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Annual report

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2007

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Netherlands Institute for  
Multiparty Democracy

NIMD  
Programme Countries



Guatemala

Nicaragua

Mali

Ghana

Ecuador

Suriname

Burundi\*

Tanzania

Bolivia

Zambia

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by

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**Bernard Bot**  
President, NIMD



The year 2007 started with the adoption in January by the African Union (AU) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance. This Charter is modelled after the Inter-American Democratic Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS). The principles laid down in both Charters are similar to those subscribed to by the Member States of the European Union (EU).

The Member States of the African Union committed themselves under this Charter to respect human rights and democratic principles such as, amongst others, the holding of regular, transparent, free and fair elections, and the separation of powers. The Member States 'committed themselves to promote democracy, the principle of the rule of law and human rights'.

The normative Charters mentioned indicate a further international acceptance of the universality of democracy as the preferred system of governance. It is in line with the aspirations of people around the world who consistently indicate in opinion polls that they prefer to live in democracies. Yet, the practice of democracy, and making democracy deliver social justice, is proving hard to achieve. The unfortunate events in the wake of the Kenyan presidential election at the end of 2007 are an illustration in a longer list of countries, of political elites failing to implement necessary political reforms for consolidating democracy.

#### *Permanent maintenance*

Political systems that are inclusive, in which all population groups are fairly represented through independently managed elections and in which there is transparent parliamentary oversight of the executive and an independent judiciary, provide guarantees against implosion into violent conflict. Such inclusive political systems are also stabilized by open

and free political debate, well-institutionalized political parties and civil society. There is no alternative but to invest in political reforms to enhance the performance of democratic political systems and to support these reform processes. For democracy to function well, it needs permanent maintenance.

NIMD invites its partners in young democracies, political parties and groupings to engage in an inclusive dialogue about needed reforms. The implementation of agendas which result from these reforms is assisted. The institutionalization of the inclusive dialogues in Centres for Multiparty Democracy (CMDs) is a further area of assistance provided by NIMD. The CMDs are becoming important national catalysts for agreement about the advancement of democracy and the institutional development of political parties, as well as for constructive relations between political parties on the one hand and civil society and media on the other. At the same time, the CMDs are becoming impartial platforms through which other international partners can provide assistance to democratic reforms.

The 2007 annual report presents the reader with an overview of the activities supported, results achieved and lessons learned by NIMD. Providing democracy assistance in a complex international environment remains a considerable challenge. For us, who know the value of living in a democracy, it is a challenge that deserves our fullest and continued support.

Bernard Bot  
President, NIMD

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) is an organization of political parties committed to assisting political parties in young democracies. Founded in 2000 by seven Dutch political parties<sup>1</sup> NIMD currently works with more than 150 political parties from 17 countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe.

NIMD supports joint initiatives of political parties to improve the democratic system in their country. NIMD also supports the institutional development of political parties, – helping them develop party programmes and assisting their efforts to enhance relations with civil society organizations and the media.

An external evaluation of the Zambia programme concluded at the end of 2007, ‘...[It] is beyond doubt that the NIMD-funded programmes are a living experiment. Ambitious, unique, daring, risky, but utterly relevant and at the heart of what development really is about: politics.’ That conclusion effectively captures the spirit of the NIMD programmes – a spirit in which NIMD continues to work.

NIMD cherishes the cooperation with its partners: political parties in the programme countries, partners within the international community, and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These partnerships are at the core of the activities and results presented in this annual report.

### Partnership Days

In September the second NIMD Partnership Days took place. Party representatives from all seventeen programme countries met in The Hague to review their partnership with NIMD and to discuss issues of common interest, such as the institutionalization of the Centres for Multiparty Democracy (CMDs). A new text for the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the partners and NIMD was also discussed.

During the Partnership Days NIMD partners also played an important role in a meeting where the Dutch Minister for International Cooperation Mr Bert Koenders, Mr William Easterly and others addressed the link between democracy and development. This meeting was co-organized in cooperation with the Netherlands Chapter of the Society for International Development (SID).

An additional theme during the NIMD Partnership Days was broadening the financial basis on which political parties work. A policy on Strategic Partnership Relations was presented and discussed and a common approach was agreed on. A group of twenty party representatives visited the European Parliament’s Democracy Caucus, the European Commission’s Europe-AID and their respective country desks at the European Commission to introduce themselves and their programmes.

### Interparty dialogue

Representatives of the seven big political parties in the Indonesian parliament visited the Netherlands in April, at the invitation of NIMD; a counter-visit to Indonesia by an NIMD delegation took place in June. As a result of the visits, the political parties decided to establish a Community for Dialogue, which since meets regularly in Indonesia to discuss issues of common interest.

Most of the issues relate to matters regarding the electoral system in preparation for the general elections in 2009. The political dialogue complements the thriving democracy schools established by NIMD partner *Kommunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (KID). Currently present in five regions of Indonesia, the schools will be expanded in number to fifteen throughout the archipelago in the coming years.

The need for renewal of the political system was also a central theme in the cooperation with political parties and movements in Bolivia and Ecuador. Both countries are in the process of constitution-making. In Bolivia, the *Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria* (fBDM) facilitates essential talks between the main political stakeholders; in Ecuador the new programme focuses on sharing information about issues on the constitutional agenda. The elections in Guatemala resulted in a less-fragmented Congress and a higher participation of the indigenous population.

### Centres for Multiparty Democracy

The strengthening of democratic dialogue through local Centres of Multiparty Democracy (CMDs) is part of NIMD’s core business. The evolution of the CMDs, in which dialogue takes place and local professional capacity is built to implement shared national agendas, has become a key and innovative feature of the cooperation between political parties in partner countries and the Dutch parties cooperating within NIMD. The cooperation of the parties within the CMDs creates higher levels of trust between the leadership of governing and opposition parties and facilitates agreement about issues of national interest. Currently there are CMDs in Bolivia (fBDM), Kenya (CMD-K), Malawi (CMD-M), Tanzania (TCD) and Zambia (ZCID).

Further investment in the CMDs is crucial to enable them to build up an effective political, programmatic and institutional track record. To assist CMDs in this important process, NIMD entered into a partnership with the Berenschot Consultancy Group. Under the terms of this partnership, Berenschot makes expertise freely available.

In 2007, Berenschot worked with NIMD and the CMDs in Zambia and Tanzania in order to provide professional support to a selected number of CMDs in their organizational development and institution-building. They have produced a baseline and roadmap for further institutionalization in both countries with in-depth observations and recommendations to both CMD Boards and NIMD.

### Regional exchange

In May the 50th anniversary of Ghana’s independence was celebrated with a conference, in which all political parties involved in the NIMD programmes on the African continent participated. President Kufour of Ghana – at that time also President of the African Union (AU) – and former President Chissano of Mozambique were in attendance. The leaders of the political parties present concluded that multiparty democracy has become ‘*the only game in town*’ in the current political history of Africa and that political parties carry responsibility for deepening democracy as a condition for sustainable development in their respective countries.

<sup>1</sup> CDA – Christian Democratic Appeal; PvdA – Labour Party; VVD – People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy; GroenLinks – GreenLeft; D66 – Democrats 66; ChristenUnie – Christian Union; SGP – Reformed Political Party (Orthodox Protestants).

## New programmes

Following requests for support from countries that have recently emerged from violent conflicts, NIMD has produced a policy paper on democracy assistance in post-conflict and fragile states. NIMD also undertook missions to Afghanistan and Burundi, both fragile states, to engage in dialogues about possibilities for programme cooperation. Depending on the availability of resources, NIMD hopes to take up the challenge to provide democracy-building support to both countries in 2008.

## NIMD in The Hague

After five successful years, Professor Jos van Kemenade ended his term as NIMD president. In a September farewell ceremony attended by representatives of the NIMD programme countries, representatives of the Dutch political parties and friends of the Institute, the presidency of NIMD was handed over to former Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs Bernard Bot.

During 2007 NIMD set out to strengthen the internal structure of the organization. Effective 1 July, three regional teams were formed: Africa, Latin America and Eurasia. In addition, a Knowledge & Communication team was established, thematic knowledge-sharing groups were formed, and some operational issue groups were set up to focus on internal organization and programme administration – all with the aim of improving NIMD's level of professionalism.

## Knowledge Centre & Communication Activities

A theme group on Internal Party Democracy was formed in January. The group organized an international expert meeting in The Hague and produced a pilot survey among selected political parties in Zambia, Ghana, Mali, Suriname and the Netherlands. The results of the survey were presented during the NIMD Partnership Days in The Hague.

A second theme, Electoral Systems, was taken up by Fellow Alan Wall. Mr Wall set up a comprehensive database of reference material on the topic and co-authored, with Dr Mohamed Salih of the Institute for Social Studies (ISS), the NIMD publication *Engineering Electoral Systems: Possibilities and Pitfalls*.

Both the number and diversity of NIMD information products have substantially increased. NIMD produced the DVD *Clever people can't remain silent*, a video documentary about one of the democracy schools that NIMD and the Indonesian Community for Democracy (KID) are setting up in Indonesia. NIMD programmes in Mali, Guatemala and Suriname featured prominently in an illustrated, eleven-page article in *ViceVersa*, a magazine for international cooperation professionals in the Netherlands.

## Young NIMD

Seven youth branches of Dutch political parties – CDjA, Dwars, JS, JD, JOVD, Perspectief and SGPj – cooperate in Young NIMD. Their common goal is to engage in NIMD activities that enhance the political participation of youth in young democracies.

Six representatives from Ghanaian, Kenyan and Tanzanian political youth branches visited Young NIMD during the Partnership Days in September. A one-day programme on 'Strategic political youth participation' was organized in The Hague, identifying barriers and best practices for political youth participation in the respective countries.

In October a delegation of three Guatemalan political youth and representatives from the *Foro de Juventud* (National Youth Forum), a cooperative of the youth branches of Guatemalan political parties, paid a visit to Young NIMD in the Netherlands. The programme included meetings centred on NIMD's work, the activities of Young NIMD and political youth participation in the Netherlands.

## Strategic partnerships

Increasingly, NIMD and the CMDs are establishing partnerships with other donors. Current strategic partners include the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization of American States (OAS), OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights and several sister organizations within NIMD's European network of political foundations. (See annex 7.1.4 Key strategic partners)

## Strengthening the European profile in democracy assistance

NIMD and its European sister organizations have been actively engaged with the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council in preparing for the new edition of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). The new Instrument has a focus on political society and should have greater flexibility than its predecessor.

NIMD is represented in the Board and Council of Patrons of the European Foundation for Democracy through Partnership (EFDP). This new foundation aims to enhance the European efforts in democracy assistance by providing a European knowledge hub on democracy building, undertaking democracy advocacy at EU institutions and establishing a flexible democracy fund for joint programmes with associated organizations to respond to opportunities for democratic advancement.

As part of the effort to strengthen the European profile in democracy assistance, NIMD also co-organized a Wilton Park conference with the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office to address the topic. The conference resulted in an initiative to work towards an EU Consensus on Democracy in close cooperation with the forthcoming EU presidencies: France, Sweden and the Czech Republic.

To further spur the debate on Europe's role in democracy assistance, NIMD published the book *Democracy: Europe's Core Value?*, a compilation of twelve essays by European academics and practitioners, and presented the first copy to the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Maxime Verhagen. Also, an article on Europe's profile in democracy assistance was published in the magazine *Internationale Spectator*.

NIMD is an organization of the following political parties:





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## Ghana Guatemala

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### Democracy: a work in progress

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Photos: Roel Burgler

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This photo report provides an account of democracy-in-the-making in Ghana and Guatemala, two countries where NIMD is actively involved in strengthening multiparty democracy.

#### Ghana

In 2007 Ghana celebrated its 50th anniversary of independence. One of the first African countries to gain independence, today Ghana is widely acclaimed as a stable multiparty democracy and, as such, an example for the West African region.

To deepen the democratic process the political parties have assessed the strengths and weaknesses of Ghana's democratic system, a process facilitated by NIMD and its partner, the Accra-based Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA).

With elections ahead in 2008, the campaign season already started in 2007. Still, the leadership of political parties continued to discuss issues of common interest, such as the need for a 'clean' campaign and a peaceful transition of power after the elections.

#### Guatemala

Emerging in 1996 from 36 years of civil war, Guatemala is an incipient democracy. Political institutions are still fragile and civic participation, particularly of women and the indigenous population, is hampered by social prejudice and high levels of violence.

In 2007 the centre-left politician Álvaro Colom was elected president. The elections saw a high voter turnout, especially amongst the indigenous population. The NIMD programme in Guatemala helped to achieve a peaceful transition of power.

# Ghana

Voter education



Participants of a Media and Politics conference





NDC Youth rally at Winnebuh University







## Ghana

### Preparing for elections

With presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for 2008, the campaign season had already started in 2007. Facilitated by NIMD's partner IEA, the leadership of the political parties issued a public statement in which they jointly avow to depolarize Ghanaian politics in the election year and pledge the need for guidelines to secure a smooth and peaceful transition of power after the elections. They also prepared a new bill that provides for public funding of political parties in order to curb undue influence by wealthy individuals.

### Women and politics

Occupying a mere 10% of the seats in national and local assemblies, women are underrepresented in Ghanaian politics. Supported by NIMD's local partner IEA women from various parties formed a 'Coalition of Women in Politics' that aims to raise the number of women in elected positions.

### Youth

Political youth wings play a major part in party campaigns. As the parties' *foot soldiers*, the youth organize door-to-door campaigns and rallies during the election season. Although Youth Organizers are represented at top levels in the party it is sometimes felt that youth have only little influence on their party's youth policy and politics in general.

Supported by NIMD the youth wings have established a joint platform to enhance the influence of youth in Ghanaian politics.

### Media

In the run-up to the 2008 elections political parties have increasingly complained about biased media reports and the ethical standards of journalists. In return, the media have criticized the parties for failing to answer 'difficult' questions and accused them of buying political influence in media outlets.

NIMD's partner IEA is actively engaged in promoting joint commitment by politicians and the media to foster less polarized and more content-based political debates in the media.

### Local politics

Since 1992, when a new constitution barred traditional leaders from active politics, their influence has waned. Still chiefs continue to play an important role as opinion leaders in their communities. They are also actively involved in settling disputes at the local level.

### Accountability

Local accountability is the key to ensure that politicians and civil servants are responsive to the people. Yet Ghana's move to decentralize government is slow. The influence of elected local councils is undermined by the centrally appointed District Chief Executive. The central government has a major say in the allocation of funds to the districts, which leaves local authorities little opportunity to set priorities.



Local production of campaign t-shirts



Local chief present at a political rally in Atimpoku



NPP Party rally in Atimpoku, Akosombo region





Civic education: School children playing an educational game about democracy



Voter registration campaign for women





Editorial offices of Ghana's leading newspaper *The Daily Graphic*





Politicians in debate during  
a weekly radio show at Joy FM

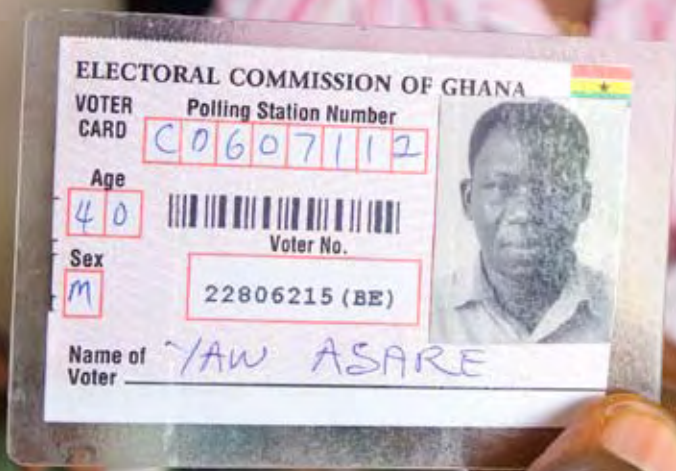


Key women politicians of  
opposition party CPP





Voter registration



Paying local taxes at an administration office in the Asuogyaman District





Youth Commission of the Forum of Political Parties



Civic pressure to adopt the law on violence against women





Staff member of the archives  
of the town hall in Sololá







## Guatemala

### Elections

2007 was a year of elections and transition from one government to another. NIMD was actively involved in both processes. Parties were supported to develop party programmes and to organize themselves better at the local level. The transition of power after the elections was carefully prepared and coordinated by the NIMD programme in Guatemala.

### The Congress

Through the joint Forum of Political Parties NIMD is actively engaged in the preparation of new legislation to strengthen the political system, such as the Political Party Bill and laws designed to curb the high level of violence in the country.

Training was provided to aspiring female MPs to strengthen their position within their own party and to stand in the Congress elections. The elections saw a slight increase in the number of elected women.

### Violence against women

In the recent past thousands of women in Guatemala have been abused, raped or killed without the perpetrators being prosecuted. In 2007 emergency legislation was prepared to stop the killings and to strengthen the work of public prosecutors, human rights organizations and the police. The NIMD programme in Guatemala was actively involved in achieving broad-based support for this crucial law amongst all political parties.

### Youth and politics

As Guatemala has a young population it is crucial to involve youth in politics. In the run-up to the 2007 elections NIMD supported a joint campaign of the political youth branches, which called on youth to vote. NIMD also supported training to the youth branches to operate more effectively within their own parties.

### The indigenous vote

Newcomer Álvaro Colom won the presidential elections partly because of the support of the indigenous population in rural areas. Their participation in the elections has increased significantly just as the number of local councillors from indigenous descent. NIMD has supported indigenous groups in various regions to draft a shared policy agenda, which was discussed in Congress.

### Decentralisation

In addition to the National Shared Agenda of all political parties NIMD has facilitated political parties at the regional level to formulate a joint reform agenda. In 2007 the first two were finalized, in Alta Verapaz and Chimaltenango. In addition, NIMD has trained local politicians and civic groups about the rights and duties of local governance.



