

Netherlands Institute for  
**Multiparty Democracy**

**NIMD Annual Report**

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**2012**

## Contents

<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1. Introduction and strategic issues .....</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1 Linking and Learning .....	4
1.2 Network and links with partners .....	4
1.3 Strategic partnerships.....	5
1.4 Fundraising .....	5
1.5 Becoming a learning organization .....	6
1.6 Relating NIMD’s 2012 activities to the Multi Annual Plan outcomes and outputs .....	7
<b>2. Country Programmes .....</b>	<b>8</b>
2.1 Introduction: enacting the NIMD Multi-Annual Plan in concrete contexts .....	8
2.2 Benin.....	8
2.3. Bolivia .....	9
2.4. Burundi .....	10
2.5 Central America – Guatemala.....	11
2.6 Central America – Honduras.....	12
2.7 Colombia.....	12
2.8 Ecuador.....	13
2.9 Egypt.....	14
2.10 Georgia .....	14
2.11 Ghana.....	15
2.12 Indonesia .....	16
2.13 Kenya .....	16
2.14 Malawi .....	17
2.15 Mali .....	18
2.16 Mozambique.....	19
2.18 Tanzania.....	20
2.19 Tunisia.....	21
2.20 Uganda.....	21
2.21 Zimbabwe .....	22
2.22 Linking and Learning .....	23
2.22.1 Regional programmes (ARP, ALARP) .....	23
2.22.2 Missions and technical assistance .....	24
2.22.3 PME, Methodology Development and Publications .....	24
2.22.4 Communications.....	25
2.22.6 Strategic cooperation .....	26
2.23 New programmes .....	26
2.23.1 Central America – El Salvador.....	26
2.23.2 INSPIRED .....	26
2.23.3 Jordan .....	27
2.23.4 Libya.....	27
2.23.5 Myanmar .....	28
<b>3. Institutional matters .....</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1 Governance.....	29
3.2 Staffing policy .....	29
3.3 PMS Principal Toolbox .....	29
<b>4. Financial overview .....</b>	<b>30</b>
4.1 Statement of costs and revenue 2012 in €.....	30
4.2 Balance sheet at 31 December 2012 in € .....	32

## Executive Summary

In 2012 NIMD and its partners worked with political parties in 25 countries across 4 continents. The sum of these individual organizations is a network that is growing increasingly stronger. Each of these organizations, and the parties linked to them, is able to tap into practical knowledge and valuable experiences through exchanges and peer-to-peer relations.

Within post-conflict or post-revolutionary contexts, so-called democracies in transition have become one of our key focuses. In 2012 we commenced working in a number of countries including Egypt, Tunisia, South Sudan, Myanmar and Honduras. As our experience in these countries has shown, before investing in strengthening capacities of parties and their leadership, there is an inevitable need to organise safe spaces for politicians to come together and to build trust among themselves, while at the same time investing in their relationships with NIMD and our partners.

In order for political parties to prepare adequately for tomorrow's political developments, they must invest in their organization and their foundations. This is only possible if the parties' organizational structures and processes adequately reflect and adapt to the rapidly changing political landscapes in which they work. This in turn can only be guaranteed by means of regularly analysing the political context, adapting to new developments and seeking broad input from within the parties themselves.

2012 also marked the first year of a new core funding arrangement between NIMD and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. This funding, which is for the period 2012–15, as well as increased funding from the European Union and several specific countries, has allowed NIMD to expand its portfolio to 25 countries. Five other countries asked NIMD for assistance but this was not possible due to a lack of funding and capacities. Nevertheless, we would like to thank wholeheartedly all of the individuals and organizations that have contributed to our work.

Hans Bruning

Executive Director, NIMD

## 1. Introduction and strategic issues

This is the first Annual Report within the framework of the 2012–15 NIMD multi-annual plan (MAP). According to this plan NIMD proposed, in addition to its programmes, to look into a number strategic issues related to flaws identified in its most recent institutional evaluation—including NIMD’s ability to learn and better use its lessons learned throughout its various programmes—as well as flaws related to NIMD’s long-term sustainability. This chapter provides insights into the progress NIMD made on these various issues in 2012.

### 1.1 Linking and Learning

In its MAP for 2012–15 NIMD stated that it would create a Linking and Learning programme in order to ‘ensure that NIMD and its partners remain innovative in their programme conceptualization, effective in the implementation process and efficient in utilization of resources while at the same time ensuring sustainability of the interventions’. The Linking and Learning programme aims specifically to involve partners in NIMD strategies; strengthen the country programmes through the sharing of knowledge and best practices; and strengthen strategic cooperation with like-minded organizations.

In doing so, the programme aimed to provide NIMD and its partners with the possibility of regularly and jointly interacting with each other and with other relevant stakeholders in the field of democracy assistance. It would also enable the organization to share views, knowledge and experiences; jointly review and reflect on the various democratic reforms challenges; and discuss and adapt programme interventions and strategies. Finally, it would provide the possibilities for NIMD to continue to engage with other like-minded organizations working in the field of democracy promotion in general and party strengthening in particular. By doing so NIMD would seek to address the main challenges formulated in the 2010 institutional evaluation of NIMD conducted by IOB.

In 2012 the first steps were taken to turn the various (previously independent) organizational structures (programmes) into one Linking and Learning structure. As described below, cooperation between the former Regional Programmes was reached, increasing the number of exchanges between countries and across regions. The engagement of strategic partners with NIMD activities also increased, as did cooperation with these strategic partners—notably International IDEA—on making knowledge and experiences available. The exchange between NIMD staff and partners of NIMD also increased, with a specific emphasis on capturing lessons learned.

Towards the end of 2012 a more structural approach was chosen in order to create a more solid Linking and Learning structure within the organization, and to ensure the programmatic results would be better sustained by a more efficient structure. One staff member was designated to oversee the Linking and Learning programme, ensuring better coordination between its various themes—Monitoring and Evaluation, Communication, Regional Programmes and Methodology Development—and clearer links to the overall Linking and Learning strategy and agenda. The results of this approach will be known in 2013.

### 1.2 Network and links with partners

NIMD strives for locally owned and inclusive interparty dialogue platforms that bring together the greatest number of parliamentary parties. NIMD programmes are now carried out in 25 countries through the work of a Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), a non-governmental organization (NGO) or an NIMD country office. Cooperation within the platforms has resulted in higher levels of trust and confidence between participating parties, and has opened up possibilities for political and policy reform.

In April 2012 NIMD organized its biennial Partnership Days, a gathering of all the representatives of the 25 different platforms and a selected number of political representatives from international and Netherlands-based institutions. The meeting aimed to provide a mutual learning network through which attendees could

share experiences and build on the strong network of NIMD partners. Two specific meetings were held in 2012 with a selected group of partners: one in Bali (Indonesia) on planning, monitoring and evaluation (PME) and the other in Batumi (Georgia) on democracy education. These meetings aimed at concerted efforts and harmonization on the respective topics and will be followed up in 2013.

### 1.3 Strategic partnerships

In preparing its 2012–15 MAP and the funding proposal for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands (MFA), NIMD focused strongly on strengthening its partnerships with its strategic allies including International IDEA (Stockholm), the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA, Amsterdam), the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD, Copenhagen), Political Parties of Finland for Democracy (Demo Finland, Helsinki) and the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD, Brussels). In 2012 the results of these partnerships were as follows:

**International IDEA** is a strong ally in terms of mutual added value, with NIMD being a practitioner’s organization and IDEA a knowledge, research and internationally-rooted organization with 27 member states around the world. In 2012 more than 20 joint activities and programmes were initiated, either as a continuation of long-standing cooperation (e.g. in Ecuador) or in the form of new activities (e.g. publications, academic research and contributions to databases). NIMD and International IDEA hold bi-annual strategic meetings in order to coordinate activities, provide input to proposals and guide cooperation. The partnership is carried out in close coordination with the MFA, as IDEA and NIMD spearhead its democracy and governance policies.

**AWEPA** maintains strong and direct contacts between African and European parliaments. NIMD’s cooperation with AWEPA focuses on connecting political parties with parliaments. The set-up in 2012 of a new joint programme in Benin, a Dutch priority country, provides an example of interlinked party and parliamentary support. The programme is guided by regular meetings between the management of both organizations. In addition to the country approach (which will soon be rolled out in other countries besides Benin), NIMD and AWEPA are currently considering a thematic approach that will lead to further activities focused on the position of women and young people in political parties and parliaments.

**DIPD**, in contrast to NIMD, combines a multiparty approach with support for particular parties on behalf of Danish parties (mostly according to family ties). Nevertheless, in 2012 cooperation between NIMD and DIPD increased markedly in terms of the multiparty approach, with the commencement of a joint programme in Egypt and plans to replicate this programme in Zimbabwe, NIMD support for DIPD in its endeavours in Myanmar and DIPD taking over NIMD’s programme in Tanzania. The management of NIMD and DIPD meet one or two times each year in order to coordinate activities.

**Demo Finland** is an ally in NIMD’s programme in Tunisia and a major partner in NIMD’s European network, the EPD. Like DIPD, Demo Finland is interested in building an international network of political party practitioners. In 2012 a strategic meeting was held between NIMD and Demo Finland and agreements were made on the structure of future mutual engagement and exchanges.

**EPD**, NIMD’s European ‘umbrella’ organization, underwent restructuring during 2012. As a result, it will gradually phase out its focus on programme management in order to focus instead on becoming a network of practitioners and engaging with the European Union (EU) and its various departments. Due to these structural changes, NIMD is confident of EPD’s future and remains willing to invest in and support the organization.

### 1.4 Fundraising

In the 2012–15 MAP, NIMD set a goal to increase the percentage of funding from sources other than the MFA, in order to decreasing its dependency on one donor while ensuring the sustainability of country programmes no longer be eligible to receive support from the MFA’s Political Parties Fund II (PPII). In 2012 a solid basis has been laid for further developing these two main goals.

The strategy to decrease NIMD's dependency on a single donor has been twofold. First, the NIMD management decided in 2012 to develop a longer-term strategy that would look at how to secure a solid funding base for the organization after 2015, when the current PPII funding comes to an end. For this purpose, an internal working group, composed of the NIMD Executive Director and two staff members assisted by a specialized consultant, developed a post-2015 strategy.

The first result of the working group was a draft discussion paper on the strategic variables and necessary choices that will need to be made in order to ensure that NIMD retains a clear focus on its core values, while at the same time matching this with the type of funders able and willing to support these values over a longer period. The paper envisages a timetable for the discussion, finalization and implementation of the strategy that ensures NIMD is ready at the end of 2014 to develop a new post-2015 multi-annual plan.

Second, NIMD has continued to invest in building relations with various donors and partners to ensure increasing funding for both programmes and general costs. NIMD invested heavily in building relations with the various institutions related to the European Union (EU), both at the country level and in Brussels. Furthermore, NIMD continued to invest in relations with specific donors in Sweden, Canada and the United Kingdom (UK) with a known interest in supporting programmes involving democracy strengthening.

