in Latin America, 30–34; legislative strengthening and, 91, 96–97; in Middle East, 38–42; organizational, party aid and, 95–96, 186–88; organizational change, stimulation of, 187-88; outreach activities, 95-96; overview, 21-47; party finance aid bolstering, 197; in post-Soviet states, 25-30; poverty and, 38, 60-61, 182; power-related challenges of, 71-73, 72f, 220-21, 227-28; presidential systems and, 64-65; resource limitations in, 197; rule of law and, 58-60, 182; selection of party leaders and candidates, 95; socioeconomic factors in, 55-56, 62-63; structural factors in, 58-66, 219-26, 237n8; in Third Wave democracies, 53-58, 183; women and, 96; youth incorporation into, 96

- party finance: aid providers' approaches to, 199–200; anticorruption aid, 196–97; corruption in, 59, 67, 197; dimensions of, 197; donor concern with, 200; elements of, 198; formalistic solutions, ineffectiveness of, 200–201; party systems aid for, 196–202; public funding for, 198–99, 201; regulatory approaches to, 197–98
- party foundations: European, international work of, 79–80; German (*See Stiftungen*); justification for partisanship in aid, 151; legislative funding for, 139; material assistance to parties, 114; party aid of, 13, 78–81
- party institutes (Swedish), 105
- party institutes (U.S.): affiliated political party relationships, 80; aid to opposition parties, 154–56, 158; autonomy of, 146; democracy building focus of, 79; external evaluation of work, 126–27; funding sources for, 84; Guatemala, party aid to, 104–5; Indonesia, party aid to, 110, 153; interparty dialogues and, 203; material assistance to parties, 114; Morocco, party aid to, 153; multiparty aid of, 118, 153; partisan aid of, 153–56; party aid of, 78, 87;

Romania, party aid to, 101; Russia, party aid to, 102; spending for party aid, 84; U.S. foreign policy and, 145–47; Yemen, party aid to, 153. *See also* International Republican Institute (IRI); National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)

- party internationals: party aid of, 82-83
- party law, 192–96; different functions of, 193–94; in established democracies, 196; internal democracy and, 193, 195–96; modifications controlling opposition parties, 193–94; requirements for party formation, 194; supporting role of aid providers, 194; unproven effects of reform on party development, 195; varying structures of, 192
- party meetings, regional, 133
- Party of Democratic Socialism (Germany), 78
- party switching, 46
- party systems, 68-73; aid to (See party systems aid); in authoritarian or semiauthoritarian countries, 21, 69-70; benign dominant, 70; blurring of lines between types, 71; dominant vs. distributed systems, 71; emasculated, 69, 220-22; in established democracies, 69; malign dominant, 69-70; organizational structures, 5-8; power-oriented taxonomy of, 69–71; stable distributed, 70-71, 72f, 73, 226; in Third Wave countries with basic democracy, 70-71; top-down organizations, 7-8; unstable distributed, 70, 72f, 73, 224-26. See also multiparty systems; single-party systems
- party systems aid, 190–210; challenges to, 210; electoral system and, 191–92; interparty dialogues, 202–6; multilateral organizations favoring, 191; objectives of, 190; party financing, 196–202; party law and, 192–96;

206 - 10patronage, political, 135-37, 181 PDSR (Romanian Social Democratic Party), 100 Peasant Party (Romania), 101, 144, 165, 166-68 Peronist Party (Argentina), 50, 164; ideological identification of, 117; as malign dominant party, 226 personalism (personalist parties), 45-46,54 Peru: decentralization and party power, 34; NDI information gathering in, 129; party development in, 32, 195; party law reform in, 194-95; political and civic education in, 136: unstable distributed party system, 68, 70, 224 Philippines: Marcos dictatorship in, 45; multipartyism in, 45; personalism in politics, 46-47; unstable distributed party system, 70, 224 Pinochet, Augusto, 155, 164 Pinto-Duschinsky, Michael, 199, 201 PJD (Justice and Development Party) (Morocco), 150, 174-75 pluralism by default, 25-26 Poland: limited effectiveness of party aid in, 165; partisan aid to, 153; party instability in, 23, 68, 70 political analysis: party aid and, 227-28 political assertiveness, 228 political consulting: party aid vs., 94 political education, 12 political openness, 3 political parties, 21-47; aid to (See party aid); antiparty challengers to, 9; blamed for ineffectiveness of government, 5-6; bridging gap with civil society, 12, 134-35; citizen choice and, 10; as closed systems, 8-9; common characteristics of, 49-50, 213; consequences of problems with, 11-13; crisis of (See crisis of parties); dealignment of voters,