Accountability workshop for local politicians and civil society groups, Totonikcapán

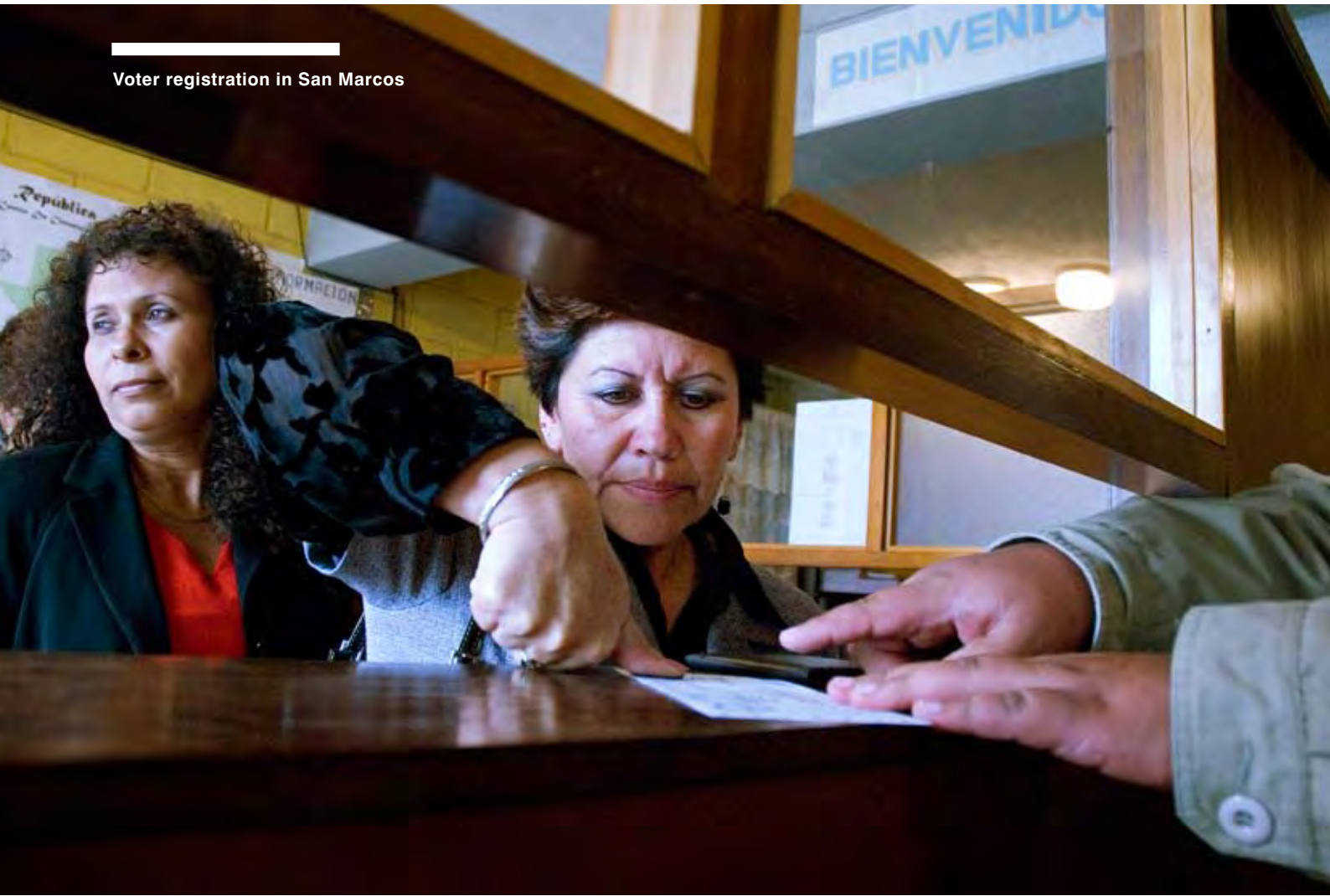


The media at work during a debate in Congress





Voter registration in San Marcos



Campaign on violence against women





Meeting of an indigenous council in Sololá



Electoral Commission archives, register of candidates (Guatemala City)





Members of the Congress discussing the law on violence against women





Guatemala's new president; leader of the centre-left UNE party Álvaro Colom



Patriota leader Otto Molina lost the presidential elections. His centre-right party is now the main opposition party in Congress.



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**West Africa Regional Programme (WARP) /  
Ghana / Mali / East and Southern Africa  
Regional Programme (ESARP) / Kenya / Malawi /  
Mozambique / South Africa / Tanzania /  
Zambia / Zimbabwe /**

### Key achievements in 2007

- Initiation of a regional agenda for democratic reform.
- Improved democratic dialogue and cooperation between like-minded parties in West Africa.
- Sharing of experiences and best practices amongst political parties of West Africa.
- Opening the channels of communication between political parties, party leaders and civil society organizations.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- Importance of good communication between the two implementing partner organizations in Mali and Ghana.

### State of democracy

In West Africa, formal institutional rules are beginning to matter more than before and it is becoming increasingly common for those in power to adhere to constitutional term limits. One of the clearest manifestations of the increasing institutionalization of executive power is the growing importance of elections. Across the region elections are becoming more intensely contested. However we also witness the exploitation of weakly institutionalized electoral systems, through manipulation of the electoral bodies.

In 2007 elections were held in Benin, Mali, Sierra Leone and Togo, which were described as generally free and fair. They stood however in sharp contrast to the elections in Nigeria, which were characterized by large scale fraud, lack of transparency and violence.

#### *Election management*

The regulatory framework for political parties in most West African countries remains weak, especially with regard to internal party democracy and financial matters, including campaign financing. The regulatory authorities have great difficulty in monitoring and enforcing the rules on campaign financing. As a consequence, a wealthy elite dominates the political space and controls the campaign process. Election management itself continues to be a difficult challenge for many countries in West Africa.

Political parties are of critical importance to democracy in West Africa and their growth should be encouraged. Cross-country peer learning and a regional approach to election issues may be a way out of the quagmire that many countries confront on political party and electoral matters.

There is a need for dialogue and interaction amongst parties, electoral management bodies, the media and civil society organizations to ensure trust, tolerance and partnership among the political actors within the West African region.

### NIMD Programme

NIMD's West African Regional Programme (WARP) endeavours to team up political parties from countries that are at different levels of democratization. The programme's main objectives are to promote dialogue and trust among political parties of West African states, to share experiences and to build the institutional capacities of parties.

The WARP programme is implemented by two NIMD partners, the Institute for Economic Affairs in Ghana and the *Projet Partenariat pour le Renforcement des Capacités des Partis Politiques* in Mali. The WARP Steering Committee consists of both ruling and opposition parties from Benin, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo

### *Regional agenda for reform*

In April NIMD organized the Africa Conference 'Fifty years of Sub-Saharan African independence and the role of political parties'. The event brought together political leaders from NIMD's ESARP and WARP programme countries.

The conference was attended by 34 political parties from 15 sub-Saharan African countries and was opened by President of Ghana John Kufuor. High-level, experienced politicians participated, including Joaquim Chissano, former President of Mozambique, Mohammed Ibn Chambas, President of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Commission, and James Jonah, former Under Secretary General for Political Affairs of the United Nations. The conference provided participants the opportunity to discuss issues of regional interest and contributed to shaping up a regional agenda for democratic reform.

### *Strengthening political parties*

Bilateral activities in Togo and Sierra Leone brought together political parties and civil society organizations to share experiences through dialogue, for the mutual improvement of political conditions in their countries.

In September 2007, the WARP Programme organized a 'Train-the-Trainers' programme in **Togo**, for 25 polling agents from the 6 main Togolese political parties. The training, financed by UNDP, was organized to prepare for the parliamentary elections in October. As a result of the training, political tensions in Togo calmed down and the training contributed to successful, largely peaceful elections. The election results were accepted by all the political parties.

NIMD also contributed to a conference in **Sierra Leone** about post-election nation building and the role of political parties and civil society. The conference brought together politicians and civil society in the first meeting after the general elections in August and consequent change of government. It was agreed that procedures must be put in place to ensure an efficient hand over of control to the incoming government and administrative powers. Furthermore, opposition parties, youth, women and civil society groups were recognized as important stakeholders in Sierra Leone's multiparty system and should be involved in the development process of the country.



## WARP Programme – additional info

### Priorities for 2008

- Regional conference on public financing for political parties.
- Developing a funding strategy.

### Key partners

- Institute for Economic Affairs, Ghana
- Projet Partenariat pour le Renforcement des Capacités des Partis Politiques, Mali

### Regional and international partners

- Ministry of Local Government and the Electoral Commission in Togo
- United States Embassy in Togo
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- European Commission

## 3.2

## Ghana

### Key political events

- Enactment of the Representation of the People Amendment Act (ROPAA), which seeks to enfranchise Ghanaians in the diaspora.
- Party primaries for the election of presidential candidates.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Completion of Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP) which provides an in-depth analysis of Ghana's democratic deficiencies and was initiated by the political parties.
- Completion of amended Political Parties Bill and the draft Political Parties Funding Bill.
- Joint de-polarization statement made by all political parties.
- Establishment of the Youth Platform and the Coalition of Women in Politics.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- The importance of involving the Electoral Commission (EC) at an early stage when drafting electoral bills, in order to reach consensus and synchronize efforts made by the EC and the political parties.
- The need for political parties to strengthen their policies and their ability to communicate them to citizens.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

2007 has seen a lively debate amongst political parties on the enactment of the Representation of the People (Amendment) Act (ROPAA), which seeks to enfranchise Ghanaians in the diaspora. The enactment was passed in 2007, but this was not without controversy. To many, the ROPAA remains a source of concern as it might add to the political tensions of the election period in 2008.

#### 'Moneycracy'

With the presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for December 2008, the political parties' campaigning season already took centre stage in political life in 2007. The internal jostling for being elected as the party's presidential candidate witnessed obscene amounts of money spent by presidential hopefuls. This has been aptly described by the Ghanaian media as 'monetization' or 'moneycracy'.

Political parties do not receive state funding. Only citizens can make contributions in cash or in kind to political parties. Most parties do not provide public accounts on how they fund their activities, but it is believed that personal *donations* from a few wealthy individuals are the main sources for funding election campaigns. Based on past anecdotal evidence, such 'monetization' could even extend to electoral officials and polling agents, thus corrupting the electoral process itself. As a result, the issue of state funding of political parties is again being debated.

#### Fierce campaigning

Due to its single-member district plurality electoral system, the country has virtually functioned as a two-party system, privileging its two major parties. However, close examination of election results in the ten regions reveals that there is dynamic electoral participation. Regional party strengths have shifted from election to election. The election campaigns are likely to be very fierce and a certain degree of violence is to be expected, both intra-party (during the primaries) and interparty (after the candidates have been chosen). At the constituency level, incumbent parliamentarians are increasingly encountering District Chief Executives (DCEs) who wish to become MPs in their own right.

In this context it is important to note the increased polarization on ethnic grounds in the run-up to the elections. Careful monitoring and collective action by the political parties will be required to counteract this worrisome trend in an election year.

Finally, in the light of the 2008 elections political parties recognize the need to build stronger partnerships with the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and civil society organizations. Stronger partnerships are also needed with the state media, which are accused of bias in favour of incumbent governments.



## NIMD Programme

### *Improving the political system*

A constructive dialogue has been established between the leadership of the political parties. A platform of General Secretaries has been formed that has issued a joint memorandum on the polarization of Ghana's politics at a press conference which received widespread media coverage. The memorandum included the need for guidelines for the handling of the 2008 political transition in order to ensure a smooth and peaceful transfer of power.

The political parties have commissioned a Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP), which provides an in-depth analysis of Ghana's democratic deficiencies. Finalized in 2007, the DCSP covers issues such as the constitution, the electoral system and the functioning of parliament and political parties.

As a mere 10% of the national and local assemblies, women are underrepresented in Ghana. In recognition of this, women from various parties formed a 'Coalition of Women in Politics' with the aim of increasing the number of women in elected positions. The coalition has drafted a manual with a roadmap towards the 2008 elections.

### *Strengthening the political parties*

The platform of General Secretaries prepared draft proposals for a new Political Parties Bill and a Bill on Political Parties Funding. After nationwide consultations with the relevant stakeholders Draft Bills have been produced. They will be launched and presented to the government in 2008.

### *Relations between political parties and civil society*

A roundtable with different stakeholders from the donor community and political and civil societies was organized, to review the state of politics and governance in Ghana in the light of the 2008 general elections. The meeting received high-level participation, with the ambassadors of the United States of America, Canada, Italy, Japan, China and Australia in attendance.

### *Young NIMD in Ghana*

In 2007 the Young NIMD and the Ghanaian Political Youth Wings further extended their cooperation. During the conference a permanent National Youth Platform was established, with the goal to continue cooperation between youth wings and to facilitate encounters between young leaders in Ghanaian political parties on a structural basis.

## Parties agree on efficient transfer of political power

The General Secretaries paid considerable attention to how to handle future political transitions. 2001 was the first time in the history of post-independence Ghana that political power had been constitutionally transferred from one political party to another. For that very reason, there was no precedent to guide the two parties involved in the transition; mistakes were therefore made that led to considerable tension.

The country therefore must prepare for future transitions by agreeing on a multi-partisan framework, rules and regulations to govern and guide transitions of political power. The General Secretaries agreed to propose,

amongst others, 'Guidelines for the Handling of Future Transitions' on the following matters:

- legislation stating which political and public office holders lose their jobs when a new President assumes office;
- comprehensive briefing for incoming government ministers, other public office holders and political appointees by the outgoing officials;
- a reasonable period between when a winner is declared in the presidential elections and when the new President is sworn in, to allow sufficient time for an efficient hand-over in the event of a power change from one party to another.

## Ghana Programme – additional info

### Priorities for 2008

- Launching Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP).
- Enacting the Political Parties Bill and the Political Parties Funding Bill.
- Arranging for political parties to sign a mutual code of conduct in the run-up to elections.

### Key national partners

- Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)
- Electoral Commission
- Law Reform Commission

- National Commission for Civic Education

- National Peace Council

- Finance, Constitutional and Legal Committee of the Parliament

### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme (G-RAP), Canada, Denmark, The Netherlands, United Kingdom
- European Commission



### Key political events

- President Amadou Toumani Touré was re-elected in April. After the parliamentary elections in July more than 84% of parliament was renewed.
- Continued activism by rebel factions in northern regions.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Assistance to political parties reduced political tensions in this election year. The code of conduct, which was signed publicly by all parties, and the training of party agents have greatly contributed to the legitimacy and tranquillity of the elections.
- Solid foundations were laid for (long-term) institutionalized interparty cooperation. The commitment by the top leadership and the willingness by international donors to support this process, have created sound opportunities for interparty dialogue.
- Political parties have been encouraged to prepare jointly for a revision of the electoral process.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- There are sound possibilities for constructive interparty cooperation in Mali and for achieving a significant impact in the improvement of the democratization process. International donors are starting to acknowledge the importance of the process and contributing financially.
- The chasm between political parties and society at large remains vast, while public trust in politicians remains extremely low. Parties need strategies to diminish the role that money plays within their party. If public commitment to democracy is to be prevented from eroding parties will have to invest extensively in their policy capacity and in structural contact within the regions.
- Providing input to discussions between Malian political parties by experts and/or colleagues from the West African region proved to be relevant.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

Mali has a presidential representative democracy. Despite the presence of a prime minister, the powers vested in the presidency are considerable. Over the last five years, leaders of all the main parties have rallied behind President Touré. Mali's democracy thus became characterized by a full-fledged consensus between most parliamentary parties.

#### *Stronger opposition*

The year 2007 was dominated by presidential and parliamentary elections, in April and July respectively. These elections marked a breakaway from Mali's consensus democracy. When parliamentary caucuses were formed in September, both the RPM (11 seats) and SADI/PARENA (9 seats) caucuses took up an opposition role. The possibilities for enhanced political debate and an intensified scrutinizing role of parliament thus implied improvements in 2007.

A negative feature of both elections was undoubtedly the low voter turnout. With average figures around 60% in Africa, Mali's 36% (with a mere 9% in the capital of Bamako) stands out quite dramatically.

#### *Investment*

The important role that money plays – to the detriment of policies – both within political parties and in relation to their constituencies became quite apparent throughout the year. Parliamentary candidates are expected to provide the majority of campaign funds individually, although some parties do contribute a little in strategic areas.

The fact that politics is considered to be dominated by personal career opportunities for people that are striving for a return on their (campaign) investment also contributes to the limited public participation in politics and tremendously low turnout figures.

#### *NGOs and the elections*

Hundreds of civil society organizations and interest groups rallied around the incumbent president and campaigned actively for him. It was not very clear which kind of public interest issues they were bringing forward to the president in return for that support. Other non-governmental organizations, however, were reluctant to associate themselves too closely with a particular political actor and maintained an independent position.

### NIMD Programme

#### *Improving the political system*

An election is not only the supreme moment for a democracy; it is also quite a thrilling period, since electoral disputes can never be excluded altogether in young democracies. It was therefore extremely positive to see all party leaders publicly sign an electoral code of conduct, which had been prominent on NIMD's agenda for the year 2007.

Regional policy debates between various levels of political parties, members of parliament and regional assemblies with different interest groups and enhancing policy capacity were additional foci of the programme in 2007. The results of these debates are broadcast on the radio and published, and parties are then assisted in ameliorating their internal policy capacity and using these publications for their campaign in 2009.

In addition to the regional debates, national debates on tv were organized focusing on deficits within political parties (such as the poor position of women and youth and voters' apathy) and content issues such as the government's environmental policy.

#### *Strengthening the political parties*

The parties were trained in strategy development and project management and received assistance in organizing regional input sessions with their rank and file in order to elaborate a mid-term strategic plan for institutional strengthening.

#### *Multiparty cooperation*

Compared to previous years the top leadership of the political parties became very much involved in the NIMD programme.

In addition, senior politicians and NIMD jointly worked out the constitution and internal rules and regulations for a fully autonomous *Centre pour le Dialogue Inter-Parties et la Démocratie*, an interparty institute governed by a board of senior Malian party representatives.

### How to become a polling agent?

Early 2007 NIMD organized a training for polling agents of political parties in the regional capital Koulikouro. Inside a building, which had not seen a paintbrush for quite some years, a large number of local party representatives had created a fictitious polling station. They were practising various aspects of the electoral process with the revised law in their hands. Two university teachers trained by NIMD were guiding them through the process, with a number of practical exercises. They let someone enter the fictitious polling station shouting political slogans,

which was to be reported by the party agents since no one is allowed to campaign inside a polling station. Exercises were also done to find out whether someone without proper identification could still vote. After a long, practical and amusing training day, the group of party agents from the various parties was up to their task on polling day: verifying whether the electoral procedures were respected, on behalf of their party. As for the teachers, they were on their way to the next locality for the next group of party agents to be trained.

### Mali Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Defining strategies for support to Malian women in the run-up to the 2009 elections.
- Announcing political agreement on main principles for electoral reform and subsequently defining concrete modalities.
- Translating input from regional debates into campaign plans.

#### Key national partners

- Daily Board of political parties' representatives within the NIMD Mali Programme
- Ministry of Home Affairs
- Electoral Commission
- ORTM national television company

- Delta-C (training institute)
- Regional NGOs with experience on numerous policy issues
- Regional radio stations

#### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America
- Community of Democracies (CoD)
- SNV Netherlands Development Organization
- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- Canadian Embassy
- Royal Danish Embassy
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

## 3.4

## East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP)

#### Key achievements in 2007

- Stronger linkages between NIMD's East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP) and its country programmes.
- New country-to-country exchange programmes within the region.
- Development of ESARP programme as a regional knowledge centre.