NIMD's follow-up on its strategic partnership agreements (with IDEA and AWEPA) and strategic alliances with like-minded organizations (including DIPD and Demo Finland) resulted in new joint programmes (in Benin, South Sudan, Tunisia, Egypt and Myanmar) with potential inroads for funding and additional funding for existing programmes (in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Malawi). In the case of the Tanzania programme, this resulted in the DIPD taking over an NIMD programme that would no longer receive funding from the MFA.

While these results have not yet significantly increased the volume of structural long-term funding to compensate for the possibility of decreased MFA funds, they are an encouraging sign that non-Dutch donors are increasingly interested in funding NIMD programmes. At the same time, the results underline the need for a diversified funding strategy that invests in both headquarters and Embassy contacts, and projecting NIMD as a credible and reliable partner with a wide network of local partner organizations and a clear focus on strengthening multiparty dialogue and the capacities of political parties.

Finally, in 2012 NIMD seized opportunities to increase funding from the MFA through subsidies other than PPII funding. Together with Cordaid, NIMD prepared a proposal under the Reconstruction programme aimed at bridging the gap between political and civil society in conflict-prone societies. This resulted in a four-year subsidy worth approximately €5 million for programmes in Colombia, Guatemala and El Salvador. In addition, NIMD was able to secure MFA funding for a pilot programme in Jordan, and funding through the Netherlands Embassies in Tbilisi and Vienna for its programme in Georgia.

## 1.5 Becoming a learning organization

Following the institutional evaluation of NIMD in 2010, which showed that NIMD needed to overcome significant challenges in its quest to become a real learning organization, the 2012–15 MAP hinted at increasing the possibilities for more structural internal reflection and exchange of experiences. In 2012 a number of instruments and approaches have been launched to ensure NIMD becomes a true learning organization.

First, building a new PME structure and investing in the PME skills of both staff and partners has helped NIMD to become better equipped to capture results and thus provide a stronger evidence base for its work. Furthermore, as part of NIMD's partnership with International IDEA, methodologies and instruments that have been used successfully by each organization have been brought together in a number of publications. The combination of these efforts will help ensure that NIMD leaves a stronger paper trail of its work, including its failures and successes.

Second, since NIMD's reorganization, Programme Managers have become more stand-alone actors on the programmes they are responsible for. In order to ensure better exchange of experiences and information among NIMD staff, 'travel-free weeks' have been organized. During these weeks, staff members are able to catch up and share experiences and information in a structured manner, and discuss institutionally-important themes and policies.

To ensure that NIMD becomes a truly learning organization and that information and experiences are shared in a more structured and continuous way, recurring activities have been developed, including Introspection sessions with programme staff and peer evaluations.

### **1.6 Relating NIMD's 2012 activities to the Multi Annual Plan outcomes and outputs**

In 2012 a variety of actions have been set in motion to ensure the proper operationalization of NIMD's multi-annual framework. In the intervention logic presented in the MAP, NIMD began formulating its outcomes, outputs and corresponding indicators, the elaboration of which continued throughout 2012 and beyond. Progress was also made in developing a baseline instrument to allow existing NIMD programme countries to review the country context analysis, and to enable all new country programme to construct baseline data. The elaboration of an NIMD 'theory of change' has also progressed, as has the identification of useful indicators to measure progress.

As the baseline instrument was not finalised in 2012, indicators on the various levels of the intervention logic have not yet been operationalized. However, as a result of various in-house workshops NIMD has started to gather programmatic results to enable reporting on the outcomes and outputs formulated in the MAP. NIMD's programme of democracy education has yielded hundreds of newly skilled and trained politicians and political activists who are taking on prominent positions in local and national politics. These results will be further backed by quantitative and qualitative data once the instruments to measure them properly are fully operational.

Furthermore, several new programmes have been initiated in 2012, especially in the Latin American and Middle East and North Africa (MENA) regions, but also in countries such as South Sudan, Benin and Myanmar. Part 2 of this Annual Report contains detailed overviews of the results achieved in each of the NIMD programme countries.

## 2. Country Programmes

### 2.1 Introduction: enacting the NIMD Multi-Annual Plan in concrete contexts

As proposed in the 2012–15 MAP, NIMD seeks to deepen and consolidate its existing country programmes, focusing more on its niche of combining political party dialogue with strengthening the programmatic capacities of political parties as well as their links with civil society. In the past several years, longer-term NIMD partners have shown more institutional and programmatic maturity, with dialogues between parties (and between parties and other actors) becoming more institutionalized and reform agendas becoming gradually adopted. These experiences are also increasingly shared throughout the network of NIMD partners. In 2012 experiences related to democracy education were shared between seven partner countries; experiences in PME were shared with an even larger group. All of these practices strengthen the evidence base for NIMD's programmes.

At the same time, NIMD has chosen share its experiences with a selected group of democracies in transition that have explicitly requested NIMD's support—either directly or through partners or (inter)national intermediaries. When examining the set-up of these new country programmes, a number of general trends can be deduced:

1. The majority of these new programmes involve post-conflict or post-autocratic countries (including South Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Jordan, Myanmar and, to a lesser degree, Honduras and El Salvador).
2. By and large these new country programmes, most of which entered a pilot phase in 2012, made use of the experiences of NIMD and its partners in other countries when setting their agendas and developing their activities. As such, peer-to-peer exchange around seminars, the Partnership Days and exchange visits have become very important tools.
3. All of these programmes have, in one way or another, been set up through partnerships with strategic partners including International IDEA, AWEPA, DIPD and Demo Finland, amongst others. This has also increasingly led to more diverse organizational set-ups in programmes that do not follow the traditional pattern of either working with and through a local partner, directly creating a local platform or establishing an NIMD country office.

In line with the proposals in the MAP, more time, energy and resources have been put into linking partners with each other, as well as linking NIMD and its partners at the headquarters level, in order to exchange and capture experiences, develop new strategies and create innovative instruments, methodologies and practices. Some of the very promising steps that have already been undertaken in these areas are described in this Annual Report. Nevertheless, more time, resources and energy will need to be invested over the coming years to ensure that more information is shared and captured.

### 2.2 Benin

#### Political update

Benin has a relatively stable multiparty system, with five successful presidential and legislative elections held since the early 1990s, most of which have been deemed free and fair. However, many democratic challenges remain, both politically and economically. The current president, Yayi Boni, who is an independent candidate and therefore does not represent a political party, is now in his second term (which will end in 2015). The Forces Cauris pour un Bénin Emergent (Cowry Forces for an Emerging Benin - FCBE) alliance, made up of many parties and other actors, supports the president and holds a clear majority in parliament. As for the overall situation in parliament, there are seven parliamentary groups and five permanent commissions which function normally. However, in general, political debate is lacking—for instance, no opposition MP chairs a commission, and party positions differ more on personal than policy matters.

Political parties are in general very weak, especially since the rise of the FCBE coalition, with very few parties working according to an actual structure with members, a manifesto and so on. In the absence of noteworthy public support for parties, only structures revolving around influential individuals can survive. PRB and RB are established but struggling parties, and the remaining parties in UN are seeking to move towards becoming one party. Meanwhile, within FCBE many ‘mini-parties’ and organizations exist but mostly only in name. Political life therefore seems to revolve around key individuals, mainly MPs, who do not seem to have a very strong link to their respective parties.

### Programme

2012 saw the roll-out of the first operational phase after the decision in 2011 to jointly explore a programme with AWEPA. In April and August two exploratory missions were organised in order to meet with political actors and assess the interest in and need for such a programme, and to assess what was already happening in the field to avoid duplication. The positive response to these missions informed a basic approach of combining the NIMD objective of facilitating interparty dialogue and strengthening political parties with a clear focus on the role and functioning of parliament and the interactions between them.

After the approval of the concept note in the identification phase, the first objective was to establish a committee with local representatives of parties and parliament in order to ensure local ownership and obtain a clear counterpart entity to design the subsequent programme. In October the official opening conference was held, with some 40 MPs and party representatives in attendance, and with AWEPA’s president, Ms Miet Smet, and NIMD’s Supervisory Board member, Mr Eimert van Middelkoop representing both partner organizations. A Steering Committee (Comité de Pilotage) was established, with active participation by all present to achieve a good representative balance amongst its members. Overall, the establishment of the Steering Committee was the first step towards a full joint programme, with increasing local coordination. However, the programme is presently managed from the Netherlands.

### Partnerships and fundraising

The Benin programme is a pilot for future cooperation between NIMD and AWEPA, in line with the strategic partnership agreement that was signed in 2011. The programme is based on strengthening the interaction and interrelations of parties and parliament, combining the focus areas of both partners.

## 2.3. Bolivia

### Political update

While Bolivia celebrated 30 years of democracy in 2012 no national elections were organised and President Evo Morales and the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) remained firmly in power. Public unrest, a common phenomenon in Bolivia, was limited compared to earlier years. The political opposition remained weak and fragmented. The core of the opposition continues to be based in the eastern lowlands, the so-called media luna, of which Santa Cruz is the main city. However, the conflict between highlands and lowlands is no longer as intense as it once was. At the same time, Mr Morales has repeatedly stated that he expects to remain in power for at least another decade. This could create a constitutional problem, and a need for a national debate, as the constitution specifies a two-term presidential limit.

Public protest around the Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Secure (TIPNIS) area, a natural reserve that would be ecologically disrupted by road construction, continued but on a modest scale. The people in the affected area are awaiting the outcome of the so-called prior consultation, a new legal mechanism that forces the Bolivian Government to consult the population before implementing such infrastructure projects. On the basis of this new piece of legislation research was undertaken in the reserve area to produce an inventory and analysis of the views of the population. Results are expected to be published in 2013.

### Programme

The unexpected passing away of Mr Guido Riveros Franck, the Executive Director of NIMD’s partner organization in Bolivia, the Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy (FBDM), severely disrupted the NIMD programme. Decisions about an interim director were made in consultation with NIMD immediately after the funeral. The programme now has a Santa Cruz-based Interim Executive Director, with a La Paz-based political advisor in a co-managing role.

The activities undertaken by FBDM in 2012 covered a range of subjects. A series of documents was published, several of them analysing Evo Morales' second term in office. Other publications presented views from the eastern part of the country and the views of young Bolivians. The Santa Cruz office of FBDM continued to publish the tri-annual *Mojón21*, a magazine covering political issues in a broader sense which is widely distributed and read and which forms the basis of many political discussions in and around Santa Cruz. FBDM also organized meetings to discuss the political role of young people in political parties in Bolivia and, in close cooperation with International IDEA, UNDP and the Bolivian Government, worked on the new law on political parties.

