

I M D

Partner in Democracy

A N N U A L

R E P O R T

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Preface

by the President of the IMD



The year 2004 was the second year of IMD's 2003-2006 programme *Without Democracy Nobody Fares Well*. During this year the cooperation with the political parties in thirteen programme countries was further intensified as planned, while new relations were established in two additional countries. Supporting political parties and helping the multiparty democratic system to perform better is the focus of the IMD's work. The value of the link between the two became visible, for instance, in the pro-active role played by the political parties in Ghana, which resulted in an exemplary electoral process during the general elections in 2004. Political society there managed the potential conflicts peacefully and so contributed to the necessary stability needed for durable economic development and to meet the internationally agreed-upon Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in poverty reduction.

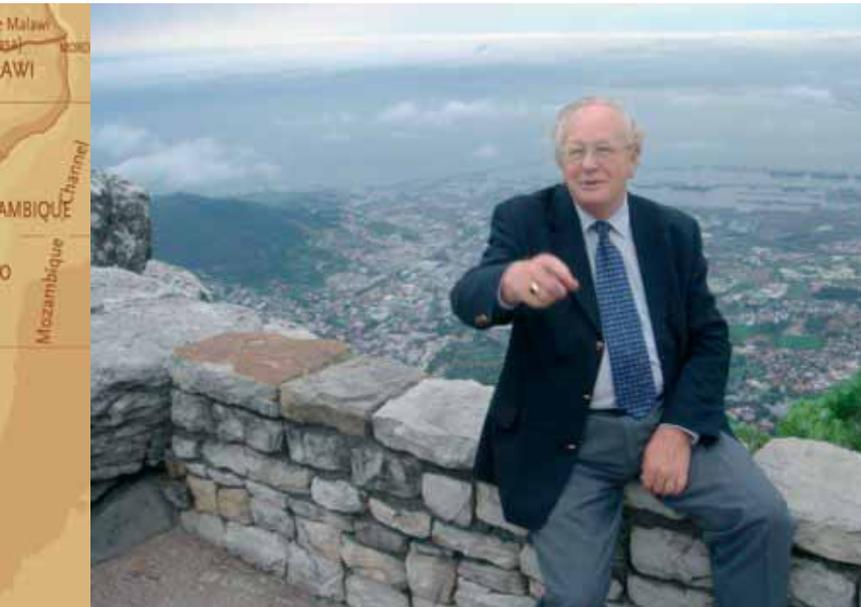
Indonesia was another country that witnessed a further step in its democratic evolution during 2004, with parliamentary elections and the first direct presidential elections in its history. The IMD supported the formulation of a Code of Conduct that was signed by the Secretaries-General of all twenty-four registered political parties - something which clearly helped to close the 'year of elections' on a positive note and introduce new leadership to take the democratic reform process forward in the world's third largest democracy.

Governments in democracies tend to be more accountable to and concerned with serving the interests of the population. Research data on countries in Sub-Saharan Africa suggest that,

in democratically governed countries, human development indicators generally outperform those in countries that are governed non-democratically. Support for political society in general, and for political parties in particular, has long been neglected in international cooperation. Through its collaboration with political parties across the government-opposition divide – a collaboration based on inclusive approaches that facilitate dialogue among the political antagonists – the IMD is developing significant political capital for needed reform processes within political parties and within the multiparty political systems.

The key principle informing all of the IMD's programmes is the *ownership* of the political reform processes by our counterparts in young democracies. By enabling the political stakeholders across the political divides to become more pro-active in finding solutions for national challenges, encouraging and sometimes remarkable results are obtained. The IMD will build on this positive experience and hopes that in recognition of the value of democracy for Europe's own stability and prosperity, democracy support shall become the core business in the foreign policies of the European Union and its member states, alongside cooperation in issues of economics and security.

With the rediscovery that politics matter, both the accountability of leaders to their citizens and the important role political parties ought to play are receiving increasing attention on national and international agendas. As practitioners we share the view that political parties ought to play key roles in the 'dynamization' of the democratic reform



Prof Dr J.A. van Kemenade
in Cape Town

processes. Whereas political parties are part of the problem that needs to be addressed, they also form *part of the solution* for providing a more stable and predictable democratic political system responsive to the needs of the people.

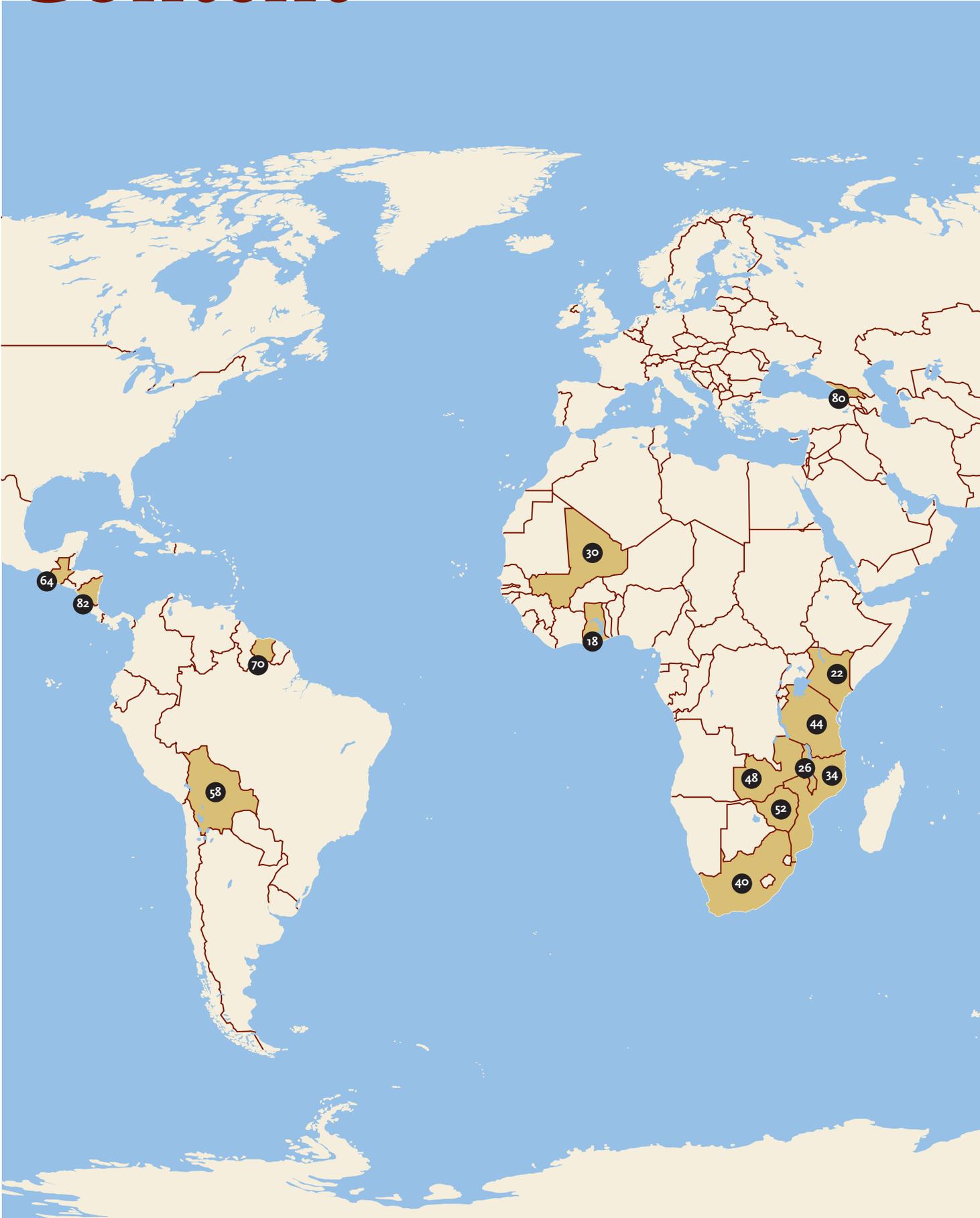
One of the important messages that the IMD wants to share in its efforts to promote and deepen democracy is that democracy is much more than competition between political parties. Electoral competitiveness needs to be accompanied by efforts to develop trust in the democratic system of governance. The construction of democracy requires continued attention.

For many politicians in the IMD's programme countries, the very composition of the IMD provided an eye-opener: political parties working together to pursue a commonly defined objective. The IMD's partners in Africa, Asia and Latin America are encouraged to engage in inter-party dialogues. Locally owned programmes allow international partners such as the IMD to address priorities in two main areas: the longer-term institutional development of political parties and the improvement of the party system.

*Prof Dr J.A. van Kemenade,
President of the IMD*

*The Hague, The Netherlands
February 2005*

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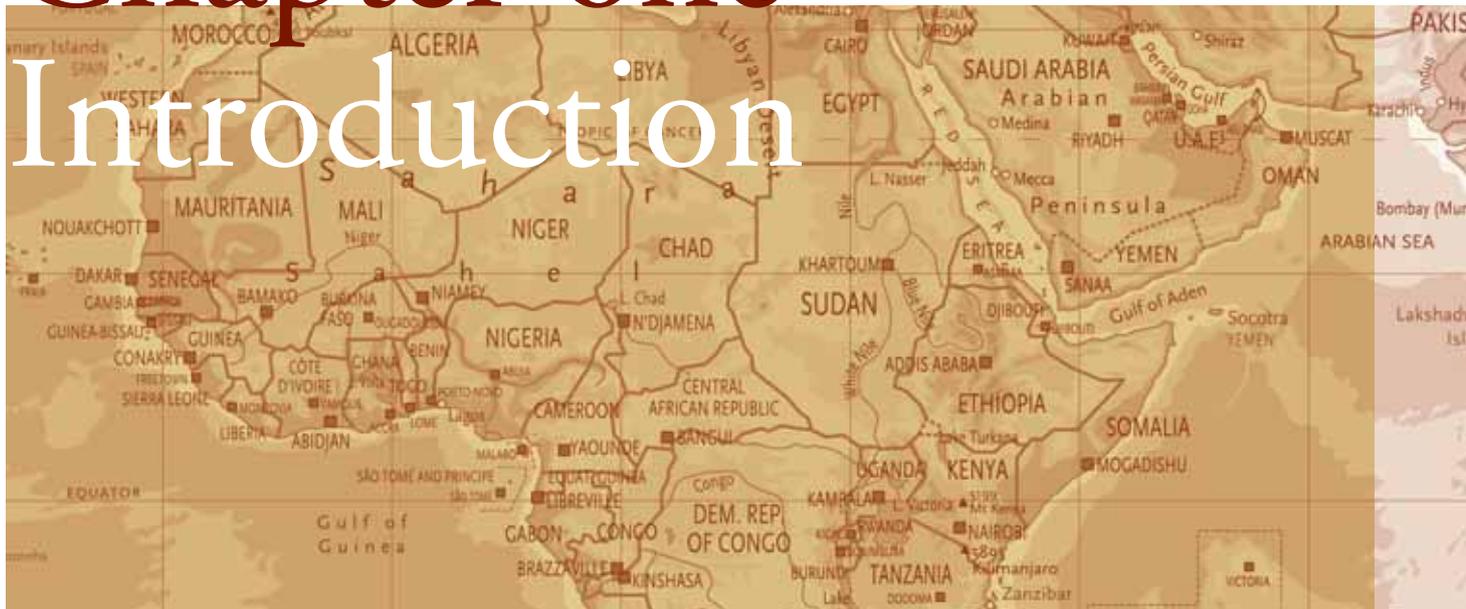




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Chapter one

Introduction



The IMD's mandate in perspective: an overview of 2004

The IMD's programmes continued to develop rapidly during 2004. Political parties and other stakeholders played a key role in countries like Ghana and Indonesia in assuring the successful implementation of electoral processes, thereby contributing substantially to the legitimacy of the election results and the consolidation of the democratic transition processes in both countries.

The IMD's multiparty approach is being applied in Ghana, Guatemala, and Bolivia and was quickly adopted in Kenya with the establishment and launch of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy of Kenya (CMD-K). Thirty-six political parties from countries in the East and Southern African region, both governing and opposition parties, decided in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania in November 2004 to establish a Regional Political Party Forum to share lessons learned and encourage democratic reforms. The immediate impact of the Forum was to consolidate cooperation among political parties in Centres for Multiparty Democracy prepared by the political parties in Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia.

In October 2004, the book *Southern Africa, Ten Years after Apartheid. The Quest for Democratic Governance* was launched in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Following the launch all South African political parties engaged in a debate about the state of multiparty democracy in South Africa, thereby preparing for their participation in the regional Forum. In Guatemala a similar Forum of political parties took up the challenge to translate the Shared

National Agenda into a governing pact for the parties in government and a legislative agenda for the parties represented in Parliament, resulting in, for example, thirty new acts of legislation and the ratification of four international conventions.

The cooperation facilitated by the IMD is aimed at reducing polarization and fragmentation among political parties and at developing joint national agendas on the basis of the widest possible consensus for necessary democratic reforms. The value of the approach was well captured by a senior Ghanaian politician during a reflection in July 2004 about the partnership between the Ghanaian political parties and the Dutch political parties working together in the IMD, when he stated: 'In the programme we have learned to disagree without becoming disagreeable'.

Together with these joint activities, the IMD also supports the institutional development of political parties. The interest in engaging in strategic planning exercises leading to longer-term institutional development plans gained momentum during 2004. The IMD Handbook *A Framework for Democratic Party-Building*, developed and produced in cooperation with representatives of political parties in Latin America and Africa, became an instant best-seller. The discussions about these strategic plans encourage the practice of internal democracy within political parties and allow resources available from partners like the IMD to be utilized more strategically.

Building on the lessons learned from the external evaluations of the programmes in Guatemala and



Mozambique in 2003, the IMD programmes in Ghana and Bolivia were evaluated in the course of 2004. These evaluations show that interesting parallels can be drawn between the programmes whose frameworks and modalities result from the dialogue processes with the political parties in-country. The local ownership of the programmes is strongly related to the results achieved, and the inter-party forums that have emerged within the evaluated programmes play a key role in providing an impartial meeting place in times of political crises (Bolivia), in improving the political party organization, and in engaging in policy debates (Ghana). The positive outcome of these latest evaluations provided a further incentive for the IMD to consolidate its programmes and approaches.

Two important decisions were taken during 2004 in response to the continued pressure on the IMD to expand its operations to support political society (and political parties in particular) in young democracies. The first decision was to establish a special unit within the IMD with the mandate to respond to requests from bilateral and multilateral international organizations for joint cooperation programmes, the Multi- and Bilateral Programme. The first joint agreements were made with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE / ODIHR) for a longer-term joint programme in Georgia and with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), with support from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy for

a joint programme in Nicaragua. These joint programmes offer a further opportunity to integrate the political and developmental agendas while matching the vast experience and weight of these bilateral and multilateral agencies with the IMD's expertise in supporting democracy and democratic political parties.

The second decision resulted in the organization of the European conference on the subject of 'Enhancing the European Profile in Democracy Assistance' at the start of the Dutch EU Presidency in July 2004. This conference, held at the Peace Palace in The Hague, was organized in cooperation with the emerging European network of political party foundations chaired by the IMD. The conference resulted in the *The Hague Statement* that specifies a concrete agenda to advance the theme of the conference. It calls on the European Union to complement its two foreign policy objectives, economic cooperation and security cooperation, with a third one: democracy assistance. The consolidation of democracy within the European Union as a condition for the prosperity of its people forms the heart of the European Union. Would it therefore not be consistent for the European Union to elevate the promotion of democracy outside its borders to the core business of its external policies?

In the course of the year 2004, the IMD received requests for assistance from a wide range of countries. These proposals were often submitted by political parties in countries that are not part of the current IMD programme, such as Nigeria, Liberia, Burundi, Angola, Namibia, Pakistan, Nepal, the Dominican Republic, et cetera.



Casting a vote
in Ghana

In line with programmatic developments, the IMD's financial turnover rose from € 5.5 million in 2003 to approximately € 7 million in 2004. The internal Process Management System (PMS), developed by the IMD in 2002 and 2003 continued to function well, making the user-friendly administration of programmes fully transparent throughout the organization. As in the preceding years, the IMD received a positive report from its external auditors for its financial management.

The country teams, established in 2003 to manage the partnership relations with each of the IMD's programme countries, were further consolidated. The programme officers (party coordinators) of the participating Dutch political parties share the responsibility for implementing country programmes and distributing this responsibility in the various teams. The innovative approaches of the IMD in the field of supporting democratic reforms, with a strong emphasis on local ownership, partnership and networking, require an open mind and a willingness to learn, both of which continued to be encouraged within the IMD.

Political party coordinators were also responsible for ensuring that information flowed to and from the participating political parties and the IMD. In this regard an increasing number of initiatives were taken over the past year, such as special IMD sections on the websites of the political parties, articles in party news magazines and luncheon lectures (on, for example, Indonesia and Surinam), while a number of distinguished experts from the participating political parties gave valuable inputs during workshops and training sessions in programme countries.

This annual report, providing a detailed account of the IMD's activities during the past year, the results obtained, and the lessons learned in the process, is hopefully interesting reading for those concerned with the advancement of democracy and the role of political parties in that process. The IMD is grateful to all those persons, political parties and organizations who, during 2004, contributed to the implementation of its programmes. This also applies to the appreciated cooperation and trust the IMD continued to receive from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation throughout 2004.

The governance of the IMD in 2004

The IMD Board is composed of eight members, seven representatives of as many political parties represented in the Dutch Parliament and one independent President, Prof J.A van Kemenade. The composition of the Board changed somewhat in the course of 2004. Long-time board members Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach (PvdA, Labour Party) and Michel Groothuijzen (D66, Social Liberals) stepped down. Their positions were taken by Ruud Koole (Chairperson of the PvdA) and Simone Filippini (International Secretary of D66), respectively.

The IMD Board met six times during 2004 to discuss the overall programme and institutional developments of the IMD. The Board takes strategic policy decisions and approves all funding proposals exceeding € 50,000. The Executive Director and his staff are responsible for implementing the Board's decisions.



Looking at the candidate list in Indonesia

The Executive Committee of the IMD Board, consisting of the IMD Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson and the Treasurer, met on several occasions in between the scheduled IMD Board meetings to discuss the progress in the IMD's affairs.

After two years at the helm of the IMD Supervisory Council, the President of the Council, Senator Paul Luijten (VVD, Liberal Party), resigned in November 2004. The vacancy will be filled by the Council with the election of a new president at its first meeting in 2005.

In 2004 the Supervisory Council once again focused attention on a review of the programmes in two specific countries: Ghana and Bolivia. Representatives of the Ghanaian Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and a representative of the team that had evaluated the IMD programme in Bolivia attended these meetings. The meetings of the Supervisory Council continue to provide the Board with valuable reflections on the IMD's programmes while assisting in broadening the support for the IMD's programmes in the seven participating political parties.

There was continuity in the composition of the IMD staff during 2004. Two major changes took place in 2004. The first one was the appointment of an in-house Manager of Finance, Control and Personnel from 1 July 2004 onwards. The outsourced position of the IMD's controller at FIADLON in Amsterdam ended at that date. This change reinforced the capacity of the IMD to manage its own finances and personnel in response to the growing turnover of the organization. The other major change was the establishment of

a new unit to explore and develop programmes of a bilateral and multilateral character. Its activities are planned to be financed by external donors. This IMD Multilateral and Bilateral unit (IMD-MBP) started its operations on 1 July 2004 and works under the direct responsibility of a newly appointed IMD-MBP Director.

The weekly meeting of the IMD's headquarters staff continued in order to share information and to plan activities. Similarly, the monthly meetings with central staff and the IMD political party coordinators continued to take place. These meetings allow experiences to be shared and provide an opportunity for contributions to be made to the policy-making process of the IMD.

The core of the implementation of the IMD's activities is embodied in country teams, each dealing with an IMD programme country. These teams operate under the responsibility of the IMD Executive Director. Each team is coordinated by one of the IMD's political party coordinators and consists of a second political party coordinator, one of the IMD's policy officers, and the country representative, when such a function exists.

Two retreats were organized in the course of 2004. These two-day events are learning opportunities for all IMD staff, including the field representatives, and they provide the occasion to discuss core policy issues and consider ways of improving the IMD's overall performance and productivity.

The IMD political party coordinators of the three largest parties (CDA, PvdA and VVD) play the lead



Traditional dance at the occasion of the opening of CMD-Kenya

role in the country teams. The smaller parties (GL, D66, CU and SGP) play a second lead role in each of the country teams. Team meetings are held monthly, but exchanges between team members take place much more frequently, especially through the country home pages on the Process Management System (PMS). The allocation of funds to the participating parties remained unchanged, with CDA and PvdA employing two programme officers each, the VVD employing one programme officer, and the four smaller parties making officers available on a part-time (16 hours a week) basis. Because the smaller parties increasingly feel that this part-time involvement has its limitations, this arrangement will possibly be reviewed in 2005.

In 2004 the IMD made use of two field offices: one in Maputo (Mozambique) and the other in Guatemala City. The Maputo office served as a regional office for most of East and Southern Africa. The Regional Representative, Mr Jan Nico van Overbeeke, left this position in August 2004. His successor as the new Regional Representative, Mr Renier Nijskens, started his work in Maputo (1 September) but subsequently moved to Johannesburg towards the end of 2004, following a decision by the IMD Board that Johannesburg is more suitable for serving the IMD's regional programme.

In 2004 the local consultants or liaison officers employed by the IMD in various countries contributed substantially to implementing the IMD's programmes. These individuals play an increasingly important role in both advising the IMD about the implementation of country programmes and in

monitoring the progress. The roles of these consultants differ from country to country but generally involve providing the IMD with information about the programme and political developments, preparing and organizing IMD missions, communicating with parties and organizations, and coordinating the financial and administrative arrangements for specific cross-party initiatives.

The relationship with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to benefit from a constructive policy dialogue on issues of mutual interest. Meetings were held with representatives of the Directorate for Human Rights and Peace Building and the Directorate Africa. Presentations were given on the IMD's work during training workshops at the Ministry. Other meetings attended included the Mali Networking Day and the debriefing by Minister Van Ardenne following the European summit of Ministers of Development Cooperation in October. The IMD was visited by the controllers of Foreign Affairs for a briefing about its administrative procedures.