#### Lessons learned in 2007

- The themes covered during exchanges need to be linked directly to the reform processes going on in those countries, and follow-up should be monitored closely.
- Political parties in the region have a growing need to know each other better and forge constructive bilateral ties when possible. The ESARP programme will strive to facilitate this with a revived ESARP website, amongst other measures.

#### State of democracy

Many of the countries in East and Southern Africa are democracies that have key formal democratic institutions in place. Recent surveys on political attitudes also indicate that although the populace may be disillusioned by the performance of democratically elected governments, there is little support for non-democratic alternatives such as military or authoritarian regimes.

In 2007, elections were increasingly the 'only game in town' when it comes to choosing leadership. Additionally, political pluralism appears to be registering some positive trends, indicated by the increase in the number of political parties. With the exception of Zimbabwe, governance indicators for many of these countries have remained within the 'safe zones', considering that these are still young democracies. There are also some beacons of hope in the region, such as South Africa, Botswana and Mauritius.

#### Complex challenges

Despite these positive trends, some areas are a persistent cause of concern. While formal institutions have been established, democratic values, traditions and practices have yet to be fully entrenched. Similarly, daunting electoral challenges still prevail in a number of ESARP countries. The December 2007 elections in Kenya revealed some of the complex and deep-rooted challenges facing the region in its democratization process, such as ethnicity, regionalism and religion, which continue to be intertwined with politics. Other challenges include the lack of independent electoral management bodies, vote rigging, election violence, voter apathy, electoral systems that are deemed not to deliver desired democratic outcomes, and the huge financial costs of elections.

#### Need for reform

There is a growing consensus emerging in the region that political parties are the only viable machinery for gaining democratic control of political



power and articulating the interests of diverse groups in society. However, political parties continue to be characterized by deficiencies such as weak institutional capacity, high level of personalized party politics, floorcrossing, weakness or non-existence of regulatory frameworks, lack of internal party democracy, weak funding base and emergence or consolidation of one dominant party (as in South Africa, Mozambique and Tanzania).

Numerous countries increasingly realize that some of these challenges are best dealt with by making concerted efforts towards a constitutional order that is not only democratic and legitimate, but also popularly accepted. Thus, political and constitutional reform debates dominated the political discourse in various countries in the region, such as Kenya, Malawi and Zambia.

### NIMD Programme

The NIMD-ESARP programme brings together the political parties from the seven countries in the region that have an NIMD programme: Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The programme objective is to support interparty cooperation and to strengthen the parties' institutional development. This is achieved through thematic regional conferences, inter-country exchange programmes, and contributions towards knowledge generation and sharing.

#### Regional conferences

The ESARP regional conferences are an important forum for parties to share experiences and address common challenges. Conference themes focus on:

- Understanding the link between democracy and development;
- Improving the quality of democracy;
- Envisioning political parties as the building blocks of democracy;
- Implementing existing international and regional guidelines.

### Going beyond party politics

During a five-day exchange visit in July, South African political parties engaged with their Malawian counterparts on the role of political parties in fighting poverty. Their mutual message was, *'Do not wait until you are in government to do something about poverty eradication!'*

In both countries, poverty eradication has become a major issue in public discussions; governments have adopted various policy-related and structural reforms aimed at accomplishing that goal. Through intense debate and exchange of ideas, it became apparent that regardless of whether they are governing or not, all political parties have an obligation

The 2007 regional conference, which was to focus on *internal party democracy*, was to be held in Kenya. However, given the hectic political calendar and political volatility in Kenya as that country prepared for national elections, the conference was deferred to early 2008 and relocated to Malawi.

#### Country exchanges

The inter-country exchange programme is an innovation that took shape in early 2007. These exchanges are meant to consolidate interparty dialogue, promote cooperation of political parties across countries and share best practices. They also act as de facto peer review mechanisms, in which political parties are able to critically reflect on what is and what is not working.

Three exchange programmes took place in 2007:

- *South African political parties to Malawi*. Theme: parties and the fight against poverty;
- *Kenyan political youth wings to Tanzania*. Theme: youth participation;
- *Zambian political parties to South Africa*. Theme: constitutional reform and party-related legislation.

The ESARP coordinator was also involved in a visit of Malian politicians to Malawi. The visit offered Malian political parties insights into the functioning of a cross-party Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), which was under consideration for establishment in Mali.

#### Knowledge generation

In a bid to deepen understanding of the state of affairs in the internal functioning and management of political parties, the ESARP programme undertook a preliminary survey on internal party democracy in a number of NIMD partner countries. The survey results were discussed during the 2007 Partnership Days.

to work to eradicate poverty. Their party manifestos and ideological orientations do or should offer various alternatives and enrich policy discussion when it comes to fighting poverty.

The South African political parties and their Malawian counterparts discussed the institutional development of political parties as pillars of democracy. The South Africans had the opportunity to appreciate the functioning of an institutionalized interparty dialogue platform like the CMD-Malawi, in which the political parties cooperate. Politicians from both countries were also able to identify potential 'sister' parties with whom they can intensify bilateral cooperation in the future.

### ESARP Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Facilitating exchange programmes that are feeding into national reform agendas.
- Further strengthening the linkages between country programmes and the regional programme by working closely with the CMDs.

#### Key international partners

- Centres for Multiparty Democracy (CMDs) in ESARP countries
- Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), South Africa

- Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA)
- Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
- SADC Parliamentary Forum
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America

### Key political events

- 27 December: general elections in which a record 70% voter turnout cast their ballots in a peaceful manner.
- 30 December: eruption of ethnic violence after irregularities in the tallying process of the presidential elections.

### Key achievements in 2007

- The October 2007 parliamentary adoption and presidential backing of the Political Parties Act (PPA).
- Growing awareness in government, political parties and civil society of the need to include underrepresented and marginalized groups, resulting in a modest increase in political participation for some of these groups.
- Party secretariats have been professionalized through training and investment. The visibility of political parties has increased through better media coverage and there was more interparty dialogue.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- Investing in the development of identity and ideology for political parties, together with depersonalization through the increase of internal party democracy, remains critically important in order to de-ethnicize politics.
- In its impartial position NIMD's partner organization, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy in Kenya (CMD-Kenya), has proven able to facilitate the debate between the political parties and to include civil society organizations in the process. For instance, CMD-K played a pivotal role in the debate on reforms such as the assent of the Political Parties Act.
- Despite the fact that the political participation of women, youth and persons with disabilities has been promoted, social prejudice against the leadership qualities of women, youth and the disabled seems still to be a predominant factor in society. The emancipation of marginalized groups needs to be enhanced through continuous awakening of all players relevant to this challenge.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

#### *The December 2007 elections*

The year 2007 stood politically in the light of preparations for the presidential and parliamentary elections of 27 December. There was a record voter turnout of 70%, with credible outcomes of the parliamentary elections. However, the Electoral Commission's tallying of the presidential election votes was severely flawed, which sparked political violence in Kenya.

NIMD's local partner organization, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya (CMD-K), played a crucial role in facilitating talks with high-level representatives of all political parties and civil society organizations to keep Kenya together. Solutions were formulated, proposed and discussed with a mediation team led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. In the aftermath of the elections CMD-K joined a coalition of 65 organizations, which called for peaceful resolution of the crisis, and helped draft a 13-point reform agenda.

#### *Failed promises*

The post-election crisis runs deeper than the failure of the Electoral Commission to live up to its mandate. The Kibaki government, and the political elite in general, have failed to deliver on promised constitutional and electoral system reforms. In addition, they have failed to address historical injustices on sensitive social and political issues such as land reforms and devolution of power, amongst others. Throughout the year CMD-K played a leading role in aligning politicians, leaders of civil society organizations and churches to press for political reforms.

#### *Ethnicization*

Many unstable political parties and coalitions emerged and dissolved during the year, including the ruling party under the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Some of the parties and coalitions earned a reputation for pragmatism but most were vehicles for personal interests, entrenching a trend of ethnicization and regionalization in Kenyan politics.

In the run-up to the elections, two main coalitions dominated the scene: the Party of National Unity (PNU) of incumbent President Kibaki and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) of his main contender, Raila Odinga. The alliances were largely formed on ethnic lines, with the

opposition accusing the government of privileging the dominant Kikuyu population over other ethnic groups.

### NIMD Programme

#### *Improving the political system*

Due to a lack of political will, no compromise was reached on revising Kenya's constitution. An eleven-point 'essential reforms package' had been devised by political parties and civil society, backed by certain ministers as well as religious leaders. CMD-K had been granted a key role in facilitating these constitutional talks, providing strategic and technical input and aligning stakeholders. The parliamentary and presidential approval for the long-awaited Political Parties Act (PPA) was a major achievement. CMD-K played a key role in this process.

#### *Strengthening the political parties*

An important aim of NIMD's 2007 programme was the strengthening of political parties' identities, improvement of internal democracy, and institutional development of the parties. Although different success rates were achieved, parties were able to improve on these issues.

In the run-up to the elections, CMD-K focused on programmatic debates between the various parties, as well as a special programme aimed at preparing women candidates to stand in the elections and increase their numbers in representative bodies. An innovative development, and in hindsight a very important one, was the organization of peace concerts throughout Kenya to educate and motivate the young generation not to engage in violence over the electoral competition.

#### *Relations between political parties and civil society*

Efforts of CMD-K to forge links with civil society resulted in several meetings and workshops with various underrepresented groups including women, youth and unrecognized ethnic minorities. The meetings helped them organize, articulate their demands and prepare petitions for the constitutional reform committee.

#### *Young NIMD in Kenya*

On the initiative of CMD-K, twelve youth wings of political parties joined a designated Youth Development Programme. In June, three Young NIMD representatives and three Kenyan youth wing members participated in a



youth conference in Ghana. These contacts were extended at the NIMD Partnership Days in September, which a two-person Kenyan delegation attended.

*Multiparty cooperation*

CMD-K was instituted in 2004 by Kenyan political parties and forms

a unique interparty dialogue platform. Funded by NIMD and with additional financial support from UNIFEM, Heinrich Böhl and UNDP, CMD-K is broadening its programme. This support, as well as partnerships with universities and civil society organizations (CAPF), has contributed to the growth of CMD-K's reputation and visibility in Kenya.

**Kenya Programme – additional info**

**Priorities for 2008**

The exact outlook for the 2008 programme will depend largely on how the discussions about the disputed elections and the Annan team mediation between PNU and ODM on topics including constitutional reform and a potential coalition will be resolved. It is expected that the necessary constitutional and legal reforms will continue to take centre stage on the political agenda in Kenya.

**Key national partners**

- Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Kenya (CMD-Kenya)
- Electoral Commission for Kenya (ECK)
- Law Reform Commission
- CAPF consortium of NGOs, including Transparency International and the Centre for Governance and Democracy (CGD)
- Media Focus on Africa
- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

- Citizen TV
- Rotary Club
- Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya (FPAK)

**Key international partners**

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Ford Foundation, USA
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
- Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)
- Heinrich Böhl Foundation, Germany
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America
- International Republican Institute (IRI), United States of America
- European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)

**3.6**

**Malawi**

**Key political events**

- In June the Supreme Court of Appeal validated the ruling of the Lower Court prohibiting floorcrossing, leading to considerable political tension and manoeuvring in Parliament.
- The President adjourned Parliament in September, leaving the issue of floorcrossing unresolved.

**Key achievements in 2007**

- The Centre for Multi Party Democracy Malawi (CMD-M) successfully implemented a cross-party leadership training programme for middle-ranking cadres of the political parties with a balanced geographic coverage in participation. It proved an important initiative for reducing interparty tensions.
- CMD-M continued to provide an impartial meeting platform for political parties in a very volatile political environment.
- CMD-M has made further steps to institutionalize interparty cooperation in a professional organization.

**Lessons learned in 2007**

- Implementing programmes at a cross-party level serves to create bonds between political parties and, if encouraged, can assist in addressing interparty rivalry.
- In a politically tense atmosphere, it is easier and more rewarding to concentrate efforts to enhance cooperation between political parties at the middle level of the party leadership. The top leadership is too entrenched in their conflicts and rivalries, whereas the middle-level politicians are more moderate and willing to pursue reform agendas. Nevertheless, the challenge remains to bring the top leadership into a dialogue as well.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

**State of democracy**

The Malawian parliament is dominated by the opposition. However, no single party or block can amass the two-thirds majority needed to pass bills. As a result, there is need for consensus building and cooperation.

*Political turmoil*

In June the Supreme Court of Appeal validated a prior decision of the

lower court that prohibited floorcrossing by members of parliament. Consequently, more than 50 MPs who had crossed the floor lost their seats, leaving the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of President Bingu wa Mutharika without any MPs. The President trashed the Supreme Court decision. Due to this issue the parliament was suspended once in June and again in September. Since then, parliament has not convened.

Court battles over the nomination of members of the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) has caused significant delays in preparations for the 2009 general elections, not to mention the local government elections, which are already overdue.

#### *Weak parties*

The institutionalization of the political parties is hindered by a lack of resources. Currently, only the MCP and the United Democratic Front (UDF) receive public funding because the constitution says that only those parties that contribute at least 10% to the national assembly are entitled to such.

Another challenge facing political parties in Malawi is negative public opinion. To regain trust, political parties have to tackle such issues as corruption or violence in the party, poverty and underdevelopment; they must also enhance intra-party democracy by advocating open and transparent ways of selecting trustworthy candidates. In addition, they must deliver on promises they make during election campaigns.

#### **NIMD Programme**

##### *Improving the political system*

In Malawi, NIMD cooperates with the Centre for Multi Party Democracy Malawi (CMD-M) One of CMD-M's objectives is to prevent political conflicts from turning into violence. Therefore, CMD-M has been working on a draft paper on conflict management strategies and a code of conduct for the member parties of CMD-Malawi. Both drafts will be discussed at the annual General Assembly in 2008.

##### *Strengthening the political parties*

The Leadership Development Programme was one of the main activities that CMD-M had undertaken in 2007. This training programme targets district party leaders of all the political parties participating in CMD-M; all three regions of Malawi were covered. One of the major achievements of this training programme is that lower party cadres learned that rival parties can still work together to improve the performance of the political system. An offshoot of this cross-party forum is that it helps curb interparty violence.

#### **Leadership Development Training**

Politics is one of the few professions that people enter without any requisite qualifications. One can be a farmer, a lawyer, or engineer and the next day become a politician. Obviously, this is positive insofar as it relates to diversity within the political representation, but it also creates a challenge when people are elected to public office and leadership positions without adequate preparation and education. Realizing this shortfall, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Malawi (CMD-M) organized a Leadership Development Training aimed at regional and district party leaders.

This training course took place in November 2007 and covered all three administrative regions, targeting all the political districts of Malawi. Among

other topics, the training course covered politics, power and democracy; the Malawi political system; political parties and their functions in a democracy. Participants in the training course included regional and district party chairpersons.

One major achievement of the course is that it took place in a cross-party forum. As such, it was impressed upon the participants that even rival parties can still work together for the betterment of political society. An offshoot of such cross-party forums is that if encouraged, they can serve to curb interparty rivalry. A case in point was a request by participants for CMD-M to carry out this type of training for the top leadership, because they believe that most of the political instability is fuelled by the positions taken by top party leaders.

#### **Malawi Programme – additional info**

##### **Priorities for 2008**

- Facilitating further institutionalization of CMD-M.
- Encouraging joint initiatives among the political parties to improve the electoral process by constitutional reforms, if necessary, and by stimulating voter participation.
- Diversifying the CMD-M funding base.

##### **Key national partners**

- Centre for Multi Party Democracy Malawi (CMD-M)
- Forum for Dialogue and Peace

##### **Key international partners**

- European Union (EU)
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), Germany
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), United Kingdom
- Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)



**Key political event**

Electoral law reform was a major issue in 2007 with key legislation changes in the Law on Provincial Assemblies, the Law on National Electoral Commission, the Registration Law and the Law on Elections of Provincial Assemblies.

**Key achievements in 2007**

- The ruling party Renamo, opposition party Frelimo and the network of extra-parliamentary opposition parties CPDM (Centre for the Promotion of Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique) have all indicated that they will participate in an initial cross-party meeting to discuss the formation of a dialogue platform.

- By learning to work together and implement cross-party activities, CPDM managed to increase the cooperation between the extra-parliamentary parties. The parties also learned to overcome tensions between each other and to reconcile – lessons learned which are critical for the formation of coalitions.

**Lessons learned in 2007**

- To stimulate a political dialogue, it is essential to guarantee local ownership, to be explicit about NIMD's motives and to discuss frankly the objectives of such a dialogue.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

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**State of democracy**

The transition in 1992 from a violent power struggle between Frelimo and Renamo to a democratic order has had a profound impact on Mozambique. After the peace agreement both parties have shown willingness to ensure peace, but Frelimo as the ruling party and Renamo in opposition continue to perceive each other with great distrust.

The cooperation between opposition parties also requires attention. Although Renamo and the six smaller parties are united in the Electoral Union, their coalition is weak. Another challenge is to increase the participation of the population in the political process. Voter turnout at general elections is decreasing and the gap between rural and urban areas is widening.

*Electoral reform*

The reform of four electoral laws was a major improvement in the political system. The - controversial - abolition of the parliamentary threshold of 5% for political parties will enable more parties to enter parliament. It will stimulate the six smaller parties in the Electoral Union coalition with Renamo, to try to win seats independently or in cooperation with the other (extra-parliamentary) parties.

The new, more diverse composition of the National Electoral Commission (NCE) represents another step forward for democracy in Mozambique. The Commission, originally consisted of Frelimo (8) and Renamo-EU (7), now consists of 13 members with a majority share (8) representing civil society, next to Frelimo (3) and Renamo (2).

*Challenges*

For a new phase in consolidating democracy Frelimo's main challenge is to focus on a separation between the party and the State. This means offering public service employment opportunities on the basis of merit, not party affiliation, as well as fighting corruption. Frelimo could also focus on improving the impartiality and professionalism of the management of the election process.

Renamo-EU (Electoral Union) remains a strong presence in parliament with 90 seats, while Frelimo holds 160 seats. However, Renamo's overall electoral support has gradually decreased during the last elections. The party has not succeeded in building up an effective organization with explicit policies on Mozambique's national issues.

**NIMD Programme***Strengthening the political parties*

In 2007 Frelimo, Renamo and the network of extra-parliamentary opposition parties (Centre for the Promotion of Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique, CPDM) focused on preparing for the upcoming provincial elections. Frelimo organized a training for around 600 spokespersons at the provincial and district levels of the party, in the northern, southern and central regions.