types of, 190-91; women in parties,

66, 67-68; definitions of, 179; development (See party development); emergent norms for, 188-89; financing (See party finance); instability in new democracies, 8, 68; institutionalization, 237n8; laws governing (See party law); leader-centric, 6-7; mythic model in established democracies, 123-24; necessity for, 9-11, 213-14; negative views of, 4-5, 63-64, 229n2; nondemocratic, exclusion from multiparty aid, 118; organization (See party systems); party aid effects on (See effectiveness of party aid); scholarly analysis, lack of, 14-15; in Third Wave democracies (See Third Wave democracies). See also names of specific parties, countries, and regions political representation, 135-37

political sovereignty: democracy aid and, 156; nondemocratic behavior threshold and, 158–59; party aid and, 159; pro-oppositional assistance and, 158

pollwatching methods, 118

Portugal, 86

Portuguese Socialist Party, 107

- post-catch-all parties, 52-53
- post-Soviet states: cause-oriented minor parties, 27–28; clans in, 29–30; concentration of resources, 29; cynicism of political culture, 28; distrust of political parties, 229n2; ethnic conflicts in, 29; malign dominant party systems, 70; oligarchs in, 29; opposition parties in, 27; parties of power in, 27, 28; partisan aid to, 153–54; party aid to, 89; party development in, 22, 25–30, 237n4; pluralism by default, 25–26; presidential systems in, 26–27; weakness of parties, 26–28
- poverty: party development and, 38, 60–61, 182; weakness of parties and, 213

PRD (Democratic Revolutionary Party) (Mexico), 32 presidential systems: party development

- and, 64–65, 238n11; in post-Soviet states, 26–27; in Third Wave democracies, 64–65
- Préval, René, 147, 155

PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) (Mexico), 32

programmatic parties, 52

PSD (Social Democrat Party) (Romania), 100–101

- Putin, Vladimir, 104, 193
- Radical Civic Union (Argentina), 117

Randall, Vicky, 237n8

regime change, 164

regional party meetings, 133

- Renamo (Mozambique): effects of party aid, 172–73, 187; partisan aid to, 152–53; party aid to, 106–8; party leadership resistance to aid, 179–80
- Renner Institute (Austria), 80
- Republican Party (U.S.), 52, 123
- Revolutionary Party of Tanzania (CCM), 206
- Romania: bloc building, 144; campaigning improvements in, 185; ineffectiveness of party aid, 166–68; partisan aid to, 153; party aid (case study), 99–101; party development in, 22; Peasant Party failure in, 166–68

Romanian Social Democratic Party (PDSR), 100

- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 78, 85
- Rose, Richard, 229n2
- Rose Revolution (Georgia, 2003), 156
- rule of law: party development and, 58–60, 220; weakness in Third Wave democracies, 59–60, 182, 213
- Russia: campaigning improvements in, 185; Communist Party as opposition, 27; distrust of political parties, 229n2; emasculated party system of, 69, 221–22; ethnic conflicts in, 29; frater-

nal party aid to, 150; influence on Ukrainian elections, 143, 240n1; marginality of parties in, 68; media weakness in, 222; party aid to, 89, 101–4, 168–70; party development in, 26, 169–70; party law reforms limiting opposition parties, 193–94; Western interest in democratization, 222 Russia's Choice, 102

- Sabatini, Christopher, 34
- Sandanista Party (Nicaragua), 155 Saudi Arabia, 39
- Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Simeon, 9
- Seidel Stiftung: affiliation with Christian Social Union, 78; budget of, 85; distance learning programs of, 129

self-reporting: party aid and, 129–30

- Seligson, Mitchell A., 229n2
- semiauthoritarian regimes, 154-55
- Serbia: election reform, 156; ideological party identification, 117; party aid to, 222; training of trainers program, 128
- Shared National Agenda (Guatemala), 204, 206
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, 238n11
- SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency), 87
- Singapore, 45, 46
- single-party systems: in authoritarian states, 69; Communism as, 22; party development in, 71–72, 72f
- Social Democrat Party (Austria), 101
- Social Democrat Party (PSD) (Romania), 100–101
- Socialist International, 83, 86, 101
- socialist parties: development of, 51-52
- Socialist Union of Populist Forces (Morocco), 109, 174
- Solidarity (Poland), 22
- South Africa: benign dominant party system, 70, 223; fraternal party aid in, 117; multiparty system in, 37; party aid to, 88–89; party development in, 35