Besides contacts with the Ministry itself, regular exchanges took place with the Royal Netherlands Embassies in all of the countries in which IMD programmes are in progress. In meetings with the ambassadors and their staff, overall programme developments were discussed. With one or two exceptions, cooperation is generally excellent and beneficial to the IMD's activities. Where issues arose with embassies, the IMD tried to address these at the earliest opportunity.



The IMD's Website and Newsletter

The IMD wishes not only to distribute news about its activities and results, but also to become a centre of learning. With a wide network of politicians, practitioners, academics and trainers, and increasing expertise on subjects like party building, national dialogues and party systems, the IMD hopes to develop into an important international knowledge centre. The knowledge centre can be accessed through the IMD's website.

The number of visitors to the website almost doubled from 100 visitors each day at the end of 2003 to nearly 200 visitors each day at the end of 2004. According to the website statistics, a significant proportion of the visitors to the IMD's website viewed the site after receiving the electronic newsletter.

The number of subscribers to the IMD's electronic newsletter increased by 200 to a total of 720. The newsletter provides brief updates about the activities and results of the IMD country programmes. In a special Election Monitor section, it also paid attention to the elections in Indonesia, Ghana and Mozambique. According to the feedback the IMD is receiving, the newsletter is an important medium for external communication.

Financial and managerial developments in 2004

From 2003 to 2004 overall expenditure increased by 30%, with the expenditure on country programmes increasing by a total of 24%. A full financial statement of the expenditures in 2004 in relation to the previous years 2003, 2002 and in relation to the budget for 2005 is provided in appendix 1 of this annual report.

In the second half of 2004, after a thorough review and revision of the IMD's Compendium containing all internal regulations and procedures, a new generation of rules and regulations became available and operational. A review of the Process Management System (PMS) led to its full operational status in the course of 2004.

The IMD's external auditors, Dubois and Co, approved the IMD's financial statement for 2003. The auditors conducted the periodic mid-year review of 2004 and confirmed the strengthened status of the administrative organization, the internal controls, and the Process Management System.

Chapter two

International Relations



The IMD and the European profile in democracy assistance

Europe appears to be largely missing in shaping the debate on sustained and reliable support to democratization processes across the globe. Observations by the IMD's partner organizations in various young democracies, including its European sister organizations, show that the European Union's contributions are invisible and often not responsive to opportunities to advance the cause of democracy. To encourage a more pro-active role for Europe in the field of democracy assistance, the IMD hosted a conference for European political foundations, European policy makers, and academics in the field of democracy entitled 'Enhancing the European profile in democracy assistance' in The Hague on 5 and 6 July at the start of the Dutch EU presidency. A Steering Committee, chaired by the IMD and consisting of representatives from the Westminster Foundation for Democracy Assistance, the Centre Party International on behalf of the Swedish political foundations, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation on behalf of the German 'Stiftungen', and the French Foundation Jean Jaurès, convened the conference.

Because of the complexity of processes supporting democratic reform, the first question that had to be clarified was what influences Europe's agenda when it comes to democracy assistance? Can a European identity be distinguished in assisting democracy, and, if so, what are its characteristics? The absence of such an identity is often attributed to the diversity in democratic systems across Europe and to the different national histories that shaped the evolution of these democracies. In light of such ingrained

pluralism, it seems unrealistic to establish one distinctly *European* profile in democracy assistance that is immediately recognizable to the outside world.

The disadvantage of the pluralistic nature of Europe might be turned into an advantage if we realize that there is no single blueprint for democracy and that democracy cannot be exported to other parts of the world without taking into consideration the historical and political circumstances that characterize these places. Put differently, it is precisely the plurality in democratic experiences, approaches and models typical of the European condition that could turn out to create the proper context for enhancing the European profile in democracy assistance.

A group of European academics and practitioners shared a series of articles with the conference participants that covered the *Why*, *What* and *How* of European democracy assistance. These articles, covering a broad spectrum of thinking and research on matters related to European democracy assistance, will be published under the title *Democracy: Europe's core value*. All the articles, along with all of the information on the conference and its results, are also available at www.democracyagenda.org.

The participants at the conference exchanged their expertise, insights, and ideas in identifying what perhaps could be called a 'collective European value system', and in finding means of applying this system in the daily practice of democracy assistance abroad. The conference achieved one of its objectives, namely, to forge a stronger network of European 'political society' organizations, mostly foundations active in democracy assistance.

Priorities of the *The Hague Statement*

Participants agreed that the European profile in democracy assistance, including its underlying values and features, needs to be enhanced and made more explicit. Five main arguments were put forward to answer the question of *why* Europe should enhance its profile in democracy assistance:

- Democracy is needed for an effective fight against poverty and for sustainable development.
- Democracy and security agendas should be connected.
- Europe has much to offer.
- Democracy assistance is complex.
- Europe's own identity should be clarified in order to revitalize democracy at home.

The European experience includes the following seven distinct features that are valuable reference points (points of departure or guiding principles) for an emerging European Union identity in democracy assistance:

- Europe's variety of social and political organizations
- democracy - social justice nexus
- democracy is work in progress
- peaceful transition through dialogue
- human rights and the rule of law
- democracy assistance preferred over conditionality
- regional context and supra-national institutions

Recommendations to enhance the European profile:

Agenda recommendations for the European Council and Commission:

- Democracy assistance should be the core business of the EU's external policy.
- The approach to democracy assistance by EU member states and the European Commission (EC) should be concerted and coherent.
- Democratic reform agendas should be domestically owned.
- The missing link of political society should be included.
- A multi-sectoral approach is required.
- Gender equality and promoting political participation by women should be encouraged.
- The principle of subsidiarity in the EU's democracy assistance policies should be applied.

Agenda recommendations for the European Parliament:

- Support the implementation of recommendations of the European Council and Commission.
- Review the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).
- Establish a public space for the discourse on enhancing European democracy assistance.
- Initiate appropriate EU democracy assistance instruments.
- Ensure that democracy support is applied universally.

Agenda recommendations for the democracy assistance agencies in Europe:

- Share the challenge of change.
- Connect at the European level.
- Connect with partners abroad.
- Make arrangements for the way forward.



<< Introduction by
Prof Dr J.A. van Kemenade

< Presenting the
The Hague Statement
to Mr Nicolai,
Netherlands Minister
for European Affairs

In addition, the conference resulted in a shared agenda, the *The Hague Statement*, which contains a set of recommendations for the European Council, the European Parliament and European political foundations about how Europe can become more responsive to partners outside Europe in their quest for democracy.

In his capacity as President of the European Council, the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende opened the conference in the Peace Palace. Various eminent guest speakers, such as HRH Princess Basma Bint Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Dr Madeleine Albright, former US Secretary of State and Chairman of the NDI, and Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Managing Director of the World Bank, discussed the possibilities for Europeans to play a more prominent role in democracy assistance. After this official opening, the participants continued to discuss the possibilities of a European profile in the subsequent Working Conference. The participants attended workshops whose main topics were reported back to the plenary meeting, resulting in the *The Hague Statement*. In the closing session of the conference, this *Statement* was presented to the Netherlands' Minister for European Affairs, Mr Atzo Nicolai. The *Statement* called upon the Dutch chairmanship of the European Union to give democracy assistance more priority on Europe's foreign agenda.

After the conference the Steering Committee agreed on an Action Plan to further the priorities of the *The Hague Statement*. The Action Plan contains a number of activities on various levels. Firstly, the *The Hague Statement* was presented in the subcommittee for Human Rights of the European Parliament on 21 September. This presentation in the Parliament gave rise to the idea for the formation of a parliament-wide Democracy Caucus to champion the democracy assistance agenda. Secondly, the *Statement* was presented at the Unit for Human Rights and Democratization of the European Commission. Moreover, officials of the European Commission expressed the need for a structured dialogue with the network of European political foundations to emphasize the political dimension of the EU's policy and the modalities regarding democratization, as an important part of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

The Subcommittee on Human Rights of the European Parliament asked the IMD to write a report on 'The Financial Instruments available to the European Union for its Human Rights activities in third countries and, in particular, the European

Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)'. For this purpose, a small research team was created, consisting of European academics who contributed articles for the European conference in July. The report, due in the first half of 2005, will be presented at a hearing that the European Parliament intends to organize on the subject.

The IMD's participation in the wider international network

The IMD participated in several global networks of democracy assistance organizations with two key objectives. The first is related to establishing relations with international partners to harmonize approaches and learn from experiences elsewhere. The second objective is to discuss the implementation of the *The Hague Statement* that followed from the European conference. So far, European NGOs, political foundations, and governments have been underrepresented in global initiatives for democracy assistance. The IMD has encouraged its European network to become more pro-active in this regard.

In addition, the IMD participated in the preparatory process of the Community of Democracies (CD) by attending meetings in Lisbon in January and in Prague in October during which proposals were drafted for the CD Ministerial Meeting in Santiago de Chile in April 2005. The IMD participated in the European Working Group of this process not because Europe is the IMD's working territory, but because of the IMD's serious efforts to further the European profile in democracy assistance. The IMD's Executive Director agreed to join the Global Issues group of the CD.

The IMD also attended the conference of the World Movement for Democracy (WMD) which took place in Durban, South Africa in February. This conference allowed the IMD to share some of the lessons learned, especially in African countries, with other participants. The IMD supported a number of its partners from young democracies (Surinam, Bolivia and Indonesia in addition to some participants from African countries) so that they could attend the conference.

At the invitation of the WMD, the IMD Executive Director joined the WMD Steering Committee. One of the tasks of the Steering Committee is the preparation of the next bi-annual assembly of the WMD scheduled to take place in Istanbul, Turkey in 2006.

In April 2004 the National Democratic Institute, together with the IMD and others, organized a



<< Mr Balkenende

< HRH Basma Bint Talal



<< Dr. Albright

< Ms Mamphela with
Swedish Minister
Caren Jämtin



<< Ms Mamphela

< Dr. Albright
Roel von Meijenfeldt
HRH Basma Bint Talal
Ms Mamphela



Peace Palace in the Hague, Carnegie Foundation, home to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, the Peace Palace library, the International Court of Justice and the Hague Academy of International Law

conference in Istanbul, Turkey that focused on the role of democracy in the Islamic World. The IMD facilitated the attendance of participants from its programme countries with substantial Muslim populations, such as Indonesia and Mali.

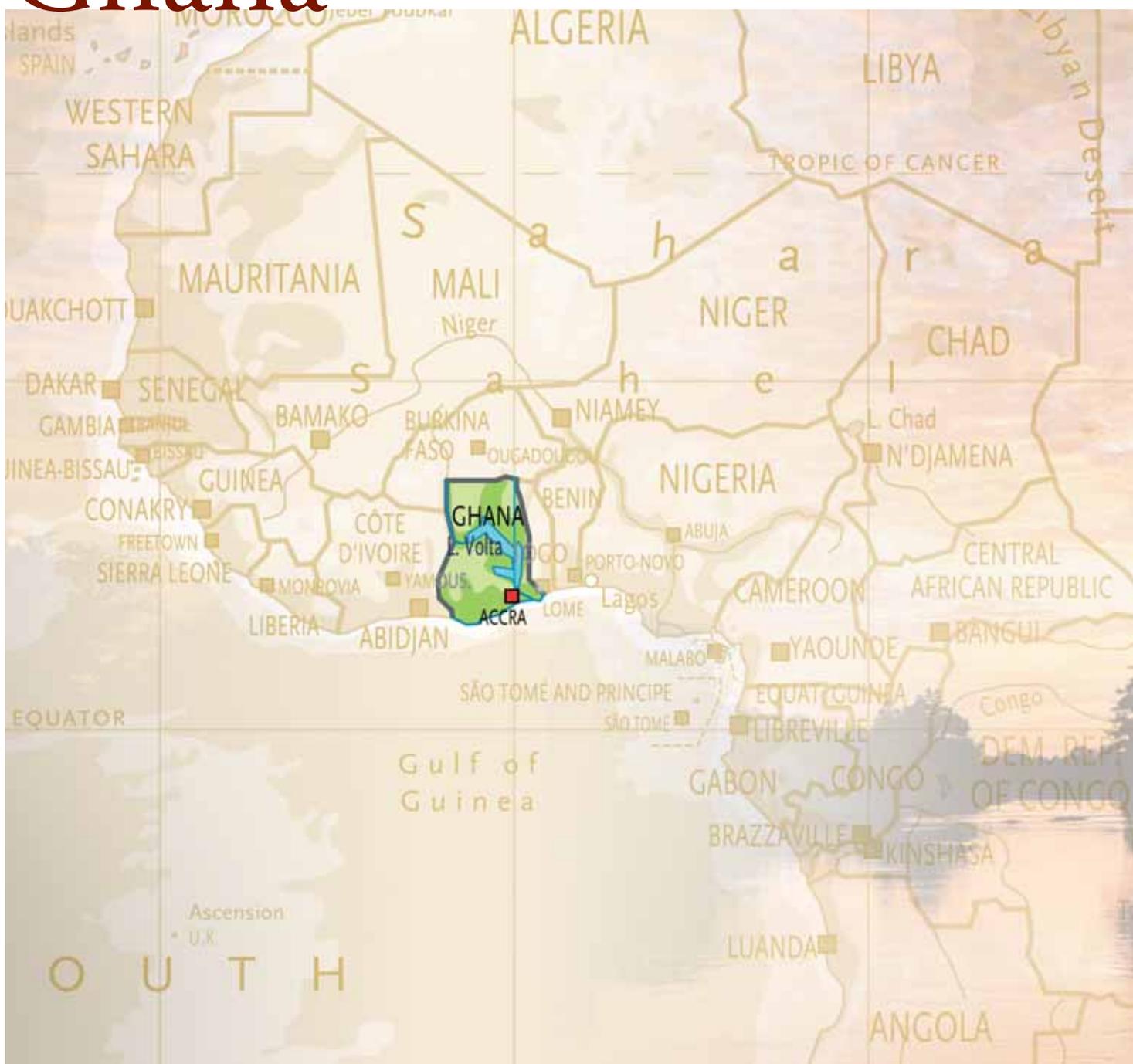
In December the IMD was invited by the Canadian Centre for Study on Democracy (CSD) of the University of Ontario to a meeting hosted by the International IDEA in Stockholm to discuss the intended establishment of a Canadian Institute for Multiparty Democracy (CSD). The CSD is currently exploring possible institutional models for democracy assistance. Efforts are underway to gather experiences and lessons learned from American and European political foundations that could be helpful in the possible creation of a new Canadian democracy assisting entity. Democracy assistance has a high priority on the Canadian foreign relations agenda. The Canadians have taken a specific interest in the IMD model and its approach to democracy support.

Chapter three

Country Programmes



Ghana



Code of Conduct launched

In July 2004 a Code of Conduct was signed with due ceremony by eight political parties. The Code contained agreements about the mutual behaviour of political parties during the run-up to the elections of December 2004. However, these agreements are also applicable in the periods between elections, a very important innovation. An additional, remarkable, almost unique element in the Code of Conduct is the integration of an enforcement mechanism. A Board, consisting of representatives of the eight political parties and the electoral commission, was established to monitor the implementation of the Code. There is already substantial interest outside of Ghana in this new Code of Conduct and its successful implementation during the past general elections. Part of the success is due to the initiatives by the political parties themselves that ensured their full ownership. Rather than implementing a Code drafted by the electoral commission, this time the political parties drafted their own Code and invited the electoral commission to participate in the process. This shift in the ownership of the process proved to have a positive effect.



Country Team

Marcus Lens van Rijn
(VVD - Lead Agent),
Programme Officer

Karel de Vries
(SGP - Second Lead),
Programme Officer

Mark Dijk (IMD),
Policy Officer Africa

The president of the IMD, Mr. Jos van Kemenade, visited the president of Ghana, His Excellency Mr. John Kufuor, in July 2004.

Context

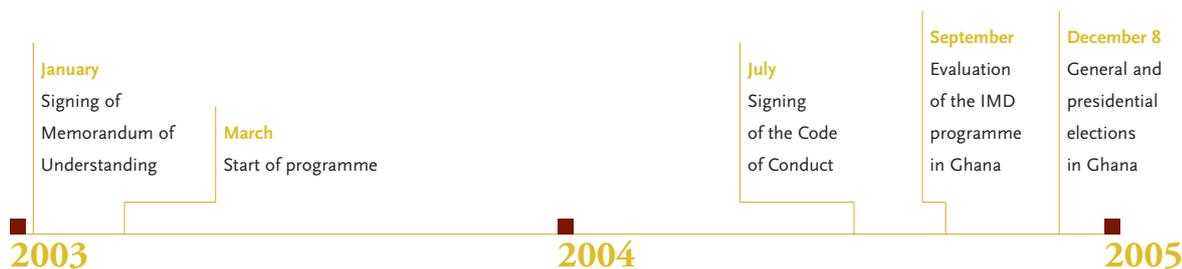
The general and presidential elections in December 2004 dominated the political agenda in Ghana during 2004. Through the inter-party dialogue facilitated by the IMD, the political parties took the initiative to ensure that the elections proceeded smoothly. The electoral process was managed successfully. The outcome of the elections resulted in a consolidation of the current political situation with the re-election of President John Kufuor and an increased majority of his New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Parliament. The conflict resolution mechanisms introduced by the political parties ensured that potential conflicts were addressed before they could erupt, especially in the volatile region of Tamale-Dagbon. The peaceful and fair conduct of the elections has contributed substantially to stability in Ghana.

Programme Framework

During the election year the programme focused on supporting political parties by facilitating the dialogue among them on the various parties' perspectives on societal issues. The political parties chose three priorities for 2004: 1) to ensure fair proceedings for the elections, 2) to improve the Ghanaians' perception of the political parties, and 3) to strengthen the political parties' organizational capacity. The programme was managed through the Platform of Secretaries-General of the political parties and supported by the policy advisors. The Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) continued to moderate the process and provided the technical input for the management of the Platform. The IEA is also responsible for organizing the cross-party component of the IMD programme. As for the bilateral activities of each of the political parties, the parties had access to the Party Activity Fund (PAF), managed by the IEA, under the terms of reference jointly agreed on by the political parties.



Time Indicator



Content objectives and activities

In 2004 activities included regular Platform meetings, the organization of four joint symposia throughout Ghana, the completion, launching and distribution of a new Code of Conduct, the preparation and execution of political party broadcasts, and numerous bilateral activities by the four political parties on the basis of their party plans. In addition to the Code of Conduct, an enforcement mechanism was established in cooperation with civil society organizations to supervise the campaigns of the various parties with the aim of preventing violent conflict. In the context of the campaign, the IEA facilitated a presidential debate on national television and various so-called 'town hall' meetings at the grassroots level to which the electorate of all political parties were invited and which met with great success.

Process objectives and activities

The Platform's main objective is to design a long-term agenda on consolidating democracy in Ghana. To achieve this, the Secretaries-General met twice monthly, while the policy analysts met weekly. In 2004 the Platform was expanded with the introduction of a Chairmen's Caucus. In this Caucus the chairpersons of the parliamentary parties, the leaders of the political parties in Ghana, came together for the first time to discuss contentious political issues and work towards the peaceful resolution of matters of national interest. The creation of the Caucus added an important dimension to the programme.

To monitor and evaluate the programme, the IMD facilitated the setting up of an independent Advisory Council, consisting of five eminent Ghanaians from various segments of society. The Advisory Council has a mandate to advise both the IEA and the IMD about the evolution of the programme. In 2004, the Advisory Council met four times and provided critical and valuable feedback for the management of the programme.

Programme support

The main partner of the IMD in implementing the programme and facilitating the Platform

is the Accra-based Institute for Economic Affairs. The IEA moderates the Platform, organizes all cross-party meetings and activities, and reports to the IMD on a monthly basis.

Lessons learned

The IMD programme in Ghana greatly contributes to consolidating multiparty democracy and to the institutional development of political parties in Ghana. This, at least, was one of the main conclusions of the evaluation report drafted by an external team commissioned to assess the IMD/IEA programme (September 2004). The report states: 'Looking at the history of the political parties' confrontational practices and the impact of frequent interruptions of the democratic process in Ghana, it is a laudable achievement that the political parties are now involved in the development and implementation of joint activities'.

The evaluation team expressed its satisfaction with the performance of the IEA and the general trust that the parties have in this impartial facilitator. According to the evaluation team, another important finding was the unusual and very high level of ownership of the programme by the political parties. These direct the programme fully, while the checks and balances of the programme are safeguarded by an independent Advisory Council representing the various social, economic and cultural constituencies in Ghanaian society.

The evaluation team presented some recommendations for the future of the programme. One of these concerns the development of a longer-term strategy by and for the Ghanaian political parties for the period after the general elections. Moreover, discussions should be initiated with the political parties that are not represented in Parliament, while the possibility should be investigated for non-parliamentary parties to participate in the Platform (and not only in joint party activities only, as they do now). Finally, more attention should be given to measuring the effectiveness of the programme.