Renamo decided to implement a 'train-the-trainers' programme for Renamo district members, which pertained to the monitoring of the electoral processes. Renamo expects this approach to improve the party's electoral outcomes and reduce the risk of unjustified contestation and electoral fraud accusations.

At the beginning of 2007 CPDM was in an internal crisis, with member parties trying to exclude others, but at the end of the year three factions were grouped around the three largest parties.

With 35% female parliamentarians and a female Prime Minister, Mozambique has one of the most gender-balanced political systems in the world. The challenge is to empower and improve the expertise and skills of female politicians. In early 2007 NIMD's partner organization Muleide (Women for Law and Development) organized training on gender issues for 30 women and some men from 10 different parties.

*Relations between political parties and civil society*

As part of NIMD's objective to enhance a culture of dialogue in the political system, NIMD supported its partner Amode (Mozambican Association for the Development of Democracy) to establish Centres for Public Debate in various regions. These centres are to increase political debate at the grassroots level, amongst Frelimo, Renamo, civil society and the media. Successful public debates were organized in the northern region and similar debates are currently implemented in the central region.

*Multiparty cooperation*

Although Frelimo, Renamo and extra-parliamentary opposition parties regularly meet in and outside parliament, these encounters do not resolve the existing mistrust and animosity between the two largest parties. Therefore, NIMD has continued its efforts to create a dialogue platform between the political parties and discussed the issue with high-level members of the various parties.

### Media training for Frelimo

In October Frelimo organized a party spokesperson training course. The goal was to improve the party's image at the local level and to help party cadres effectively use the media to promote party performance, government achievements and Frelimo's municipal assembly candidates. The course was a 'train-the-trainers' programme: the participants will organize similar trainings at local and district levels.

Attendance at the seminar in Beira was remarkably high: 60 people participated, including 8 women. The training programme was taught by journalists, senior party members and parliamentarians. The course dealt with theories and requirements of spokespersons, journalism and media law. Practicalities were also discussed and trained, such as expected media opportunities, basic journalism techniques and use of local languages. Finally, the course developed scenarios based on themes likely to be explored by opposition parties during the electoral campaign.

### Mozambique Programme – additional info

#### Priority for 2008

- To start cross-party discussion on the dialogue between Frelimo, Renamo and representatives from the extra-parliamentary parties.

#### Key national partners

- Centro de Promoção de Democracia Multipartidaria Moçambique, (Centre for the Promotion of Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique, CPDM-M)
- Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento (Mozambican Association for the Development of Democracy – Amode)
- Associação Muhler, Lei e Desenvolvimento (Women for Law and Development – Muleide)
- Institute for the Development of Mozambique (IDM)

#### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA)
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), Germany
- Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), Germany
- Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)

## 3.8

## South Africa

### Key political events

- The second floorcrossing window during this electoral term took place from 1 – 15 September. It affected the political parties mainly at the local level rather than the national level.
- The election of Jacob Zuma as President of the African National Congress (ANC) in December and the defeat of incumbent ANC President Thabo Mbeki.

### Key achievements in 2007

- The parliamentary political parties publicly acknowledge the need for cross-party dialogue outside Parliament which provides for an opportunity to develop Forum meetings into a more institutionalized cross-party dialogue.
- Forum meetings have had some impact on the cooperation between the parties in parliament. For example, one representative of a

small opposition party in the Forum has been incorporated into a parliamentary commission.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- Floorcrossing is faced with increased criticism from voters and political parties. At the initiative of two opposition parties two draft bills opposing floorcrossing are now being debated in Parliament.
- The debates between the different political parties facilitated by the NIMD programme and the cooperation of the South African political parties in NIMD's East and Southern African Regional Programme have effectively resulted in an initiative to institutionalize interparty dialogue on national issues in South Africa.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

In 2007 ANC's increasing electoral dominance remained unchallenged as the opposition remained weak. The only opposition party that challenges ANC at the provincial level is the Inkatha Freedom Party in Kwazulu-Natal.

#### *Electoral system discussed*

In parliament, changes in the current electoral system were the subject of debate. At the local level there is a mixed system, with half of the

seats on the basis of proportional representation and half on the basis of municipal wards. However, there is a fixed-list, proportional representation system at the provincial and national level. To strengthen the link between elected representatives (at the national and provincial level) and their constituencies, it has been suggested to either translate the local mixed system to provincial and national levels or introduce a multi-member closed-list system (MMCL). However, the ANC so far favours maintaining the current system.



### *Mbeki vs Zuma*

At the ANC Congress in December 2007, Jacob Zuma was elected President, defeating incumbent party leader Thabo Mbeki. The Congress and the electoral process in the run-up to the Congress were a showcase of internal party democracy. With the election of Zuma as ANC president, it is expected that he will also be the ANC candidate to succeed Mbeki in April 2009.

The campaign between Mbeki and Zuma in the run-up to these ANC elections has put pressure on the unity within ANC and perhaps even more so between the government and ANC: will South Africa be led by the ANC or by the government? The separation of powers is also challenged by a pending court case against Zuma. The fact that Zuma stood for elections while charged with corruption has raised concerns about the ethical standards within political society in South Africa.

### **NIMD Programme**

The NIMD programme in South Africa is a small programme. The objective is to strengthen the South African political party system.

The programme does not aim to support the political parties separately to enhance their institutional capacity, as the political parties receive substantial governmental subsidies.

In President Mbeki's February 2007 State of the Union address, he endorsed the idea of establishing dialogue between the parliamentary parties outside plenary sessions to arrive at a national consensus. Three high-level dialogue meetings were organized for the South African Political Parties Forum, the informal group of parties established by the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) and NIMD.

In 2007 two regional exchange visits took place. In an exchange visit to Malawi politicians from both countries discussed poverty alleviation and visited several successful grassroots poverty alleviation initiatives. Zambian political parties initiated an exchange visit to South Africa to be informed about the successful constitution-making process in South Africa and the legal framework for political parties (floorcrossing and party financing).

### **Zambian delegation visits South Africa**

The Zambian political parties made a three-day visit to South Africa in July 2007. The first day was a conference of the two groups on the function of their political parties and their different political systems. As both countries are discussing constitutional reforms, the comparison between the first-past-the-post system in Zambia and the proportional representation system (at the national level) in South Africa was very fruitful.

The second day of the visit was a conference with South African civil society about the impact of the political system (as stipulated in the constitution) on the functioning of political parties. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) presented the way in which the IEC regulates the parties.

On the third day, the Zambian parties visited Parliament. They met several South African MPs and watched as President Mbeki addressed a joint session of both houses of Parliament on the amnesty of political prisoners. The Zambian delegation was impressed by the citizen-friendly atmosphere in Parliament, the television broadcasting, the translation for MPs who wanted to speak in their vernacular languages (rather than in English) and the equal treatment of the MPs and the President. It was agreed that some experts from South Africa would be welcome to support the constitutional reform debate in Zambia.

### **South Africa Programme – additional info**

#### **Priority for 2008**

- Elaboration on lessons learned by the Centres for Multiparty Democracies in the neighbouring countries regarding the process of deciding on a CMD structure for South Africa

#### **Key national partner**

- Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

#### **Key international partners**

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)
- Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)

### Key political events

- Secret talks between the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary State Party, CCM) and opposition party United Civic Front (CUF) to resolve their political dispute about the outcome of the 2005 general elections and CUF's refusal to recognize the government in Zanzibar (January).
- Signing of a successful cooperation agreement by four opposition parties on 10 May 2007, leading to the resurrection of dormant opposition parties and signs from the governing party to start addressing imperfections of the current regulations on multiparty democracy.
- Charges of substantial corruption at the Central Bank, the formation of a Presidential Committee to review mining contracts, and a Parliamentary Committee, launched in November to investigate governmental corruption concerning a failed energy deal, which led to the dissolution of the whole Cabinet on 7 February 2008.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Review of the existing Political Parties Act. It is expected to be tabled before Parliament in 2008 due to continuous pressure from the opposition, supported by the Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD).
- Review of political party campaign financing. Following allegations that CCM may have benefited from funds stolen from the Central Bank and used the funds during the 2005 general elections, the CCM Central Committee has directed the government to review political party campaign financing. The current law is silent on how much campaign financing is to be monitored, except to say that parties have to report

to the Registrar of Political Parties about their sources of campaign financing.

- Attracting support from a strategic partner in order to step up TCD's institutionalization process. The African Peer Review Mechanism under UNDP's Deepening Democracy Tanzanian Programme (DDTP) has been launched. As key stakeholders, political parties are taking part in the process by making presentations and filling questionnaires.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- The fact that the cabinet resigned over corruption charges demonstrates that both the opposition and the ruling party have turned their eyes to the public for political support and an increase in political accountability.
- Advocacy has to be complemented by lobbying. In spite of the government's reluctance to truly open the political arena and usher in a more level playing field, constant discussions with the Registrar of Political Parties and Minister of State, Office of the President, and Political Affairs finally convinced the former Prime Minister to sign a ministerial order for the review of the Political Parties Act.
- Strong and committed leadership remains crucial. While opening his party's congress the President pledged to work for and support TCD, contrary to his own senior party members' position. This has changed the conduct of those senior members regarding the necessity of dialogue with the opposition and cooperation with TCD.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

The legal framework in which political parties operate tends to inhibit the growth of vibrant political parties in Tanzania. There is a catalogue of problem areas, including the constitution, the electoral laws and party funding. Political parties do not have equal access to the media and political corruption is entrenched but increasingly exposed.

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1992, the state has remained dominated by a single strong party. The governing party was favoured by the first-past-the-post system applied in the elections. The Political Parties Act of 1992 prohibits parties from merging before first dissolving and seeking fresh registration. To circumvent this restriction and pool their resources, four opposition parties signed a cooperation agreement on 10 May 2007. They pledged to work together and field a single presidential candidate for the 2010 general elections.

#### Dialogue in Zanzibar

In 1964 mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form the federated United Republic of Tanzania. After the 2005 general elections, opposition party United Civic Front (CUF) contested the results and refused to recognize Zanzibar's government. On 6 January 2007, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary State Party – CCM) and CUF secretary generals met for the first time over this conflict and prepared the ground for CCM and CUF talks, which have been ongoing since. In August President Jakaya Kikwete reported that agreements have been reached on most of outstanding issues but as yet there is no final outcome.

Given the weakness of the political opposition, civil society organizations – particularly Christian churches and the Muslim Council – play a relatively prominent political role.

### NIMD Programme

#### Improving the political system

An important programmatic focus for 2007 was strengthening the multiparty system through interparty dialogue around constitutional and legislative reforms, with a special focus on Zanzibar. Three stakeholder conferences were organized attended by around 130 participants, including senior representatives of all 18 political parties.

The governing party has been reluctant to address the institutional handicaps for parliamentary opposition. However, in November, President Kikwete expressed an interest in a dialogue with the opposition on issues of national importance, stating that CCM would work with and extend support to the Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD).

#### Strengthening the political parties

Another important programmatic focus for 2007 was enhancing the institutional capacity of five political parties (with parliamentary representation) through strengthening of party identities, internal party democracy and information technology.

#### Relations between political parties and civil society

There have been some radio and television debates as well as a media workshop supported by NIMD. Through these activities, parties have gained more experience in communication and in presenting distinct policy positions.



### Dialogue about constitutional reform

A key objective of the Tanzania programme is to reform the constitution in order to align it to the reality of a multiparty democracy.

TCD organized two stakeholders' conferences to advocate constitutional and other legal reforms. The conferences created an ongoing, public discussion of the issues raised. The first conference was held on 25 and 26 June 2007, with the aim of reviewing laws governing the conduct of politics in Tanzania. The conference recommended changes to the

Elections Act 1985, the Political Parties Act 1992 and the enactment of a National Electoral Commission Act.

The second conference was held on 6 and 7 August 2007. In spite of divergent views on how the Constitution should be reformed, the consensus was that it needed reworking. The government now takes a more accommodating position toward the Constitution as a living document, which people have the right to discuss if areas are seen as inadequate. However, the ruling party remains reluctant to draft a new constitution.

### Tanzania Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Advocacy on constitutional and legal reforms.
- Institutional capacity building of four parliamentary political parties.
- Expansion of strategic partnerships and the institutional strengthening of TCD.

#### Key national partners

- Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD).
- Electoral Commission
- Media Houses of Tanzania
- Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme (ESAURP)

- University of Dar es Salaam
- Research for Education and Democracy in Tanzania (REDET)
- Media Institute of Southern Africa – Tanzania
- Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO)

#### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Finnish democracy assistance organization DEMO
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America

## 3.10

## Zambia

### Key political events

- Former President Chiluba was found guilty of corruption (4 May). As yet, he has not been held accountable.
- Political consensus reached on the constitutional reform process (26 June). After long disputes between the government and civil society, the Zambian political parties, brought together within the NIMD supported Zambian Centre for Interparty Dialogue (ZCID), developed a compromise solution.
- Inauguration of the National Constitutional Conference (19 December) which will prepare for a new constitution.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Successful facilitation of a political compromise over the constitutional reform process.
- Enhanced contact with regional branches of political parties over constitutional issues. Traditionally, Zambian political parties became almost inactive after elections. ZCID facilitated exchanges with the

party rank and file to provide input for interparty dialogue sessions on the constitutional reform process.

- Internal management capacity of political parties has slightly improved.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- The negotiations over the new constitution showed that political parties can play an important intermediary role between government and civil society. The parties have proven able to see each other not only as competitors but also as actors sharing a collective responsibility to strengthen Zambian democracy.
- Investments in basic and practical skills within political parties (such as computer software training, financial management, administration, archiving) should become even more prominent on the ZCID/NIMD agenda.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

Checks and balances in Zambian democracy remain limited due to a powerful executive and a limited mandate for Parliament. Within this legal set-up, it is difficult for Parliament to hold the government accountable. 2007 provided a window of opportunity to address the legal framework of Zambian democracy. A constitutional review procedure was agreed upon that will enable debate over the principles of Zambian democracy, such as the power balance, the electoral system and the Bill of Rights.

However, the government and a major (umbrella) non-governmental organization had both developed a roadmap for constitutional reform and were fighting each other over the procedures to be followed. With help of the Zambian Centre for Interparty Dialogue (ZCID), an NIMD partner, a compromise was eventually reached, paving the way for the constitutional reform process in Zambia.

### Balanced political landscape

Although the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) won the elections in 2006, the political landscape was more balanced throughout 2007 than before thanks to the sound electoral performance of the Patriotic Front (PF). The situation also stimulated both parties to continue to maintain close contact with their constituencies.

### Pseudo parties

Civil society organizations have long pushed the agenda for constitutional reform and were seen by many as 'pseudo-political parties'. When political parties, with input from NIMD, reached an agreement over this crucial issue, various NGOs saw their power base and donor support threatened.

### NIMD Programme

#### Improving the political system

To break the impasse over the constitutional reform process (see above), all parties organized internal party consultations on this matter. Subsequently, the ZCID Board – which is composed of the Secretary Generals of the member parties – engaged in a process of interparty dialogue for fifteen consecutive days in order to define a compromise.

### Political parties break deadlock on constitutional reform

On 26 June the leadership of all political parties, including the main political opponents President Mwanawasa and opposition leader Michael Sata, met to discuss – and agree on – a joint position over the constitutional reform process.

Even the most critical journalists reported positively about the fact that parties were apparently able to work together in order to strengthen the framework of Zambian democracy. The leaders of all major parties had been brought together by their Secretary Generals, who had been working together on numerous (less sensitive) programmes for quite some years. The political agreement was a sound example of the possibilities and advantages of interparty cooperation.

ZCID also organized a high-level, interparty visit to South Africa to discuss the constitutional reform process that had taken place there.

### Strengthening the political parties

In 2007 the NIMD/ZCID programme continued providing support to parliamentary parties in order to enhance their management capacity. A stronger emphasis was placed on improving internal financial management, administration and project management capacity.

### Evaluation

An external evaluation of the NIMD/ZCID programme was undertaken in October. The programme framework was assessed positively, but the evaluators noted that additional work needed to be done in such areas as the bilateral support to political parties and in the institutional aspects of the ZCID.

### Multiparty cooperation

After years of informal cooperation the Zambian Centre for Interparty Dialogue (ZCID), established by parliamentary parties and two non-parliamentary parties, was formally launched in June 2007.

Most of the elements within the proposed agreement were taken over by the Minister of Justice and presented to Parliament. However, it became clear at a later stage that some key actors, notably churches, with a historic role in Zambian democracy felt – and actually were – underrepresented within the NCC. Their lobby resulted in the withdrawal of Patriotic Front's commitment to the agreement. However, once the NCC was installed, quite a number of PF supporters did participate. Negotiations were still ongoing at the end of the year to get all actors more involved in the reform process and increase its legitimacy.

### Zambia Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Defining ZCID's civic education and political resource role towards NCC and holding the NCC accountable.
- Assisting parties with implementation of their regional capacity-building activities (based on individual priorities).
- Assisting ZCID with implementation of the roadmap for institutional strengthening.

#### Key national partners

- Zambian Centre for Interparty Dialogue (ZCID)
- Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP)

- National Women's Lobby Group
- OASIS Forum (local NGO)
- Constitutional Awareness Network (CAN)

#### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
- European Union (EU)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- Governance Group (donor community)
- African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)



### Key political events

- Failure of the dialogue process between ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). During this process, which was initiated by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in June 2007, the parties decided on a six-point agenda, which included a new interim constitution, new electoral legislation, security legislation and media legislation. However, the unilateral decision by Mugabe to organize elections on 29 March 2008 made it impossible to implement any of the changes agreed in the talks and caused the dialogue to break down.
- ZANU-PF Extraordinary Congress confirmed Mugabe as its presidential candidate (14 December). This resulted in the group around Makoni running as an independent faction.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Coalition between two MDC factions. Although the dialogue between the two MDC factions did not lead to a reunification in early 2008, an agreement on a common SADC negotiation position was successfully

reached and an effective coalition was formed during the negotiations.

- Enhanced profile of political opposition. Due to their professionalism in the negotiating process, the political opposition managed to enhance their profile internationally and strengthened their relations with the South African government.
- Groundwork for transitional constitution and agenda. The agreements reached in the negotiations that broke down will certainly come back to the table once the transition to the post-Mugabe era sets in.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- SADC's inability to leverage its influence on the Zimbabwe government in order to implement the outcome of the SADC-facilitated dialogue.
- The ongoing economic, social and political disintegration of Zimbabwe, coupled with internal divisions between and within the ZANU-PF and MDC parties, has caused survival strategies to dominate political interactions, at the expense of a focus on policy development to address the deepening crises.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

Since President Mugabe lost a constitutional referendum in 1999 he has tried to remain in power by any means necessary. Mugabe's drastic attempts to retain power have been referred to as a 'democracide', and have come at great cost to Zimbabweans. The average age has declined from 64 to 35 years, currently the lowest life expectancy in Africa. Millions have fled the country, shops are empty, inflation is sky high and unemployment is estimated to be 85%.