#### Partnership and fundraising

With support from NIMD, an extension of funding for FBDM was obtained from the Netherlands Embassy. However, the longer-term perspective of Dutch funding is doubtful in light of the closing of this embassy.

## 2.4. Burundi

### Political update

The political landscape in Burundi has not improved since the 2010 elections. The ruling party's absolute dominance of all institutions, combined with the fact that the opposition is still divided, has resulted in a *de facto* one-party system. Some of the opposition leaders who remain in exile are also suspected by the ruling party of planning an armed rebellion. During the past year, no serious attempts for political dialogue have been put forward, the politically motivated killings have continued, and the so far relatively-free media has come under pressure.

In order for the situation to improve, it will be necessary that the political dialogue resumes and the opposition leaders are allowed to return to Burundi so that political pluralism can be guaranteed for the 2015 elections. The role of the international community, and especially the region, in supporting an inclusive political process cannot be underestimated. In the short term it is not expected that the international community will use its leverage to put more pressure on the Burundian Government to improve its governance record and open up political space.

### Programme

In 2012 NIMD and its local partner organization, the Burundi Leadership Training Programme (BLTP), have been successful in bringing together political parties to discuss subjects of national interest. These training sessions will be the foundation for a broader programme that NIMD will run in 2013 with support from the EU. The aim is to contribute to the unblocking of the political stalemate in Burundi by engendering sufficient trust between the 13 main political parties, strengthening their thematic knowledge, improving their internal party discussions, and facilitating a change in political strategies towards other parties.

As an inclusive political dialogue at the national level between the political leaders has so far failed to materialize, the only place where dialogue can be organised is at the local level. To this end, two Democracy Schools have been established in 2012. The large majority (more than 60 per cent) of the participants have a political background. These grassroots multiparty dialogue centres focus on the common challenges citizen leaders face in their local communities. These training sessions will continue in 2013. Towards the end of 2012 NIMD recruited a coordinator who will focus on strengthening the capacity of the BLTP and coordinate the implementation of the NIMD programmes.

### Partnerships and fundraising

Both strategic and ad-hoc partnerships have been developed in order to realise the ambitions of the NIMD programme in Burundi. NIMD has also been able to secure a first EU-financed programme under the Instrument for Stability in Burundi. The programme runs for 15 months starting in January 2013.

## 2.5 Central America – Guatemala

### Political update

In 2012 expectations of the new Guatemalan Government were high: President Perez Molina, a former military man, was expected to lead his government with a strong hand, overcoming organizational weaknesses that had hindered the previous administration. However, the first year of government did not bring the expected results in terms of reducing crime levels. Furthermore, the president seems to have made a political mistake by calling for a constitutional reform process without first ensuring sufficient support. This led to a process whereby the reforms were ultimately suspended on the pretext that the financial resources should be used to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake in San Marcos.

Since the elections in 2011 the composition of Congress has changed dramatically due to the formation of new parties, including Roberto Alejos' Morado party (formerly Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza - UNE), as well as the high level of floor-crossing in the current political party system. Social conflicts are related to discrimination and exclusion, the economic model of the country and to the extractive industry are increasing. While the macroeconomic indicators are quite good, the country is still struggling to overcome inequality, leading to poverty and impunity, factors which are also heavily influenced by the activities of illegal and armed groups. Identified solutions include reform of the political and the fiscal system, strengthening of the state, and inclusive, long term public policies. The reform of the political party system in this respect is an essential prerequisite to all of these possible reform measures.

### Programme

The year started with a very positive result, with the law establishing the Social Economic Council (Consejo Económico Social - CES) being approved by Congress. The CES is already operational and will support inclusive, long-term social economic policies. The current president of the CES is Mr Gustavo Porras, one of the negotiators of the 1996 peace agreements, who has facilitated discussions and negotiations between the three sectors involved (entrepreneurs, unions, cooperatives) on behalf of NIMD. Another positive result was the reform of the Permanent Forum of Political Parties (FPPP). After a series of bilateral meetings with the political parties, the Secretaries General of the parties reaffirmed their commitment to and involvement in the Forum and changed the decision-making structure to make it more reflective of the actual representation of the political parties in Congress.

A consortium consisting of the Institute for Legislative Studies, the technical assistance commission of congress and universities was reactivated, contributing to well-organised democracy education programmes throughout the country mainly targeting young people and youth leaders, with a special emphasis on women and indigenous peoples. Finally, progress was made in the Reconstruction programme, in which NIMD works together with Cordaid to bring together civil and political society in order to reduce and mitigate conflicts related to water management and mining. A mapping study, carried out to assess the current situation and level of conflict in the different departments, will form the basis for the joint planning exercise.

### Partnerships and fundraising

NIMD Guatemala has actively expanded its working relations with other organizations supporting Congress including the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and UNDP, as well as universities and Dutch organizations, including Radio Netherlands and the University of Utrecht, working in the field of democracy education. NIMD and Cordaid are in the process of rolling out a programme to decrease tensions and conflicts related to environmental issues by facilitating improved interactions between political and social actors.

## 2.6 Central America – Honduras

### Political update

The current administration of Honduran President Lobo has not been able to improve the situation in the country in 2012. Continuous high levels of criminality, insecurity and homicide, as well as a lack of employment, mean that the majority of the population does not support the current administration. In addition, Honduras is facing a debt crisis that makes the need for fiscal reform even more urgent.

In May 2012 the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) called for internal party elections to be held in November 2012 and for the general elections to be held in November 2013. Three political parties—the Liberal Party of Honduras (LPH), the National Party (NP) and the party Libre—held primaries, while three newly established parties will participate for the first time in the general elections: the Anti-Corruption Party, the Patriotic Alliance and the Broad Political Alliance in Resistance.

In April the Congress approved a reform of the electoral law establishing a 40 per cent quota for women in the elections in 2012/2013 and a 50 per cent quota for the elections of 2016/2017. Other important reforms are still pending, especially in relation to the independence of the TSE, internal democracy and enhanced transparency and accountability by the parties in the management of their funds.

### Programme

In August, a conference was organised to officially launch the NIMD programme in Honduras. The main issue was the link between political parties and citizens. Bilateral activities were carried out with seven of the nine political parties in Honduras. The newly-established parties used the support for organizational strengthening and strategic planning, the others mainly for capacity building of their youth divisions. In order to further the political participation of women and in light of the new quota regulation, NIMD and NDI trained 60 women in two departments on political communication and strategy. Furthermore, together with UNDP, progress was made in facilitating interparty dialogue. Eight of the nine parties sent high-level participants to the first session. It was also the first time that the newly established parties participated in a multiparty dialogue, which is a rare achievement in Honduras' polarized political climate.

### Partnerships and fundraising

While the programme has just begun, the NIMD coordinator has already achieved important cooperation agreements, including with UNDP and ND, and coordinated several activities on political analysis with universities and civil society organizations. The coordinator was also invited to participate in an expert round table in Washington organized by the Organization of American States (OAS). Finally, a proposal for democracy education was presented to the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF).

## 2.7 Colombia

### Political update

The political agenda in Colombia in 2012 was dominated by the peace negotiations between the Santos administration and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) guerrillas. In August 2012 both parties agreed on the items on the negotiation agenda: integral rural development, political participation, demobilization, drug trafficking and the rehabilitation of victims. The negotiations remained ongoing and were expected to finish in the first quarter of 2013. However, the negotiations face several challenges, including the fact that only one of the guerrilla groups is part of the negotiations and the fact that civil society is mainly excluded from the negotiation process.

In terms of the electoral cycle, 2012 was an 'in-between elections' year. The Coalition of National Unity, which controls 90 per cent of Congress, has been relatively stable. The Santos administration has put in place ambitious social policies, including a series of landmark laws that have changed the state's stance on internal conflict (e.g. a victims' law that envisages monetary compensation), as well as housing and social programmes. However, progress on policy development has been slow. Another challenge for the Colombian Government is

likely to come from rising public discontent with the president's friendly stance towards the extractive industries and the state's poor implementation capacity.

In 2011 the Constitutional Court approved a new political party law (1475), which forces all political organizations to implement reforms in terms of internal party democracy, transparency, a gender quota for the candidate's lists, the creation of party think tanks, and offices for women, young people and ethnic minority groups by the end of 2012. Consequently, all political parties were forced to reform their party statutes. Just as civil society was not included in the negotiations with FARC, political parties have not played a role in these reforms.

#### **Programme**

In 2012 the tripartite cooperation between NIMD, IDEA and UNDP (the Proyecto Fortalecimiento Democrático, or PFD) commenced. Moreover, since July 2011, in cooperation with Cordaid, NIMD has carried out a new Latin America regional programme on linking civil and political society via dialogues on conflicts arising from the activities of extractive industries. In Colombia, the programme will be partly implemented by UNDP. The PFD achieved three major milestones. First, the majority of political organizations adopted reforms for their party statutes as suggested by the PFD. Second, two of the three departmental assemblies approved new regulations for party caucuses, also as suggested by the PFD. Third, in close cooperation with Transparencia por Colombia, the PFD developed ranking systems for political parties in terms of transparency and gender equality.

#### **Partnerships and fundraising**

In 2012 the programme was funded by NIMD, UNDP, the Colombian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Swedish Embassy. In addition, NIMD, in cooperation with CORDAID, has received financial resources from the MFA's Reconstruction programme (2012–16). Colombia is part of this programme, which will in all likelihood be carried out by the PFD team.

## **2.8 Ecuador**

### **Political update**

2012 was a pre-election year in Ecuador, a year in which the scandal of supplanted signatures in the registration process for political organizations with the National Electoral Council (CNE) threatened the legitimacy of the electoral process and the implementation of the new political system. After a fundamental review of the CNE, 12 national and 70 regional political organizations managed to register, and the new political party system took effect on 18 October 2012. President Correa maintained the same level of popularity as in his first term, mainly due to his populist style of governance and positive development indicators.

In 2012 the Code of Democracy, which was first adopted in 2009, was reformed on several issues, including the introduction of a new formula for the assignation of regional seats in the National Assembly, which benefits political movements with strong regional representation such as Alianza PAIS. The changes to the Code also included a controversial reform that restricted media outlets' ability to publish any material that could be perceived as partisan or favourable to one candidate.

Under the new regulations requiring political parties to re-register with the CNE, political organizations had to comply with a set of criteria on internal party democracy, transparency, gender, organizational structure and programmatic proposals. A total of 12 national organizations managed to re-register, while two new political organizations were not required to do so. Correa's Alianza PAIS remains one of the most institutionalized political organizations, with strong regional representation nationwide.

### **Programme**

The International IDEA–NIMD Agora Democrática (AD) programme in Ecuador achieved three major milestones. First, a group of researchers has been formed to develop research on parliamentary coalitions and social conflict in Ecuador. Second, in close cooperation with Asociación de Mujeres Municipalistas del Ecuador (AMUME), AD supported the Political School for Women Politicians which offers training to elected women in local authorities. Third, the AD program has positioned itself in Ecuador as an important institution involved in

young peoples' political participation by carrying out a baseline study and a nationwide survey on youth participation—the first of its kind—which formed the basis of the design of the consequent youth programme.