Summary of programme activities

MARCH

Voter registration exercise: the role of the political parties

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: An inter-party discussion to stimulate a clean Voter's Register as a primary requirement for free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections
Results: The discussion resulted in a common agreement on the necessity of permanent registration to save money and prevent unnecessary and violent tension in the run-up to the elections

APRIL

Campaign decorum for elections 2004

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: A conference on how campaigning politicians can avoid negative references to ethnicity and religion as well as personal attacks on political rivals as examples of indecorous conduct
Result: The more than 250 participants at the symposium recognized the need for decorum in political campaigning. This symposium enjoyed nation-wide media coverage

MAY

Meeting of all registered political parties to formulate a new Code of Conduct

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: the formulation and subsequent adoption of a new political parties' Code of Conduct. This had become necessary due to a number of deficiencies in the old Code (2000)
Result: Adoption of a new Code with an enforcement mechanism and a broader range than just the period of elections

JUNE

Meeting of Chairmen and formation of the Chairmen's Caucus

Description: To bring together the political parties at this important chairmen's level to stimulate more dialogue and understanding among the parties
Result: Foundation of the Chairmen's Caucus; a chairman was elected, rules adopted and procedures determined. The relationship with The Platform and the press was defined

JULY

Launch of the Code of Conduct

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: Official launch of the new Code of Conduct with the main objective being to disseminate this collective initiative of the registered political parties
Result: A high level of attendance and vast media coverage

AUGUST

Sustaining Ghana's democracy: The need for peaceful co-existence

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: A sensitization workshop aimed at changing the view of political opponents so they see themselves as individuals with different ideas rather than as enemies
Result: The symposium, in terms of attendance, number of parties present and civil society participation, quality of presentations and gender balance, was a considerable improvement compared to all previous symposia

OCTOBER

Inauguration of the National Enforcement Body under the political parties Code of Conduct

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: Inauguration of this body with eleven members, from all the eight registered political parties of Ghana, the Electoral Commission of Ghana and the National Commission on Civic Education, with the task of resolving inter-party conflict through dialogue
Results: Even though the National Body was rarely used, its existence has provided a forum for the resolution of inter-party conflicts

NOVEMBER

Political party broadcasts

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: Radio and television spots for each of the registered political parties in Ghana
Results: A fair campaign atmosphere and an increased focus on issues rather than persons during elections

Presidential debate

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: A debate between the four presidential candidates, broadcasted on national radio and television
Result: Due to the absence of the presidential candidate for the ruling party, the activity lost its impact. Nevertheless, it was an interesting debate on various issues of common interest

Town hall meetings

Partner: Platform of Secretaries-General and the IEA

Description: Debates between parliamentary candidates in a given constituency for the purpose of selling themselves and their message to the local constituents
Result: Increased awareness of inter-party dialogue and democracy at the grassroots level

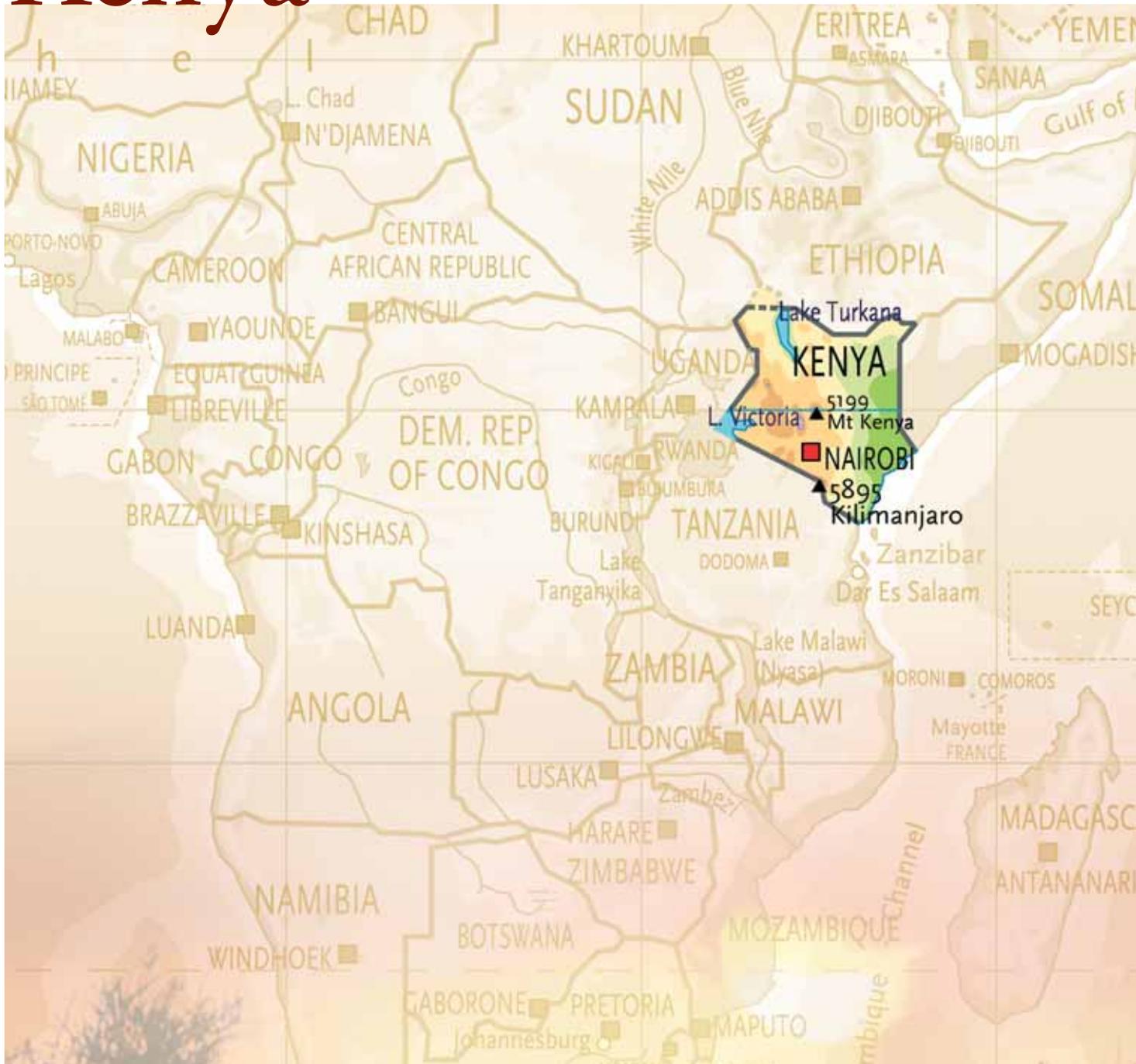
DECEMBER

Selection and training of election monitors

Partner: IEA and the Electoral Commission

Description: Identification and training of people with the requisite educational and moral qualifications to be electoral monitors
Result: Increased integrity of the electoral process

Kenya



Strategic Plan CMD-Kenya

From 25 until 30 May the major stakeholders of the newly founded Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Kenya met in Nakuru to develop a strategic plan for the next five years. The formulation of the strategic plan was prioritized as a starting point in order to develop a broad framework within which the CMD-Kenya programmes and projects will be managed. The strategic plan also established the parameters for political parties to discuss joint and bilateral project activities. The main themes for the coming period will be multiparty symposia on issues of national importance, skills training, developing a code of conduct, improving media relations, encouraging bonding among politicians, legislating public funding, and implementing the constitutional review.



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Context

After 40 years of dominant and dictatorial party rule by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), a turnaround was achieved in December 2002 when, in free and fair elections, Mwai Kibaki was elected president and his newly forged 'rainbow coalition' (NARC) won the elections. Mr. Kibaki promised to provide free primary education to all children, to fight corruption, to revitalize the economy, and to give Kenyans a new constitution within 100 days that would restore multiparty democracy, change the electoral system by introducing elements of proportionality and reduce presidential powers by introducing a mix between a presidential and a parliamentary system. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) resumed lending in 2003 after a three-year hold. However, after the participatory constitutional process had been successfully completed, the new draft constitution remained bogged down in Parliament. A new anti-corruption czar was installed, but with limited powers. Graft invariably remains a prime concern. The Goldenberg trial, a scam during the Moi years that involved exporting non-existent gold and diamonds and that cost the tax payer US 600 million, was concluded in 2004. A verdict is expected in 2005, but this may be delayed because of some of the stakeholders' involvement in the political system.

NARC as a coalition suffered from severe internal frictions in 2004 that negatively affected government activity. After by-elections it became clear that the main parties in NARC would not seek re-election under the NARC banner but would instead enter future elections under their own party ticket. Modes of power-sharing between the President and Parliament underlie the constitutional debate and are the main bones of contention splitting NARC.

Programme framework

The programme developed rapidly in 2004. The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD), established by the political parties in Kenya, showed high levels of ownership. A legal base was secured and a CMD constitution agreed upon in the first half of the year. The CMD was formally launched in September of 2004. The programme first consisted exclusively of a joint programme. Frequent Steering Committee meetings pushed the programme forward, and a strategic plan was finalized in October. Concurrently, the CMD secretariat was expanded by two persons to implement this exemplary plan. In the latter half of 2004, a bilateral pilot phase was started to allow the

Former Secretary General of the Western European Union (WEU), Mr W.F. Van Eekelen, addresses the audience during the launch of the CMK on 17 September 2004 in Nairobi.



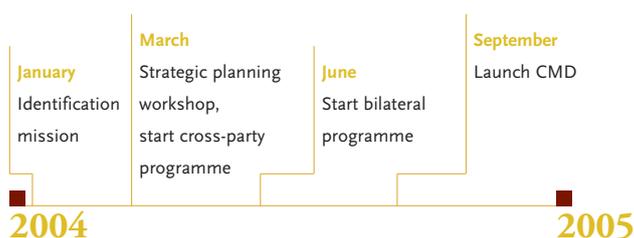
parties to devise their own strategic plans. A formal bilateral programme was not entered into at this stage because the modalities needed an agreement among all political parties to ensure full transparency and accountability, an agreement that was contingent upon developments within NARC. By the end of 2004, the IMD and the CMD were discussing details of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), outlining the relationship between the two institutions. In early 2005 the MoU will be finalized and the bilateral phase will commence.

Content objectives and activities

When the CMD was established, it was agreed that the participating parties would propose the dates, contents, and organization of a bilateral strategic planning exercise. At the initial stage this would be open to the different parties, those represented in Parliament and as well those represented at the provincial level. All parties conducted their strategic planning workshops during the last half of 2004 or prepared and finalized their documents in order to qualify for their strategic planning workshops to be held in early 2005.

At the cross-party level, several activities were organized. An important framework for the 2004 programme was drawn up during the strategic planning workshop held at the end of May and attended by all parties represented within the CMD. The results of this workshop included a five-year strategic plan that clarified the CMD's vision and mission, defined its goals and developed an activity plan. The strategy plan also defined both the joint CMD programmes and bilateral goals. On 28 August a Code of Conduct workshop was organized, during which the participating parties agreed on a draft version of the Code. This draft was further discussed and elaborated on during a bonding activity for all political parties on 10 September 2004. This bonding activity was a 'curtain raiser' for the launch later that month, another attempt to involve as many politicians as possible and brief them in advance on the launch and the CMD's role. The official launch on 17 September succeeded in bringing the CMD to the fore in Kenyan political society. Over 500 participants from all walks of life took part in the ceremony. Keynote speakers included the chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, Mr Samuel Kivuitu, the Netherlands Ambassador in Kenya, Ms Tanja van Gool, and the IMD's delegation leader Mr. Wim van Eekelen, former Secretary General of the Western European Union (WEU) and former Minister of Defence of the Dutch Government.

Time Indicator



Process objectives and activities

In Kenya the political parties created the CMD as a legal entity. The CMD Board consists of representatives of the parliamentary parties and is the main decision- and policy-making organ of the CMD. The board meets monthly to discuss the programme and issues of common interest. An Advisory Council will be established in due course.

Programme support

The CMD is serviced by 'IMD-Kenya', which is at present the IMD's local consultant, Njeri Kabeberi. IMD-Kenya is expected to evolve into the secretariat of the CMD. In the beginning of 2005 an MoU between the IMD and the CMD will define its cooperative structure.

Lessons learned

The development of the programme and the establishment of inter-party cooperation unfolded far more quickly than initially expected. The emphasis on cooperation between the IMD and the Kenyan political parties facilitated the dialogue on issues of shared concern. It resulted in an excellent strategic programme and in establishing the instruments through which future assistance for both inter-party activities and bilateral activities of the individual parties can be channelled on terms determined by the Kenyan political parties themselves. The ownership of the process and the focus on content rather than funding were instrumental in achieving this result.

Coalition politics within NARC created a degree of uncertainty about how future bilateral assistance should be channelled: to the coalition, to the individual parties participating in the coalition, or to both? The lesson learned in the Kenyan programme provides arguments for organizing the first strategic planning exercises on a party basis. Other organizational structures, gentlemen's agreements, or political coalitions should generally not be regarded as parties in terms of bodies liable to be supported as a political party. In the event the coalition registers as a political party in its own right, it would qualify for support on the same basis as the other political parties.

An important lesson in establishing the new CMD in Kenya is to allow the new institution to focus fully on the content of inter-party cooperation and the challenges this poses. This cooperation should be activity-driven and, at the initial stage, not occupied with institution-building concerns. Hence, the administrative and technical support is currently provided through a professional agency that, for the time-being, coincides with the IMD liaison office in Kenya. It is envisaged that these functions will be transferred in due course when the CMD has established its programmes and consolidated its inter-party cooperation.

Summary of programme activities

MARCH

Strategic planning workshop in preparation of the establishment CMD-Kenya

Partners: Political parties represented in CMD
Description: Development of official plans, documents and institutionalization of the CMD institute in Kenya
Result: CMD is established as a legal entity and broker for the IMD and the Kenya political parties to develop further programme activities by September, with underlying documents being signed by the different stakeholders during the launch of the CMD in September

JULY

Strategic planning workshop of Shirikisho

Partner: Political party Shirikisho
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: The Shirikisho party held its strategic plan workshop and forwarded the preliminary report; the final reports and the strategic planning document are expected in January 2005

AUGUST

Strategic planning workshop

Partner: Political party Ford-Asili
Description: Strengthening of internal democratic structure as well as development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: Ford-Asili was the first party to have its strategic planning workshop. It compiled its reports and finalized its strategic plan

Strategic planning workshop

Partner: Political party Sisi Kwa Sisi
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: Sisi Kwa Sisi held its strategic planning workshop. Reports and strategic plan finalized

SEPTEMBER

Launch of CMD-Kenya

Partners: CMD, IMD, political parties represented in the CMD
Description: Official opening and inauguration of the CMD institute in Kenya
Result: CMD was established as a legal entity and broker for the IMD and Kenya's political parties to develop further programme activities

Code of Conduct familiarization

Partners: CMD, political parties represented in the CMD
Description: The development of the Code of Conduct was a consultative process; political parties and their representatives in the various organs of the CMD-Kenya agreed on the Code
Result: A Code of Conduct and enforcement procedures

OCTOBER

Finalization Strategic Plan of KANU

Partner: Political party KANU
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: KANU is still occupied with internal affairs. The decision to have the elections was also the outcome of their strategic plan workshop held in September 2004. Final reports and the strategic plan are expected early in 2005

NOVEMBER

FORUM retreat

Partners: CMD, political parties represented in FORUM
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections and discussions on the present status of FORUM
Result: FORUM held a bonding event which it also treated as a preparatory meeting for its strategic workshop. The workshop will be held early in 2005

Strategic planning workshop National Labour Party (NLP)

Partner: Political party NLP
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 general elections
Result: NLP found itself in the best position during the KISAUNI by-election. The NLP, a party previously without parliamentary representation, now has MPs. The NLP held its strategic planning workshop and also forwarded all its reports

DECEMBER

Strategic planning workshop of NARC

Partner: NARC, coalition of ruling political parties
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: NARC held its strategic planning workshop early in December; final report and strategic plan are expected early in 2005

LDP Strategic Planning Programme, 2004

Partner: Political party LDP
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: Funds for the LDP strategic planning workshop were forwarded to the party. Meeting will take place early in 2005

Strategic planning workshop of Ford-Kenya

Partner: Political party Ford-Kenya
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: Ford-Kenya will be holding its strategic planning workshop in the third week of January 2005

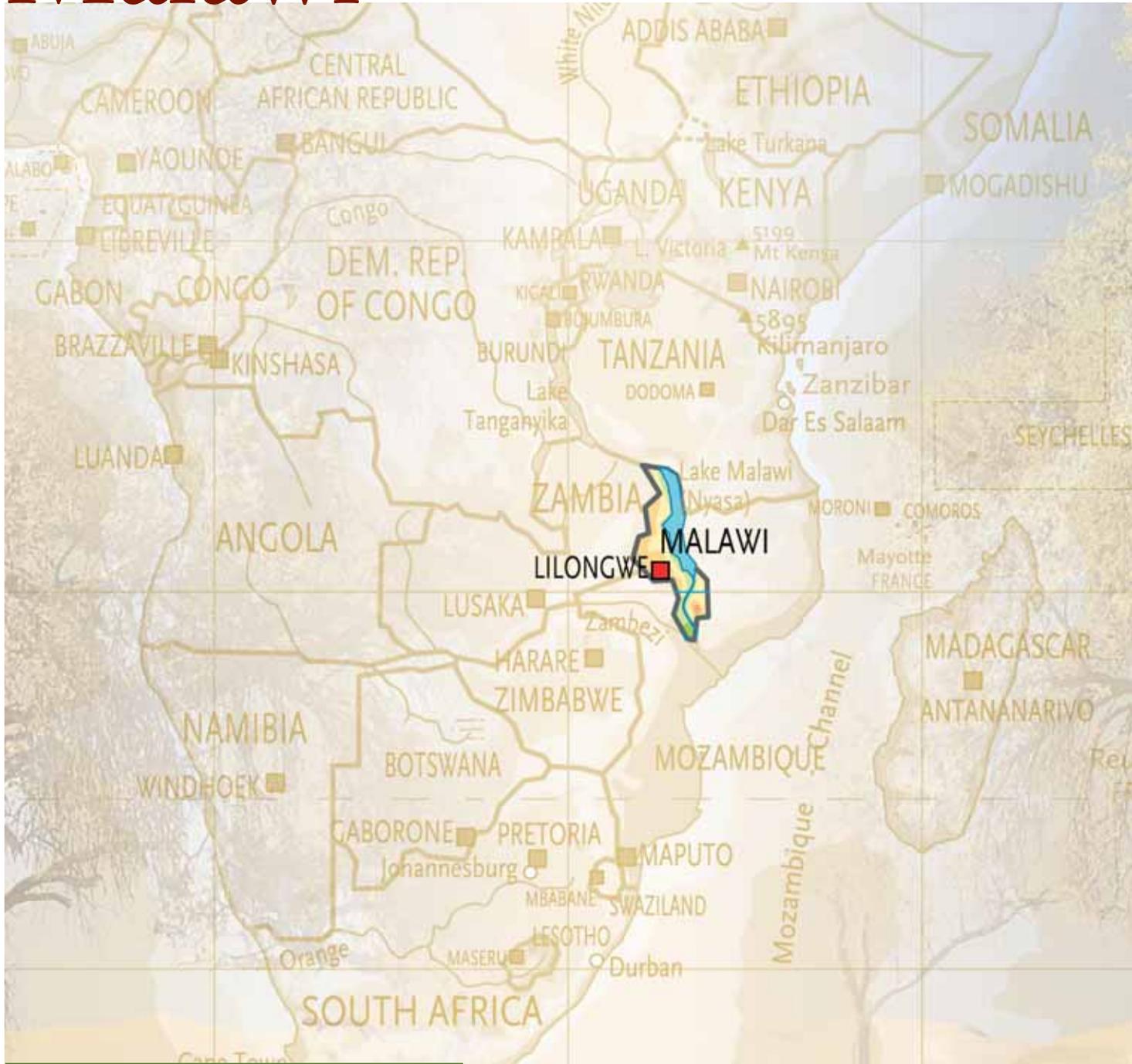
Strategic planning workshop DP

Partner: Political party DP
Description: Development of plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: CMD is waiting for an official request for funding. The strategic planning workshop will be held early in 2005

Strategic planning workshop of Ford-People

Partner: Political party Ford-P
Description: Strengthening of internal democratic structure as well as developing plans to prepare for the 2007 national elections
Result: Ford-People signed its contract for the strategic planning workshop; the workshop will be held early January 2005

Malawi



Launch of the Malawi Centre for Multiparty Democracy

From 8 October until 10 October the Secretaries-General of the seven political parties represented in Parliament held a strategic planning workshop to reinvigorate the Multiparty Committee and to reach an agreement on the list of priorities in the cross-party programme for the coming years. The workshop resulted in the founding of the Malawi Centre for Multiparty Democracy. This combined initiative of the parliamentarian parties in Malawi has set six areas of priority for the coming years, such as tackling constitutional inadequacies, enhancing active inter-party dialogue and challenging voter apathy.



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Context

National elections were held in Malawi in April 2004. The ever crucial run-up to the elections met with criticism, although generally the elections were considered free and fair. The ruling party, the United Democratic Front (UDF), took the presidency under flag bearer Mr Bingu Wa Mutharika. Significantly, the UDF gained fewer parliamentary seats than did the main opposition party, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). The UDF subsequently formed a ruling majority with the Republican Party (RP), the Alliance for Democracy (Aford), the Movement for Genuine Democratic Change (Mgode), and a group of independents. This coalition demonstrates the fluidity of the political party landscape in Malawi, first and foremost based on immediate and future spoils.

President Bingu was handpicked by former president Muluzi, now UDF chairman, allegedly for lack of a constituency within the UDF. This would allow former president Muluzi to continue to exert influence beyond his mandate. It did not come as a surprise after the elections that this resulted in two foci of power within the UDF: The Bingu camp and the Muluzi camp. President Bingu's tough stand on corruption has rocked the boat within his party, and several top politicians have been arrested. He has attempted to separate party and government business so as to minimize the influence of his predecessor. Between April and December President Bingu demonstrated his capacity to follow an independent course. The succession of leadership according to constitutional procedure and democratic practice poses serious challenges for consolidating multiparty democracy in Malawi, as it does in some other countries in the region, such as Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Namibia.

A slow process of reviewing the Constitution gained momentum after the elections. Views on desired

Elections in Malawi were held on 20 May 2004.



changes were solicited from civil society, the churches and the political parties. This process will continue in 2005.

Programme framework

Fluidity of the party landscape characterized the Malawi programme in 2004. Before the elections, the programme consisted of a strong bilateral and a modest joint-party programme. Following the elections, an IMD review mission concluded in July 2004 that a cool-down period of several months without bilateral activities was essential. Indeed, considerable political manoeuvring took place during this period. The mission further concluded that a stronger focus on the political system was desirable, given the fluidity mentioned earlier. Hence, priority was given to re-modelling the cross-party modes of cooperation to further enhance ownership, bring the top brass fully on board and develop a full-fledged joint-action plan. The result was a common strategic plan drawn up by the main political parties in October 2004 and the establishment of the 'Malawi Centre for Multiparty Democracy' (MCMD). The first common activities were implemented in December 2004. Bilateral activities did not take place after the elections, although these are expected to be resumed in 2005.