Following a government crackdown on the opposition in early March 2007, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) mandated South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki to mediate between the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), with the objectives of securing agreement on constitutional reform ahead of March 2008 elections and ending the economic crisis. The SADC mediation failed and ZANU-PF unilaterally decided to set a date for the elections. This torpedoed the dialogue as the date ought to have allowed a timeframe for implementation of agreed-upon reforms and enactment of a new constitution.

#### Break-away

Mugabe had promised to step down in 2008 but changed his mind. He initially toyed with the idea of tampering with the constitution to allow his term to run until 2010. This was met with resistance within the party but ensured the support of the women, youth wings and war veteran. Within Zanu-PF, the members have recognized that there is a need for leadership rejuvenation. Speculation about the formation of a break-away political party by the former Minister of Finance, Simba Makoni, materialized early in 2008. His standing for the election has caused more fissures within ZANU-PF.

#### Internal rivalry

In the opposition, MDC had an uphill battle in 2007. From the start, they faced the daunting task of overcoming the internal party divisions in the hope of arriving at a coalition which could contest the March 2008 elections. To make this possible, they had to agree on national party structures, set formulas for candidate selection and nominate candidates for the presidential, senate, parliamentary and local elections. At the same

time they made a huge effort to meet the challenges of building capacity and finding the resources to rejuvenate their administrative structures in order to carry out an effective electoral campaign.

By the end of 2007, two MDC factions, one led by Morgan Tsvangirai and one led by Arthur Mutambara, reached for a coordinated approach to the forthcoming elections – an agreement that subsequently was blocked by the Tsvangirai group.

### NIMD Programme

The Zimbabwe programme aims to foster democratic dialogue between the political opposition parties (MDC Tsvangirai and MDC Mutambara), ZANU-PF and Zimbabwean civil society. Through partnerships with the Zimbabwe Institute (ZI) and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), the programme supported the SADC dialogue by providing the financial support and facilitating expert knowledge and confidence-building mechanisms. The dialogue reached agreements on electoral legislation and constitutional reform.

#### Preparing for transition

To prepare for a political transition and to move from opposition politics to transition politics, a Special Programme was prepared which deals with a transition agenda and with reversing the autocratic measures taken by Zimbabwe's regime. The Special Programme was initiated at a conference in South Africa, which involved MDC factions, representatives from civil society and other African countries. The Programme is managed by a board composed of Zimbabwean and international experts with substantial track records in managing transition processes. An increasing number of major donors have bought into the programme and are financially committed. This required extensive lobbying by two NIMD's partners (Zimbabwe Institute and Institute for Democracy in South Africa) to find support for this programme, identify drivers for change in Zimbabwe, find experts and begin implementation.

#### Evaluation

In 2007 the Zimbabwe programme was evaluated by team of independent evaluators. The results confirmed the relevance of the policies applied by NIMD. The evaluation also indicated the opportunity to increase efforts for an inclusive dialogue, based on the exploration of reform-

minded individuals within the governing party ZANU-PF. Measures to that extent had already been taken by the programme and have resulted in constructive relations with forces for change within ZANU-PF.

**Zimbabwe Programme – additional info**

**Priority for 2008**

- Redefining the strategy on the basis of the outcome of the elections, and implementing a transition agenda to the extent that circumstances allow at that point in time.

**Key partners**

- Zimbabwe Institute (ZI)
- Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)



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**Latin America Regional Programme / Bolivia /  
Ecuador / Guatemala / Nicaragua / Suriname /  
Media and Politics Programme /**

The NIMD work in Latin America is organized around five country programmes in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Suriname, in addition to a regional thematic programme about the relationship between media and politics.

As Latin America is a continent of strong cultural and political similarities, NIMD's work requires a regional approach, in addition to the specific country programmes.

The Latin American Regional Programme (LARP) provides support for each country programme and facilitates:

- South-south exchange of best practices, peer reviews and policy exchanges between practitioners on specific topics and skills;
- Development of local expertise and institutional material for NIMD in the region;
- Representation of NIMD in the Latin American region and related international forums.

### LARP Programme – information

#### Key achievements in 2007

- Development of a handbook on poverty reduction policies in Latin America.
- Facilitation of cross-country activities between Ecuador and Bolivia related to the Constituent Assembly processes and to the role of social movements in politics and policies.
- Development of the Spanish translation of *'The Dutch political system in a nutshell'*, published by NIMD and the Dutch Institute for Public and Politics. Presented and regionally distributed in May 2008.

#### Priority for 2008

- Further development of strategic partnerships with local organizations and experts.

#### Key international partners

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- Spanish Agency for International Cooperation (AECI)
- Proyectamérica (Chilean think tank)
- Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLASCO)
- Radio Netherlands World Service (RNW)

#### Key political events

- During 2007 several political crises took place, all related to the content of the new constitution, especially in regard to the distribution of wealth, taxes, departmental and indigenous autonomy and the capital of the country.
- The Constituent Assembly worked towards a new constitution, which was approved in December. At the same time the opposition departments presented their own autonomous statutes.

#### Key achievements in 2007

- NIMD's partner organization fBDM (Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy) facilitated the establishment of a multiparty commission, which managed to reach consensus on the main political issues in the new constitution.
- A fBDM study analyzed the media coverage of the work of the Constituent Assembly. Subsequently, fBDM brought about a debate

between politicians and journalists on their role in informing the public on political issues.

- Through the Centre for Political Training and Capacity Building, fBDM has provided training to students and political youth organizations on Bolivia's political history and political theory.

#### Lessons learned

- During the political crises in Bolivia fBDM was the only place where politicians from government and opposition were able to meet. This resulted in a unique contribution by fBDM to the dialogue between government and opposition in the country and underlines the importance of having such a Centre for Multiparty Democracy.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

#### State of democracy

2007 was a year of strong political polarization, increasing tensions and speculations about civil war. When newcomer Evo Morales (Movement towards Socialism – MAS) was elected as president in 2005, he promised a new constitution and a new State – a more 'participative democracy' – with greater influence from the indigenous majority.

During 2006 the work of the Constituent Assembly (CA) was seriously affected by continuous polarization between delegates, who clashed about indigenous rights and regional autonomy, amongst other issues.

The political fighting spilled into the streets in early 2007 after the ruling party refused to discuss whether La Paz or Sucre would be the future capital. Protesters in Sucre complained that Morales, Bolivia's first indigenous president, was favouring his Quechua and Aymara power base in the western regions and ignoring the needs of the middle classes and the eastern regions.

#### Political turmoil over constitutional reforms

In December 2007 the new constitution was approved, but without many of the opposition delegates present. This sudden move by the MAS led to



fierce criticism. The opposition argued that the approval procedure was illegitimate. Acting in defiance, the departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, Beni and Pando presented their own departmental autonomy statutes, which are not compatible with the constitution on issues such as taxation and the administration of natural resources.

The polarization was tempered in January 2008, when an official dialogue was established between the government and the opposition. Both sides of the political divide showed willingness to resolve the deadlock on the constitution and the autonomous statutes peacefully, but progress has been slow since that time.

#### *More campaigning ahead*

The continuous political turmoil has made it difficult for both the MAS and opposition parties to develop strategies for improving their internal organization. This situation is not likely to change, as several referenda are scheduled for 2008, which will again put the political parties in a situation of electoral campaigning.

#### **NIMD Programme**

In Bolivia NIMD cooperates with the *Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria* (Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy – fBDM), which represents all political parties and movements in Bolivia. In the polarized setting of Bolivian political society, fBDM is widely recognized as a relevant actor and the sole institution able to gather all political forces and create opportunities for dialogue and conflict-resolution.

#### **Bolivia Programme – additional info**

##### **Priorities for 2008**

- In anticipation of various referenda in 2008, fBDM will compare the parties' positions and points of view in order to stimulate discussions on content as well as depersonalize and depolarize the political debate.
- Public debate on referenda themes and other political events will be promoted in cooperation with the media.

##### **Key national partners**

- Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy – fBDM)
- Corte Nacional Electoral (CNE, National Electoral Council)
- Asociación Nacional de Periodistas de Bolivia (ANPB, journalists organization)
- Asociación Boliviana de Radiodifusoras (ASBORA, radio stations organization)
- Asociación de Periodistas de La Paz (APLP, journalists organization)
- Federación Sindical de Trabajadores de la Prensa de Bolivia (FSTPB, trade union of media practitioners)
- Red Participación y Justicia Compañeros de las Américas (network on Participation and Justice)
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (FES-ILDIS)

#### *Multiparty dialogue*

During the polarization that hampered the Constituent Assembly (CA) in drafting the new constitution, fBDM has been very active in identifying moderate forces within the government and opposition parties to facilitate consensus. Their efforts resulted in the formation of a multiparty commission, headed by Vice President Álvaro Linera, which achieved agreement on the main political issues, including on autonomy. However, the new constitution was approved without taking these agreements into account.

In April 2008, the new fBDM office was officially opened in the presence of Vice President Linera. The main political parties and movements have welcomed the new office as a place to meet, discuss and organize joint activities. The new office hosts a public documentation centre on democracy and political parties, unique in its kind in Bolivia.

#### *Relations between political parties and civil society*

At the request of the Royal Netherlands Embassy, fBDM managed a fund to support civil society organizations' proposals to the Constituent Assembly (CA). Selected proposals on a variety of issues came from employers' organizations, NGOs, workers' organizations and academic institutions. All proposals were handed over to the CA and its commissions.

- Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB, research institute)
- Gregoria Apaza (women organization)
- Asociación de Concejalas y Alcaldesas de Bolivia (ACOBOL, association of women mayors and local councillors)
- Foro Político de Mujeres (Forum of female politicians)
- Articulación de Mujeres por la Equidad y la Igualdad (AMUPEI, women organization)

##### **Key international partners**

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Royal Embassy of Sweden
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German organization for international cooperation, GTZ)
- Embassy of France
- European Union
- Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- United Nations Democracy Fund

### Key political events

- January 2007: Rafael Correa takes office as President. He is a 'leftist Christian' economist who boasts of close friendship with Venezuela's Chávez.
- April 2007: Correa wins 80% of the vote for his referendum proposal, which calls for a Constituent Assembly (CA).
- September 2007: Correa's Alianza País movement obtains 70% of the electorate seats in the CA. A new draft national constitution is expected in May 2008.

### Key achievements in 2007

- NIMD's partner organization *Ágora Democrática* has created a dialogue between newly-elected members of the Constituent Assembly (CA) from ruling and opposition parties during exchange visits to Spain, the Netherlands and Norway as a preparation for the CA. The central issues were: energy policy, social dialogue and the CA itself.
- On 1 August, the *Ágora Democrática* Programme organized an international seminar on constitutional reforms. The seminar was opened by President Rafael Correa and was attended by OAS Secretary General, José Miguel Insulza, amongst others. It offered a

public space for debate between the Ecuadorean political actors and civil society.

- In order to inform and involve Ecuadorean society in the CA and to strengthen the relationship between the media and politicians *Ágora Democrática* has organized weekly radio debates about the CA, and a series of workshops for media and politicians.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- The establishment of a strategic partnership and working relationship with radio stations offers an opportunity to increase the reach of *Ágora Democrática's* Programme and inform and involve society about the political agenda of the country.
- The overwhelming majority that President Correa's *Alianza País* holds in the Constituent Assembly and their decision to dismiss Parliament creates a serious threat of growing centralization of power and authoritarianism. *Ágora Democrática* will be focusing its activities more on creating dialogue between ruling and opposition parties.
- Because of the gap between political forces, there is an urgent need to set up a multiparty platform for a structural dialogue between parties.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

The victory of newcomer Rafael Correa in the 2006 presidential elections dramatically changed the balance of power in Ecuadorean politics. After more than a decade of political instability, Ecuadorians chose the drastic political, economic and social reform plans of Correa's *Alianza País* movement, which is not an official political party but an alliance of three political movements.

#### *Dialogue in the Constituent Assembly*

In a referendum in April, Correa won 80% of the vote for his proposal to establish a Constituent Assembly (CA), charged with writing a new constitution. His alliance consolidated a 70% majority of seats in the CA, leaving the previously dominant parties virtually without representation. All CA commissions are being chaired by *Alianza País*. Consequently, Correa's political movement is able to pass a new constitution without the support of the opposition.

One of the CA's first actions was to temporarily recess Congress, the majority of which consists of opposition parties, until the results of the referendum for approval of the new constitution are presented in 2008. This step has been severely criticized by the opposition as being unconstitutional and illegal.

Rafael Correa's overall overwhelming victory gives him the opportunity to improve Ecuadorean democratic values and institutions. At the same time, there is a serious risk of growing authoritarianism due to the concentration of power in the hands of the President.

To deepen multiparty democracy in Ecuador, the two main challenges lying ahead will be improving dialogue with the opposition and the more oppositional parts of civil society, such as the media, and reaching consensus in the Constituent Assembly.

### NIMD Programme

In 2007, the Democracy Programme in Ecuador (*Ágora Democrática*), a joint venture of NIMD and International IDEA, focused on stimulating dialogue between the ruling and opposition parties and achieving national consensus, including society at large. Special attention was given to the relationship between government and the media.

The programme also focused on enhancing the policy development capacity of political parties by organizing activities around the main policy areas of the CA, such as: political reforms, decentralization and autonomous regions, energy policies and natural resources, economic development and social dialogue.

*Ágora Democrática* works closely with NIMD's local partner in Bolivia, the *Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria* (Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy – fBDM), in order to exchange experiences. As a result, in January 2008 a delegation of former Bolivian Constituent Assembly members visited the CA in Ecuador to inform them about their experience with constitutional reforms.

#### *Multiparty cooperation*

In the past year, the *Ágora Democrática* programme has managed to convene political opponents to discuss issues of national interest. Plans have been made to set up a permanent multiparty platform.

The *Ágora Democrática* team has moved to a new office, which will offer ample opportunities for political parties to meet and discuss. The new building was officially opened in March 2008; the ceremony was attended by former Dutch Minister of Development Cooperation Agnes van Ardenne, on behalf of NIMD.



### Ecuador and the Dutch consensus model

In 2007, Ágora Democrática organized a visit of CA members to Spain, Norway and the Netherlands. On 7 and 8 November, they visited the Netherlands to study the Dutch multiparty system and its consensus model. The social dialogue between the state, trade unions and employers organizations and the public-private partnership in the energy

sector were also on the agenda. According to the members of the delegation, their joint visit was a first step towards a multiparty dialogue on national issues, such as taxation and socioeconomic reforms. They have proposed to set up a multiparty platform in Ecuador to continue this dialogue at home.

### Ecuador Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Building capacity for policy development on issues to be discussed by the Constituent Assembly: political reforms, decentralization and autonomous regions, energy policies and natural resources, economic development and social dialogue.
- Deepening the dialogue between the government and opposition parties.
- Promoting political accountability to Ecuadorian society through the media.

#### Key national partners

- Political parties (see annex)
- Coordinadora de Radios Populares y Educativas del Ecuador (CORAPE, network of community radios)

- Participación Ciudadana, NGO on civil participation
- Centro de Documentación e Información de los Movimientos Sociales del Ecuador (CEDIME, Documentation Centre of the Social Movements in Ecuador)
- Simón Bolívar Andean University
- Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLASCO)

#### Key international partners

- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- Spanish International Cooperation Agency (AECI)
- Organization of American States (OAS)

## 4.4

## Guatemala

### Key political events

- General elections in September and November showed high participation of the indigenous population in the rural areas, which contributed to the election of a social democratic government headed by newcomer Álvaro Colom.
- Establishment of the International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) in December.

### Key achievements in 2007

- The election year 2007 showed that programmatic development has become a common practice for many political parties. Nine parties developed party programs, presenting voters with a choice based on policy proposals.
- Decentralization of political party organizations and voting centres. The organization of political parties in rural areas was realized during the 2007 elections. Voting centres were placed closer to the voters, and the participation of rural voters increased.
- After the elections NIMD coordinated the transition from the outgoing to the new administration successfully and peacefully.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- Legislation is extremely important for bringing about change. Reform of the electoral law on decentralization of voting centres increased the importance of the rural areas and induced the political parties to take their campaign to the local constituencies. It also stimulated the decentralization of party structures.
- Multiparty and social dialogue opens the way to change in political practice. Dialogue brings about understanding and a shared vision, doing away with preconceived ideas that disrupt communication.
- Party programme development reflects a more mature role of political parties in Guatemala. The development of individual party programmes ensured more effective communication between political parties and voters.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

In January 2008 Álvaro Colom was sworn in as the new president of Guatemala. He won the elections in 2007 as the leader of *Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza* (UNE), a political party with a social democratic profile. The electoral process and electoral event were free and fair. Voter turnout was relatively high, especially in the rural areas. The elections resulted in a very plural parliament, with eleven political parties having representation.

### Meeting high social expectations

The high social expectations generated by Colom's election will be difficult to meet. The legacy of thirty-six years of civil war weighs heavily on the country. State and political institutions are fragile and the state is not able to guarantee social and economic security in terms of food, health, employment and education, and the rule of law.

Apart from poverty and socioeconomic inequality, the battle against crime is the most important challenge for the new government. To tackle the ineffectiveness of the juridical system and the state of impunity, a special UN International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) was established in December.

*Increased participation of rural population*

Reforms in the laws on political parties have greatly influenced party development. These changes led to increased voter participation, particularly in the rural areas, as well as an increase in public political party financing, and increased transparency of private financing for political parties.

*Citizenship*

Research conducted by the Soros Foundation to assess public opinion of democracy shows that most Guatemalan citizens consider democracy not only as the right to elect a government but as a state of continuous public participation and access to the political, social and economic sectors. This growth of citizenship opens possibilities for increased support for democracy, which offers a window of opportunity for the work that NIMD does.

**NIMD Programme**

2007 was a year of elections and of transition from one government to the other. NIMD was actively involved in both processes.

In the run-up to the elections, NIMD contributed to a joint initiative of political parties and media to inform voters on urgent issues such as violence against women, voter participation of youth and women and the electoral programmes of political parties.

After the elections, NIMD coordinated the transition from the outgoing to the new administration. The exiting government ministers informed their successors about the current state of affairs and important policy and programme developments. That information sharing has contributed greatly to the continuity of the state's governance.

*Multiparty dialogue between political and civil society*

Since its inception in 2002, the NIMD programme in Guatemala has fostered a national dialogue among political parties. This has resulted in a 'Shared National Agenda': an agreement by all political parties on the development of Guatemala. The success of the dialogue at the national level has motivated political parties at the departmental level to initiate similar dialogue processes.