- South Asia: distrust of political parties, 229n2; dynastic parties in, 42; Hindu nationalism in, 43; nationalism vs. socialism in, 43; neopatrimonialism in, 43; party development in, 41–44; party elitism reflecting social stratification, 42; patronage politics in, 44
- Southeast Asia. See East and Southeast Asia
- South Korea, 45, 46, 67
- South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) (Namibia), 37
- Spain, 67, 86
- SPS (Union of Right Forces) (Russia), 102–3, 168–69
- Sri Lanka, 43-44
- stable distributed party systems, 70–71, 72f, 73, 226
- Stiftungen (German party foundations): bloc-building in party aid, 144–45; campaign-related focus of, 150–51; as flexible party resource, 114–15; funding sources, 83–84; interparty dialogues and, 203; lack of interest in Indonesia, 111; legislative funding for, 139; nonevaluative approach of, 126; partnership relationships and, 130–31; party aid of, 13, 78–79, 86–88; party aid to Russia, 102; relationships with political parties, 80; spending on party aid, 84–85
  struggling or new democracies. See Third Wave democracies
- study tours. *See* exchange visits and study tours
- sub-Saharan Africa. See Africa
- suffrage: party development and, 51 Suharto, Haji Mohammad, 45, 110, 137 supraparty organizations, 80–81 sustained learning opportunities, 128
- SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization) (Namibia), 37
   Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), 87
   Swedish Social Democratic Party: Palme

Center affiliation with, 78; party aid funding and, 149; party aid of, 86 Syria, 39

- Taiwan, 45, 46, 47, 57
- Tajikistan, 27, 29
- Tamil parties (Sri Lanka), 43-44
- Tanzania, 114, 206
- technical assistance, 124, 199
- Thailand, 45, 46, 47, 70
- Thatcher, Margaret, 52
- Third Wave democracies: in Central and Eastern Europe, 22, 25; citizen pressure for immediate elections, 54–55; common party characteristics, 49–50; compression of democratization, 54, 213; constraints on policy choice, 61–63; electoralist party development, 53–58; in Latin America, 30, 32; newness of, 50; party aid to, 13; party development in, 48–49; party law in, 192; political parties in, 3; presidential systems, 64–65; weak rule of law in, 59–60, 182
- Thomas More School of Government (Escuela de Gobierno Tomás Moro) (Colombia), 128–29
- "Toyota parties" (Peru), 6
- trade unions, 14
- training activities, 113; campaignrelated, 151; concentrated programs, 115; strategies for improving, 127–29, 216; third-country trainers, use in, 121–22; trainer shortcomings, 121–22; training of trainers, 128; weaknesses of, 121–22
- transformative impact: criteria for, 163; lack of evidence for, 163–66 Transparencia (Peru), 136, 195 Tudjman, Franjo, 155
- Tudor, Corneliu Vadim, 118
- Tunisia, 39
- Turkmenistan, 26
- Turkineinstan
- Uganda, 68 Ukraine: acceptance of democracy, 28;

distrust of political parties, 229n2; Orange Revolution (2004), 156, 229n2; party aid to, 89, 90, 222; party corruption in, 67; party development in, 26; Russian influence on elections, 143, 240n1

- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 85, 203
- UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), 136

Union of Right Forces (SPS) (Russia), 102–3, 168–69

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.): See post-Soviet states

- United Democratic Forces (Bulgaria), 165
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 136

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 85, 203

United States: mythic view of parties, 123; party finance irregularities, 67; party institutes and foreign policy, 145–47; underrepresentation of women in Congress, 208–9. *See also* party institutes (U.S.)

- United States Agency for International Development (USAID): evaluation of party institutions, 126–27; foreign policy and party institute funding, 146; funding of party institutes, 84, 103; on partisanship, 148; party aid in Mozambique, 107, 108
- Unity (Russia), 102
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 79
- unstable distributed party systems, 70, 72f, 73, 224–26
- URNG (Guatemalan National Revolu-

tionary Unity), 104, 171 Uruguay, 31 USAID. *See* United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Uzbekistan, 26

values-based relationships, 118 Van Biezen, Ingrid, 237n4 Van de Walle, Nicolas, 35, 37 Venezuela, 31, 34, 224 Vietnam, 45 voting, personalistic, 137

Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD): budget of, 85; establishment of, 87; funding for, 84; party aid of, 80–81

women: collaboration aid, 207; cooptation by parties, 209; party development and, 96; party participation by, 178, 206–7; party systems aid for, 206–10; political role in Third Wave democracies, 208; weak presence in party leadership, 208–9

Yabloko (Russia): internal reforms, 186–87; party aid to, 102–3, 168–69 Yanukovych, Viktor, 143, 250n1 Yavlinsky, Gregor, 102 Yemen, 39, 41 youth: party development and, 96 Yugoslavia, 24

Zhirinovsky, Vladimir, 102, 118 Zimbabwe, 222

Workers' Party (Venezuela), 62 workshop fatigue, 121–22