Content objectives and activities

The activities in Malawi in the first period of 2004 mainly focused on preparing the parties for the elections of April 2004. The parties focused most of their individual activities on training party monitors, while in the cross-party area the IMD, together with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) organized candidate debates at the constituency level. An important part of these debates was the Code of Conduct, formulated by the parties during an IMD-sponsored workshop on political violence in November 2003. In addition, the Multiparty Committee (MPC), the inter-party collaborative initiative, carried out its leadership training.

After the elections, the IMD decided to put the programme on hold during its review. After this, the programme started again with a focus on cross-party activities, especially those related to reviving the inter-party dialogue. This resulted in setting up the successor to the MPC, the MCMD. In October this cooperative effort by seven parliamentarian parties developed a long-term strategic plan to be implemented in the coming years.

Process objectives and activities

The inter-party dialogue in Malawi was initiated in April 2003 during a meeting of five political parties with the IMD. Since then this dialogue has been continued by the parties themselves, something that proved difficult in the run-up to the elections. Still, after the elections the parties prioritized the institutionalization of the inter-party dialogue, which resulted in the foundation of the MCMD.

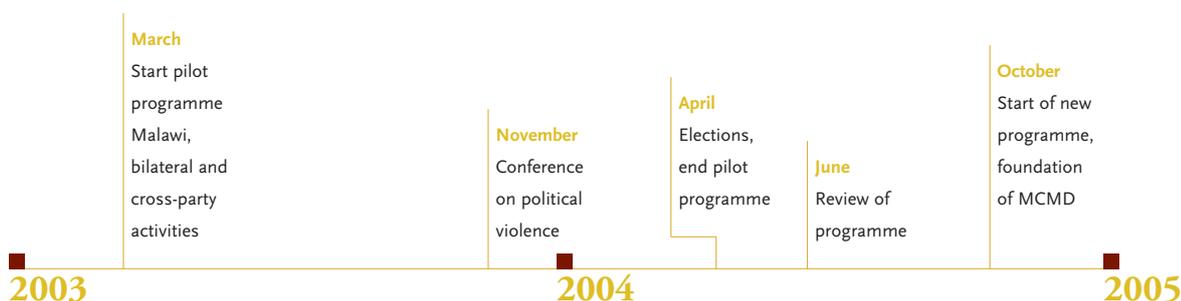
Programme support

Since November 2003 the IMD has contracted a local consultant, Mr. Kizito Tenthani, for four days a week. He operates from an IMD office in Lilongwe. The responsibilities of the consultant are implementing activities, monitoring, collaborating with other organizations, and analyzing political developments. The IMD has no partner institution in Malawi but cooperates regularly with organizations such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, the NDI, the IRI, and the University of Malawi in Zomba.

Lessons learned

The IMD is concluding its pilot phase in Malawi with a much more profound understanding of what is happening on the ground and what the strengths and weaknesses of the various partners are. The review showed that more pre-investment in political parties is required to enhance the performance in the bilateral programme.

Time Indicator



Summary of programme activities

<h3>MARCH</h3> <p>Capacity-building project <i>Partner:</i> National Democratic Alliance <i>Description:</i> Awareness meetings on the principles of NDA <i>Result:</i> Meetings organized covering a total of twenty districts</p>	<h3>APRIL</h3> <p>Training monitors at the local level <i>Partner:</i> Malawi Congress party <i>Description:</i> Training 8,000 election monitors from more than 4,000 polling centres <i>Results:</i> Local monitors brought together and strengthened their technical capacity, particularly in monitoring democratic processes such as an election</p>	<p>Public discussions on political violence <i>Partner:</i> Lilongwe Press Club <i>Description:</i> Three public meetings in the country's three regions at which leaders of the country's major political parties took turns speaking against political violence before an audience of members of the general public and the press <i>Result:</i> A contribution to conflict prevention at a regional level</p>	
<p>Training of political leaders on democracy <i>Partners:</i> Multiparty committee, University of Malawi <i>Description:</i> Leaders from ten registered political parties invited to attend and participate in the training workshops <i>Result:</i> Sixty political leaders trained in democracy</p>		<p>March - April Citizen advocacy forums <i>Partners:</i> The National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute <i>Description:</i> Discussions between parliamentary candidates at a constituency level <i>Result:</i> Inter-party discussions held in seventeen constituencies</p>	<h3>OCTOBER</h3> <p>Strategic planning workshop for parties in Malawi <i>Partners:</i> University of Malawi, the Malawian parliamentary parties <i>Description:</i> Training session on the techniques of strategic planning and a discussion on inter-party dialogue <i>Result:</i> The foundation of the Malawi Centre for Multiparty Democracy and a cross-party strategic plan for the coming five years</p>
	<p>February-April Training election monitors and monitoring/tallying at elections <i>Partner:</i> Malawi Forum for Unity and Development <i>Description:</i> Training election monitors <i>Results:</i> A total of 1,050 trained monitors in the twenty-one districts where Mafunde had fielded a candidate</p>	<p>Election monitoring programme <i>Partners:</i> The Republican Party, the People's Progressive Movement and the People's Transformation Party <i>Description:</i> Training session and fielding of election monitors <i>Results:</i> A total of 8,000 monitors trained</p>	

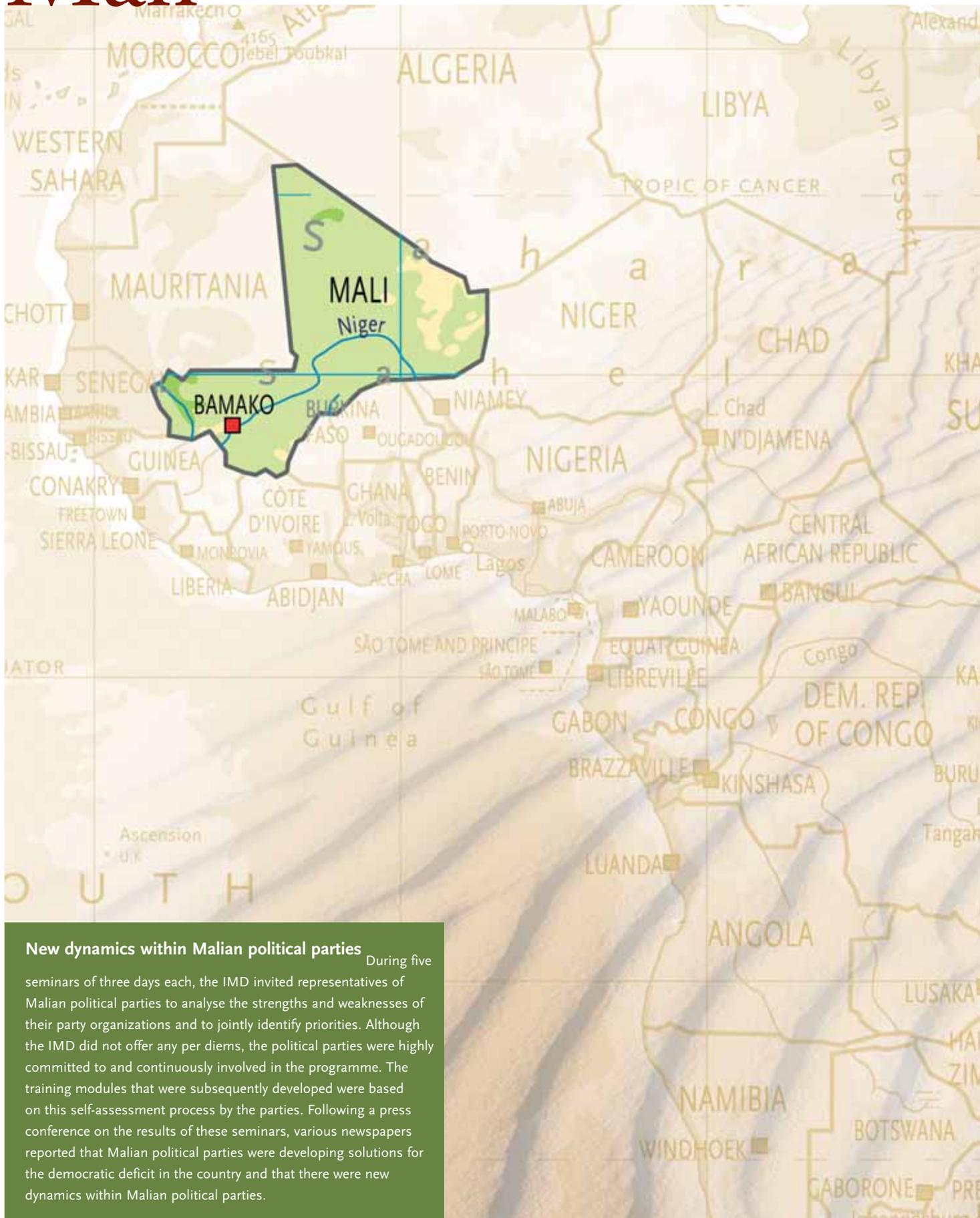
Another lesson learned during the pilot phase was that working in a rapidly changing political party landscape requires clear selection criteria for the inclusion of new partners.

As it is too early to speak of a coherent cross-party programme, it is recommended that the political parties working together in the MCMD develop a longer-term agenda, moving away from a too narrow perspective on elections only and focusing more on the question of what the IMD cross-party

programme could contribute to the discussions on issues concerning the national political agenda and the development of joint capacity-building activities to prepare for or complement bilateral activities.

It is rewarding to note that the political parties have sensed a positive change in their interaction since working together in the MCMD. 'It is now easier for us to discuss the political crises and we have stopped throwing tear gas at each other.'

Mali



New dynamics within Malian political parties

During five seminars of three days each, the IMD invited representatives of Malian political parties to analyse the strengths and weaknesses of their party organizations and to jointly identify priorities. Although the IMD did not offer any per diems, the political parties were highly committed to and continuously involved in the programme. The training modules that were subsequently developed were based on this self-assessment process by the parties. Following a press conference on the results of these seminars, various newspapers reported that Malian political parties were developing solutions for the democratic deficit in the country and that there were new dynamics within Malian political parties.



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Discussion on the major axes of the programme with Malian political parties

Context

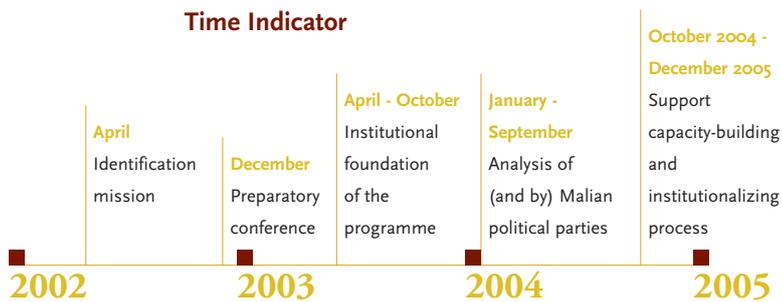
The communal elections in May were an important event in Mali. The (fluid) coalitions that dominate Malian politics at the national level (Espoir 2002, ARD and ACC-Indépendants) are not always visible at the local level, where a large number of alliances were established prior to the elections. With 43% of the electorate taking part in the elections, Malian democracy saw an increase in voter participation. However, the widespread phenomenon of people buying their place on a list remains a serious problem in this respect. Notwithstanding a number of protests against the final results, the elections are being regarded as free and fair. In a number of localities (Bamako V, San, and Kignan), the results were successfully contested.

Malian democracy remains characterized by a high level of party fragmentation. Although formally over ninety-five political parties are registered, an IMD-supported identification study noted only sixty-two parties that filled in the identification form. In the end thirty political parties actively participated in the IMD-sponsored seminar cycle (see below). The disadvantage of the high level of party fragmentation for the consolidation of democracy was one of the important subjects debated by representatives of political parties, civil society organizations, and citizens throughout the country in 2004.

A national consensus movement supporting the president dominates Malian politics, with only few parties claiming an opposition role. After turbulent years of opposition alliances boycotting the elections in the late nineties, the current situation shows a certain political stability while at the same time providing at least some checks and balances in the political system. Apart from the great number of secessions that characterized Malian politics during the last decade, a number of efforts towards coalition-building have recently been undertaken by political parties.

To assist in the fight against corruption, President Amadou Toumani Touré initiated the creation of a *Verificateur de Compte*, a new agency to control the Government's expenditures. The application of this originally Canadian model could have clear advantages in terms of financial transparency in the short run, but also has the disadvantage of bypassing or overlapping existing Government institutions responsible for financial inspections.





Programme framework

The IMD programme structure, in which the IMD collaborated with the Centre Djoliba, an Advisory Council, and a Steering Committee, was elaborated in 2004. Both internal struggles within the Steering Committee and a clear indication by the director of the Centre Djoliba that the IMD programme weighed too heavily on the Centre and its personnel required the IMD to change the institutional basis of the programme during the second half of 2004. A more autonomous structure was set up. In this structure, the Steering Committee was replaced by a modest technical programme management team. The NGO Forum Civique was selected as a legal partner.

With respect to content, the IMD programme continues to evolve logically. After the Malian political parties with some organizational capacity had been identified, the parties were provided the resources to analyse various aspects of their organization. Based on this analysis, training materials were developed that should reinforce the capacity-building and institutionalization processes within the political parties.

Content objectives and activities

A key objective of the IMD programme continued to be the elaboration of detailed training materials to strengthen political parties in terms of (i) financial management, (ii) party programme, (iii) conflict resolution, (iv) communication, and (v) internal organization. During a series of five seminars (of three days each), representatives of political parties analysed their party organization with respect to these themes. The training materials were subsequently developed by Malian experts and reviewed by the Dutch Royal Tropical Institute (KIT).

Furthermore, debates between representatives of political parties, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and citizens in eight regional capitals covered topics such as (i) reasons for creating a political party, (ii) democratic procedures and cultures within political parties, and (iii) roles and responsibilities of political parties during elections.

During the last two months of 2004, preparations were finalized for a series of debates between senior politicians on various aspects of the future of Malian democracy. Apart from that, possibilities for exchanging experiences between political parties in the West African region were explored.

Finally, a Malian delegation participated in an international forum on Islam and Democracy in Istanbul, Turkey.

Process objectives and activities

Throughout 2004, the IMD supported the Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of political parties, to ensure a high level of ownership of the programme by the main actors themselves. After the analysis phase of the programme had been completed, the mandate of the Steering Committee came to an end during the second half of 2004. The Advisory Council is now in the process of forming a board of political parties that will work closely together with the newly recruited, modest (and technical) management team.

Besides these Malian partners, the IMD maintained relationships with international institutions such as the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

Programme support

During the first half of the year, the IMD programme was mainly developed by the Steering Committee in close dialogue with the IMD. After its mandate came to an end, the Advisory Council agreed upon the creation of a technical project management team to develop the future outlines of the IMD programme based on the results achieved.

Within the IMD Mali Country Team, an external Dutch expert with significant working experience in Mali continued to provide support to the programme.

Lessons learned

One important lesson learned concerns the added value of making Malian political parties responsible for analysing various aspects of their own organizations. The training materials subsequently elaborated thus became truly tailor-made and adapted to the day-to-day reality the parties face. However, more time should have been (and will be) spent on the party-specific diagnosis, as parties are naturally reluctant to present their weaknesses in the presence of other parties.

A second significant lesson learned relates to the (direct) communication with Malian political parties. Despite the Advisory Council being composed of party representatives, a number of politicians were not sufficiently informed about the institutional changes within the programme, changes approved by this Council. Therefore, both the project management team and IMD missions will intensify bilateral meetings with the parties.

Summary of programme activities

JANUARY

Workshop to validate the results of previous activities

Partners: Steering Committee and Advisory Council.

Description: Summarize and formally accept results of the 2003 programme and first half of the 2004 programme

Result: Clear mandate for the Steering Committee by the Malian political parties to execute their envisaged activities during the first half of 2004

FEBRUARY

Three-day seminar on resource management within political parties

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: Enabling political parties to jointly discuss various challenges of main concern
Result: Practical information on the strengths and weaknesses of Malian political parties in the field of resource management and a set of joint priorities that provide the basis for future training materials (activities)

Three-day seminar on party manifestos and programme

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: Enabling political parties to jointly discuss various challenges of main concern
Result: Practical information on the strengths and weaknesses of Malian political parties in this field and a set of joint priorities that provide the basis for training materials

MARCH

Three-day seminar on conflict resolution

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: Enabling political parties to jointly discuss various challenges of main concern
Result: Practical information on the strengths and weaknesses of Malian political parties in this field and a set of joint priorities that provide the basis for training materials

Three-day seminar on various aspects of party organization

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: Enabling political parties to jointly discuss various issues of common concern
Result: Practical information on the strengths and weaknesses of Malian political parties in this field and a set of joint priorities that provide the basis for training materials

APRIL

Three-day seminar on internal and external communication

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: Enabling political parties to jointly discuss various challenges of main concern
Result: Practical information on the strengths and weaknesses of Malian political parties in this field and a set of joint priorities that provide the basis for training materials

February - July

Public debates in each regional capital

Partner: Steering Committee
Description: The topics that were debated concerned the reasons for creating a political party, internal democracy, and the roles and responsibilities of political parties during elections
Result: Information on aspects of Malian democracy as it is envisaged in the various regions of the country

JULY

Press Conference

Partner: Steering Committee
Content: The results of the activities executed during the first half of 2004 were presented to fourteen newspapers, ten radio stations, and one national television station
Result: A larger audience became informed of the IMD programme. The tenor of the coverage proved to be very positive, with headlines such as 'The actors propose solutions' or 'A new dynamic within political parties'

SEPTEMBER

Development of major axes of the future IMD programme

Partners: Temporary project manager and former president of the Steering Committee
Description: Based on the results of the first half year (diagnosis of the state of Malian political parties), the major axes of the IMD programme until December 2005 were identified
Result: A tailor-made support programme to enforce the capacity-building process and the institutionalization of Malian political parties

October - December

Development of training modules

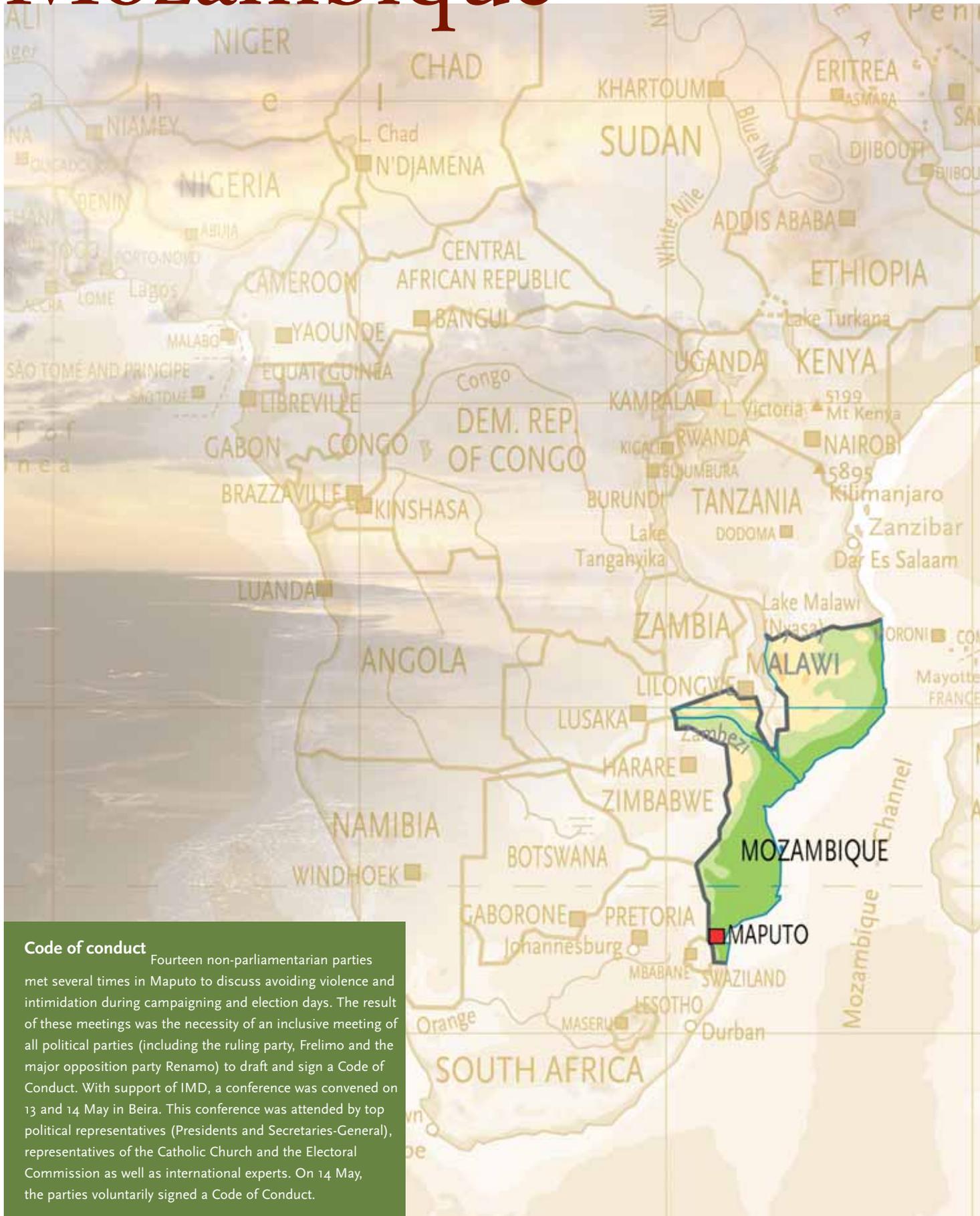
Partners: Project manager, external communication expert, Malian trainers and the Royal Tropical Institute (Amsterdam)
Description: Five training modules were developed based on the seminar results
Result: Tailor-made training materials to enforce Malian political parties' views on five important domains

NOVEMBER

Working visit to Burkina Faso

Partners: Project manager and former president of the Steering Committee
Description: Examine possibilities for exchanges between political parties in the West African region
Result: Insight into the (national) programme of the NDI and the (international) programme of International IDEA, presentation of the IMD Mali programme to the political parties in Burkina Faso, and identification of a number of possible themes to be discussed during regional exchanges

Mozambique



Code of conduct

Fourteen non-parliamentarian parties met several times in Maputo to discuss avoiding violence and intimidation during campaigning and election days. The result of these meetings was the necessity of an inclusive meeting of all political parties (including the ruling party, Frelimo and the major opposition party Renamo) to draft and sign a Code of Conduct. With support of IMD, a conference was convened on 13 and 14 May in Beira. This conference was attended by top political representatives (Presidents and Secretaries-General), representatives of the Catholic Church and the Electoral Commission as well as international experts. On 14 May, the parties voluntarily signed a Code of Conduct.