#### Partnerships and fundraising

AD has put a great deal of effort into fundraising in 2012 but has secured no funding for the post-2013 period and must therefore seek other financial resources. Moreover, the Glynn Berry funding of the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs ends in March 2013.

## 2.9 Egypt

### Political update

Perhaps the most distinctive trait of Egyptian democracy at this time is that it is acted out in the wrong venue: the street or the court room. The Muslim Brotherhood, long oppressed under various Egyptian government administrations, has risen to power in an overwhelming manner by winning the legislative and presidential elections. Remarkably, the Salafis (a movement among Sunni Muslims), who previously did not practice politics, have become a political force to be reckoned with through the Nour party. The government has cracked down on Egyptian CSOs and some of the international donors that support them. This has led to very violent protests, strikes and riots, perhaps partly also due to the fact that the opposition is extremely divided. Further, the democratically-chosen lower house of parliament became defunct as the result of a court ruling, while the upper house continues to make decisions that are constitutionally questionable.

The status of the president, who to a certain extent illegally increased his powers and thereby caused more violent street protests, is also under question. To this total political confusion can be added an increasingly alarming economic situation, which President Morsi may not be capable of improving any time soon. Egypt may not yet be on the brink of collapse but at the end of 2012 it was certainly in serious trouble.

### Programme

The pilot programme in Egypt started in June 2012. A basket fund made up of three organizations—NIMD (as lead agency), the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD) and the Danish Egyptian Dialogue Institute (DEDI)—has set up Democracy Schools in Monofiya (with Egyptian partner the Cairo Center for Human Development - CCHD) and Giza (with the Egyptian Democracy Academy - EDA). Both partners also collaborate in developing the curriculum, a process that is facilitated by NIMD, DIPD and DEDI.

Early in the year, representatives of all organizations involved visited Indonesia for a study tour of the NIMD political education programme there. While visiting the Indonesian partner KID's premises in Jakarta as well as two Democracy Schools and alumni groups in Tangerang and Malang, they were accompanied by two Dutch parliamentarians (from GroenLinks and the CDA).

Later in the year, a representative of NIMD used DEDI's office facilities in Cairo for four months to assist the Egyptian partners in the set-up of their programme. The pilot programme is monitored, guided and supported on a day-to-day basis by a Steering Committee consisting of representatives of each of the collaborating funders. The pilot will be concluded in March 2013 and evaluated in May 2013. During 2012 it was on track as planned.

### Partnerships and fundraising

Funding is provided by the five partners in this programme: NIMD, DIPD, DEDI, CCHD and EDA.

## 2.10 Georgia

### Political update

With billionaire Bidzina Ivanishvili entering Georgian politics in late 2011, the campaign for the October 2012 elections was very long and heavily polarized. While Ivanishvili used his fortune to unite a large part of the opposition, the Georgian Government used state resources for election purposes. Despite the bickering, the polls were historic—never before in Georgian history had a change of government occurred so peacefully and

lawfully. The Georgian Dream coalition won 55 per cent of the seats, while President Saakashvili's party obtained 40 per cent. The challenge Georgia faced immediately after the elections—achieving cooperation between the two camps while a large part of the executive powers are still in the hands of President Saakashvili—will persist until the next presidential elections.

### Programme

In a period of high polarization due to the upcoming national elections, the Georgian political parties approached NIMD to facilitate an interparty dialogue on gender issues. To this end, a Multiparty Taskforce on Gender was established in July 2012. This was the only occasion during the campaign period when the ruling party, opposition parties, and the extra-parliamentary opposition parties showed a clear willingness to cooperate.

In early September, NIMD Georgia launched the [www.partiebi.ge](http://www.partiebi.ge) website. Also available in English, Armenian and Azeri, the website offered citizens the chance to compare the electoral programmes of all major political parties on 21 policy themes. NIMD facilitated meetings with several parties to formulate their policies. This was the first time that political parties in Georgia actively committed to a policy-based discussion prior to elections. The website received over 10 000 unique visitors during the campaign period.

### Partnerships and fundraising

NIMD is becoming a key interlocutor for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which does not have a field office in Tbilisi and is looking for a partner to implement its activities. Ties with the EU have also been strengthened. Within the context of the Netherlands, the programme receives strong support, and the Netherlands Embassy in Georgia is a key partner and donor. Funding has been secured from the Dutch and Canadian embassies, the Dutch Permanent Representation at the OSCE, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and EPD.

## 2.11 Ghana

### Political update

Most political events in Ghana in 2012 were linked to the presidential and parliamentary elections of 7 December 2012. The presidential election turned out, once again, to be significantly more important than the struggle to obtain parliamentary seats. The intense electoral struggle should be interpreted as a sign of a healthy democracy. The high voter turnout is yet another illustration of the profound interest of the Ghanaian electorate in their democracy which they often describe with a sense of pride. An innovative element of the electoral process was the biometric voter registration. Despite a number of technical hiccups, this expensive process went well, with an almost perfect distribution of voter cards among the registered electorate. The revision of the voter register is expected to help avoid registration problems in the future.

According to national and international observers the elections themselves went fairly well but the main opposition party (New Patriotic Party, NPP) protested against what it considered to be significant flaws in the electoral process. NPP presented its complaint to the Ghanaian Supreme Court and still awaits a verdict. One important official could not witness the elections: President John Evans Atta Mills died in July. He was succeeded by Vice-President John Dramani Mahama.

### Programme

The Presidential Transition Act, which had been prepared by the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP) was signed into law by the president and put into practice immediately after the 2012 elections. In 2012 the GPPP, which is funded by NIMD and carried out by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), focused on various elements of the electoral process. The GPPP's main objective was to ensure that the electoral process would be harmonious and uninterrupted by irregularities or violence. In order to achieve this goal the GPPP included activities such as the joint signing of an Electoral Code of Conduct. One important lesson from the 2008 elections—the need for an enforcement mechanism in such codes of conduct—was applied, with the IEA creating a high-level enforcement body that functioned very well.

The IEA allowed the presidential candidates of all four parliamentary parties to express their views in so-called Evening Encounters. These encounters allowed (and forced) the candidates to clarify the views and policies of

their parties, focusing on the content and not on the perceived weaknesses of other parties. The IEA's role in the presidential and vice-presidential debates was supported by NIMD but other funders also chipped in. The quality of the debates was high, as was their impact. Massive media attention was arranged.

#### Partnerships and fundraising

The IEA has a long history of acquiring funds from different sources. 2012 was no exception to this rule, with the EU emerging as a source of funding and the engagement of other funders including the Canada-based International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and (for smaller contributions) UNDP.

## 2.12 Indonesia

### Political update

Indonesia is in a democratic recession, with dominant figures continuing to control Indonesian politics and the political parties and a lack of progress in terms of political reform. Political parties at the national level have no clear ideologies or programmes but function instead as sophisticated client systems focused around one person. On the local level, the mere idea of an ideology or program is alien. Floor-crossing is considered normal and broadly practiced, and corruption is becoming worse. Regional autonomy and the increase in the number of districts have exacerbated money politics and corruption outside Jakarta.

Now even the two political parties known for their integrity—the Islamic Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) and the President's Partai Demokrat (PD)—are contaminated by enormous national corruption scandals that will cost them dearly in the 2014 general elections and the presidential elections later that year. The only positive actor seems to be the present governor of Jakarta, Joko Widodo, who is a reformer with clean hands and therefore immensely popular. It is still unclear whether he will run for office, but if he does he has a good chance of being elected.

### Programme

The NIMD programme is well managed by NIMD's partner, the Indonesian Community for Democracy (Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi, KID). KID runs eight Democracy Schools—five funded by NIMD and three others by Kemitraan/Partnership. By the time of the general elections in 2014, these schools will have produced around 2000 alumni, of which it is hoped that some 500 will run for office, particularly at the provincial and district levels, although a few may also run at the national level.

With regard to the so-called Political Party Consultation (PPC), KID's strategy involved members of political parties from the National Parliament. KID organized a series of seminars and in-house discussions on political parties' reform and professionalization, to which the parties became increasingly committed. The local approach in the PPC tries to connect the Democracy Schools' alumni to political parties' branches in their regions in order to strengthen the political parties' bottom-up reform processes. The so-called Community Committees (or KK) organized gatherings with political parties similar to those at the national level, also focusing on parties' reform. The KK took the initiative to draft a legal document on local health care that was subsequently submitted by both parties in the local parliament. The document is now being discussed in the parliament and will likely gain support.

### Partnerships and fundraising

KID is well aware that NIMD's funding for the Democracy Schools will not last indefinitely. Moreover, the funding of the three schools by Kemitraan/Partnership will terminate at the end of 2013. KID is making continuous efforts to secure funding and to thereby sustain the programme.

## 2.13 Kenya

### Political update

In 2012 it was decided that Kenya's general elections would take place in March 2013, 7 months later than the August 2012 date originally foreseen. This decision gave the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) time to prepare for the management of the vote, and to initiate a digitalized voter list, although only 14 million of Kenya's 18 million voters were registered. The IEBC was also able to decide on the

controversial issue of electoral boundaries. In light of the risk of gerrymandering, the High Court's decision to retain almost all the proposed boundaries enhanced the confidence of Kenyans in both the IEBC and the judiciary.

The power play in the run-up to the presidential elections culminated in last-minute opportunistic coalitions between Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto—two of the four final confirmed International Criminal Court (ICC) suspects who seem to be joined mainly by the hope to sabotage the trial if they are elected to the presidency—and the 'reunited' team of Kalonzo Musyoka and Raila Odinga. Cold calculations about how to unite ethnic voting blocs seemed to be the major determining factor in the run-up to the elections.

Political parties were faced with a new law stipulating the basic requirements for official registration, which was designed to reduce the number of parties to include only those that are truly national in orientation and have functional structures and procedures. However, aided by a very facilitating Registrar for Political Parties, in the end even more parties were registered than before, despite serious doubts about the truthfulness of their applications. Overall, while steps have been made in the right direction, the spirit of the 2010 constitution is not yet rooted in political practice.

### Programme

Issues pertaining to the transition and elections were discussed in the interparty dialogue and many joint statements and recommendations were made and published. The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD-Kenya) aided the political parties in preparing for the elections and in obtaining compliance under the new registration regulations. Many activities were aimed at convincing the parties to include women on their party lists (since there was no system or mechanism established) and conducting specific training for potential women candidates (as the nomination process was postponed until 2013). Another focus group was young people in politics. NIMD, together with several organizations, developed a Youth Charter advocating for young people in Kenyan society. Civil society and government organizations were asked to sign the charter as a sign of recognition and as a first step towards improving the situation of young people in political and overall public life in Kenya.