In 2007 the joint political parties in two provinces developed 'shared departmental agendas' for development, set up through multiparty dialogue. At the municipal level, the Centres for Civic Participation (CACs) proved to be effective dialogue platforms between political parties and civil society, resulting in twenty seven 'shared local agendas'.

Another example of joint political activity is the work of the Permanent Forum of Political Parties (FPPP). This multiparty platform prepared various policy proposals and legislation regarding the security situation, which are currently being discussed in Congress.

Also, NIMD contributed to an institutionalized social dialogue between political parties, the business community and trade unions. The development of a Social Economical Council inspired by the Dutch/ Spanish models is currently being prepared.

*Strengthening the political parties*

In 2007 NIMD was actively involved in political party capacity-building through facilitating programmatic development of the parties. NIMD also supported the parties in the decentralization of the party structures, as required by the reformed electoral law. NIMD paid special attention to the knowledge and skills of politicians from groups currently underrepresented in politics, such as women, youth and indigenous people.

**Decentralization of politics**

In cooperation with national and international partners, NIMD set up a decentralization project for political parties, to promote a peaceful and larger participation of citizens in the 2007 elections. The project was implemented in 9 departments and 27 municipal jurisdictions, chosen because of their low electoral participation and recurrence of violence during the elections of 2003.

In each district a Centre of Civic Participation (CAC) was set up where local and departmental political parties and civil society groups jointly formulated a development plan for their district. Altogether the project resulted in twenty-seven shared agendas, one for each municipal district.

**Guatemala Programme – additional info**

**Priorities for 2008**

- Capacity building within the political parties and the political system.
- Support towards decentralization.
- Development of tools to promote accountability.
- Further reforms of the electoral law on several issues, including floorcrossing, participation of women, and transparency in public financing.

**Key national partners**

- Political parties (see annex)
- Permanent Forum of Political Parties (FPPP)

- Multiparty Institute for Political Studies (IMEP), within FPPP
- Congress
- National Electoral Council
- Acción Ciudadana (civic action NGO)
- Network of Organizations of Indigenous People (ENPI)
- Rafael Landívar University
- Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES, Research Institute and Social Studies)
- Instituto de Gestión Políticas (INGEP, Institute of Political Policy)
- Fortalecimiento de Organizaciones Sociales en Tema de Seguridad (FOSS, civil society group on security)



- Asociación para el Desarrollo Legislativo y la Democracia (LEGIS, Association for Legislation and Democracy)
- Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLASCO)
- Fundación Mirna Mack (human rights organization)
- Asociación Instituto de Promoção de Paz (PROPAZ, peace building organization)
- Employers' organizations
- Trade unions

#### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Radio Netherlands World Service (RNW)

- Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG)
- Embassy of Spain
- Embassy of Sweden
- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- Cooperazione Internazionale (COOPI), Italy
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America
- Organization of American States (OAS)
- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)
- United Nations International Labour Organization (ILO)
- United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

## 4.5

## Nicaragua

### Key political events

- National elections and the inauguration of the Sandinista government in January 2007.
- Presentation of government plans for Committees for Citizens Power (CPCs), officially as a tool to make democracy more participative. The opposition strongly opposed the plans from the very beginning.
- In Parliament cooperation between opposition parties increased in order to unite forces in a 'safe' democracy bloc ('Block against Dictatorship').
- Relations between the Executive and Legislative were increasingly antagonistic and polarized.
- Increasing centralization of power, particularly in the hands of President Daniel Ortega and his First Lady, which resulted in growing criticism from civil society organizations.

### Key achievements in 2007

- By organizing public debates between political parties and civil society, the Programme gave an important stimulus towards social

and political dialogue in the country. In 2007 almost no other relevant public debates took place to discuss issues of political and social importance.

- Progress was made in the interactive self-assessment of political parties. A publication is being prepared. It will serve as a training manual and contributes to a joint perception of a shared history on democracy and political parties in Nicaragua.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- To bring politicians to the table in a sometimes volatile political arena, the Programme has focused on the organization of debates about social and political issues rather than on the institutionalization of a multiparty platform.
- To promote the anchoring of political parties in society, it is important to work not just on a national level but also on departmental and municipal levels.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

With the inauguration of President Daniel Ortega in January 2007, the former revolutionary Sandinista movement (*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* – FSLN) finally came back to power after almost two decades in the opposition. From the beginning, the new government has created controversy due to its discourse of radical change and its tendency to concentrate decision making in the hands of Mr Ortega and his spouse at the expense of ministers. The government's perceived failure to implement concrete policies and deliver results has caused a marked decline in Mr Ortega's initial popularity.

#### Participative democracy project

In the course of 2007, the government embarked on a project to create a 'participative democracy'. At the heart of the project are Committees for Citizens Power (CPCs): new instruments for political participation and development that are created across the country alongside existing political structures. The government has been widely criticized for pushing this project without duly involving opposition parties and civil society sectors. The media have accused the government of using the CPC project to propagate the ruling FSLN party.

#### Conflict between powers

When the government set out to find the means for financing its participative democracy project, it clashed with Parliament and the Supreme Court over the approval of the general budget for 2008. The Court's rulings in this case and in a second one concerning constitutional reforms were such that a political trade-off was suspected, implicating the Supreme Court in an alleged deal between the ruling party FSLN and the opposition *Partido Liberal Constitucionalista* (PLC).

#### Widening political divide

All these developments are a sign of a widening political divide between government and opposition parties. The main problem for the near future is that the political struggle absorbs all the energy of political society, at the expense of urgent social issues such as education, health care and poverty alleviation, which take second place in the democratic enterprise.

## NIMD Programme

### Multiparty system

The government's emphasis on more participative democracy through the new CPCs played a negative role in NIMD's intention to proceed towards the institutionalization of a Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) for political parties in Nicaragua. However, the perspectives for the creation of a CMD or a less formal platform for multiparty work have improved. The CPCs are not allowed to receive state funding. This forces the government to look to the international community for financial support, which may offer an opportunity to help make these new structures assets for political participation and accountability, including the political parties.

### Strengthening the political parties

NIMD has worked together with UNDP on reinforcing political parties as institutions. An interactive self-assessment on political parties and the state of democracy in Nicaragua has been nearly completed.

## Nicaragua Programme – additional info

### Priorities for 2008

- Building local capacity: follow up of the interactive assessment and a political leadership curriculum.
- Holding debates on policy agendas, information through radio and television programs, universities, at a national and departmental level (including municipalities).
- Strengthening reflection and good practices of accountability, political dialogue and assessment by holding research and expert meetings on these issues at a national and departmental level (including municipalities).
- Conducting exchange meetings between women politicians from Nicaragua and Guatemala at a municipal level.

The results will be published in 2008 and used for follow-up training and capacity building in the years ahead.

### Relations between political parties and civil society

Public debate in Nicaragua is scarce and relations between politics and media are tense. The combination of lack of information about public affairs and limited citizen participation in politics presents a serious problem for the country's state of democracy. In July 2007 NIMD organized a region-wide conference on these problems, which resulted in a valuable exchange between politicians, journalists and experts from Central America.

NIMD also organized a series of debates about social and political issues such as poverty, migration and security. Hosted at the Dutch Embassy in Managua, the debates brought together representatives from political and civil society and were widely broadcast on radio and television.

### Key national partners

The eight political parties (see annex)

### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Royal Swedish Embassy
- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- Royal Danish Embassy
- Spanish International Cooperation Agency (AECI)
- Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
- Embassy of the United States of America
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

## 4.6

## Suriname

### Key political events

- The 20 September verdict of the UN International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea (ITLOS) ended a long-term dispute between Suriname and Guyana. Both countries are to share the disputed coast line area which is rich in raw materials.
- On 30 November 2007, the '1982 December Murders' trial began. Desi Bouterse, the former military ruler and current political leader of the National Democratic Party (NDP), is the primary suspect.

### Key achievements 2007

- A political sounding board of NIMD's Democracy Programme was installed in September, consisting of political representatives from almost all parties.
- In December the political parties issued a joint statement on the need for a law on political party financing. This is an important breakthrough,

as lack of transparency in party financing is one of the causes for public distrust in democracy.

- Research was conducted on constituencies' perception of democracy and internal party democracy. Based on the research findings, political parties agreed to the use of VoteMatch software, an instrument which assists them in developing party programmes with their rank and files.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- With the installation of the political sounding board, the ownership of the programme by the parties and their commitment to participate have increased significantly.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.



### State of democracy

Since the elections in 2005 President Ronald Venetiaan of the National Party of Suriname (NPS) is the leader of the 'New Front Plus' coalition, which is composed of eight political parties. NPS has a small majority in parliament and is faced by former military ruler Desi Bouterse's National Democratic Party (NDP), which has consolidated itself as the main opposition party.

Popular support for the government has decreased, as it is perceived to be too focused on preserving the particular interests of ethnic groups and not very decisive in issues of general interest. Late in 2007 social unrest increased and several labour protests took place, including the public transport sector, teachers and air traffic controllers. Corruption and lack of transparency in political decision-making processes contribute to a weak image of politics in general and political parties in particular.

#### Weak party structures

The two most critical issues for the political parties are the institutionalization of the parties and policy development capacity. Most parties have a weak internal party democracy; internal election procedures are outdated, and many parties are organized around the leader. The parties lack the financial resources to sustain a permanent organization. As a consequence, parties are only active around elections and not in the interim period.

### Political sounding board backs Democracy Programme

With the installation of the political sounding board on 11 August, the Democracy Programme in Suriname reached an important milestone. The programme can now count on the backing and support of the major political parties. The sounding board, consisting of nine representatives

of the ruling, opposition and extra-parliamentary parties, was installed to ensure active involvement of political parties in the programme and will act as an advisory group. Since the installation of the board, the number of political representatives attending activities of the Democracy Unit has further increased.

### NIMD Programme

Carried out by the Democracy Unit (DU) of the University of Suriname, the NIMD programme in Suriname has focused on establishing the necessary institutional arrangements to support programme activities. Another focus was on strengthening the capacity of political parties to effectively formulate policies and party programmes in a participatory and transparent manner.

In September, the DU instituted a 'political sounding board', which consists of representatives from nine political parties, to enhance the ownership of the programme. This board plays an important role in the planning and evaluation of activities.

The DU also prepared to move to a new office, which was officially opened in February 2008 by the Minister for Internal Affairs, Mr Maurits Hassankhan.

### Suriname Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- External evaluation of the Democracy Programme.
- Strengthening of institutional capacity of political parties, improving the policy development capacity and stimulating internal party democracy by using a VoteMatch, amongst other instruments.
- Development of different models of party financing and preparation of a proposal for party financing legislation.
- Implementation of a 'train-the-trainer' programme for politicians to increase knowledge and skills within the political parties.

#### Key national partners

- Democracy Unit (DU) of Anton de Kom University of Suriname
- Political parties (see annex)

#### Key international partner

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

### Key achievements in 2007

- Monitoring the media coverage of the Constituent Assembly processes in Bolivia and Ecuador has contributed to a better, more realistic picture of political developments for the public.
- Enhanced cooperation between NIMD country programmes and radio stations to broadcast events concerning the Constituent Assembly processes in various countries.
- Establishment of a continuous process of discussion, policy development and monitoring concerning the relations between media and politics and their roles in a democracy.

- Enabling of an open debate between media practitioners and politicians about sensitive issues such as access of information, concentration of media ownership and the limitations to press freedom.

### Lessons learned in 2007

- Creation of a platform of reflection between politicians and journalists has led to honest self-analysis and mutual understanding.
- Involving a balanced group of participants from diverse backgrounds is key to the success of programme activities.

### State of the media

In Latin America the state of the media leaves much to be desired. Quality of media outlets is low; freedom of the press is not firmly guaranteed. In several countries media reporting on political issues is seriously coloured, biased or lacking.

In Nicaragua, the polarization between government and the opposition is clearly reflected in the media. Certain media fiercely oppose the governmental agenda and have strong complaints about the lack of information on the government's policies and other politically-related information. In Ecuador, Rafael Correa's presidency has been marked by an ongoing battle between him and certain media, with harsh rhetoric from both sides. In Bolivia and Ecuador doubts have been raised about the role of the media in the all-important constitutional process.

These problems have serious consequences for the state of democracy in each country, and in particular for the political accountability of the state towards its citizens. That is why NIMD's Media and Politics Programme aims to improve the relationship between politics and media.

### NIMD Programme

To improve mutual relations between media and politicians, NIMD has organized several national activities as well as activities for the Latin American region. Access to information and the polarized constitutional reform processes in Bolivia and Ecuador were key issues on the agenda.

These meetings, in which representatives from the media, political parties and civil society participated, have resulted in a reform agenda, which is being promoted in the respective countries. The participants have jointly declared the importance of securing freedom of speech, as well as the need for qualitative political communication, legislation on access to public information and a safe working environment for the media.

With the support of NIMD's programmes in Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, partnerships were made with the media to inform the public about political agendas and public policies.

### Media and politicians join hands to improve relations

In February a series of seminars on media and politics in the Andean region was concluded with a closing seminar in Colombia. A diverse group of participants discussed the situation in their home countries and exchanged views and experiences, building on the earlier encounters.

A joint common agenda for reform was drafted with recommendations and guidelines to improve relations between the media and politicians. In July a similar conference series for the Central American region was started in Nicaragua.

### Media and Politics Programme – additional info

#### Priorities for 2008

- Dissemination of an information toolkit (video, conference report, radio programmes) based on the 2007 seminars and debates.
- Inclusion of Media and Politics activities as an integral part of NIMD's policy in programme countries in Latin America.
- Integration of the established network and strategic partnerships in all NIMD Latin America programmes in order to enforce aspects of political and social accountability.

#### Key partners in Latin America

- Political parties (see annex)
- Media organizations
- Asociación para el Desarrollo, Organización, Servicios y Estudios Socioculturales (DOSES), Guatemala
- Instituto de Prensa y Libertad de Expresión (IPLIX), Costa Rica

- Radio Netherlands Training Centre (RNTC), Costa Rica
- *El Faro* (digital newspaper), El Salvador
- Instituto de Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS), Peru

#### Key international partners

- Radio Netherlands World Service (RNW)
- FreeVoice, The Netherlands
- Spanish International Cooperation Agency (AECI)
- Department for International Development (DFID), United Kingdom
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)
- Inter-American Bank for Development (BID)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)





**Key political events**

- Approval in May of a new scheme and criteria for political party financing.
- Mass rallies organized by the joint opposition parties in November, followed by a violent crack-down by the police.
- Multiparty dialogue following the November events resulted in important agreements between the opposition and the ruling party.

**Key achievements in 2007**

- Political parties have maintained a high degree of trust in NIMD's Political Institutions Programme and continued to cooperate despite the high level of polarization and distrust amongst each other.
- A total of 30 cadre members of the six political parties were trained as political party trainers to strengthen their parties' internal capacities.

- Using the interactive VoteMatch tool, parties have taken a first step towards writing party programmes in consultation with their rank-and-file members.

**Lessons learned in 2007**

- Training political party trainers in a multiparty setting encourages the parties to discuss their problems, generating mutual understanding and cooperation.
- In times of political polarization, impartiality of local and international partners such as NIMD is crucial for the parties' commitment and thus can influence the success or failure of programme activities.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

**State of democracy**

The state of democracy in Georgia was put to the test in 2007. In November, the growing polarization between the ruling party and the opposition culminated in the violent dispersal of opposition protesters by government forces. The State's violent actions and the shut-down of the independent Imedi television station damaged public trust in the State, freedom of the press, and civil liberties. The opposition was also distrusted, as many considered its fierce protests a form of political radicalization. In order to curb the tense situation, President Saakashvili announced early presidential elections for January.

The regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia maintained a high level of de facto political and economic independence from Georgia. Various political groups claim authority. Although both regions are officially still part of the Republic, the national authorities have been unable to effectively exert power.

*Polarization of the political landscape*

Throughout 2007 the opposition and the ruling party continued to fiercely criticize each other. As the ruling party maintained its absolute majority, it continued to take crucial decisions without consulting the opposition. This seriously affected the political parties' ability to hold the government accountable for its actions. November's street protests were a direct result of such oppositional paralysis. Nevertheless, the opposition showed that by uniting forces they were able to have extra-parliamentary influence on constitutional discussions of electoral reform, as well as on policy decisions concerning the lack of a socioeconomic agenda. Another result of the cooperation between opposition parties was the formation of a nine-party coalition with a joint presidential candidate.

*Reforms*

Despite the polarization, political dialogue did continue throughout the year. This led to agreement on a number of electoral reforms, including a more balanced composition of the Central Election Commission, a lower election threshold, and a more proportional election system.

The government continued its focus on strengthening government institutions, diminishing corruption and reforming tax collection. In May 2007, the Georgian parliament approved new legislation on state financing of political parties. This is seen as a positive sign of the State's recognition of parties as democratic institutions.

**NIMD Programme**

Working with national and international partners, NIMD has developed the 'Political Institutions in Georgia' programme, which seeks to help Georgian political parties strengthen their internal organization and foster inter-party dialogue and cooperation. During 2007 the programme focused on:

- Development of legal regulations, public funding and assistance on institutional development of the system of political parties;
- Strengthening of party organization and capacity building;
- Development of knowledge and expertise on politics and political institutions.

The programme is carried out in close cooperation with the six political parties in Parliament, the Tbilisi-based Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD) and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organizations for Security and Cooperation in Europe (ODHIR/OSCE).

*Multiparty cooperation*

As the political landscape remained very polarized and distrust was high, strengthening multi-party cooperation again played an important role in the NIMD programme in Georgia in 2007. All activities organized were deliberately set up in a multiparty way. Even after the November uprisings it was possible to gather the parties around one table. All parties, including the radicalized opposition, trust NIMD in particular, as a result of a lengthy process of investing in direct and inclusive relations with all political parties.

At the request of the political parties, two seminars were organized: one about the consequences of decentralization for local governments, and one about party financing. The latter linked up with the process already underway to review the law on public funding for political parties. As a result of this process the parliament adopted a law in May 2007 setting new criteria for parties eligible for public funding and increasing the amount of funds available.

*Strengthening the political parties*

To strengthen party organization and build internal capacities, a training programme was developed for future trainers of political parties. Within a period of 9 months a selected group of 30 party trainers were trained in skills such as strategic planning and negotiating, which they will use within their own party.

Further, programmatic capacities of the parties were strengthened by means of VoteMatch – an interactive tool created by the Dutch Institute for Political Participation (IPP) to develop political party programmes (see box). During 2007 the six parties used this tool to develop and discuss policy choices for important issues within their respective parties.