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Context

Multiparty democracy in Mozambique is young, just twelve years old, with the third presidential and parliamentary elections having been held in December 2004. As in the two previous general elections, the democratic battle was between the ruling party FRELIMO (*Frente da Libertação de Moçambique*) and the former rebel movement RENAMO (*Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana*). The winner of the presidential elections was the sixty-two-year-old Armando Emilio Guebuza, Secretary-General of the ruling party FRELIMO. He won by 2 million votes (64%) to the 1 million (32%) for the runner-up Afonso Dhlakama of RENAMO. The Constitutional Council also proclaimed FRELIMO the winner of the parliamentary election, with 160 seats as opposed to 90 for the RENAMO-Electoral Union coalition, but this was contested by RENAMO. The smaller non-parliamentary parties did not win any seats in Parliament because of the 5% threshold.

Similar to the previous general elections, the December 2004 elections caused considerable political tension and controversy. The pre-election process was marked by serious political and practical problems. The National Elections Commission and the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat were not regarded as politically neutral. According to RENAMO, both organizations favoured FRELIMO. Voter registration was concluded too late, and there were many mistakes in merging the three previous voter registrations and in computerizing the final version.

During the election days 'serious irregularities [...] occurred, some of them of a criminal nature', as the Constitutional Council put it, referring to abuses such as stuffing the ballot box or the invalidating of votes by adding an extra ink mark on the ballot paper. Moreover, some polling stations' result sheets

Dutch MPs visit
IMD Office in
Maputo



were reported missing or stolen. Consequently, more than 5% of the result sheets of the polling stations were excluded from the parliamentary and presidential count – the same percentage as in the previous elections.

International election observers had limited access to the counting of the votes. This reinforced the impression that these elections were not fully ‘free and fair’. However, the irregularities and mistakes were not serious enough to change the overall outcome. Nevertheless, RENAMO complained that the distribution of seats in Parliament should be changed with two seats in favour of RENAMO – an issue not yet resolved.

There are two other points of concern with regard to democratization in Mozambique. One of these is the fact that, as in the former elections, the smaller opposition parties did not manage to win seats in Parliament. The weakness of these parties allows the de facto two-party political system to persist. The other point of concern is the fact that these elections had the lowest turnout ever (36%). The youth in particular did not exercise their right to vote. These non-voters, it seems, do not believe that voting makes any difference. This belief and the fact that issues important to the youth (such as housing, scholarships, and employment) were not addressed during the campaigns resulted in a dismal turnout of young voters.

Programme framework

The IMD programme in Mozambique includes bilateral projects and cross-party projects. The bilateral projects are projects of the parties and executed by the parties. Each party can submit proposals for activities to strengthen the party’s organization. The IMD’s system of drawing rights defines different categories of political parties. The categorization, based on criteria such as election results, organizational capacity, and accountability, stipulates a maximum budget for each party.

As 2004 was an election year, the IMD’s cross-party projects focused on training party cadres for the elections. An exception was the project for the young politicians in Mozambican youth organizations.

Content objectives and activities

The IMD made drawing rights available for the parties to finance activities that aimed to strengthen the organization and to inform and train the party cadre. The parties focused mainly on strengthening themselves in preparing for the general elections. They organized regional conferences and seminars

on the procedures of selecting candidates, campaigning and communication strategy, and overall electoral procedures. Of the twenty-one parties that could make use of the IMD’s drawing rights, 13 parties participated in 2004.

To foster democracy in the parties, the IMD paid special attention to the aspirations of the youth. The fact that a significant number of young voters did not exercise their right to vote during the general elections reconfirmed the need to involve the young in political decision-making. In cooperation with the Mozambican umbrella-organization *Conselho Nacional da Juventude* (National Youth Council - CNJ), three regional conferences were organized. The result was that more than a hundred young political party members improved their political skills and discussed common strategies.

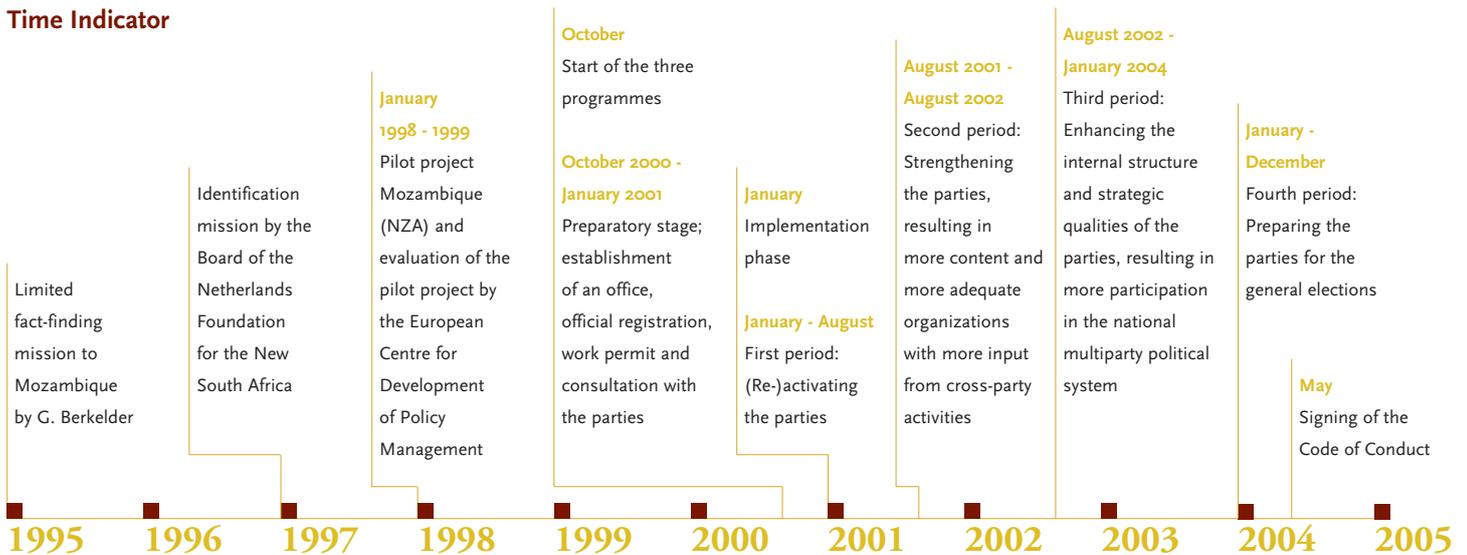
The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the IMD co-organized several regional training sessions for the party monitors of voter registration and for the party monitors at the polling stations during election day. The IMD decided to actively support this because well-informed party monitors can contribute to building trust between the parties and easing tensions during elections. The training sessions were conducted for three separate groups: FRELIMO monitors, RENAMO monitors and monitors from the other parties. The subject of the training sessions was ‘rules, regulations and procedures’ relevant for monitoring registration and voting.

For the first time in the history of Mozambique, all major political parties developed and signed a Code of Conduct, a process facilitated by the IMD. This Code of Conduct was an initiative of the opposition parties who successfully challenged both FRELIMO and RENAMO to sign the code. The Code of Conduct received a great deal of attention in the media, and leaflets were printed to increase publicity. Furthermore, the Constitutional Council and the Chairman of the National Elections Commission received visits from a group of 21 political parties. Both events were fully covered by television, radio, and the major newspapers. Political parties and donor organizations in Mozambique consider this Code of Conduct a very promising contribution to the process of peaceful elections.

Process objectives and activities

A computer service and resource centre was managed at the IMD office in Maputo during the year. The smaller non-parliamentary parties made good use of this computer service centre, which they

Time Indicator



visited regularly. Representatives of the political parties could use the computers to communicate within their party and to access the internet. In addition they could write their papers for the party and get information from the literature available at the centre.

Prior to the elections, the IMD organized a discussion meeting between political parties and international observers at the IMD office in Maputo. The objective was to inform the observers about the political situation outside Maputo. It was appreciated not only by the international observers but also by the political parties. The IMD will continue these political discussion meetings to contribute to a culture of cross-party debate in Mozambique.

A first attempt was made to establish a Mozambican Advisory Board. In addition, ownership was strengthened by the fact that the Mozambican Programme Officer is now in charge of the programme in Mozambique.

Programme support

Some cross-party plans, such as the public election-debates, were not implemented, due to a number of factors, including the change of staff at the Maputo office. Other factors were a less than optimal recruitment of a temporary officer to deal with the cross-party activities and the lack of opportunities for collaborative efforts with donor organizations.

In 2004 it was necessary to make the official institutional change of the Foundation for a New South Africa (NZA) to the IMD. Much time was required to address the bureaucratic procedures and solve the day-to-day problems caused by this change.

Lessons learned

It was the first time the IMD witnessed a general election in Mozambique. Expectations about the activities of the political parties turned out to be too optimistic: smaller political parties did not become more active during election time. The low level of voter turnout at the elections is a telling sign of the electorate's lack of confidence in the performance of the political system. The IMD will invite its counterparts to analyze the functioning of the political system and to identify areas of concern that need to be addressed.

The current electoral system is also not conducive to participation by smaller parties because of the very high threshold, thus turning Mozambique into a two-party political system. This rewards polarization rather than accommodation and reconciliation. In addition, the politicized nature and lack of independent professionalism of the electoral machinery creates unnecessary tensions about the legitimacy of the outcome of the elections and needs to be addressed to avoid renewed conflict about the electoral process.

It turned out that the largest extra parliamentary parties have more absorption capacity than do the smaller parties. When allocating drawing rights, a separate category for the largest non-parliamentary parties should be created.

The election results of all non-parliamentary parties were disappointing. Most of these parties also performed poorly in the local elections in 2003. It seems that their role in Mozambican democracy remains small because most of these parties did not grow. Because the future of these political parties is not promising, the IMD is reconsidering its support to most of them.

Summary of programme activities

JANUARY

November 2003 - January 2004

Drawing rights PALMO

Partner: Partido Liberal Moçambique (Liberal Party of Mozambique - PALMO)

Description: Seminar in the northern zone on strategic planning

Results: Party expanded at the grassroots level of the north; political manifesto and strategy for general elections were discussed

FEBRUARY

Drawing rights UDF

Partner: Partido Frente Democrática Unida (United Democratic Front - UDF)

Description: Seminar in the centre zone to prepare UDF members for the local elections

Results: UDF members trained for local elections

February - April

Drawing rights PANADE

Partner: Partido Nacional Democrático (National Democratic Party - PANADE)

Description: Meeting of the National Political Commission

Results: Revitalization of the internal structure by electing new provincial and national delegates

MARCH

March - April

Drawing rights PPPM

Partner: Partido do Progresso do Povo de Moçambique (The Progressive People's Party of Mozambique - PPPM)

Description: Cadre training
Results: 130 cadres trained

APRIL

April - June

Drawing rights PIMO

Partner: Partido Independente de Moçambique (Mozambiquan Independent Party - PIMO)

Description: Provincial seminars

Results: Party cadres made aware of the major changes in the electoral legislation and prepared to work pro-actively with the other parties in the municipalities

April - May

Cross-party training

Partners: Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) and Technical Secretariat of the Electoral Commission, (STAE)

Description: training sessions and materials, electoral process: monitoring registration, training in political communication

Results: All party monitors trained all over the country to enhance participation in the registration process. Eight seminars held at the provincial level with the delegates of all districts

MAY

Cross-party training

Partners: National political parties – twenty-one parties, including FRELIMO and RENAMO-UE

Description: Discussion on democratic principles during the elections

Results: Preparation of the Code of Conduct for the elections

May - June

Drawing rights PT

Partner: Partido Trabalhista (Labour Party - PT)

Description: Seminars in the provinces about setting up party structures

Results: Party restructured and new delegates of selected districts and provinces elected

Cross-party training

Partners: Thirteen extra-parliamentary parties

Description: A follow-up of the conference held earlier in May to present the Code of Conduct to the public

Results: Code of Conduct publicly presented, with full commitment from the signatories and endorsed by the civil society

JUNE

Drawing rights RENAMO

Partner: RENAMO-UE

Description: Training party monitors
Results: Three regional seminars, facilitated by those party monitors trained by IMD/AWEPA regarding the registration process

Drawing rights UDF

Partner: UDF

Description: Meeting of the National Council

Results: Electoral manifesto endorsed and strategy defined for active participation in the coalition

June - July

Drawing rights PANAOC

Partner: Partido Nacional de Operários e Camponeses (National Workers and Farmers' Party - PANAOC)

Description: Transport to the provinces for training seminars
Results: Party cells at the local level in seven provinces revitalized

Drawing rights PEC

Partner: Partido Ecologista – Movimento Terra (Ecological Party-Earth Movement - PEC-MT)

Description: Preparation for the elections, further discussions on development of the party and consensus on the participation in coalition for the elections
Results: Analysis of failure in the local elections, reactivation of structure and motivation of cadres for the general elections

JULY

Drawing rights PRD

Partner: Partido Renovador Democrático (Democratic Reform Party - PRD)
Description: Cadre training sessions for the elections
Results: Electoral manifesto and strategy for general elections within the coalition. Party cadres accepted the new electoral legislation

July - August

Drawing rights PACODE

Partner: Partido do Congresso Democrático (Democratic Congress Party - PACODE)
Description: Seminar on capacity-building for 364 people and supply of material
Results: Ideology of party expanded at local level and existing cells revitalized

Youth Programme

Partner: Conselho Nacional da Juventude (National Youth Council - CNJ)
Description: Seminars in the provinces to train the younger members of the political parties
Results: Three seminars were held in the north and central regions; politicians were mobilised and trained to participate actively in the electoral process

Cross-party training

Partners: This training session was proposed to five political parties plus two new ones
Description: Facilitate the political parties and IMD staff in a computerized search of Mozambican law
Results: Fifteen members of political parties trained; three IMD staff also benefited from being trained in computer searches of Mozambican laws

August - October

Drawing rights RENAMO

Partner: RENAMO-UE
Description: Training party monitors
Results: Candidates for elections selected and party restructured at district and provincial levels

May - August

Drawing rights PANAMO

Partner: Partido Nacional de Moçambique (National Party of Mozambique - PANAMO)
Description: Training party cadre
Results: Candidates for provincial elections selected and electoral manifesto discussed

August - September

Drawing rights FRELIMO

Partner: FRELIMO
Description: Refresher course for provincial trainers
Results: Party cadres from provincial levels trained in electoral matters

Drawing rights FRELIMO

Partner: FRELIMO
Description: Training provincial secretaries and speakers
Results: Leadership capacities of First Secretaries strengthened

AUGUST

Cross-party training session

Partners: Representatives of political parties, civil society and the media
Description: Nine mini-seminars to disseminate the Code of Conduct
Results: Code of Conduct, widely regarded as an important instrument to avoid electoral conflicts during general elections, disseminated at the provincial level

NOVEMBER

Drawing rights PT

Partner: PT
Description: Training candidates
Results: Party monitors from eight provinces prepared for electoral process

Cross-party training session

Partner: Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)
Description: Strengthen the parties and inform and train the party cadre
Results: Candidates for the national assembly, of different parties in the south, trained and prepared for political collaboration

October - November

Drawing rights UNAMO

Partner: União Nacional Moçambique (National Union of Mozambique -UNAMO)
Description: National seminar for the general elections
Results: Electoral manifesto elaborated

Drawing rights PUN

Partner: Partido Unidade Nacional (National Unity Party - PUN)
Description: National seminar to strengthen the party organization and to inform and train the party cadre
Results: Possible election results analysed and the position of the party in the coalition defined

Drawing rights ALIMO

Partner: Aliança Independente de Moçambique (Independent Alliance of Mozambique - ALIMO)
Description: Training election observers and candidates
Results: Report not yet received

Awepa/Renamo Cross-party training session

Partner: Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)
Description: To realize a programme to strengthen the RENAMO party and to inform and train the party cadre
Results: Renamo party monitors in the northern region capable of monitoring the processes of voting and counting

Awepa/other parties' cross-party training

Partner: Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)
Description: To realize a programme to strengthen the smaller parties and to inform and train the party cadres
Results: Some monitors from smaller parties in the north trained in voting and counting

South Africa



Ten Years after Apartheid

IMD's President, Prof Dr J.A. van Kemenade, attended the launch of the IMD/IDASA/CPS co-production *Southern Africa, Ten Years after Apartheid. The Quest for Democratic Governance* in Cape Town on 1 October 2004. The representatives of political parties attending the launch included high-level representatives of the ANC (Kader Asmal, Job Sithole – chair of the foreign affairs portfolio committee in the Parliament –, and Raymond Suttner). After presenting the book Mr. van Kemenade delivered a speech on the importance of democratic systems for socio-economic development and for society in general. He discussed how the South African experience of establishing a democratic system could be a goldmine for the region.



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Context

The big winner of the third general election in South Africa, held in April 2004, was the ANC. With a turnout of 76% at the elections and almost 70% of the votes, ANC now has more than two-third of the seats in Parliament and can make changes in the constitution. The main opposition party is the Democratic Alliance, with more than 12% of the votes. The ANC strengthened its position as the dominant party, and the opposition parties failed to provide alternatives attractive to the electorate. Moreover, the opposition parties are divided, often too busy fighting each other to offer any serious opposition to the ruling party.

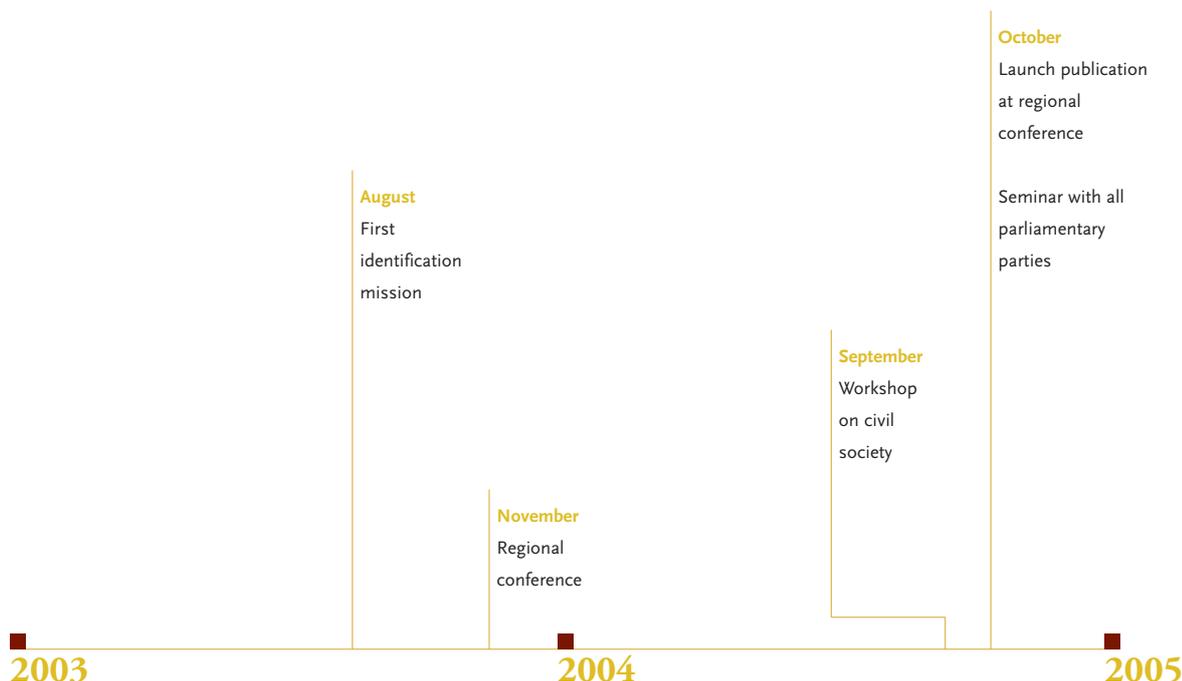
Although there have been many positive changes during the past decade of democratic rule, South Africa continues to face tremendous problems. The population has been decimated by the problem of HIV/Aids; many, especially black, South Africans still live below the poverty level; cities are growing fast, leaving the rural areas with insufficient means of existence; unemployment is increasing and the gap between rich and poor is widening.

Programme framework

In 2003, the IMD decided to re-establish its good relations with its South African partners and engage in consultations about the possibility of resuming cooperation. The first period of cooperation stretched from 1994 to 1999 and was initiated by the IMD's predecessor, the Foundation for a New South Africa (NZA). The emphasis of the programme was on assisting the political parties to organize themselves under the new democratic constitution. The new programme of cooperation aims to further strengthen the multiparty system by providing opportunities for inter-party dialogue. This programme is in developed in liason with the IMD's regional programmes in East and Southern Africa.



Time Indicator



In November 2003 the IMD first co-hosted a regional conference in South Africa entitled *Southern Africa, Ten Years after Apartheid. The Quest for Democratic Governance*. The development of a new framework for the South African programme took shape after the April general elections had taken place. Subsequently, an all-party seminar, attended by all South African parliamentary parties, was organized in September 2004 and facilitated by the Center for Policy Studies (CPS) in Cape Town. The parties expressed an urgent need for debate and for an impartial forum where discussions could be held on issues of common interest. This meeting set the stage for a programme framework focusing on discussions between the different political parties. Because all the political parties considered the CPS to be an independent and knowledgeable facilitator of such debates, it will continue to act as a partner in this process.

Content objectives and activities

Assisted by the CPS, the IMD held meetings with the South African parties to discuss regional priority issues. With regard to the political situation in South Africa, the parties made clear that opposition parties find it hard to collaborate and that the relationship between the ruling party and the official opposition is tense. Although South Africans have reason to be proud of their achievements in making democracy work, they have expressed the need to reinforce critical and constructive debates between the different political parties to continue giving substance to the practice of democracy.