### Partnerships and fundraising

In 2012 the standing partnerships with CMD-Kenya's other donors were continued and expanded. The main contributions came from CIDA (focusing on women's participation and representation), the Ford Foundation, the Danish Liberal Democracy Programme, and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, while another proposal was developed for the Netherlands Embassy. An interesting new partnership was developed with Google, related to training politicians on social media and ICT possibilities for CMD-Kenya members.

## 2.14 Malawi

### Political update

In April 2012 Malawi underwent a drastic political change when President Mutharika died suddenly after a heart attack. After a brief period of uncertainty he was succeeded by his Vice President, Joyce Banda, who by that time had already formed a new party after having been expelled from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) the year before. In her first months as president, Mrs Banda reversed some of the harmful policies of her predecessor and in general created a more stable governance environment through greater consultation with civil society and more respect for political and media freedom. The international community reacted positively to these changes and the aid that had been suspended in reaction to the authoritative behaviour of President Mutharika started flowing again in the course of 2012.

Despite these positive developments, several structural concerns remained, including high inflation. There are also concerns that despite the improvements in the general political environment, President Banda is delaying addressing key governance issues such as the Constitution's contentious provisions on floor-crossing. In an attempt to build support for her government, the president had also handpicked several ministers from other parties. The opposition parties are therefore struggling to understand what their role should be in relation to this government.

### Programme

Despite a turbulent political year and significant changes in the political landscape, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD-Malawi) has been able to continue to function as a dialogue platform for political parties in which the parties meet regularly. CMD-Malawi's consistent lobbying (together with key CSOs) for tripartite elections bore fruits when parliament adopted the tripartite elections bill towards the end of the year. Tripartite elections will hopefully help to create more certainty that local government elections will take place regularly in Malawi, as previously these have been cancelled or postponed. CMD-Malawi also continued to push for consensus between the political parties on a new political party regulation and registration act. Initially, the parties sought to pursue amendments. However, after consultations the parties have agreed to reach consensus on and broader support for a fully revised regulatory framework. This work will continue in 2013.

### Partnerships and fundraising

In 2012 CMD-Malawi was able to finalize its strategic plan for the period 2012–16 and secure multiannual funding from UNDP and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), as well as a complementary project with DIPD.

## 2.15 Mali

### Political update

2012 was a disastrous year for Mali with the country facing the most severe sequence of crises in recent memory. The Touareg-led rebellion in January was followed by a coup d'état by junior army officers, which subsequently resulted in rebel groups occupying the three northern regions. Moreover, the original Touareg rebellion was hijacked by three radical Islamist groups, all linked to the Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) movement. A seemingly more inclusive interim government was installed by political actors over the summer, despite overt tensions between the pro- and anti-coup fronts and movements. The military junta's arrest in December of the Prime Minister it had itself appointed constituted a de facto new coup and was the closing act of a tragic year.

The crisis served as a stark reminder that the political system in Mali is not conducive to the needs of its citizens—indeed, the coup was welcomed by a large part of the population. Political parties have not been able to truly represent the needs of citizens. The crisis therefore clearly highlights the need for an inclusive process of political and democratic reform of the state and its systems. After the coup, the different political parties responded by joining forces with like-minded parties and other CSOs in different alliances, mostly organized around the question of condoning or welcoming the coup. This new political reality was another sharp shift away from the consensus approach under the government of President Amadou Toumani Touré, and laid bare the existing different opinions between the actors.

### Programme

The NIMD programme in 2012 was obviously affected by the tumultuous events, especially the March military coup and the resulting state of emergency. Rather than an intense focus on the scheduled elections and the referendum on constitutional changes, the programme focused on providing a platform for the new alliances and coalitions—made up of political parties, religious organizations, trade and workers unions and other civil society groups—that emerged after the coup. In this regard the programme organized three main meetings bringing these actors together and at which a joint position statement was presented.

As for the bilateral programme, it was already foreseen that a review of how parties have used and benefitted from such support over the past years would only be conducted after the elections, and that this year's funds would be used for internal cohesion activities, also after the elections. As these elections did not take place, only the plans and achievements for 2011 were audited and reviewed. A concrete activity in preparing for the anticipated 2013 elections was an exchange visit to Burkina Faso during the elections there. A large group of representatives of Malian parties and government bodies dealing with elections observed the process, especially in relation to the use of an electronic (biometric) voter list.

### Partnerships and fundraising

The Malian Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMDID) was supported by the EU, Norwegian Church Aid and UN Women during 2012. However, the bulk of funding was frozen in response to the political and security

crises. Towards the end of the year, and with a clear need for rapid transition to a democratically-elected new government, CMDID was preselected by UNDP as an implementing partner for the upcoming elections.

## 2.16 Mozambique

### Political update

In 2012 the three Mozambican parliamentary parties mainly focused on internal reforms, internal elections and a consolidation of their structures in the run-up to the local elections in 2013. The two most prominent people vying to become the Frelimo Presidential candidate in the 2014 general elections, Prime Minister Aires Ali and former Prime Minister Luisa Diogo, were both eliminated from the Political Commission and the Central Committee, thereby reducing their chances of obtaining the presidency. Renamo continued its confrontational approach towards the ruling party, demanding the formation of a transition government and the renegotiation of certain parts of the 1992 Peace Agreement. MDM's first party Congress, in December 2012, aimed to consolidate the structure of the party and set the political line. During the congress Daviz Simango was re-elected as party leader.

In 2012, the political reforms in Mozambique mainly evolved around the revision of the electoral law. After a very long and elaborate process of revision by the Parliamentary Committee the whole package of electoral laws was approved in parliament at the end of 2012. While the revision of the Electoral Law has not led to very significant changes, it has at least managed to clarify some procedures that have led to problems in the past. The constitutional reform process has remained stagnant since the appointment of an ad-hoc committee in September 2011.

### Programme

Matching the desire of the political parties to focus on internal organization, the NIMD programme in 2012 mainly revolved around the development of multi-annual strategic plans for internal capacity building. The parties went through an intensive process of strategic reflection and were assisted in the design of long-term organizational plans. It was the first time that the parties opened up to an externally-facilitated strategic planning process.

Furthermore, the programme continued to support the electoral reform and the interparty dialogue process. During a retreat in 2012 with the Parliamentary Committee in charge of the electoral law reforms, the last outstanding contentious issues were resolved, and the whole package was finally approved in Parliament in December. Given the tensions between Frelimo and Renamo, NIMD also seeks to promote a fruitful and healthy environment for interaction between the parties by organizing joint activities such as roundtables, conferences and exchange visits. Finally, in 2012 the Schools for Democracy in Manica and Nampula and their alumni networks were further consolidated.

### Partnerships and fundraising

In 2012 NIMD worked in close collaboration with a large number of organizations. The close collaboration with EISA around electoral issues continued in the form of information sharing and a final joint retreat on the electoral law revision. In 2012 NIMD Mozambique also entered into an agreement with the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) to financially manage the Afrobarometer research that will be carried out until mid-2013.

## 2.17 South Sudan

### Political update

After decades of fighting for independence, southern Sudan seceded on 9 July 2011, becoming the Republic of South Sudan. As the world's newest country, challenges in South Sudan are broad and numerous, and expectations in terms of service delivery are high. In 2012 the oil and border conflicts with Sudan continued, consuming almost all the attention of the country's leadership. Ethnic divisions led to violent clashes between the various ethnic groups, and essential institutional and democratic reforms, such as the drafting of a new constitution, were postponed or severely delayed.

South Sudan is typically characterized as a post-conflict country. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the largest former rebel group, holds the overwhelming majority of seats in parliament. A small

number of seats are occupied by SPLM-DC, a split-off from SPLM, and some smaller parties that were appointed by the president given their earlier existence in Sudan. In June 2012, a new political party law was adopted in which parties have to register in South Sudan. Given the criteria for compliance to be accepted, which are very high, this might lead to a merger of some parties in the years to come, or split-offs from the ruling party. In 2012 the internal tensions within the SPLM increased.

### Programme

NIMD embarked on a process to explore the possibilities of starting a new country programme in South Sudan. A number of assessment missions were organized in the first quarter of 2012, in close collaboration with International IDEA. During the field visits, NIMD consulted a wide array of political party representatives, government officials, donors and civil society representatives. NIMD decided not to start a fully-fledged NIMD programme in South Sudan, but to focus instead on a slow process of relationship building and networking with modest expectations.

In July 2012 NIMD invited the government's Chief Whip and the minority Chief Whip to the Conference on Political Party Funding in Tanzania. After the conference, a follow-up meeting was held in Juba to discuss the general interest for NIMD activities in South Sudan and possible further steps. Based on that meeting it was decided to embark on a first multiparty activity in November 2012, which consisted of a training session on the organization of internal party elections. The training made clear that many parties in South Sudan have limited experience with regard to internal party elections, and that requirements and procedures for those interested in standing for a position vary greatly. One of the major outcomes of the training was the identification of possible follow-up activities and future NIMD interventions in South Sudan. On the basis of these suggestions a more detailed work plan was developed, which serves as starting point for the activities in 2013.

### Partnerships and fundraising

Since the start of its exploratory phase in South Sudan in early 2012, NIMD has actively interacted with a large number of international donors. Practical working relations with those organizations were established, and possibilities for a more formalized cooperation and partnership with International IDEA were explored.

## 2.18 Tanzania

### Political update

Political events in 2012 in Tanzania revolved around the implementation of the Constitutional Review Committee. This committee was installed, commenced its planning and in the course of the year started a citizen consultation tour throughout the country. However, the direction of the content of the review remains unclear, and will largely depend on the (also rather unclear) role of the president in this process. Debate about the constitutional union between mainland Tanganyika and the Zanzibar islands has seen violent eruptions, and tensions between the predominantly Christian mainland and Muslim Zanzibar.

Political parties successfully petitioned the president to arrange to be represented in the commission with one seat per parliamentary party, which is considered a successful and wisely-balanced result. Tensions between political parties have risen due to several by-elections and accusations of MP fraud which have led to the short-term arrests of opposition party leaders. At the same time, foreseeing delayed implementation of the constitution for the 2014 and 2015 elections to take place under new electoral agreements, the Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD) and the political parties succeeded in arranging monthly multiparty meetings with the prime minister as a conflict prevention mechanism, and as a parallel platform to develop alternative routes for the elections if needed.

### Programme

Due to the decision of the Netherlands Government to no longer consider Tanzania a priority partner country, NIMD no longer has access to core funding for this programme. For 2012, NIMD agreed to provide bridge funding, while the DIPD took over NIMD's lead partnership with TCD. As a consequence, NIMD has practically realigned its partner capacity-strengthening activities to suit a smooth hand-over. To this end, the NIMD Tanzania multiannual programme evaluation, which was finalized in early 2012, formed the basis and input for its exit strategy. As a culmination of the NIMD-TCD structural funding relationship, TCD and NIMD have implemented three activities in Tanzania in the framework of NIMD's Africa Regional Programme (ARP), all of

which were successful in terms of exchanges with other NIMD African country programmes, and were planned and designed to seek efficiency and complementarity gains with TCD's regular annual plan.