Gradually, the parties' programmatic capacities have increased. In the run-up to the presidential elections in January 2008, both opposition parties and the ruling party presented programmatic statements and engaged in content-related debates.

*Relations between political parties and civil society*

Public knowledge of the political system and political institutions in Georgia is generally weak. In 2007 academic lectures were organized at three universities to promulgate the state of democracy and political parties in Georgia. During these events the academic community discussed the findings of the research publication *The political landscape of Georgia*, a unique self-assessment of the Georgian political parties. Additionally, practical toolkits on the political party system and the role of local government were distributed among the students and local branches of political parties and governments.

**Towards a sharper political profile in Georgia**

The Georgian parties have clear ambitions: to strengthen the programmatic capacities within their own organizations and to have a clearer political profile.

In 2006 the six political parties requested the development of a Georgian version of the Dutch VoteMatch tool, which helps voters to better define their political preferences. Contrary to the public Dutch model, this version was first and foremost meant to organize internal debate on policy issues within the parties and to improve internal knowledge about parties' political choices and positions.

Early in 2007, the initiator of the VoteMatch IPP (Institute for Political Participation), and NIMD together with a group of experts and the political

parties developed a set of 117 statements, reflecting the most important topics and issues at stake in Georgian politics. Each party answered these statements and added a short motivation to their answer.

Next, a tailor-made VoteMatch with fifty statements was developed for each party. 100 members of each party were asked to give their opinion about these statements. On the basis of the results of this internal process, NIMD and IPP drafted an analysis of each party's programmatic match between leadership and their members.

The first signs of improved political profiling showed in the run-up to the presidential elections in January 2008, as political parties presented programmatic statements and engaged in content-related debates.

**Georgia Programme – additional info**

**Priorities for 2008**

- Inclusion of parties newly represented in Parliament as partners in the programme.
- Design of a new multi-annual programme, in cooperation with political parties, OSCE-ODIHR and the local partner CIPDD.

**Key national partner**

- Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD)

**Key international partners**

- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR)

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- OSCE Mission to Georgia
- Institute for Political Participation (IPP), The Netherlands
- Centre for Liberal Strategies (CLS), Bulgaria
- VNG International, The Netherlands
- CDA-Steenkamp Institute, The Netherlands
- The Matra Programme (an initiative by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs aimed at strengthening civil society in Central and Eastern Europe)



**Key political events**

- Deliberation of four major political bills, including the Bill on Political Parties and the Bill on Elections.
- Disputed elections for governor in the South Sulawesi province exemplify worrying developments in the decentralization process and regional democracy.
- The imminent demise of former President Soeharto forced all political stakeholders to (re)define their position against the ancient regime on the one hand and the post-1998 Reformasi (Reformation) era on the other.

**Key achievements in 2007**

- Democracy Schools are up and running in five regions.
- Groundwork has been done for the expansion of the Democracy Schools from five to fifteen in the next few years.
- Inter-party dialogue was established between the seven most important political parties.

**Lessons learned in 2007**

- Intense technical assistance provided by NIMD's partner KID (Indonesian Community for Democracy) to the implementing agencies of the Democracy School Programmes has proven to be crucial for transparent and effective management of these programmes.
- The successful start of the inter-party dialogue, as well as the expansion of the Democracy Schools, will require enhanced institutional capacity at KID.
- The recent and considerable success of the direct collaboration with the Indonesian parties at the national level, which only commenced in the course of 2007, points to the potentially strong strategic advantages of NIMD's approach, which initially focused on interventions at the local and regional levels. The systematic but patient build-up of a programme at the local and regional levels may help to build trust and can pave the way for successful cooperation later on with political parties at the national level.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

**State of democracy**

During 2007 Indonesia's consolidating democracy was steady but still faced several challenges. The protracted debates about a number of political bills (pertaining to political parties, elections and the structure of political institutions) are important in this respect. In December the Bill on Political Parties has been finalized, enhancing the possibilities for party financing and improving the position of women within parties. The election law was adopted by Parliament in March 2008.

Significant headway has been made in the battle against corruption. However, at the same time several questionable decisions were taken, such as the emblematic recent appointment of a corruption suspect as leader of the anti-corruption committee.

*Democracy at sub-national level*

Another challenge ties into the decentralization process, which appears to lead to a faltering democracy at the local level. Regional elections suggest an emerging pattern of local strongmen, rooted and enriched in Soeharto's New Order bureaucracy, seizing power for themselves and their family through money politics while being supported by thugs. The disputed re-election of the incumbent governor of the South Sulawesi province in late 2007 was a clear example; similar phenomena can be observed in other parts of the country.

*State of political parties*

As concerns political parties, in particular the Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDI-P) manifested itself in 2007 as an opposition party, which resulted in a steady rise in the polls since Spring. Nevertheless, President Yudhoyono remains the most popular presidential candidate. Another interesting development is that political parties consistently have moved to the political centre in order to attract votes. In the course of 2007, several parties anticipated on the 2009 elections by discussing potential alliances and coalitions, yet the sustainability of these claims will be tested in the election year.

**NIMD Programme**

Since 2003 NIMD has been working with the *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (Indonesian Community for Democracy, KID) on the implementation of the Sekolah Demokrasi (Democracy Schools, SD) programme.

The programme aims to train young regional politicians and activists in democratic values and create a new generation of politicians who can build bridges between civil society and political institutions.

*Relations between political parties and civil society*

In post-reformation Indonesia, decentralization of politics is one of the key issues – which is why NIMD has focused its interventions at the regional level. Early 2007, the number of Democracy Schools increased from three to five, as the schools in Banyuwangi (South Sumatra) and Tangerang (Banten) became fully operational.

The schools are highly successful in grooming an ever larger pool of young Indonesians for active participation in the political processes that directly affect them. Given that they are already making a tangible impact in their respective regions, and that local politicians increasingly tend to take their presence into account, the hope seems justified that the alumni of up to fifteen SDs will be able to help counter regional developments that go against the spirit of decentralization and power sharing.

The first steps towards an even greater expansion were made in June, when an NIMD delegation led by NIMD President Bernard Bot visited Indonesia and attracted the interest of potential sponsors for up to ten new SDs. Later in the year a further step was taken with the emergence of the *Kemitraan* trust fund, in which international donors and the Indonesian government participate.

*Multiparty dialogue*

The past year also saw an unforeseen yet remarkable visit by the seven most important Indonesian political parties to NIMD in The Hague. After their visit in April, the parties jointly agreed to establish a *Komunitas Dialog* (Community of Dialogue), which started in August. Under the auspices of NIMD's Indonesian partner KID, a series of closed sessions and public seminars were organized, fostering the debate about national issues such as constitutional reform, political laws and the possibility of local or regional political parties.

Based on the discussions the *Komunitas Dialog* will offer a joint statement containing its findings and recommendations to the president and to parliament in 2008.

### Clever people can't remain silent

In August, NIMD visited Malang (East Java) to make a documentary about the Democracy School in that city. In collaboration with the local NGO PlaCIDs Averroes, the implementing agency responsible for the school in Malang, a video was produced containing interviews with students, teachers and resource persons. This video documents how the school's alumni have made an effort to democratically influence the determination of the regional government budget 2008 to the advantage of petty rice

farmers, who commonly are victims of the prevailing market system that keeps them in financial debt.

The ten-minute documentary *Clever people can't remain silent*, available in English and Indonesian, gives a clear picture of how a Democracy School works and what its potential impact on local politics can be.

## Indonesia Programme – additional info

### Priorities for 2008

- Given a possible expansion of the Democracy Schools and a more intense collaboration with the political parties, NIMD's key partner KID will undergo an institutional review.
- The collaboration between KID, NIMD and the Kemitraan trust fund for the expansion of the Democracy Schools will have to be formally finalized.
- The KID will have to determine carefully in which regions new Democracy Schools will be founded.

### Key national partners

- Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID)

- Partnership/Kemitraan
- PlaCIDs Averroes
- Lembaga Advokasi Penelitian (LAP Timoris)
- Melania Foundation
- Yayasan Puspa
- Institute for Research and Empowerment (IRE)

### Key international partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), Germany
- Indonesië Beraad, The Netherlands

## 5.3

## Afghanistan

### Key political events

- Parliament adopted amnesty law for human right violators in February, though it is not yet endorsed by the President.
- Conservative opposition groups join forces, creating the United National Front (UNF) in March.
- Assassination of six parliamentarians, including prominent UNF member Sayed Mustafa Kazimi, in November.

### Key achievements in 2007

- Identification mission to Kabul.
- Full-fledged programme proposal for Afghanistan.
- Participation of NIMD in Dutch parliamentary hearing concerning Afghanistan.

See annex for a list of the political parties in parliament.

### State of democracy

Many of the preconditions for effective democracy-building remain absent in Afghanistan. The malfunctioning of state institutions has further decreased public confidence in government service delivery. Rampant corruption – often linked to drug trafficking – and a lack of economic development suggest that the democratically elected government does not produce tangible results. Meanwhile, strong international interference has strengthened the perception that political ownership and accountability lie outside Afghanistan. Public and political support for the 43,000 NATO troops has dwindled. As the Taliban gain territory and popularity, the official authorities have seen their legitimacy decline.

Insecurity constitutes the most imminent threat to the functioning of democracy, especially in the southern and eastern provinces bordering Pakistan. Casualties amongst civilians and NGO workers increased. The general sense of insecurity has also impeded civil society's accountability role. International assistance started to focus on revitalizing the official judicial system, as Afghans increasingly turned towards less corrupt traditional or Taliban courts. However, the planned tribunal for war crimes and human rights violations has not yet been established.

Meanwhile, the parliament passed an amnesty law under which past human rights violators can no longer be prosecuted. So far, President Karzai has resisted endorsing the bill.

2007 saw a deteriorating relationship between the government and parliament, as votes of no-confidence were directed at various cabinet ministers. Many Afghans, including President Karzai, continue to distrust political parties. The newly formed United National Front (UNF) favours a change from the presidential to a parliamentary system and the election of provincial governors. Although criticism against the single non-transferable vote (SNTV) electoral system continued, a revision did not materialize.

### Reformist forces under pressure

The development of political parties in 2007 presents a somewhat ambiguous picture. At least twenty-two parties are represented in parliament. A tendency toward party grouping emerged, which could eventually lead to improved coalescence and effective formulation of political stances. Internal party organization structures continued to be weak due to a lack of experience, autocratic leadership and financial shortages.

Conservative forces within political parties grew stronger, while reformists felt they were being increasingly marginalized. Also, within parliament democratic forces came under increasing pressure from the new United National Front (UNF), a coalition of conservative opposition groups. In response their more liberal counterpart in parliament, the Third Line Group, grew weaker.

**NIMD Programme**

In 2007 NIMD has further prepared a programme proposal for Afghanistan. In May an NIMD mission, led by former Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs and current NIMD President Bernard Bot, visited Kabul. The delegation held intense consultations with Afghans from all walks of life as well as with the Afghan government and the international donor community.

The new programme should primarily focus on political education at the regional and local levels and will most likely be based on NIMD's experience with Democracy Schools in Indonesia. A secondary part of the programme anticipates direct collaboration with political parties at a later stage. Provided funding is secured, the programme will start in 2008.

**Afghanistan Programme – additional info**

**Priorities for 2008**

- NIMD liaison officer on the ground.
- Constitution of a Consultative Platform.
- One Democracy School up and running.

**Key international partners**

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- National Democratic Institute, United States of America
- European Union

**Key national partners**

To be established in 2008.

**5.4**

**Burundi**

**Key political events**

- Dismissal of Hussein Radjabu as leader of the ruling party CNDD-FDD. In response various CNDD-FDD parliamentarians left the party, followed by a front of opposition parties blocking all parliamentary cooperation (September).
- Resumption of power-sharing agreement at the executive level (October).

- Talks between government and rebel party FNL resumed in January 2008.

See annex for a list of political parties in parliament.

**State of democracy**

The most imminent threat to Burundian democracy continues to be a lack of security. In July 2007, the one remaining rebel group, FNL-PALIPHEUTU, walked out of peace talks, maintaining its control over parts of the country. As long as the government cannot gain control over the entire country and boost security, its legitimacy will remain low.

mainly due to its majority position in parliament and refusal to share political power. President Nkurunziza also broke the constitutional power-sharing arrangement at the executive level, undermining broad-based support for government policies.

The government has been repeatedly accused of disrespect for the rule of law and of human rights violations. Corruption – particularly within the higher ranks of the government – continues to thrive. Nonetheless, a very important positive development was the decision to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and a (UN) International Criminal Tribunal for crimes committed since independence in 1962.

This changed in September, after the president dismissed his party's secretary general. A great number of MPs left the CNDD-FDD, forcing the president to seek parliamentary support within the opposition. He did so without much success, as opposition parties jointly rejected almost all parliamentary cooperation and demanded real power-sharing arrangements at the executive level.

*Power sharing*

The opposition parties have had few opportunities to hold the governing Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD-FDD) party accountable for its actions,

In October the political paralysis and internal pressure within his party led Nkurunziza to allow enhanced power-sharing. Such opposition appeasement may lower tension between parties and could improve public confidence in the Nkurunziza administration.



### **NIMD Programme**

Following the President's request of support for a multiparty dialogue in Burundi, and the positive reactions by all political parties, NIMD has continued to explore the possibilities for starting a programme there. Various meetings were held with CNDD-FDD to gain the approval of the secretary general for his party's engagement into a programme. Despite the President's wish to start soon, CNDD-FDD has not agreed yet. This is mainly due to strong internal divisions.

Meanwhile possible cooperation has been explored with the Woodrow Wilson Institute, which manages the Burundi Leadership and Transformation Programme, to strengthen mid-level cadre of the political parties. The NIMD programme, aiming at gathering high-ranking members of the Burundian political parties around the table to discuss a shared national agenda, could prove to be complementary.

### **Burundi Programme – additional info**

#### **Priorities for 2008**

- Ensuring CNDD-FDD's full cooperation with the NIMD programme for multiparty dialogue.
- Designing a multi-annual programme together with the political parties and securing funding.

#### **Key national partners**

To be established in 2008.

#### **Key international partners**

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Embassy of Belgium
- European Delegation in Bujumbura
- Woodrow Wilson Centre, United States of America

NIMD board members, partner organizations and staff



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Discussion during Partnership Days



Outgoing NIMD President  
Jos van Kemenade and his  
wife Annie



# Selection of NIMD publications in 2007





Costs	Revised budget 2007		Financial result 2007		Financial result 2006	
	Subsidies	Expenses	Subsidies	Expenses	Subsidies	Expenses
<b>Programmes</b>						
<b>Region Africa</b>						
ARP (African Regional Programmes)		691.500		427.758		263.217
Ghana		666.000		453.964		533.074
Kenya		710.000		760.597		527.380
Malawi		480.000		507.348		261.795
Mali		600.000		590.494		27.978
Mozambique		370.000		275.490		365.992
Tanzania		440.000		346.929		372.650
South Africa		156.500		165.348		56.888
Zambia		502.500		440.845		450.522
Zimbabwe		337.500		548.638		372.994
<b>Subtotal Africa</b>		<b>4.954.000</b>		<b>4.517.411</b>		<b>3.232.490</b>
<b>Region Eurasia and New Areas</b>						
ENRP (Eurasia and New Regions Programme)		36.000		4.529		
Afghanistan		80.000		50.353		13.526
Burundi		10.000		1.547		
Georgia	341.000	195.000	245.689	180.019		
Indonesia		555.000		467.076		732.711
<b>Subtotal Eurasia and New Areas</b>	<b>341.000</b>	<b>876.000</b>	<b>245.689</b>	<b>703.524</b>		<b>746.237</b>
<b>Region Latin America</b>						
LARP (Latin America Regional Programme)		90.000		18.053		
Media & Politics Thematic Programme	41.000	45.000	16.083	32.167		
Bolivia		500.000		259.786		427.124
Ecuador		150.000	106.228	216.599		
Guatemala		750.000	82.372	686.575	60.534	736.378
Nicaragua	289.000	134.000	158.620	106.034		
Suriname		14.000		40.061		150.000
<b>Subtotal Latin America</b>	<b>330.000</b>	<b>1.683.000</b>	<b>363.303</b>	<b>1.359.276</b>	<b>60.534</b>	<b>1.313.502</b>
<b>Multilateral Programmes unit (dissolved 1/7/07)</b>					<b>246.682</b>	<b>519.561</b>
<b>Subtotal programmes</b>	<b>671.000</b>	<b>7.513.000</b>	<b>608.993</b>	<b>6.580.211</b>	<b>307.216</b>	<b>5.811.790</b>
<b>Network</b>						
Communication and Knowledge Centre		130.000		128.513		36.699
International relations and strategic partnerships		165.000		107.766		314.015
Strengthening support base		636.000		523.204		321.363
Evaluation of country programmes		75.000		51.401		6.778
<b>Subtotal network</b>		<b>1.006.000</b>		<b>810.884</b>		<b>678.855</b>
<b>Institutional capacity</b>		<b>2.067.000</b>		<b>2.157.659</b>	<b>33.051</b>	<b>2.300.740</b>
<b>Total costs</b>		<b>10.586.000</b>		<b>9.548.753</b>		<b>8.791.385</b>
<b>Revenue</b>						
Earmarked subsidies	671.000		608.993		340.267	
General contribution Foreign Affairs	9.539.500		8.939.761		8.451.118	
<b>Total revenue</b>	<b>10.210.500</b>		<b>9.548.753</b>		<b>8.791.385</b>	
<b>Result</b>		<b>375.500 deficit</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>



Assets	31 December 2007	31 December 2006
<b>Fixed assets</b>		
<b>Intangible fixed assets</b>		
Programme management software	108.242	1.091
<b>Tangible fixed assets</b>		
Architectural changes	40.983	54.797
Cars representation in Mozambique	4.980	7.426
Furniture	87.801	72.777
Computer equipment	49.242	61.072
	<b>183.006</b>	<b>196.072</b>
<b>Current assets</b>		
<b>Receivables</b>		
Securities	1.792	1.792
Other receivables	54.218	1.544
Advance payments and accrued receivables	841.580	362.794
	<b>897.590</b>	<b>366.130</b>
<b>Liquidities</b>	<b>2.105.707</b>	<b>399.026</b>
<b>Total assets</b>	<b>3.294.547</b>	<b>962.319</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
<b>General reserve</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
Programme liabilities	500.393	356.235
Dutch political parties (strengthening support base)	171.473	62.717
Estimated liabilities	100.960	19.500
Staff related liabilities	144.525	111.524
Other creditors	87.288	238.919
Subsidy Ministry of Foreign Affairs received in advance	2.032.721	97.482
Other advance receipts and accrued expenses	257.187	75.942
	<b>3.294.547</b>	<b>962.319</b>
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>3.294.547</b>	<b>962.319</b>

\*The statement of costs and revenue and the balance sheet are abstracted from the annual report 2007 and subject to auditors approval.