In addition to their national focus, the South African parties agreed to cooperate in the newly established Regional Multiparty Forum for East and Southern Africa and they have already participated in regional planning meetings. The issues discussed in the South African programme will be linked to the forthcoming regional debates and vice versa.

Process objectives and activities

In 2004 the IMD worked on strengthening relations with its partners in South Africa, including the political parties. Because of the IMD's history in this country (the work done by the NZA in the nineties), it was necessary to ensure that the partners understand the opportunities that the new programme offers. The IMD continued its cooperation with the CPS and the IDASA, both valuable South African resource institutions in the field of democracy. It also invited local and regional civil society organizations to give feedback on the national and the regional programmes, and it communicated regularly with other organizations in the field.

Programme support

During 2004, the IMD decided to widen the scope of the work of its representative in Maputo to cover the whole eastern and southern Africa region. The new IMD regional representative took office in September. For logistical reasons it was decided to relocate his office to Johannesburg, South Africa in December. In South Africa the IMD benefited from the network and experience of the CPS to facilitate

Summary of programme activities

<p>SEPTEMBER</p> <p>Workshop for local civil society organizations in Johannesburg <i>Partner:</i> The Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) <i>Description:</i> Introduce plans for regional programme to South African civil society organizations; invite them to provide input and feedback <i>Results:</i> Stronger awareness within civil society of the role parties play in consolidating multiparty democracy</p>	<p>OCTOBER</p> <p>Launch publication on last year's regional conference to representatives of South African political parties in Cape Town <i>Partners:</i> CPS and the Institute for Democratic Assistance in South Africa (IDASA) <i>Description:</i> Publication was launched and the plans for a regional IMD programme were presented <i>Results:</i> Enhanced support for a joint effort between the South African and the regional parties</p>	<p>Seminar with all parliamentary parties <i>Partner:</i> CPS <i>Description:</i> Party representatives discussed issues such as liberation movements and democratic transition in South Africa, and government and opposition in South Africa <i>Result:</i> South African parties recognized the importance of inter-party dialogue and supported the idea of further dialogue</p>

contacts and cooperation with the political parties and to edit and present the book *Southern Africa, Ten Years after Apartheid. The Quest for Democratic Governance*. In 2004, two IMD working missions were undertaken to South Africa. The IMD's president, Prof J.A. van Kemenade, who led the second mission, was present at the launch of the above-mentioned book in Cape Town and participated in the multiparty seminar in September.

Lessons learned

The interest in resuming cooperation between the South African political parties and the Dutch political parties through the IMD appears genuine, and the timing of a new programme in the wake of the third general elections in democratic South Africa seems appropriate. Democracy, never a finished product, requires continuous dialogue to ensure that it remains dynamic and its practice consolidated. Dialogue and an inclusive impartial approach by all legitimate parties across the governing - opposition divide will remain the hallmark of the IMD's cooperation.

Tanzania



The regional conference 'Enhancing the quality of democracy' in Tanzania

From 25 to 26 November 2004,

the IMD convened a regional conference on 'Enhancing the Quality of Democracy; Deepening Political Party Cooperation throughout East and Southern Africa', attended by parties from Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa and the host, Tanzania. This was an important conference as it not only brought together top leaders from thirty-six leading opposition and ruling parties, but also made concrete steps forward in preparing to launch a regional programme and consolidate national programmes with the help of the IMD. The conference provided an opportunity for parties to share experiences about various issues, including the need to work together in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect while at the same time competing for office. Four areas of work were identified that form the basis of the future regional programme:

- The link between democracy and development
- Improving the quality of democracy
- Political parties, the building blocks of democracy
- Implementing the existing guidelines

These subjects will be prioritized and translated into an action plan in the course of 2005.



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Johannesburg

Context

The government of President Mkapa has successfully dismantled government control over large parts of the economy. His efforts to fight corruption have been praised, although corruption levels remain high. The media were liberalised on the mainland, contrasting with Zanzibar, where media remain state-controlled. Politically, the fraudulent Zanzibar elections of 2000 have caused continued unrest and violence. This finally resulted in a power sharing deal called *Muafaka II*, which has been only partly implemented.

The year 2004 can be considered the run-up period towards national elections that will be held in October 2005. Tanzania was rewarded by the IMF and the EU for its poverty reduction strategy. It signed a customs union protocol with Kenya and Uganda to boost the economy. By-elections in May and local elections in November did not significantly alter the political status quo dominated by the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (Revolutionary Party - CCM).

Discussions about a mixed proportional political system remain just that. The Electoral Commissions are still not fully independent and the permanent voter register remains a bone of contention. Members of the opposition parties allege to be frequently harassed and small opposition parties are disorganised. Progress in the democratic consolidation process is gradual at best. After the national elections in 2005, the IMD intends to consult its Tanzanian counterparts in a review of the democratic space and the options for the programme to contribute to consolidating multiparty democracy in Tanzania.

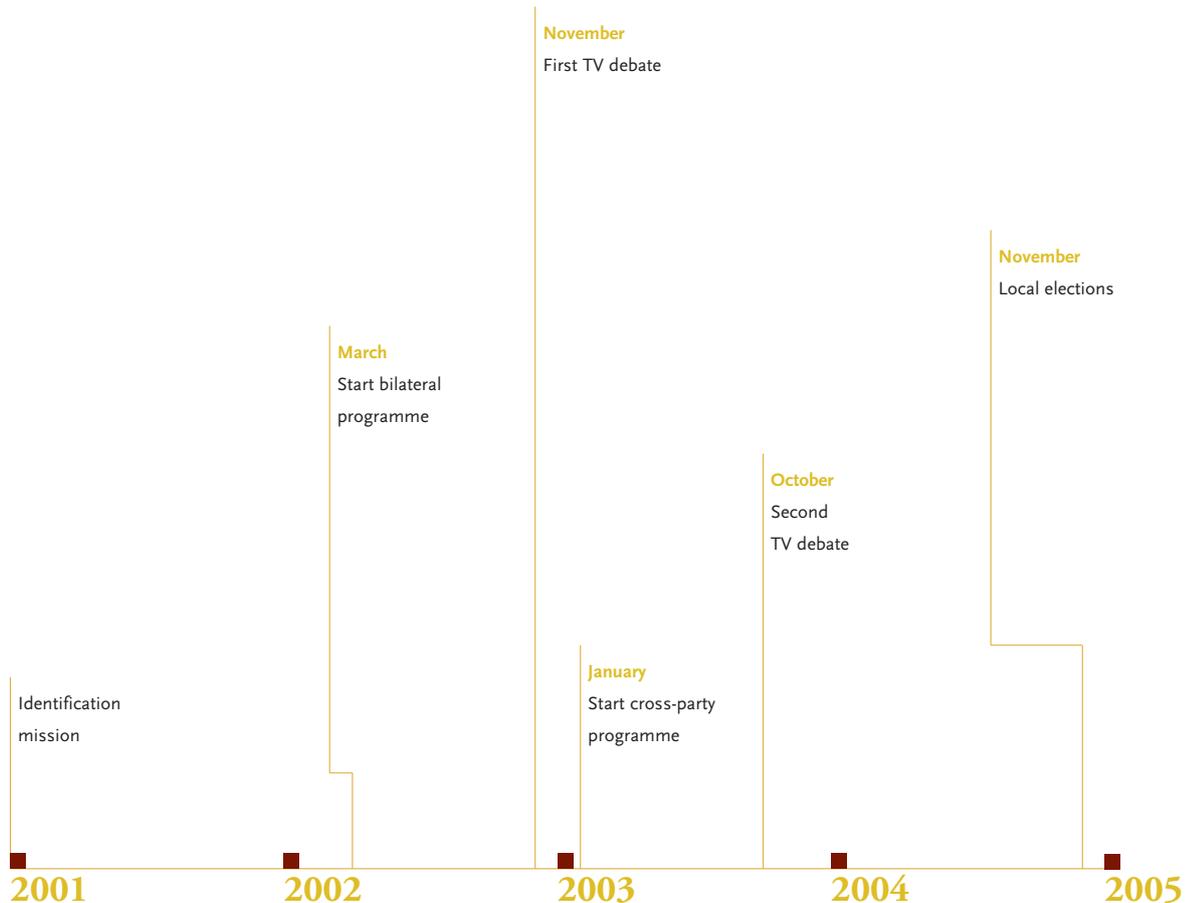
Programme framework

The difficult context meant rough sailing for the programme in 2004. Because the IMD's past

Regional
Conference



Time Indicator



activities focused too heavily on the bilateral programme, it now opted to shift the balance towards more joint activities. In fact, the IMD managed to facilitate several joint party meetings in 2004, a new phenomenon in Tanzania. However, deputies of the political leadership, seconded to the programme, had difficulties in communicating effectively with their leaders. These leaders were not well informed, and hence ownership of the programme was lacking. As a result, several planned activities were not realized. Towards the end of the year, the IMD concluded that the mode of cooperation needed review for the programme to bear more tangible fruit. In close collaboration with the leadership of the political parties, a new programme framework will be designed in the first months of 2005 to guide the activities for next year.

Content objectives and activities

In the bilateral programme, the CCM, Chadema (*Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* - Party of Democracy and Development) and the United Democratic Party (UDP) conducted new activities. In the course of 2004, the IMD introduced the performance-based system, which will be

effectuated in 2005. At the cross-party level, the IMD facilitated various activities, such as media and communication training sessions, a debate on electoral systems and a discussion between the political parties on the amendment of the Political Parties Act.

Process objectives and activities

There were some encouraging developments in the field of inter-party dialogue. In June the parties represented in Parliament (CCM, UDP, CHADEMA, the Tanzania Labour Party or TLP and the Civic United Front or CUF) resolved among other things to continue meeting and discuss issues of common interest. At a meeting convened by the IMD, the parties agreed to institutionalize a joint Forum where the parties can meet to debate issues of common interest. It was agreed at that meeting that there will be two committees, a Technical Committee composed of senior party officers responsible for preparing the agenda for the second committee, the Superior Meeting of Party Chairs and Secretaries General. Both committees met regularly in 2004 to discuss programme developments and issues of common interest.

Summary of programme activities

<h3>JANUARY</h3> <p>Media relations training session <i>Partner:</i> The Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA), the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNS) <i>Description:</i> Seminar about understanding the media and acquiring skills to improve and exploit their relationship with the media <i>Results:</i> Increased understanding of the media and politicians better equipped with the skills to improve and exploit their relationship with the media</p>		<h3>OCTOBER</h3> <p>Electoral systems <i>Partner:</i> PORIS <i>Description:</i> Workshop about different electoral systems with a focus on the African context and Tanzania in particular <i>Results:</i> A better understanding among the politicians of the opportunities and weaknesses of the various electoral systems</p>	<h3>NOVEMBER</h3> <p>Workshop on reporting and financial management <i>Partner:</i> CSIL/Haron & Co <i>Description:</i> Workshop on computing, financial, and narrative reporting skills <i>Results:</i> Better understanding of the basic computing, financial, and reporting skills</p>
	<h3>MARCH</h3> <p>March - August Training Trainers V; seminars in 29 districts <i>Partner:</i> CCM <i>Description:</i> Seminars for members of the executive committees in 29 districts <i>Results:</i> The CCM has a stronger and more coordinated network of leaders at the grassroots level and was thus capable of contesting and winning seats in the 2004 local elections and the general elections in 2005</p>	<p>October - December District leadership training <i>Partner:</i> Chadema <i>Description:</i> Training about the outreach of the party, exposure, and communication on key issues <i>Results:</i> 285 district leaders (chairs, district secretaries, youth coordinators, et cetera), trained in party outreach, exposure, communication, and on key issues in Chadema, particularly in the coming local elections and next year's national elections</p>	<h3>DECEMBER</h3> <p>Political Parties Act workshop <i>Partner:</i> Registrar for political parties <i>Description:</i> A two-day workshop to discuss this Act and implications of suggested amendments <i>Results:</i> A stronger involvement of the political parties and other stakeholders in developing constitutional amendments</p>

Programme support

The IMD works together with two consultants in Tanzania, Prof. A. Liviga and Mr. Audax Rwechungura. Furthermore, the IMD regularly collaborates with local partners such as PORIS (African International Group of Political Risk Analysis), the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Media Institute for Southern Africa and the Registrar for political parties.

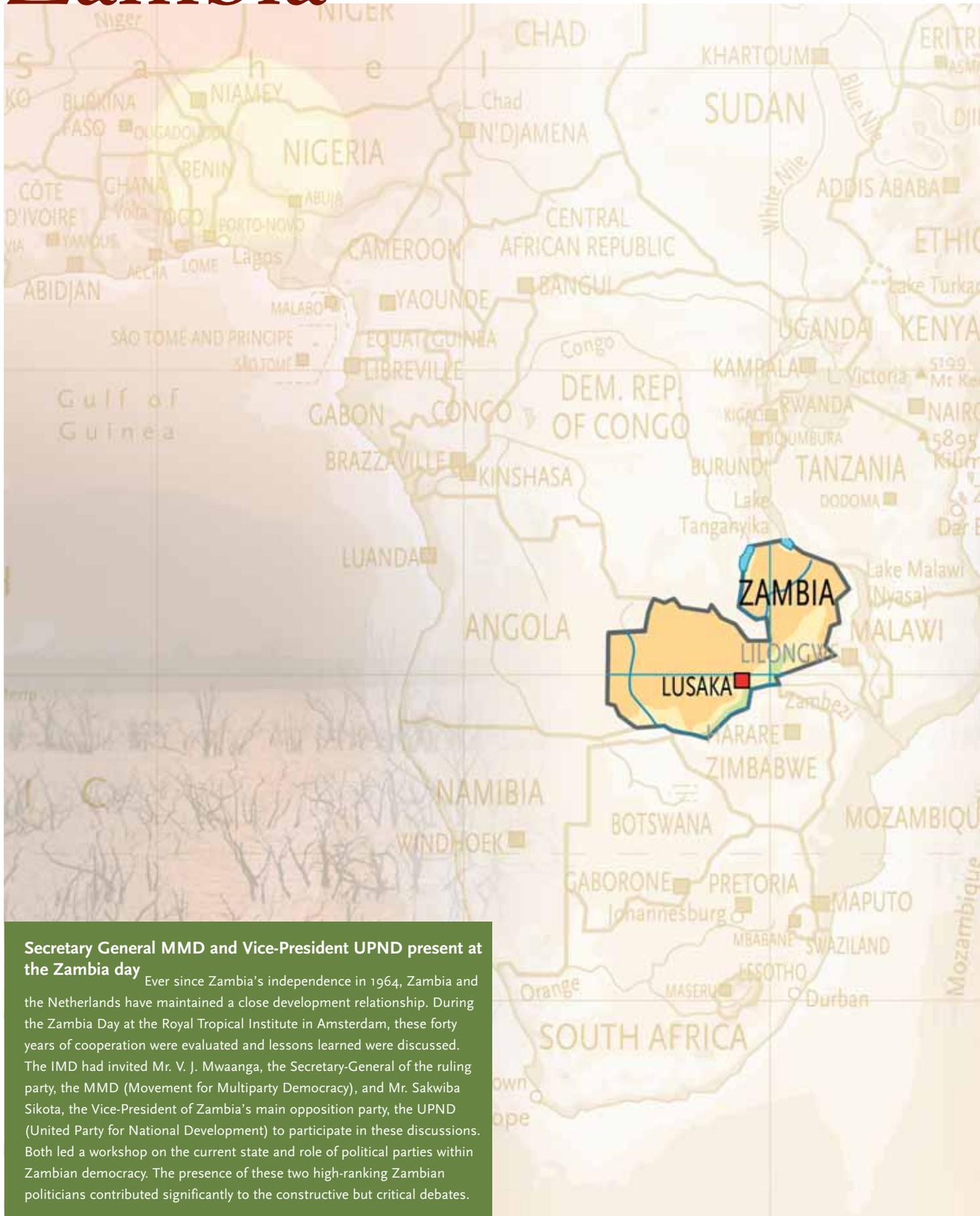
personal financial rewards. This policy was accepted by the Forum of political parties and has since been implemented.

Lessons learned

The five parliamentary parties participating in the bilateral programme have different understandings of the roles of political parties, the roles of their leaders, and of the differences between party and individual or personal interests. For example, training leaders receives more priority than does mobilizing members and articulating policy options to influence and contribute to policy-making processes.

The IMD changed its policy towards allowing delegates to attend party training sessions in 2004: institutions and individuals participating in the programme should be guided by the need to acquire knowledge and skills rather than by any

Zambia



Secretary General MMD and Vice-President UPND present at the Zambia day

Ever since Zambia's independence in 1964, Zambia and the Netherlands have maintained a close development relationship. During the Zambia Day at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, these forty years of cooperation were evaluated and lessons learned were discussed. The IMD had invited Mr. V. J. Mwaanga, the Secretary-General of the ruling party, the MMD (Movement for Multiparty Democracy), and Mr. Sakwiba Sikota, the Vice-President of Zambia's main opposition party, the UPND (United Party for National Development) to participate in these discussions. Both led a workshop on the current state and role of political parties within Zambian democracy. The presence of these two high-ranking Zambian politicians contributed significantly to the constructive but critical debates.



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Context

Politically speaking, 2004 was a relatively calm year for Zambia. The three main issues dominating the political agenda in Zambia were the constitutional review process, the court case against former President Frederick Chiluba, and the legal proceedings (initiated by opposition parties) concerning the alleged manipulated elections of 2001. Towards the end of 2004 the debates regarding the new constitution intensified and focused on the issue of how it should be adopted: through a constituent assembly, as the opposition parties and NGOs prefer, or by a – government-appointed – constitutional review commission that drafts the text. In December there were demonstrations in Lusaka to protest against the current government policy regarding this issue.

In October a leadership crisis ensued when President Levy Mwanawasa dismissed his Vice-President Nevers Mumba for reasons of insubordination. Mr. Mumba was accused of damaging the diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) by stating that this neighbouring country was harbouring individuals who oppose the Zambian Government. On 24 October Zambia celebrated its fortieth anniversary of independence. During this festivity President Mwanawasa publicly appealed for reconciliation between opposition parties, civil society, and the government.

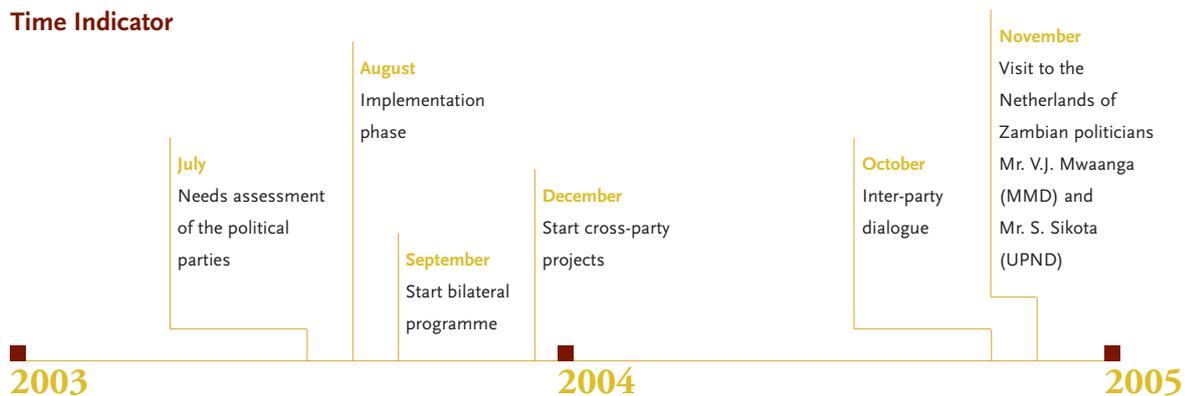
Programme framework

After the implementation phase commenced in 2003, the Zambian programme developed in a balanced way during 2004. The programme contains party-specific and cross-party projects, both of which focus on strengthening the internal organization and the capacity of the Zambian parliamentary parties. In addition, two new elements were introduced this year: a performance-based system and an inter-party dialogue. In 2005 the programme will be extended

Regional workshop on communication and media, Solwezi, Zambia, February 2004



Time Indicator



with an active participation of the Zambian parties within the IMD's East and Southern Africa regional programme.

Content objectives and activities

At the beginning of 2004 most parties were still concluding the party-specific activities they had initiated in 2003. Apart from that, the IMD and the Foundation for Democratic Process (Fodep), one of the IMD's partners in Zambia, organized eight provincial workshops on media strategies and internal party communication, all particularly intended for the provincial and local leadership. From April onwards, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), the United National Independence Party (UNIP), the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), the Heritage party (HP) and the Patriotic Front (PF) submitted new proposals for individual activities. The lion's share of these activities has now been implemented.

In June 2004 an inter-party workshop on various aspects of strategic planning was organized. Subsequent to this workshop, all the parties started a process of strategic planning within their organizations. The resulting strategic plans will form the basis for the IMD's support to the parties in 2005.

During 2004, the IMD introduced a performance-based system in its party-specific programme in Zambia. Parties that performed well during the first half of 2004 in fields such as reporting, meeting deadlines, using lessons-learned, making use of their strategic plan as a framework for subsequent project activities, et cetera, were allocated extra funds during the second half of the year. Two parties met this year's criteria and implemented more activities. Finally, it was noted during this year's programme that all parties struggled with a similar problem, namely, a lack of capable trainers within their parties. Therefore, the IMD organized an inter-party train-the-trainers workshop in December.

Process objectives and activities

Most cross-party initiatives were agreed upon through consultation with all individual parties. During most of the year there was no caucus for parties to discuss either the cross-party programme or issues of common interest. The IMD had chosen a reactive approach on this topic in 2003 as well as at the beginning of the following year. However, at the end of 2004 the Secretary-General of the ruling MMD, Mr. V.J. Mwaanga, initiated an inter-party meeting that was funded by the IMD. Generally speaking, most parties were positive about this initiative and agreed on a common agenda and procedures for an inter-party dialogue.

Programme support

The programme in Zambia is coordinated and executed by the local IMD consultant, Mr. Adrian Muunga. In addition, two resource persons provided thematic support within the programme. The first is Mr. Mbinji Mufalo, who monitored and reported on (IMD-funded) activities of three individual parties. Mr. Mwenda Mumbuna supported the parties in the process of designing their strategic plan.