#### Partnerships and fundraising

NIMD has successfully arranged for DIPD to take over the lead partnership with TCD. NIMD has also supported TCD in successfully being contracted by NIMD's strategic partner International IDEA to implement and coordinate IDEA's Tanzania State of Local Democracy (SoLD) Study with a Gender perspective.

## 2.19 Tunisia

### Political update

Following the much-celebrated free and fair October 2011 constituent assembly elections, Tunisia saw the swift creation of a politically-formed interim coalition government, featuring the Muslim-democratic Ennahdha party, the centre-left Ettakatol party and the centrist Congress for the Republic, and a mature and reasoned divisions of ministerial and political posts. The Assembly adopted separate internal regulations and voting procedures for its regular parliamentary and constitutional tasks. As such, in terms of democratic cooperation, optimism and pride largely prevailed throughout 2012. However, both branches of government have been slow to take charge of their respective main political tasks. The country still operates under martial law and while the economy's free dive has ended it not been reversed. With no constitution in place, the planned October 2012 parliamentary elections were postponed to June 2013, and could be postponed further.

Four developments complicate the political landscape: the shadow-power of the trade union Union Générale Tunisienne du Travail (UGTT) (which is deliberately not a political party but in many regions effectively the most respected authority and a fierce critic of Ennahdha); the degree to which Ennahdha is both a political party and a broad society-based party with a network of mosques (as well as its reluctance to address increased Salafist brutality in society); the hopelessly divided centre-left progressive secular parties, which actually won close to a majority of seats but remain susceptible to repeated merging and splitting of parties (as a result, Ben Ali's former RCD-dinosaur Mr. Essebsi launched his Nida Tunis-party to unite these groups, but such is increasingly seen as the RCD recurring to the surface); and the increased popularity of Popular Front and other conservative, Arabist and nationalist movements.

### Programme

The launch of the Tunisian School of Politics (TSoP) in early 2012 in cooperation with the identified local partner, Centre des Etudes Méditerranéennes et Internationales (CEMI), was an enormous success. An invitation to parliamentary parties to send promising youth members to be trained in multiparty weekend school settings resulted in the programme training 10 per cent of all national Constituent Assembly members, as well as presidential advisors, vice presidents of parties and other high level party members. The first class graduated in June, the second in December. An interparty dialogue track has also commenced, with the training of a group of political party leaders' attachés and negotiators in conflict-resolution skills. This will be intensified in 2013. Activities planned for the electoral campaign period, including civil society debates, had to be re-adapted as a consequence of the postponement of the elections.

### Partnerships and fundraising

The TSoP programme is jointly funded by NIMD and Demo Finland, with the Bulgarian School of Politics (BSoP) as a third international partner providing vital in-kind contributions.

## 2.20 Uganda

### Political update

In political terms, 2012 was a relatively quiet year for Uganda. Public protests decreased significantly and, as a result, fewer confrontations took place between security forces and opposition parties. The proactive role that the current parliament has played since its instalment is encouraging, and it appears to exercise its oversight of the executive and other organs of state more vigorously than its predecessors. If this trend persists, it will open up opportunities for the Interparty Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) to more actively engage parliament and reformist MPs in advocating the IPOD reform agenda. Different groups within the governing National

Resistance Movement (NRM) have become increasingly vocal in recent months. While it is not yet clear how much political clout these groups have, it might be an indication that the succession game has begun. These factions could potentially split the party if the transition is not carefully managed.

Little progress was made on constitutional and electoral reforms. While the space for reforms was theoretically available in the reform window of the electoral cycle after the relatively violence-free 2011 elections, the main opposition parties' appetite for dialogue was minimal following their confrontational stance against the Ugandan Government during the protest actions. It took a considerable effort to re-establish the necessary levels of trust and confidence in the dialogue process and to ensure that parties did not prematurely leave the process. While trust and confidence have been re-installed, the process remains fragile and the government will need to demonstrate being more serious in any dialogue with it and compromise on some reforms.

#### **Programme**

In the first part of 2012, IPOD focused on repairing the goodwill and trust in the dialogue platform that became strained when opposition leaders were manhandled by the police. A critical aspect of this process was the reporting of some successes on the dialogue front. Political agreement was reached in IPOD on the formula for allocation of funds under the emerging capacity-strengthening fund. The IPOD agenda-setting process has also advanced considerably. During an exchange visit to Tanzania in November, agreement was reached by all six parties on four fundamental areas of reform: law and order management; electoral (systems) reform; political party funding and; constitutional reforms. The process of further outlining and defining the reform goals has started and is to be concluded in the first quarter of 2013. A second key activity related to the training of dialogue and conflict-resolution trainers. In total, 252 party members have been successfully trained using the 'train-the-trainer' model; the training sessions were very well received and will be further rolled out in 2013.

#### **Partnerships and fundraising**

A two-year partnership agreement with the Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) was concluded in May. In addition to supporting the NIMD interparty dialogue programme, the DDP also provided direct funds to registered political parties in Uganda to support their organizational capacities.

## **2.21 Zimbabwe**

#### **Political update**

While important steps were taken in Zimbabwe in 2012 to further the democratization process, it remained a prelude to 2013, which on many fronts will be a crucial year: the constitution-making process is expected to come to a conclusion after which elections will be held and the Global Political Agreement (GPA) will end. The political processes under the GPA, such as the constitution-making process, moved forward in 2012 but did so with many obstacles and delays. Throughout the year a prolonged negotiation between the parties on different drafts of the constitution took center stage. It was not until early 2013 that the parties reached a final compromise on a draft constitution that will be put to a popular referendum.

#### **Programme**

NIMD continued to work with its local partner, the Zimbabwe Institute (ZI), to support interparty dialogue in the run-up to the elections. To this end NIMD partnered with DIPD to support a programme until the end of 2013. ZI was able to liaise with the parties to maintain a level of dialogue throughout the year, even when contestation between the parties reached high levels in the constitution-making process between July and October. In November parties identified the further development of the Code of Conduct between parties as a topic that could best be moved forward through the Zimbabwe Political Parties Dialogue (ZPPD) programme in close coordination with the Organ for National Healing and the Joint Monitoring and Implementation Committee (JOMIC). Representatives of the parties were also exposed to interparty dialogue experiences in other African countries that are supported through NIMD programmes during a regional exchange seminar in Tanzania, with representatives from Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique. The aim was to allow the Zimbabwean parties to make them more familiar with the way these dialogue platforms work and to see their advantages. Despite the increasing tensions in the run-up to the elections, the parties attendance at the exchange seminar and continued participation in the programme is an important signal that they remain interested in and committed to taking part in the dialogue process.

## Partnerships and fundraising

In 2012 NIMD established cooperation with DIPD in a joint programme with ZI on interparty dialogue for 2012–13. This will allow the programme to move forward and build on the initial foundations for interparty dialogue in Zimbabwe.

## 2.22 Linking and Learning

### 2.22.1 Regional programmes (ARP, ALARP)

#### Programme

In 2012 the Africa Regional Programme (ARP), one of the pillars of the linking and learning programme, facilitated sharing of knowledge and experiences between and among NIMD partners. Through the organization of regional conferences, facilitation of peer-to-peer exchanges and development of relevant knowledge products, ARP ensured that the experiences, knowledge and best practices being accumulated in the NIMD programme countries form a basis of learning for both NIMD and its partners.

In 2012 a number of successful peer-to-peer exchanges were facilitated. For example the multi-stakeholder workshop in Tanzania in May 2012 brought together experts and practitioners from Tanzania, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Ghana, as well as a wide range of stakeholders from the Tanzanian political parties and members of the Tanzanian Constitutional Review Commission. Other exchange visits included a visit by a Kenyan delegation to Mozambique on the issue of campaign financing, and an exchange between Ugandan, Zimbabwean, Mozambican and Tanzanian politicians on interparty dialogue and agenda setting.

Apart from the peer exchanges, in July 2012 ARP convened a conference in Tanzania entitled ‘The Legal Framework Governing Political Parties: the Case of Party Financing’, in partnership with International IDEA and the TCD. The conference provided a unique forum for NIMD and its partners to discuss the increasing importance of money in politics, share experiences on the various models of party financing and identify best practice on its regulation, modalities and enforcement mechanisms.

Capacity development by way of leadership training is also an emerging field in which a number of NIMD partners are involved in the region. Through ARP, NIMD has been developing a generic leadership curriculum, the initiative for Leadership for Democracy in Africa (iLEDA). This curriculum was finalized in the course of 2012, and the first two of four modules were piloted in Malawi at the end of the year. After the finalization and evaluation of the pilot in 2013, the leadership training programme will be rolled out to NIMD’s broader network.

In 2012 the Asia and Latin America Regional Programme (ALARP) supported fundraising activities regionally and advocated for continuing interest in Latin America in the Netherlands; inter- and intra-regional exchanges; and exploring new opportunities by invitation.

A number of exchanges were organized between NIMD programme countries. Fact-finding missions to a number of countries were organized in a number of cases where NIMD was invited to look into the possibility of supporting political parties. This included a mission to Paraguay at the request of the Ministry of Planning. NIMD was also invited by both the Netherlands Embassy and the EU Delegation in Amman to look into the possibility of supporting the influence and representation of political parties in Jordan (see section 2.24 in this Annual Report). Finally, NIMD was invited by DIPD to join a fact-finding mission to Myanmar.

In 2012 NIMD and International IDEA continued their regional cooperation on security and democracy, which commenced in 2010. A start was made on the Protecting Politics project that investigates the link between political, economic and illegal actors on the basis of legal analysis and case studies.

## Partnerships and fundraising

ARP continued to expand and consolidate its network of partners in 2012. A regional roundtable event between NIMD, its African partners and International IDEA further facilitated planning and joint programming.

Cooperation with the Institute for Democracy in Africa (IDASA) continued, especially in the further development of iLEDA. NIMD continues its partnership with International IDEA in Latin America on the links between political, economic and illegal actors.

### **2.22.2 Missions and technical assistance**

In 2012 a total of 128 missions were undertaken, each with different participants, varying from one individual to all NIMD partners (for the partnership days) and from one day to three months. The overall costs for missions (travel, local transport, board and lodging) were €343,206. The missions can be divided into four main categories:

- 62 missions to monitor programme progress,
- 24 missions to provide or receive training or facilitate peer-to-peer exchange;
- 23 fact-finding missions for starting-up new programmes; and
- 19 missions for networking and strategic partnerships.

In addition, approximately €7000 was spent on hiring technical assistance to provide advice to partners or assist with the development of proposals to other donors.