### 7.1 About NIMD

#### 7.1.1 Board

*As of 31 December 2007*

- Mr B.R. Bot, President
- Mr R. Koole (PvdA), Vice-President
- Mr J.J.A.M. van Gennip (CDA), Vice-President
- Mr W. Haitsma (ChristenUnie), Treasurer
- Ms F.C. Giskes (D66), Member
- Mr C.S.L. Janse (SGP), Member
- Mr U. Rosenthal (VVD), Member
- Mr B. van Ojik (GroenLinks), Member

*Board members who resigned in 2007*

- Mr J.A. van Kemenade, President
- Ms L. Sipkes (GroenLinks), Member
- Ms S.L.J.M. Filippini (D66), Member

#### 7.1.2 Supervisory Council

*As of 31 December 2007*

- Mr J.C. van Baalen (VVD), chairperson
- Mr R.H. van der Meer (VVD)
- Mr M.H.P. van Dam (PvdA)
- Mr J. Bos (PvdA)
- Mr J. Lagendijk (GroenLinks)
- Mr J.W. Bertens (D66)
- Mr R. van Eijle (ChristenUnie)
- Mr L.C. Groen (ChristenUnie)
- Mr R.A.C. Donk (SGP)
- CDA (2 vacancies)

*Supervisory Council members who resigned in 2007*

- Mr J.P.R.M. van Laarhoven (CDA)
- Mr J.J.M. Penders (CDA)
- Mr A.G. Koenders (PvdA)
- Ms B. Stolte-van Empelen (GroenLinks)
- Mr W. Derksen (D66)
- Mr E. van Middelkoop (ChristenUnie)
- Mr J. Dankers (SGP)

#### 7.1.3 NIMD Staff

*As of 31 December 2007*

*Executive Board*

- Mr Roel von Meijenfeldt, Executive Director
- Mr Wim Bakker, Deputy Director
- Ms Yvonne de Baay, Personal Assistant to the Executive Director

*Regional Team for Africa*

- Mr Jasper Veen, Regional Director
- Ms Karijn de Jong, Senior Policy Officer
- Mr Jan Tuit, Senior Policy Officer
- Ms Ellen van Koppen, Political Advisor (PvdA)
- Mr Henk Jan van Schothorst, Political Advisor (SGP)
- Mr Martin van Vliet, Political Advisor (CDA)
- Ms Katrien Bardeel, Junior Policy Officer
- Ms Anne van Staalduinen, Junior Policy Officer

*Regional Team for EurAsia & New Regions*

- Mr Pepijn Gerrits, Regional Director
- Mr Will Derks, Policy Officer
- Ms Annie van de Pas, Political Advisor (GroenLinks)
- Mr Sam van der Staak, Political Advisor (VVD)
- Ms Lotte ten Hoove, Junior Policy Officer

*Regional Team for Latin America*

- Mr Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach, Regional Director
- Ms Heleen van Schrooyen, Policy Officer
- Ms Lizzy Beekman, Political Advisor (CDA)
- Mr Frans Visscher, Political Advisor (ChristenUnie)
- Ms Ariëtta van Eck, Junior Policy Officer
- Mr Okke Bouwman, Junior Policy Officer
- Ms Doris Cruz, Head of Guatemala Field Office

*Knowledge & Communication*

- Mr Maarten H.J. van den Berg, Knowledge & Communication Coordinator
- Ms Berendien Bos, Editor
- Ms Suzanne van der Velden, Knowledge Officer

*Finance & Administration*

- Mr Wim Nusselder, Controller
- Mr Jeffrey Krul, Administrator

*Office Management*

- Ms Livia van Helvoort, Office Manager
- Ms Monique Ronza, Office Assistant
- Ms Emelia Ampomaah, Junior Office Assistant

#### 7.1.4 Key strategic partners

- Dutch embassies in NIMD Programme countries
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
- Department for International Development (DFID) United Kingdom
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy (United Kingdom)
- People in Need (Czech Republic)
- Pontis Foundation (Slovakia)
- National Endowment for Democracy (NED) United States of America
- National Democratic Institute (NDI) United States of America
- International Republican Institute (IRI) United States of America
- World Movement for Democracy
- Community of Democracies
- African Union
- European Union

### 7.2 List of publicity, publications and events

#### Publicity

- Article on European efforts to democracy support in post-conflict societies. In *Internationale Spectator*, 61, no 2 (February 2007).
- Radio documentary about NIMD programme in Mali, IKON, Radio 1, 'De Andere Wereld', 23 April 2007.
- Illustrated article about NIMD programme in Mali published in *Leidsch Dagblad*, 27 April 2007.
- Opinion article on the relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands by Dr Jos van Gennip, Vice-President of NIMD, in *Trouw*, 10 May 2007.
- Radio interview by NOS, Radio 1 Journaal, with Kathleen Ferrier (MP, CDA) about the pan-African conference of political parties organized by NIMD in Accra, Ghana, on 5-6 May 2007.
- Radio interviews by Radio Netherlands (RNW) Africa with participants and organizers of the pan-African conference of political parties organized by NIMD in Accra, Ghana, on 5-6 May 2007.
- Radio interview by NOS, Radio 1 Journaal, with NIMD President Bernard Bot about the NIMD mission to Afghanistan, 25 May 2007.
- Radio interview by the Nederlandse Moslimroep (NMO) with NIMD Political Advisor Martin van Vliet (CDA) about the elections in Mali, 31 May 2007.
- Illustrated, 11-page feature article about NIMD programmes in Mali, Guatemala and Suriname, published in *ViceVersa*, June 2007.
- Video interviews by AfricaNews with young politicians from Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania visiting the Netherlands on the occasion of the NIMD Partnership Days, September 2007.

- Radio interview by Radio Netherlands (RNW) with politicians from Suriname on the occasion of the NIMD Partnership Days, September 2007.

#### Publications

- Book *Democracy, Europe's Core Value?* Marieke van Doorn and Roel von Meijefeldt (eds), Eburon Press, Delft, 2007.
- Book *Party and Local Parliament: the Era of Democracy Transition in Indonesia*, LIPI, Jakarta, 2007.
- Paper *Engineering Electoral Systems: Possibilities and Pitfalls* by Alan Wall and Mohamed Salih, NIMD Knowledge Centre, The Hague, 2007.
- Book *Met meerderheid van stemmen*, a liber amicorum for Professor Jos van Kemenade, President of NIMD from 2002-2007, with contributions from various politicians about multiparty democracy, NIMD, The Hague, 2007.
- DVD *Clever people can't remain silent*, a video documentary about the NIMD/KID democracy school programme in Indonesia, produced by NIMD and LokaalMondiaal.
- Book *The Dutch Political System in a Nutshell* published by NIMD and the Institute for Political Participation (IPP), Amsterdam, 2007.

#### Public events, including lectures

- Presentations by NIMD Director Roel von Meijefeldt about democracy promotion and the work of NIMD, on invitation by the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ottawa, 9 – 11 January 2007.
- Lecture by Thomas Carothers, Vice President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in the SID lecture series on Democracy and Development, co-organized by NIMD, Amsterdam, 15 January 2007.

- Presentation by Thomas Carothers, Vice President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of his book *Confronting the Weakest Link, Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*, NIMD, The Hague, 15 January 2007.
- Presentation of the book *Democracy, Europe's Core Value?*, Marieke van Doorn and Roel von Meijefeldt (eds), to Maxime Verhagen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in The Hague, 26 March 2007.
- Address by NIMD Director Roel von Meijefeldt at the conference 'Transformational Diplomacy' on invitation by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, 29 March 2007.
- Conference 'The European Approach to Democracy Support' organized by NIMD, Westminster Foundation for Democracy (UK), the British Foreign & Commonwealth Office and the European Council for Foreign Relations (Open Society Institute), with an opening address by NIMD Director Roel von Meijefeldt, Wilton Park, UK, 31 March – 1 April 2007.
- Lunch lecture by Brigadier General Francis Agyemfra, Ghana, on democratization in post-conflict countries with specific reference to West Africa, NIMD, The Hague, 13 April 2007.
- Lecture and workshop by Brigadier General Francis Agyemfra, Ghana, on democratization in West Africa, at the Africa Day, an event organized by the Evert Vermeer Stichting (EVS) and co-sponsored by NIMD, 14 April 2007.
- Pan-African conference of political parties organized by NIMD in Accra, Ghana, on 5-6 May 2007 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence.
- Conference of Indonesian political parties organized by

NIMD and SID Netherlands, The Hague, 9-10 May 2007.

- Debate about Europe's role in international democracy assistance hosted by NIMD as part of the Europe Festival, an event organized by the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) on 12 May 2007.
- Conference on the relations between Europe and Latin America (ELE) co-organized by NIMD, The Hague, 14 May 2007.
- Lecture about NIMD by Senior Policy Officer Jan Tuit and Knowledge & Communication Coordinator Maarten H.J. van den Berg at the Institute for Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, 21 May 2007.
- Participation of NIMD Junior Policy Officer Lotte ten Hoove in the workshop on negotiating with the Taliban at the Middle East event Bazaar, Amsterdam, 3 June 2007.
- Participation of Director Roel von Meijefeldt and Policy Officer Marieke van Doorn in a seminar on European democracy assistance organized by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) in Brussels, 5-6 June 2007.
- Two lectures on Islam and Democracy by Malaysian democrat and former Vice-President Anwar Ibrahim on invitation of NIMD, co-organized by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and SID Netherlands, 18-19 June 2007.
- Presentation about NIMD by Policy Officer Will Derks, Regional Director for Africa Jasper Veen and Knowledge & Communication Coordinator Maarten H.J. van den Berg for 15 politicians from Pakistan, invited to the Netherlands by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 7 June 2007.
- Expert meeting about democracy assistance in post-conflict countries, organized by NIMD and the Clingendael Institute, 5 July 2007.

- Lecture about NIMD by Regional Director Africa Jasper Veen and Knowledge & Communication Coordinator Maarten H.J. van den Berg at the Institute for Social Studies (ISS), The Hague, July 2007.
  - Lecture about democratization by NIMD Senior Policy Officer Jan Tuit and Regional Representative for Africa Renier Nijskens for African army officers at the Instituut voor Defensie Leergangen, Delft, 3 September 2007.
  - NIMD Partnership Days, a bi-annual conference of delegates from all NIMD programme countries and representatives of Dutch political parties, various locations in The Hague, 10-14 September 2007.
  - Closing conference of the 'Democracy and Development' lecture series organized by NIMD and SID Netherlands, featuring a keynote address by Bert Koenders, Minister for International Cooperation, The Hague, 12 September 2007.
  - Lecture by Hekmat Karzai, Director of the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies in Kabul, and debate about Afghanistan with Dutch MPs Arend Jan Boekestijn (VVD), Angelien Eijssink (PvdA) and Karien van Gennip (CDA), organized by NIMD and The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), NIMD, The Hague, 13 October 2007.
  - Participation of NIMD Director Roel von Meijenfheldt in a panel on strengthening democracy promotion as a pillar of a common EU foreign policy at the conference 'Common Foreign Policy Priorities: towards an Open Society' organized by the Pasos network in Berlin, 1 November 2007.
  - Participation of NIMD Director Roel von Meijenfheldt in the conference 'India's Role in Worldwide Democracy Support' organized by the Indian Institute for Social Sciences in New Delhi, 6-7 December 2007.
  - Participation of NIMD Knowledge & Communication Coordinator Maarten H.J. van den Berg in the debate 'Democracy as export product' organized by Debate Centre Tumult in Utrecht, 18 December 2007.
- ### 7.3 Political parties in parliament
- #### 7.3.1 Africa
- Ghana*
- New Patriotic Party (NPP)
  - National Democratic Congress (NDC)
  - Peoples National Convention (PNC)
  - Convention People's Party (CPP)
- Kenya*
- Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)
  - Party of National Unity (PNU)
  - Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya (ODM-K)
  - Kenya African National Union (KANU)
  - SAFINA (a part of the Party of National Unity)
  - National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya (NARC-Kenya)
  - National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)
  - Forum for Restoration of Democracy – People (Ford-P)
  - Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)
  - Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK)
  - New Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (New Ford-K)
  - Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)
  - Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
  - Patriotic Party of Kenya (PPK)
  - Mazingira Greens party
  - Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA)
  - United Democratic Movement (UDM)
  - Kenya African Democratic Development Union (KADDDU)
  - Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Kenya (Ford-K)
  - Progressive Development Party (PDP)
- National Labour Party (NLP)*
- Kenya African Democratic Union Asili (KADU-A)
  - Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Asili (Ford-A)
- Malawi*
- Democratic Peoples Party (DPP)
  - United Democratic Front (UDF)
  - Malawi Congress Party (MCP)
  - People's Progressive Movement (PPM)
  - People's Transformation Party (Petra)
  - Alliance for Democracy (Aford)
  - Republican Party (RP)
- Mali*
- Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali-Parti africain pour la solidarité et la justice (Adema/PASJ)
  - Union pour la République et la Démocratie (URD)
  - Rassemblement National Démocratique (RND)
  - Bloc pour la Démocratie et l'Intégration Africaine (BDIA)
  - Congres Nationale pour la Initiative Démocratie (CNID)
  - Mouvement Patriotique pour le Renouveau (MPR)
  - Union pour la Démocratie et le Développement (UDD)
  - Mouvement pour l'Indépendance, la Renaissance et l'Intégration Africaine (MIRIA)
  - Bloc des Alternances pour le Renouveau, l'Intégration et la Coopération Africaine (BARICA)
  - Parti de la Solidarité et du Progrès (PSP)
  - Parti Citoyen pour le Renouveau (PCR)
  - Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (USRDA)
  - Rassemblement Pour le Mali (RPM)
  - Parti pour la renaissance nationale (PARENA)
  - Solidarité Africaine pour la Démocratie et l'Indépendance (SADI)
  - Independents
- Mozambique*
- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)
  - Resistência Nacional Moçambicana-União Eleitoral (Renamo-UE)
- South Africa*
- African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
  - African National Congress (ANC)
  - African Peoples Convention (APC)
  - Azanian People's Party (AzaPO)
  - Democratic Alliance (DA)
  - Federation of Democrats (FD)
  - Freedom Front Plus (FF+)
  - Independent Democrats (ID)
  - Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)
  - Minority Front (MF)
  - National Alliance (NA)
  - National Democratic Convention (Nadeco)
  - Pan African Congress (PAC)
  - United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)
  - United Democratic Movement (UDM)
- Tanzania*
- Chama Cha Mapinduzi – Revolutionary State Party (CCM)
  - United Civic Front (CUF)
  - Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo – Party of Democracy and Development (Chadema)
  - United Democratic Front (UDF)
  - Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)
- Zambia*
- United Democratic Alliance (coalition of UNIP, UPND, FDD)
  - Patriotic Front (PF)
  - Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)
  - National Democratic Forum (NDF)
  - United Liberal Party (ULP)
  - Independents
- Zimbabwe*
- Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (PF)
  - Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC)
  - Movement for Democratic Change – Mutambara (MDC)



## Annexes

### 7.3.2 Latin America

#### *Bolivia*

- Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS)
- Frente de Unidad Nacional (UN)
- Poder Democrático Social (Podemos)

#### *Ecuador*

- Alianza País (AP)
- Democratic Alternative (DA)
- Nuevo País (NP)
- Movimiento UNO
- Movimiento Independiente Futuro Ya
- Movimiento Honradez Nacional
- Movimiento Concertación Democrática Nacional
- Movimiento Fuerza Ecuatoriana
- Izquierda Democrática (ID)
- Unión Demócrata Cristiana (UDC)
- Partido Social Cristiano (PSC)
- Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE)

#### *Guatemala*

- Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE)
- Gran Alianza Nacional (GANAN)
- Partido Patriota (PP)
- Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG)
- Partido Unionista (PU)
- Centro de Acción Social (CASA)
- Unión del Cambio Nacional (UCN)
- Encuentro por Guatemala (EG)
- Partido de Avanzada Nacional (PAN)
- Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG)
- Unión Democrática (UD)

#### *Nicaragua*

- Alianza Liberal Nicaraguense (ALN)
- Camino Cristiano de Nicaragua (CCN)
- Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN)
- Movimiento Renovador Sandinista (MRS)
- Partido Conservador (PC)

- Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC)
- Partido Resistencia Nicaraguense (PRN)
- Yapti Tasba Masraka Nanih Aslatakanka (YATAMA)

#### *Suriname*

- National Party of Suriname (NPS)
- Progressive Reform Party (VHP)
- Pertjajah Luhur (PL)
- Suriname Labour Party (SPA)
- National Democratic Party (NDP)
- Civic alliance for Development (VW): consists of DNP 2000, BVD and KTPL
- A-Combination: consists of ABOP, BEP and SEEKA
- Democratic Alternative '91 (DA '91)
- Alternative 1: consists of PVF, D21

### 7.3.3 Eurasia and New Regions

#### *Georgia*

- United National Movement (UNM)
- Republican Party (RP)
- Conservative Party of Georgia
- Industry Will Save Georgia (WSG)
- Labour Party of Georgia (GLP)
- New Right Party (NR)

#### *Indonesia*

- Functional Groups Party (Golkar)
- Indonesia Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P)
- National Awakening Party (PKB)
- United Development Party (PPP)
- Democratic Party (PD)
- Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)
- National Mandate Party (PAN)

#### *Afghanistan*

- Jamiat
- Junbesh
- Naveen
- Tanzim-e-Dawat
- Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum
- Millat
- Mutahed Milli (National United Party)

- Eqtedar Milli
- Mahaz-e-Milli or National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA)
- Sulh wa Wahdat
- Wahdat-e-Islami
- Da Soly Ghorzang
- Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi
- Jabha-e-Najat
- Wahdat-e-Milli Islami
- Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum
- Hambastagi Jawanan
- Hezb-e-Islami
- Paiwand Milli
- Democrat
- Harakat Islami
- Jumhuri (Republican)
- Tahrir-e-Wahdat
- Nuhzat-e-Azadi
- Refa Afghanistan
- Junbesh-wa-Democracy

#### *Burundi*

- Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie – Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD-FDD)
- Union pour le Progrès National (UPRONA)
- Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU)
- Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD-Nyangoma)
- Mouvement de Rehabilitation des Citoyens (MRC)



## Colophon

### Coordination, editing and production

NIMD: Maarten van den Berg and Berendien Bos

### Text editing

Joy Maul-Phillips, Amsterdam

Megan Martin, Amsterdam

### Graphic design

Stephan Csikós, The Hague ([www.carrie-stephan.nl](http://www.carrie-stephan.nl))

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