Lessons learned

From the very beginning of the programme, one of the IMD's objectives has been to enhance the inter-party dialogue. The IMD determined quite early that there was only a modest basis within the various parties for this kind of initiative and that inter-party tensions were high. The IMD merely continued with skills-oriented, cross-party activities. The parties did indicate, however, that the inter-party training sessions (especially on strategic planning) proved very valuable in confidence-building among the parties. During the last quarter of the year, the ruling party MMD convened all Secretaries-General of the parties. This meeting was a success, and, at the end of the year, most parties endorsed this initiative and agreed on an agenda of subsequent inter-party meetings containing several sensitive political issues.

Summary of programme activities

JANUARY

January - May

Provincial cross-party workshops

Partners: All parties, Fodep, Adrian Muunga

Description: Provincial training sessions on media and communication

Results: Around 200 parliamentary party cadres from nine provinces were trained in communication and media techniques

MAY

May - November

Capacity-building and institutional development

Partner: The Forum for Democracy and Development

Description: Training party officials from six provinces

Result: A total of thirty-six senior party officials trained in the following subjects: organizing a training workshop, training needs analysis, principles of adult learning, leadership, strategic and operational planning, membership mobilization and recruitment, information and communication, fundraising and basic financial management

JULY

The IMD Strategic Planning Workshop

Partners: All parties, Fodep, Adrian Muunga

Description: A workshop on the techniques and use of a strategic planning process

Result: Representatives of five parliamentary parties trained in SWOT-analysis and translating this into a strategic plan. These techniques were used by the parties to develop their individual strategic plans

July - December

Institutional Development

Partner: The United National Independence Party (UNIP)

Description: Organization of internal elections on the provincial and constituency levels

Result: Stronger internal democracy

AUGUST

Seminar on strengthening party organization and membership expansion

Partner: The Patriotic Front

Description: Seminars in the eastern and northern provinces

Result: Enhanced communication between the central committee, on the one hand, and provincial and district party structures on the other

NOVEMBER

Training of trainers as political party capacity-builders

Partners: All parties, Fodep, Adrian Muunga

Description: The training of trainers from the parliamentary parties in both the techniques and the facilitation of training sessions

Result: Fifty-two trainers of five parties trained

Strategic planning process

Partner: The Patriotic Front

Description: Development of a strategic plan

Result: A bi-annual strategic plan

OCTOBER

Action plan towards the strategic planning for the UNIP

Partner: UNIP

Description: Development of a strategic plan

Result: A bi-annual strategic plan

Zimbabwe



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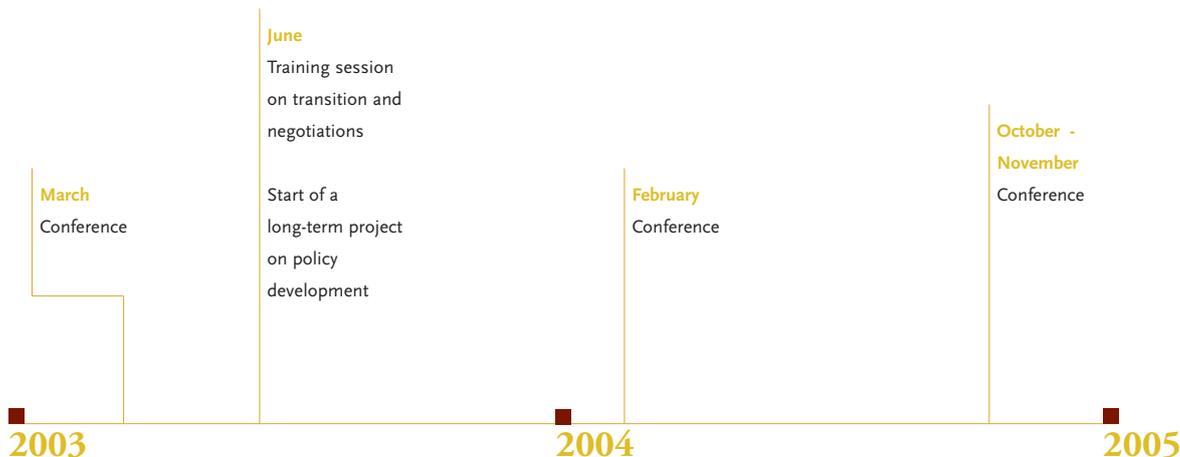
Context

President Robert Mugabe and his party ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front) have been in power since Zimbabwe became independent in 1980. During the last five years, the people of Zimbabwe have expressed a desire for change. Widespread discontent among the population did not come in the form of massive demonstrations; rather, it became apparent during two recent elections. In the parliamentary elections of 2000, the largest opposition party, the MDC (Movement for Democratic Change), gained almost as many votes as did ZANU-PF. Mugabe won the presidential elections in 2002, but was seriously challenged by Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the MDC. However, due to serious irregularities, the legitimacy of the outcome of the elections, and hence the re-election of President Mugabe, remains highly contentious.

President Mugabe and ZANU-PF have not created a level playing field for democratic contestation in Zimbabwe. Repression increased during the past year through political violence, rape, and intimidation. The media have been muzzled, and the MDC, the labour movement, human rights organizations, and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been restricted in their operations. For example, the NGO bill that was passed recently will cut off (foreign) donor funding to civil society groups and increase government control over their activities.

The economic situation has deteriorated and the country faces rising debts, increasing poverty, malnutrition and even starvation. Life expectancy is back at levels prior to independence in 1980. The downward economic spiral and excessive inflation have pushed millions of Zimbabweans into poverty or forced them to leave the country in search of work and better living perspectives. The deteriorating situation in Zimbabwe has not had a visible political impact, but tension is building up, increasing the chances of violent eruptions in the absence of any perspective for a

Time Indicator



negotiated and peaceful settlement of the political crises. Under the current constitution, parliamentary elections will take place on 31 March 2005. But the functioning of a genuine multiparty democracy is seriously hampered by repressive legislation. Minimum democratic conditions do not exist in present-day Zimbabwe, and no change is expected in the coming months. The MDC presented five guiding principles (for example, restore basic freedoms and rights, restore the rule of law) for its participation in the elections. These basic conditions were selected from the guidelines and adopted by the leaders of the member states of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), including President Mugabe himself, in Mauritius in August 2004. The government of Zimbabwe has shown its willingness to comply technically, though belatedly and not in any substantial manner.

Programme framework

The objective of the IMD programme for Zimbabwe was to support the political actors and organizations that contribute to a peaceful resolution of the democracy deficit in Zimbabwe and to facilitate initiatives for a sustainable democratic future.

The IMD-programme focused on policy and strategy development in 2004. In the area of policy development, the IMD facilitated activities resulting in alternative policies in several areas of national interest for Zimbabwe, such as socio-economic policy, local government policy, and a national integration policy. These policies were discussed during intensive consultations with national and African stakeholders and experts. Strategy development was supported by advocating an exchange of information and dialogue between African and European stakeholders and experts.

Content objectives and activities

Two large regional conferences with stakeholders from countries in the region were organized during 2004.

One conference focused on a new socio-economic policy for Zimbabwe and the other on minimum standards for elections. For each of the meetings representatives of both sides of the political divide in Zimbabwe were invited to participate and to contribute. In addition, a public information centre and a website were developed. Several policy papers were finalized and others are in the process of production. A large number of meetings were organized to exchange information and to develop common strategies.

Process objectives and activities

The IMD has established a wide network of contacts with stakeholders in the Zimbabwean conflict. The programme has a flexible approach to be able to respond to opportunities for furthering dialogue and to prepare policy options that could arrest the political and socio-economic decline in Zimbabwe. Ownership of the programme is guaranteed: the projects are developed and executed by local organizations, based on the political analysis of Zimbabwean experts.

Programme support

There is no consultant for the IMD programme for Zimbabwe. The programme is executed by a number of partners in collaboration with IMD staff.

There was exchange of information on the programme between the IMD and the IMD's partners on several occasions during the year, not only at meetings in the region, but also during the visits of the IMD's partners to the Netherlands.

Lessons learned

The fact that President Mugabe has been in power for nearly twenty-five years has stalled political evolution in Zimbabwe. His totalitarian control of Zimbabwean society makes a democratic change of power unlikely. The Zimbabwean case clearly shows that substantive democracy is a precondition for sustainable socio-economic development.

East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP)



Conference 'Enhancing the quality of democracy; deepening political party cooperation throughout southern and eastern Africa'

In November an impressive conference brought together seventy-five high level delegates from thirty-six political parties from Kenya, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia (Mozambique was absent because of general elections in early December, while Zimbabwe was also not represented). Intensive discussions resulted in the establishment of the Multiparty Regional Forum in East and Southern Africa and the election of an interim steering committee. The conference adopted a working programme, which takes up the challenges related to the quality of democracy and the performance of political parties. Through the new forum and with the support of the IMD, the parties will work together to strengthen democracy in the region.



Context

Within the East and Southern African region most countries have transitioned to a multiparty democracy, with the exception of Swaziland (absolute monarchy), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (elections due in 2005) and Angola (de facto a one-party state). Although elections are held in all other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, the electoral process and the outcome of the elections often remain a contested issue, as is the case in Zimbabwe. Stable systems of multiparty democracy today exist in South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana. Elsewhere, formal democracy exists in various degrees; the challenge is to further these to become substantive democracies.

The IMD has programmes in seven countries in the region: Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Many of the political parties in these countries share similar interests and challenges. To enhance cooperation within the region, the IMD initiated the establishment of a regional programme for political parties. Through various activities, the parties will share best practices, initiate peer reviews and reinforce capacities.

Programme framework

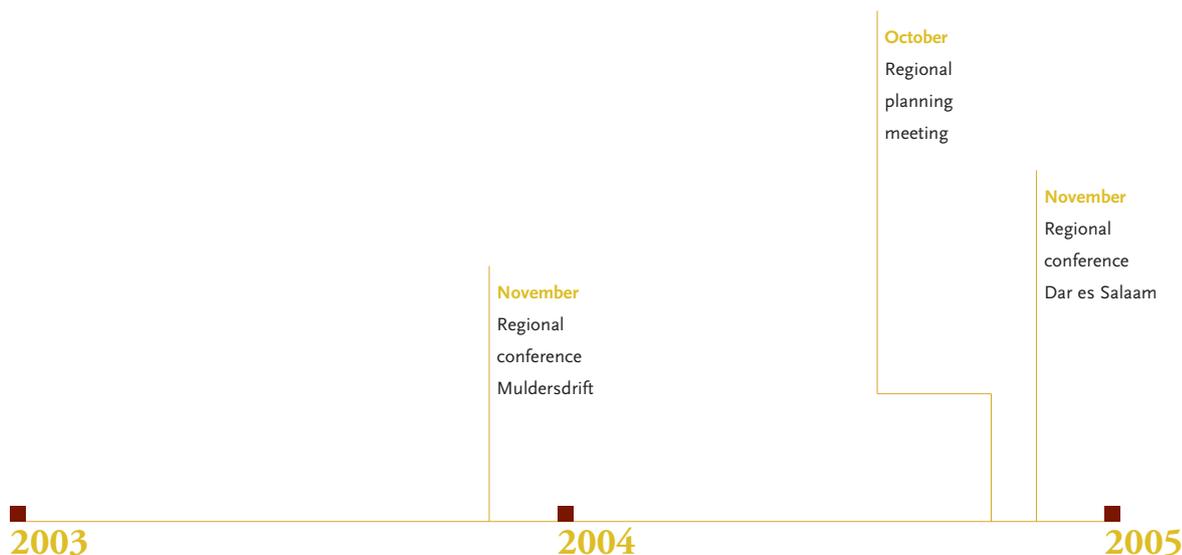
The East and Southern African regional programme (ESARP) is still in an early stage. A first regional conference 'Southern Africa ten years after apartheid: the quest for democratic governance' was held in November 2003, in South Africa. At this conference, and in meetings with the political parties in the IMD programme countries, some core themes were identified that require the attention of the political parties.

A second regional conference was subsequently held in Tanzania in November 2004. The thirty-six political parties represented in that conference,

Regional
Conference
Dar es Salaam
in Tanzania



Time Indicator



both governing and opposition parties, agreed to form a Multiparty Regional Forum for East and Southern Africa. The Forum will work on enhancing the quality of democracy and the performance of political parties. The parties appointed an interim steering committee with two representatives per country, one from the governing party and one from the opposition parties, to guide the process until the Forum is institutionalized.

At the beginning of 2005 the steering committee will meet in Lusaka, Zambia, to prepare a work programme that will include activities in four clusters:

- The link between democracy and development;
- Improving the quality of multiparty democracy, focusing on issues such as electoral systems review, electoral process review, constitutional reforms, et cetera;
- Political parties as building blocks of democracy, focusing on issues such as the organizational capacities of the parties, internal democracy, policy manifestos, et cetera;
- Exposure to the regional agreements such as SADC, NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development) and the AU (African Union) and the accepted principles for democratic governance within these agreements.

The meeting will initiate the establishment of a regional resource centre to ensure the flow of information through the Forum, prepare workshops for each of the clusters, prepare the constitution that regulates the business of the Forum, and prepare the next general Forum meeting.

Content objectives and activities

Within the framework of the regional programme two regional meetings took place in 2004, one in Johannesburg in October and one in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in November. All thirty-six parties present at the Dar es Salaam meeting committed themselves to cooperate in the new Multiparty Regional Forum for East and Southern Africa, to its agenda and to the modalities in which it will operate. The regional programme will be implemented after a steering committee meeting scheduled for March 2005 in Lusaka, Zambia.

Process objectives and activities

Both the ruling party and the main opposition party of each country participate in the regional programme. In the case of South Africa, all parliamentary parties take part, while in the case of Kenya the participation of parties is arranged through the Centre for Multiparty Democracy. To organize and facilitate the regional meetings, the IMD cooperated with its South African partner, the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS). The CPS will continue to play a key role in the programme, acting both as facilitator and as a resource centre. The IMD has relations with several other national, regional and international institutions active in the field of democratization, such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA) and the Institute for Democracy Assistance in South Africa (IDASA).

Programme support

In order to develop the regional programme, the IMD decided to widen the scope of the work of its representative in Maputo to cover the whole region. Since September 2004 there has been a full-time

Summary of programme activities

OCTOBER	NOVEMBER
<p>Regional planning meeting Johannesburg</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> CPS and representatives from political parties of six countries</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Party representatives met to discuss the programme and organization of the upcoming regional conference</p> <p><i>Result:</i> Agreement on the main issues and modalities for the regional conference in Dar es Salaam</p>	<p>Regional Conference Dar es Salaam</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> CPS and representatives from thirty- six parties in the region</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Conference participants developed plans for a regional programme</p> <p><i>Result:</i> A full endorsement for a programme for East and Southern Africa and a conversion of the various issues into specific activities.</p>

regional representative who, for logistical reasons, moved his office to Johannesburg in December 2004. The CPS is the IMD's main local partner when it comes to providing both practical and academic know-how. Besides the regular contacts with the parties in the various countries through the country programmes and country missions and the ongoing monitoring by the regional representative, an IMD mission participated in the regional planning meeting in Johannesburg in October and in the regional conference that took place in Tanzania.

Lessons learned

The geographical area covered by the regional programme is large, which means that logistics of the forum are complicated. Also, with such a large number of parties taking part in the programme, it will be a challenge to ensure that all parties fully participate and share their information. The regional programme therefore needs to develop a very good system of communicating and reporting, and the all the available information needs to be user-friendly for the group it aims to reach.

The IMD welcomes links with existing networks and knowledge centres within the region with relevant information on the subjects of the clusters of work of the Forum.

The cooperation of political parties in the Forum almost immediately gained momentum through the sharing of best practices at the Dar es Salaam meeting. The initiative of the Kenyan political parties to engage in inter-party dialogue and to sustain this cooperation in the Centre for Multiparty Democracy - Kenya (CMD-K) encouraged the political parties in Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia to initiate similar processes within their countries.

Bolivia



Capacity building in the run-up to the Constituent Assembly

Together with the International Institute for Governance of the University of Catalonia, the National Congress and the Inter-American Development Bank, the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (FBDM) organized a series of courses intended for representatives of political parties and leaders of various NGO's on 'Politics before the Constituent Assembly process.' Six modules of four days each were prepared on issues such as the role and behaviour of political institutions, the promotion of common interests by political parties, presentations and discussions on themes that will dominate the Constituent Assembly, the political party system, and principles of democratic governance. Apart from the important position the FBDM obtained with respect to the Constituent Assembly process itself, this initiative envisages enhancing the capacity of various actors in the run-up phase to the Assembly.



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Context

The year 2003 was politically a very turbulent one in Bolivia. In contrast, 2004 started peacefully. After the ousting of President Sanchez de Lozada, former Vice President Mesa became president. During the first six months of 2004, President Mesa received considerable support from the population, partly because he was not associated with any political party. The already dreadful reputation of political parties had increased even further as a result of the tensions in 2003. The parties in Congress also lacked the strength to counterbalance the power of the Government. This situation was confirmed by the results of a referendum on the export of natural gas, held on 18 July 2004. The referendum was considered to be a victory for President Mesa, and political analysts argued that Mesa, with overwhelming public support, now had a mandate to effectively govern the country. They were proven wrong: Mesa was not able to convert popular support into the approval of his Law on Hydrocarbons, as Congress did not agree with some of the proposed stipulations.

The political party *Movimiento Al Socialismo* (Movement Towards Socialism - MAS) then came up with a new proposal that was supported by most of the political parties. Mesa's initial reaction was to veto this law if Congress were to adopt it. His reaction, however, was not received well, and he was forced to take a more moderate position. In any case, President Mesa did not succeed in getting a new law on hydrocarbons passed during 2004 and the issue, of such importance to Bolivia, is still pending.

On 5 December there were municipal elections with a novelty. Alongside political parties, indigenous and citizens groups were allowed to participate in the elections, thus breaking the political party monopoly. This change in legislation was one of the demands of the Bolivian people after their violent uprising in

President Mesa
with
Guido Riveros,
President of
FBDM,
Heleen Schrooyen
and Karim Beroud



2003. President Mesa kept his promise and made non-political party participation in the elections possible.

Around four million people were eligible to vote in these elections to choose mayors and councilors in the country's 307 municipalities. Approximately 66% of the registered voters participated. The results of the elections show that approximately three out of ten councilors are members of citizens groups, while seven belong to traditional political parties. Citizens groups managed to gain strong representation in Santa Cruz and Oruro, while in La Paz, Potosí and Tarija there will be no representation of a citizens group.

The outcome of these elections clarifies little about the national tendencies; it merely indicates that people favour strong regional leadership. The national political party MAS of left-wing opposition politician Evo Morales received the most votes, with an average of 11% in the regional capitals. However, this is only half of the percentage won by the previous ruling party during the last municipal elections.

Programme framework

One of the first achievements of the IMD's Bolivia programme, which is facilitated by the IMD through its partnership with the Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy (FBDM), was the consolidation of a national multiparty organization that represents all relevant political parties within a highly sensitive political environment. This institute is widely seen as a unique opportunity to strengthen democratic political parties and multiparty democracy and as a key condition for democratic consolidation in the country.

All political parties registered by the electoral court or with representation in Congress are invited to participate in the FBDM. The political tensions between the parties resulting from the events in 2003 forced the Foundation to put a great amount of effort into keeping all parties on board and to ensure an adequate representation of the traditional parties and the parties recently constituted. This balance between old and new parties is of the utmost importance as the strengthening of the political party system in Bolivia can take place peacefully only if all parties participate. During 2004, the Foundation became increasingly pro-active and organized a range of important activities.

Content objectives and activities

The role of the FBDM in renewing and strengthening democratic political parties is two-fold.

Firstly, the FBDM functions as a 'space' or a platform for dialogue, consensus, and trust-building among political parties, especially regarding themes that bear on the democratic quality of the political parties and issues relating to the party system. It is important that political parties have a shared institutional space at their disposal that allows them to address pertinent issues frankly without the looming presence of power calculations and short-term party interests. Secondly, the FBDM functions as a pro-active catalyst or generator of specific activities to enhance the democratic quality of the political parties and the party system.

One important activity in 2004 was a series of inter-party discussions throughout the country on the results of a study of the state of political parties in Bolivia and the legal framework in which they operate. In addition, political debates were organized on the (impact of the) changing political system.

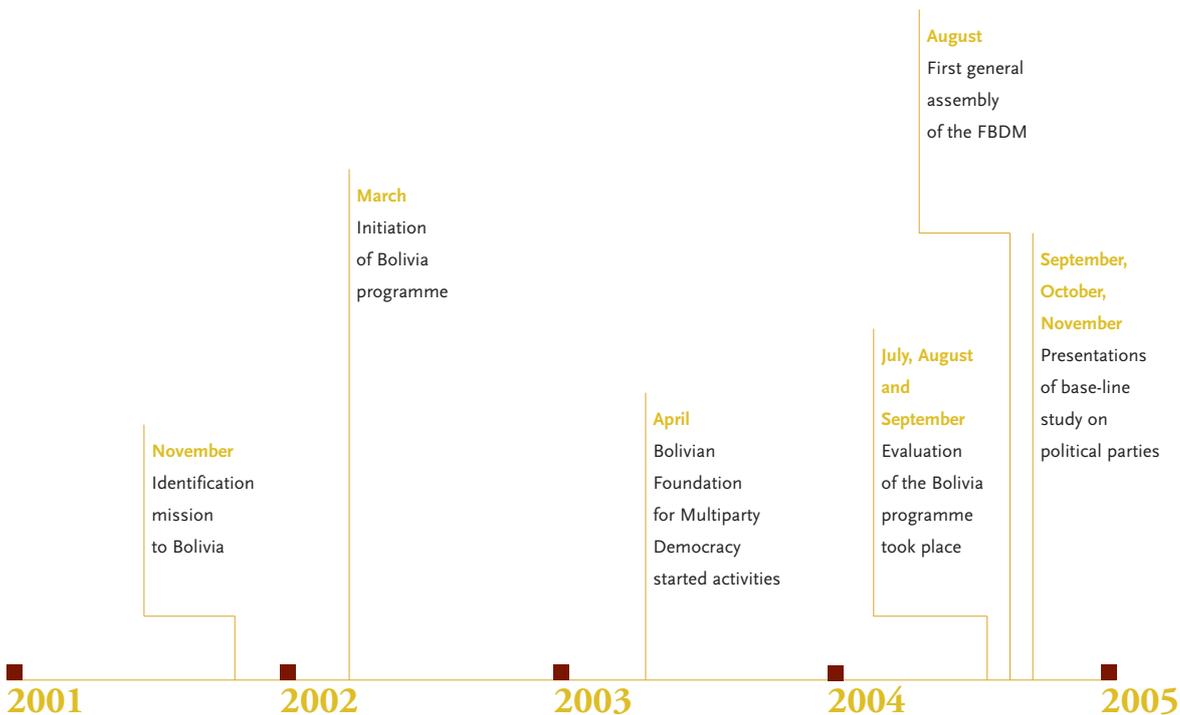
Within the current Bolivian political context, the FBDM identified the issue of the Constituent Assembly as a crucial component of its programme. An important convention has been signed with the *Comisión Mixta del Congreso Nacional* (Mixed Commission of the National Congress, consisting of parliamentarians and senators) that is responsible for the preparatory work of the Constituent Assembly. The FBDM will (i) guide the technical process, (ii) assist the commission in determining the exact mandate of the Constituent Assembly, and (iii) play a central role with respect to the main issues within the Constituent Assembly. The FBDM also organized a series of international seminars on different aspects of a Constituent Assembly.