### **2.22.3 PME, Methodology Development and Publications**

In 2012 NIMD invested in developing its quality-oriented PME agenda to support the implementation of the 2012–15 MAP. The focus was on investing in peer learning, further deepening NIMD’s network in PME and developing ways to operationalize the PME ambitions from the MAP into NIMD practice.

#### **Programme**

The PME agenda in 2012 focused on three interlinked areas: strategic planning, monitoring and measuring; evaluation; and the evidence base. In the first area, attention was paid to improving NIMD’s strategic planning and reviewing through the introduction of so-called rolling work plans whereby NIMD Programme Managers, together with partners, adapt their annual plans based on realities encountered during the year. Introducing changes based on real-time needs halfway through the year allows for the programmes to be more attuned to local situations on the ground and seize new possibilities. In order to systematically reflect on the possible changes, a first strategic review was held with all programme staff in June 2012.

In the area of monitoring, NIMD has focused on operationalizing the indicators from the MAP and introducing a practical and useful monitoring and measurement approach. Tools and questionnaires were developed to conduct a baseline for NIMD work, a process that is continuing in the first half of 2013. Furthermore, the monitoring of country programmes will be improved in 2013 through the implementation of a new Programme Management System (PMS), for which substantial investments were made throughout 2012. In 2012 NIMD also worked on developing a new evaluation policy to include more learning-focused and strategic evaluations, allowing for more innovative approaches to be piloted.

The main highlight of 2012 was the PME conference in Bali, Indonesia in June, bringing together NIMD staff from The Hague and the country offices, as well as representatives of partner organizations and strategic partners, to learn from each other and work together on PME challenges and opportunities. During the conference three partners who worked on PME pilot projects under the PSO partnership between 2009 and 2012 shared their experiences with others, and also made a first attempt to create a community of PME practitioners in the NIMD network.

#### **Partnerships**

While the partnership with PSO ended mid-2012, the work in the pilot countries continued and was intensified due to the success of the PME conference in June. NIMD also continued to play a leading role in establishing a global technical working group under the umbrella of the Wilton Park forum to bring together PME professionals in the area of political party assistance. Regular exchanges between NIMD, NDI, IRI, International IDEA and DIPD on this topic took place throughout the year, laying the basis for a future network.

## 2.22.4 Communications

In 2012 NIMD's external communication focused on the development of a new NIMD corporate website, the production of new knowledge products and the realization of a new communication strategy. Great efforts were made in the field of online communication through the website, the newsletter and the use of videos. In addition, key corporate publications were launched and the collaboration with International IDEA was intensified. NIMD's presence in the media increased both nationally and internationally. NIMD's organization of and participation in several events enabled the organization to present itself to a broader audience.

In 2012 NIMD focussed on improving its online communication and branding. The organization invested in keeping general news items up to date as well as regularly updating factsheets about NIMD's programmes. During the Partnership Days in April 2012, Executive Director Hans Bruning published a daily blog post about the event. NIMD also produced some introductory videos and posted them on the websites of NIMD, its partners and on the NIMD YouTube channel. For the first time NIMD decided to save paper and costs by only sending out a digital (PDF) version of the *NIMD Annual Report 2011* to its partners. In order to meet the modern requirements of online communication, the decision was taken to build a new corporate website.

During 2012 the following publications were launched:

- *The NIMD Approach* (corporate brochure, published in English, French and Spanish)
- *Constitutional reform processes and political parties : principles for practice* (in Arabic, jointly with International IDEA and the Africa Study Centre)
- *Political Party Assistance Programme* (in English and Georgian)
- *Intra-party democracy and local governance* (in English and Georgian)
- *Democracy Education in Georgia* (in English and Georgian)
- *NIMD Annual Report 2011*
- Contribution to La Chispa Magazine, theme: Democracy and Security

NIMD organized the biennial NIMD Partnership Days in The Hague in April. During this event the constitutional reform process publication was launched in a session dedicated to the topic. Several other publication were made available in print. In addition, professional videos were produced resulting in the development of one short promotional video, one longer version and a video report of the event.

On Saturday 15 September 2011 NIMD co-organized the celebration of the International Day of Democracy in The Hague, together with EPD, ProDemos and Netwerk Democratie (Network Democracy). Instead of contributing to the International Day of Democracy, NIMD focussed on a joint debate with EPD during the 'Night of Dictatorship'.

On 17 November 2012, the Evert Vermeer Stichting (EVS) organized its annual Africa Day. NIMD contributed to this nation-wide event by organizing a workshop on the upcoming Ghanaian elections. A fully booked workshop was given by the NIMD Ghana Programme Manager, Jan Tuit, together with Amma Assante, a Dutch-Ghanaian politician.

### NIMD in the media

- 13 Jan. – Nicolaas van der Wilk blogs about Tunisia
- 26 Jan. – VibeGhana.com reports on the Inter-Party Youth Platform in Ghana
- 8 Feb. – Wouter Dol is interviewed by Radio France International on the situation in Mali
- 9 Feb. – DIPD reports on the Democracy Schools in Indonesia
- 9 Feb. – Het Parool reports on the Egyptian-Indonesian exchange visit on Democracy Schools
- 23 Feb. – Vice Versa reports on Hans Bruning as the new Executive Director of NIMD
- 2 Mar. – Will Derks is interviewed by the VPRO on Indonesia
- 24 Mar. - Wouter Dol is interviewed by the TROS on the coup in Mali
- 16 Apr. – The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports on the NIMD Partnership Days

- 28 Sep. - The Ghanaian Daily Guide reports on Jan Tuit and Pepijn Gerrits' visit to the programme
- 16 Oct. – The New Light of Myanmar reports on Karijn de Jong's visit to the UEC Chairman
- 19 Oct. - Sywert van Lienden blogs in NRC Next on NIMD's programme in Colombia
- 7 Dec. - Jan Tuit is interviewed by Trouw on the Ghanaian elections

### **2.22.6 Strategic cooperation**

In terms of strategic cooperation, NIMD's main focus is its own network and its partners, International IDEA, AWEPA, DIPD, Demo Finland and EPD, described elsewhere in this report. In 2012 NIMD renewed its membership of Partos, the branch organization of more than 120 Dutch-based international development agencies, which is mainly focused on civil society. At the global level, the World Movement for Democracy, a loose network of around 600 different persons and organizations, organized its international gathering in Peru in October 2012. NIMD participated, but decided to monitor and follow this network from a distance.

## **2.23 New programmes**

### **2.23.1 Central America – El Salvador**

As foreseen in the 2012–15 MAP, the Central America Programme will gradually focus on the three northern countries—the so-called Northern Triangle or *Trifinio Norte*. The Honduras programme commenced in early 2012, and the NIMD–Cordaid Reconstruction programme, in which the two organizations join forces to bring together civil and political society in order to reduce and mitigate conflicts related to water management and mining, was approved. It was then decided to look into setting up a programme in El Salvador. A first successful identification mission was conducted in October in order to meet the different political actors and organizations. Subsequent missions and a planning process will be undertaken in 2013 in order to start the programme.

### **2.23.2 INSPIRED**

In September 2012 a consortium of democracy support organizations led by the EPD signed a contract with the EU in order to assist the EU with the implementation of the 2009 Council Conclusions on Democracy and Human Rights. NIMD, along with its partners in Tunisia and Georgia, is one of the organizations involved in the consortium. The Integrated Support Programme for Inclusive Reform and Democratic Dialogue (INSPIRED) programme, designed in 2011, aims to develop instruments and methodologies for putting the conclusions into practice through pilot projects in five countries. Under the auspices of EPD, in October NIMD started to assist its partners in Ghana, Moldova and Tunisia in developing and implementing tailor-made instruments and methodologies. NIMD's involvement entails technical assistance, encompassing remote advice and regular missions to the three countries, as well as participation in the steering committee of the programme. By participating in this programme, NIMD hopes to strengthen its relations with the European Commission and show the added value of its approach to the EU's policies on democratization.

### 2.23.3 Jordan

#### Political update

The changes made in the Jordanian electoral law prior to the general elections in 2013 proved to be cosmetic, and by and large the so-called Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) system remained intact. Therefore, nothing changed with regard to the preconditions for the political parties to prosper. As a result, the parliament will continue to be weak and will not be able to control the executive. This is in sharp contrast to the frustration of the people of Jordan with the status quo, which led them to take to the streets in various formations during the past two years. Apart from the obsolete election law that is causing a lot of damage to a healthy political life including political formations, Jordanians are also angered by the corruption that plagues the country and the related economic patronage system that has turned Jordan into a *de facto* rentier state. In addition, the civil war in Syria is putting Jordan under heavy pressure, due mainly to the influx of tens of thousands of refugees. It seems clear that unless the Jordanian Government becomes serious about political, economic and social reforms and decides to refrain from resorting to its usual rhetoric, the road ahead might be a bumpy one.

#### Programme

The pilot programme developed by NIMD, which aim to investigate whether there is any space for a serious long-term programme, consists of two projects. The first is a series of nationwide surveys by the Amman-based Centre for Strategic Studies (CSS), the second a mapping of all political stakeholders and a series of dialogues with and between these stakeholders, executed and organized by the Identity Centre (also based in Amman). NIMD's relationship with the CSS has become problematic as an NIMD delegation visiting Amman in October discovered that CSS is likely to have attempted to ask the British Embassy (through a consultancy called 'Global Partners') to fund the very same project. Therefore, the project with CSS has been terminated and an audit will be executed by an international firm. The Identity Centre project continues, is on schedule and will present results in the course of 2013.

#### Partnerships and fundraising

Every NIMD delegation visiting Amman endeavours to identify possible partners. Presently, NIMD is in talks with the EU, IRI, and the embassies of Britain and Austria.

### 2.23.4 Libya

#### Political update

On 20 February 2012, one year after the Libyan uprising which led to the ousting and murder of Muammar Khadafi and the end of his 40-year-long dictatorship, the city of Misrata successfully organized its own local council elections. On 19 May, Benghazi followed suit with its first elections in over 40 years. This was followed by a host of other cities which organized their own elections despite an absence of a mandate or budget for newly-elected councils. With the then unexpectedly sudden announcement of the national elections for the General National Congress (GNC), which took place on 7 June 2012, the term of the provisional National Transitional Council (NTC) ended and the series of local elections came to a halt. The GNC has, however, been very slow to form a government and by 31 December 2012 the drafting of the constitution, or even the appointment of a constitutional drafting committee had not yet begun.

In the absence of experience with national governing structures, the country in almost every sense remains at a standstill. At the same time, despite the widespread availability of arms and the *de facto* rule of the local militias, Libyan communities' sense of civic duty and levels of self-organization have been surprisingly effective. Nevertheless, Libya's long southern desert border, across which Islamic extremist groups move freely, is a continuous source of worry for both the domestic and international community. At the local level, the elections resulted in individuals rather than political parties winning seats, although most independent seats were won by individuals with political party affiliations, while Mahmoud Jibril's National Forces Alliance won a near majority of 39 seats. Another surprise for most analysts was the failure of the Salafist Al-Watan party of Hakim Belhadj to secure any seats.

### Programme

NIMD, Club de Madrid (CdM) and EPD each organized activities contributing to the post-election evaluation and advocacy dialogue phase of the Supporting Democracy in Libya (SUDEL) programme. These activities followed on from the technical and logistical and training support provided by the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES) to local election management bodies in five cities in Libya. Given the delay in the finalization of the ECES component, which was prolonged by supporting an additional four cities, as well as the delay and ultimate cancellation of the Tripoli local elections and difficult staff recruitment issues, the EU (as donor) approved the decision by NIMD, EPD and CdM not to implement any activities in 2012. However, they have started to roll out rapidly in 2013.

### Partnerships and fundraising

NIMD, along with EPD, CdM and ECES, is a partner organization in the SUDEL consortium. SUDEL is funded by a one-year EU (EuropeAid, Development Cooperation) grant from mid-May 2012 to mid-May 2013 through the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). The programme targets specific objectives, not all of which are NIMD institutional objectives. Under its agreement with the MFA, NIMD is permitted to put programme managers' time into its part of the programme.

## 2.23.5 Myanmar

### Political update

The impressive reform process initiated by Thein Sein in the second half of 2011 continues to move at an impressive speed. Discussions with key stakeholders reconfirmed that the reforms are well under way and that regression at this stage is unlikely. The key question is no longer if reforms are here to stay, but when and how they will be implemented and how far-reaching they will be in practice. With the National League for Democracy (NLD) entering Parliament in July following its landslide victory in the April 2012 by-elections, the relationship and cooperation between the USDP and the NLD, in particular at the level of the two party Chairs, seems to have improved further. This could eventually open up possibilities for a government of national unity after the 2015 elections, provided that sufficient levels of trust are built up with the military.

Two factors could potentially derail the current but fragile political transition process. First, if the ongoing peace negotiations with the ethnic armed groups do not enter a new stage soon (moving from initial ceasefires to political agreements), the risk for increased ethnic conflict is high. Second, the sectarian violence in Rakhine State between the mainly Buddhist Rakhine ethnic group and the mainly Muslim Rohingyas is gradually becoming a national issue. Both President Thein Sein and Aung San Suu Kyi have been very careful in their public statements on the issue and have refrained from expressing support for the stateless Rohingyas, fearing a negative reaction from the majority Burman population which views the Rohingyas as illegal immigrants. At the same time, no ceasefire has yet been reached in the northern part of the country, where open conflict and associated displacement continue.

### Programme

In June and October 2012, NIMD and DIPD undertook two informal orientation missions to review and analyse recent democratic developments, highlight possible further steps on the reform path, map the roles, mandates and capacities of key democratic and civil actors and identify possible entry points for support. Consultations with a wide spectrum of actors highlighted that there was a great demand for support to political parties in an inclusive, impartial set-up with a focus on fostering a process of dialogue and cooperation in Myanmar. The consultations, in the form of roundtable discussions with political networks and individual meetings, confirmed broad-based support for and appreciation of the proposed three-pronged approach for the NIMD–DIPD programme, focusing on facilitating an inclusive and impartial multi-party dialogue platform, strengthening the democratic roles and policy development capacities of political parties and enhancing the cooperation between political parties, civil society, the media and the private sector around issues of mutual concern.

Consultations were also held with local organizations to explore various forms of cooperation, and a guidance note was prepared for the conduct of an institutional assessment of potential partners. A local focal point/programme officer (Myanmar national), recruited following interviews with shortlisted candidates, will act as the programmatic and administrative focal point in the first phase of the programme. Experienced and available Myanmar resource persons with the requisite skills to facilitate a high level and complex political dialogue process are in short supply in the country.

### Partnerships and fundraising

Funds for the first phase of the programme until December 2013 primarily come from DIPD, which will also take the lead in programme implementation.

## 3. Institutional matters

### 3.1 Governance

On 1 January 2012 NIMD introduced a new system of governance. The executive was handed over to the Executive Director (Mr J. Bruning) and the former board became a supervisory board. Four of the nine former board members entered this new board, including the chair, Bernard Bot, and the members Jan Hoekema, Wim Jacobs and Meindert Stolk. Based on a revised board member profile and new required competences, two new members joined the board in 2012: Ida van Veldhuizen and Eimert van Middelkoop. The final vacancy could not be filled before the end of the year.

By ending the old governance system NIMD had to say goodbye to a group of committed people from the different political parties. At various farewell dinners these people were honoured for their contributions to NIMD. In addition to the new supervisory board (the members of which are now selected on competences as opposed to political affiliation) a new advisory board was established to shape relations with the seven political parties supporting NIMD. The advisory board commenced its work in the second half of the year, gathering twice to give its first input on NIMD policies. The presidency of the advisory board has not yet been arranged.

Daily contacts with the Dutch political parties are the responsibility of the internal political coordinators. Each of the seven internal political coordinators maintains these relations in addition to his or her normal tasks. Such contacts are essential for the exchange of information and for the coordination of events with parties, party members or party representatives (mainly MPs). The youth branches of the parties have expressed their desire to renew relations with NIMD. This will be followed up in 2013.

### 3.2 Staffing policy

After the restructuring of NIMD in 2011, staff numbers stabilized in 2012 with 20 staff located in The Hague and some 45 staff members in the country offices in Ecuador, Georgia, Guatemala, Mozambique and Uganda. Internal procedures were improved in the areas of human resources, planning, internal learning and overall staff development. Three so-called travel free weeks were introduced in order to schedule a training course on cooperation and feedback, introspection sessions, PME, study and social events. Over the year decisions were made to expand NIMD's programmes to new countries. An adjustment had to be made to the amount of available staff members. At the end of the year procedures were held or in progress to increase the formation to a total of 25 staff members. The expectation is that workload and staff will be in balance again in 2013.

### 3.3 PMS Principal Toolbox

In an effort to further improve its internal procedures, decision-making processes, quality control and project management systems, NIMD contracted a consultant to assess its internal control systems. The consultant looked into pre-existing procedures, tools and templates, as well as the needs within the organization with regard to quality and project management. A new project management system was decided upon, and an internal working group was established to steer the development and implementation of the new system.

A new project management software system was purchased and tailored to the needs of NIMD. As a result, NIMD now has a project management system that is more user-friendly, less time-consuming, easy to adapt without external technical support, and which provides adequate management information on the progress of NIMD's programmes and its expenses.

## 4. Financial overview

### 4.1 Statement of costs and revenue 2012 in €

	Result 2012		Revised budget 2012		Result 2011	
	Subsidies	Costs	Subsidies	Costs	Subsidies	Costs
<b>To be funded</b>						
<b>Programmes</b>						
Benin		65.275		100.000		
Bolivia		242.396		240.000		296.468
Burundi	-20.000	195.342	-113.000	193.000	-53.533	68.102
Central America	-6.286	708.571	-7.000	764.000		621.476
Colombia		157.441		195.000		160.000
Ecuador	-272.634	408.411	-282.000	405.000	-230.174	288.391
Egypt	-94.702	250.086	-130.000	295.000		
Georgia	-138.255	424.648	-146.000	400.000		208.269
Ghana		420.000		375.000		449.207
Indonesia		595.572		623.000		653.182
Jordan	-95.000	107.433	-100.000	95.000		
Kenya		487.221		480.000		524.640
Libya	-268	268	-55.000	52.000		
Malawi		442.383		464.000		492.910
Mali		349.656		334.000		469.739
Mozambique	-202.223	691.478	-182.000	651.000	-194.915	539.548
South Sudan		59.930		65.000		
Tanzania		277.039		240.000		208.666
Tunesia		99.154		135.000		
Uganda	-294.925	395.348	-330.000	405.000	-234.355	420.038
Zimbabwe	-101.562	446.885	-150.000	350.000		157.612
New programmes & opportunities		10.000				
Linking countries & mutual learning Inspired	-15.257	1.084.142		941.000	-5.986	568.212
Reconstruction (other)		20.019				
Additional funding target				-390.000		
Savings from underspent grants						
<b>Subtotal programmes</b>		<b>7.938.736</b>		<b>7.412.000</b>		<b>6.126.460</b>
<b>Programme management</b>		<b>2.447.097</b>		<b>2.503.800</b>		<b>1.662.246</b>
<b>Matching organisation &amp; niche</b>		<b>443.929</b>		<b>453.000</b>		<b>0</b>
<b>Total to be funded</b>		<b>10.829.763</b>		<b>10.368.800</b>		<b>7.788.706</b>

## Funding

Programme level funding	-1.241.113	-1.495.000	-718.963
Ministry of Foreign Affairs PPS funding	-2.485.717	-2.387.000	-7.038.137
Ministry of Foreign Affairs PP2 funding	-6.740.142	-5.882.000	
MFA Reconstruction funding	-107.929	-219.000	
EPD/EU Inspired funding	-28	-27.000	
Other revenues	-162.083	-168.800	
PSO funding (PM&E)	-189.432	-190.000	-116.144
<b>Total funding</b>	<b>-10.926.444</b>	<b>-10.368.800</b>	<b>-7.873.244</b>
<b>Result</b>	<b>-96.681</b>		<b>84.538</b>

The statement of costs and revenue and the balance sheet are abstracted from the audited annual report 2012

## 4.2 Balance sheet at 31 December 2012 in €

	31 December 2012	31 December 2011
<b>Assets</b>		
<b>Fixed assets</b>		
<b>Intangible fixed assets</b>		
Programme management software & website development	4.464	10.019
<b>Tangible fixed assets</b>		
Furniture	12.210	17.480
Computer equipment	<u>35.509</u>	<u>24.813</u>
	47.718	42.292
<b>Current assets</b>		
<b>Receivables</b>		
VAT to be returned	123.658	644.384
Other receivables	-	4.926
Advance payments and accrued receivables	<u>741.955</u>	<u>355.751</u>
	865.613	1.005.061
<b>Liquidities</b>	<u>5.613.922</u>	<u>1.980.276</u>
<b>Total assets</b>	<b>6.531.717</b>	<b>3.037.649</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
<b>Sustainability reserve</b>	229.873	133.192
<b>Liabilities</b>		
Programme liabilities	618.041	316.455
Dutch political parties (strengthening support base)	-	26.471
Estimated liabilities	27.950	15.700
Personnel related creditors	177.229	156.949
Other creditors	115.893	75.100
Subsidy Ministry of Foreign Affairs received in advance	4.788.264	2.076.454
Other advance receipts and accrued expenses	<u>574.467</u>	<u>237.327</u>
	<u>6.301.844</u>	<u>2.904.457</u>
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>6.531.717</b>	<b>3.037.648</b>