In cooperation with the electoral court, the FBDM undertook several activities in order to inform the Bolivian population (in various local languages and by using regional/local radio stations) about the procedures for the municipal elections.

In an attempt to further the capacity- building of political parties, the FBDM, in cooperation with the University of Catalonia, Spain, organized a course on 'Leadership in the context of democratic governance in Bolivia: the strengthening of political parties.' In addition, a more elaborate training programme was organized.

Some Bolivian parties began to make use of the results of the study on political parties and the political system, but results still have to materialize. New parties, such as the one headed by Doria

Time Indicator



Medina, who used to be a member of one of the traditional parties, do make an effort not to duplicate the errors of other parties by ensuring transparency in the party statute and in the election of their political leaders.

Process objectives and activities

The FBDM succeeded in increasing the political representation of the parties. All parties were requested to formally appoint a representative within the Foundation. This procedure strengthened the link between the parties and the Foundation and enhanced the impact of the FBDM's programme within the parties. In addition, the number of parties represented in the FBDM rose as a result of the creation of new political parties. The Foundation put a great deal of effort into ensuring the inclusion of these newly formed parties as it is well aware that political party strengthening in Bolivia can take place only if all existing parties are involved. The same holds true for the improvement of the political party system.

The FBDM established relations with several international organizations and signed agreements with the Andean Promotion Organization (CAF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB). It also coordinated activities with other national and international organizations active in the field of democracy support.

Programme support

With the adoption of a new statute, the roles of the board, director and assembly of the FBDM became clearer. A General Assembly was organized successfully. However, in 2004 the director was replaced by the board: the third replacement in less than two years. Obviously this had its impact on the Foundation and led to a discontinuity in the execution of the programme. However, the newly appointed director performs well, and at the end of the year he was rewarded with a long-term contract.

In July, August, and September, Kees Koonings (University of Utrecht, the Netherlands) and Felipe Mansilla (independent consultant) evaluated the Bolivia programme. Their evaluation report highlights the fact that, over the past two years, the FBDM, with strong and direct support from the IMD, has been able to consolidate itself as an institution that is widely seen as unique in its kind and (potentially) well positioned to serve as a platform and initiator to renew and re-invigorate democratic political parties in Bolivia. The advice of the evaluators is to give much more substance to this potential by developing a more ambitious and longer-term programme for the FBDM in tune with its strategic objectives and priorities. An IMD mission took place in October to discuss the outcome of the evaluation with the FBDM and to ensure a proper follow-up of the recommendations.

Summary of programme activities

SEPTEMBER

September, October, November

Presentation of the study on political parties followed by discussion in La Paz, Cochabamba, El Alto, Oruro and Trinidad

Partners: FBDM and four resource persons

Description: The study provided precise information on the structure of political parties, the legal framework, the way political lobbying takes place, ideology, relations and coalitions between the parties and leadership

Results: the conclusions of the study were threefold:

- 1 The credibility of parties and the hierarchical way decisions are taken by party leaders are the main weaknesses of the parties
- 2 Politics is a shared responsibility. It does not limit itself to party members, but includes citizens that make use of their rights
- 3 Without political parties democracy cannot function effectively. Therefore, democracy in Bolivia can only improve if the political party system is renewed

Signing of convention with Congress Commission on the Constituent Assembly

Partner: Comisión Mixta del Congreso Nacional

Description: The FBDM was chosen by the Comisión Mixta as its main partner for the preparation of the Constituent Assembly process

Results: The FBDM will (i) guide the technical process, (ii) assist the commission in determining the exact mandate of the Constituent Assembly and (iii) play a central role with respect to the main issues within the Constituent Assembly

NOVEMBER

Series of International seminars on the Constituent Assembly in Sucre, Santa Cruz and La Paz

Partners: Congress and the Andean Promotion Organization (CAF)

Description: Integrating international expertise on various aspects of a Constituent Assembly within the national debate in Bolivia

Results: In Bolivia the discussion about the Constituent Assembly focused on the draft law on convening the Assembly. Discussions, however, did not address the question of what a Constituent Assembly really means and how it can contribute to strengthening democracy. These seminars were organized to fill this gap. National and international speakers explained the processes of Constituent Assemblies in other countries and provided the public with tools to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of organizing such an Assembly in Bolivia

Foro Político: renovación del sistema político (Political debate: renovation of the political system)

Partners: UNDP, Fundapac and FBDM

Description: Discussion between Congressional members on aspects of and weaknesses within the party system

Results: Enhanced debate between politicians from a wide range of political movements on possible improvements of the party system

JULY

July and August

Reflection on the crises political parties are facing

Partners: FBDM, newspapers and media

Description: The activities focused on the crises the political parties are in. Politicians and civil society representatives were invited to share their views and discuss the role of the parties during the crisis and their responsibility

Results: Increased awareness and understanding of the role the political parties played during the crisis; reflection on how to improve political party performance in the future

AUGUST

General Assembly of the FBDM

Partner: FBDM

Description: Approximately sixty individuals of different political backgrounds and ideologies and from across the country took part in the Assembly of the FBDM

Results: One of the outcomes of the meeting was to organize a virtual assembly in order to provide a platform for political discussion. All participants agreed on the need to renew and strengthen the political party system and to introduce values in political discussions

Participación ciudadana, autonomías y federalismo (Citizens' participation, autonomy and federalism)

Partners: FBDM, Caritas, Comité de Vigilancia del Municipio de La Paz (La Paz Security Committee)

Description: Two-day debate focusing on different perspectives of reorganizing the Bolivian state and various ways of civic participation

Results: Developed propositions for the Constituent Assembly and 226 participants (ranging from academics, representatives of civil society to politicians) informed about different ways of reorganizing the Bolivian state

OCTOBER

Una Lectura Singular de Resultados y Geografía del Referendum 2004 (An unambiguous reading of the outcome of the 2004 referendum)

Partner: FBDM

Description: Presentation of a study on the results of the referendum, followed by a debate between politicians

Results: Increased level of information available and increased expertise

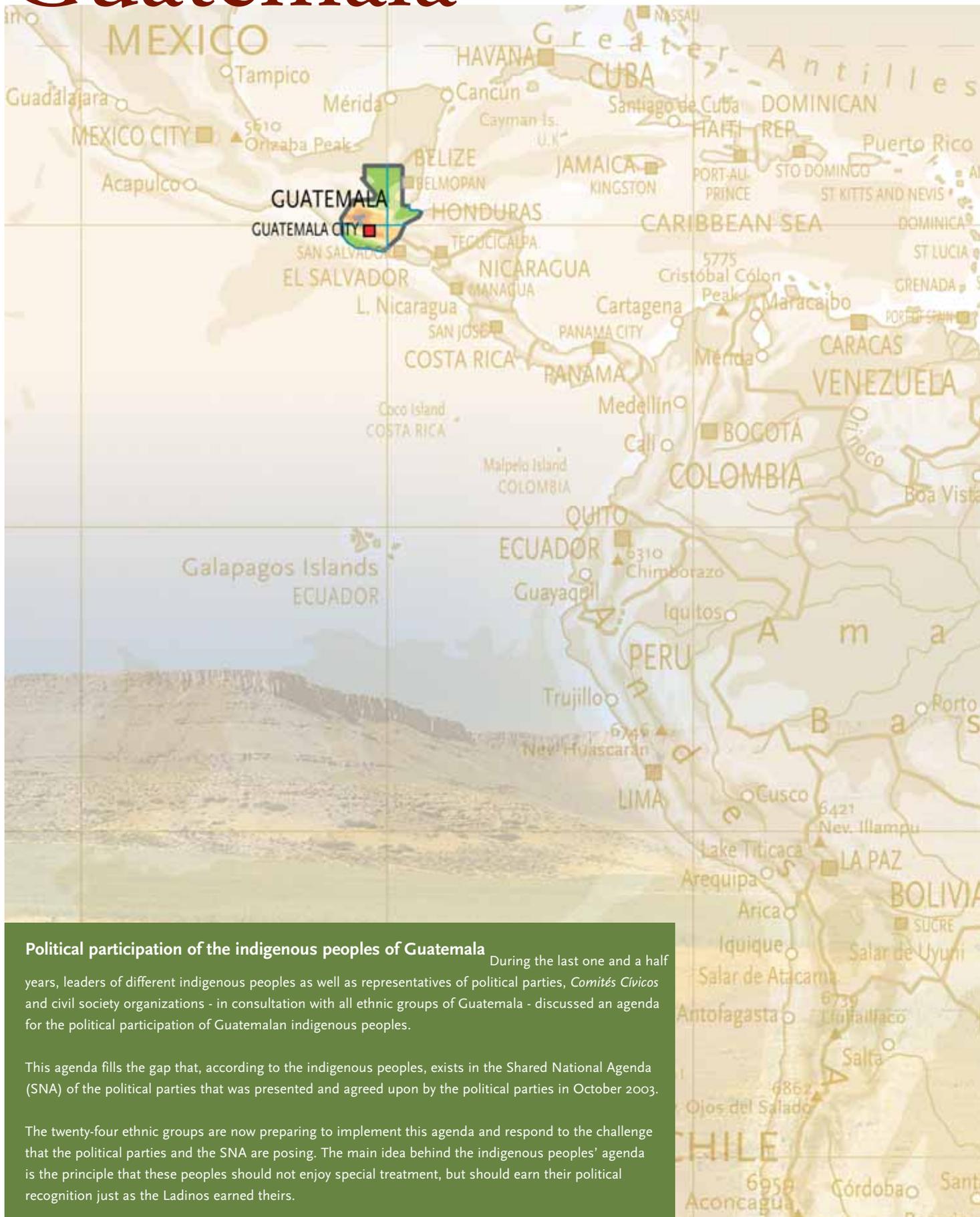
Lessons learned

One important lesson presented by the external evaluation team concerns the importance of a long-term strategic objective. Activities can thus be developed in a more consistent manner to ensure a major impact of FBDM activities.

Within the FBDM the political parties are jointly responsible for initiating and discussing processes of change. This was welcomed by various actors in society as this is the first time the initiative to improve political party functioning comes from the parties themselves rather than being the result of outside pressure.

A third lesson concerns the deep-rooted and complex power structures within Bolivian political parties. Though the political parties received a substantial blow in 2003 and their popularity was at an all-time low, this did not automatically lead to changes in their underlying power structures.

Guatemala



Political participation of the indigenous peoples of Guatemala

During the last one and a half years, leaders of different indigenous peoples as well as representatives of political parties, *Comités Cívicos* and civil society organizations - in consultation with all ethnic groups of Guatemala - discussed an agenda for the political participation of Guatemalan indigenous peoples.

This agenda fills the gap that, according to the indigenous peoples, exists in the Shared National Agenda (SNA) of the political parties that was presented and agreed upon by the political parties in October 2003.

The twenty-four ethnic groups are now preparing to implement this agenda and respond to the challenge that the political parties and the SNA are posing. The main idea behind the indigenous peoples' agenda is the principle that these peoples should not enjoy special treatment, but should earn their political recognition just as the Ladinos earned theirs.



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Context

Guatemala made a fresh political start in 2004. In November 2003 the people of Guatemala elected a new Congress. Oscar Berger, former mayor of Guatemala City, became president and his party, *Gran Alianza Nacional* (Great National Alliance - GANA), the largest party in Congress. The elections changed the composition of the Congress considerably. Because no single party had won enough seats in Congress to impose its policy as a majority party, the three largest parties had to develop a mature democratic attitude of compromising and consensus-building. This was a challenge, as 70% of the Congressmen and women were new and lacked experience in the workings of Parliament. Looking back, it can be said that the Congress did succeed in developing a democratic and cooperative approach in 2004, but an approach easily disturbed.

Although it initially seemed that the new Government would be given the benefit of the doubt, support for the President decreased during the year. Currently, political exhaustion is visible and the image of a trustworthy president is fading. The government has not succeeded in acting coherently and transparently, nor has it anticipated the responses from society. The urgent needs of the population have not been met, and the people are beginning to lose confidence in the Government and Congress. Incidentally, communication between these two is difficult because neither the Government nor Congress accepts the specific roles and responsibilities of the other in implementing policies. Nevertheless, the overall assessment is that the Government and political parties collaborated reasonably well in 2004.

A new phenomenon is that some of the political parties with representation in Congress have remained active after the elections. They regrouped, took stock of the election results, made an inventory



of their strengths and weaknesses, and started building up their organizations. Most parties now also recognize the importance of a party structure to support their representatives in Congress.

Programme framework

The programme entered its second phase. The first phase, from March 2002 until June 2004, was dedicated to formulating *the Agenda Nacional Compartida* (Shared National Agenda), facilitated jointly by the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) and the IMD. This Agenda was signed by all political parties. It consists of a long-term vision on and strategic proposals for the development of Guatemala and addresses the following areas: the political area, the economic area, the peace-process area, and the social-environment area.

The IMD's objective for 2004 was to start the process of translating the political parties' commitments into political action, firstly, by turning the content of the Agenda into legislation and, secondly, by helping the parties to further internalize this Agenda in their own organizations. In addition, the IMD started to implement projects to strengthen the structure and organization of the political parties. In order to foster democratization in the party organizations, the IMD paid special attention to the political aspirations of women, youth and indigenous peoples.

Content objectives and activities

During workshops in which a large number of party representatives participated, nine political parties formulated their priorities in the *Agenda Nacional Compartida*. The nine priority lists were presented to the president of the Congress and to the parliamentary groups and used to help decide on the legislative agenda for 2004. Unfortunately, the dialogue on setting priorities could not take place in 2004 because of a lack of time, but this has been rescheduled for 2005.

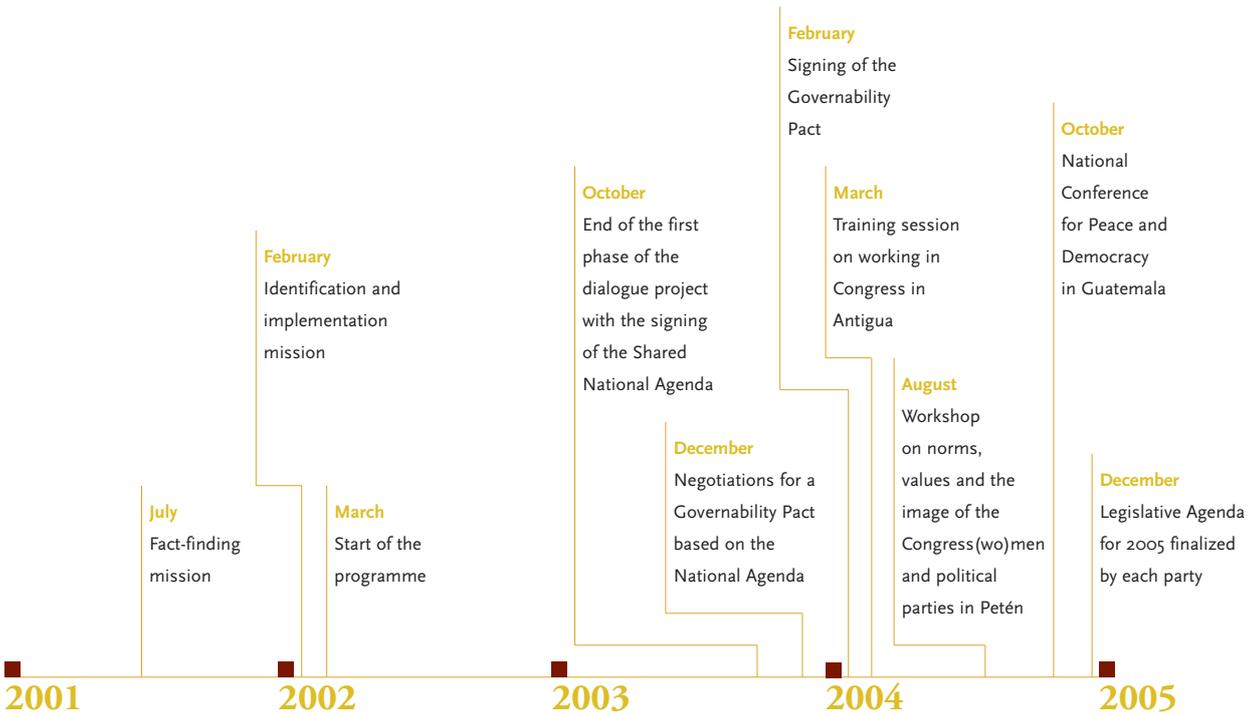
The parties selected two issues from the Shared National Agenda to be included in the legislative agenda for 2004. The first one was the Electoral and Political Party Law, because political parties want to improve their way of working. Each political party debated this issue, facilitated by the IMD and the UNDP and with the involvement of the Permanent Forum for Political Parties. As a result of these discussions, the debate in Congress went smoothly and the law was partly adjusted. Two issues are still pending: increased participation of women and indigenous peoples in politics and transparent financing of political parties. These issues will be followed up in 2005.

The second issue the political parties selected was the Fiscal Pact, which is a politically sensitive issue. In the *Agenda Nacional Compartida* the political parties agreed 'to reinstate the spirit and the full extent of the Fiscal Pact.' The Fiscal Pact is an accord on the amount, origin and destination of the resources that the State must have in order to function well. The pact serves as a basis for a new fiscal policy that reduces income differences. As neither the taxes nor the allocation of the budget by the government are transparent in Guatemala, an effort first had to be made to increase transparency. A workgroup was installed with parliamentarians from the Commission of Finance and the Commission of Economy. The Guatemalan members of The Global Network of MPs of the World Bank led this workgroup. In cooperation with representatives of the World Bank in Guatemala, the workgroup developed a methodology to understand and monitor the national budget and World Bank loans.

The IMD and the UNDP facilitated the dialogue between the parties, Congress, and the Government successfully. After the signing of the Governability Pact, training sessions were given for all the parties on procedures in Congress. The IMD helped to formulate a renewed Organic Law and Internal Government of the Congress. Experts from the continent were involved in this, and the regulations of other Congresses and Parliaments were translated, including the regulations of the Dutch Parliament. Six leaders of the parliamentary groups in the Congress visited the Netherlands to witness and discuss the political consensus culture of the Netherlands. Two high level conferences were organized for Congress, political parties, and the Government in Antigua and Petén, to improve Congress's functioning and increase trust between the political parties and the Government. The political parties and the Government repeatedly expressed their appreciation for these IMD activities.

To foster democratization in the parties, the IMD paid special attention to the political aspirations of women, youth and indigenous peoples. Although in the *Agenda Nacional Compartida* the political parties accepted the responsibility of 'especially promoting the participation of women and indigenous populations in the decision-making process,' most parties are reluctant to do so. The IMD shows a coherent approach towards this issue by facilitating capacity-building for women within the parties (separate and integrated), by providing a platform for structural reform such as the reform of the electoral law, and by building up solidarity among peers of other parties (national and international).

Time Indicator



Several activities took place within this context:

- The IMD facilitated the follow-up of a project with the indigenous populations that was implemented in 2003: the national agenda of the indigenous peoples was presented to all relevant political actors and to the public in general;
- The *Agenda Nacional Compartida* was screened on a gender approach, and the proposals concerning increased participation of women in political parties and political activities were discussed;
- A special grant was established for all political parties to develop their women's section; four parties applied for this grant and their projects are now in different phases of execution;
- A regional conference was organized concerning a compulsory minimum quota system for women on the electoral candidate's lists of each political party. As a result, a proposal was presented to Congress that will be included in the second round of reforms of the Electoral and Political Party Law;
- In 2004, the IMD became involved in projects that encourage the participation of youth in politics and joined an initiative of the Swedish Multiparty Organization and the Swedish Embassy. The initiative consists of a research project on youth in politics. The objective of the research is to generate proposals to promote youth participation.

Most parties in Guatemala lack ideological identity. At the request of a group of politicians, the IMD facilitated the successful 'National Conference for

Peace and Democracy in Guatemala'. Participants spoke with key persons from the political and academic society about the lessons learned regarding the former left politics, and they brainstormed on the outlines, features, and possibilities of a renewed progressive policy in Guatemala.

One of the IMD's objectives is to stimulate democratic culture and practice throughout the parties. To guarantee that the content of the *Agenda Nacional Compartida* is also internalised by the party cadres, workshops were organized in various parts of the country. The University of Landivar designed four political instruction and training modules and conducted these for party cadres in two departments. Furthermore, a multiparty training was offered. A specific effort to increase the percentage of female participants led to a growing participation of women politicians in the successive training sessions.

The IMD and the Organization of American States (OAS) created a budget for capacity- building activities of political parties. Although the parties had conducted an internal assessment of their situation after the elections and had started to develop a capacity- building strategy, it soon became clear that the parties still lacked the capacity to formulate proposals within an overall long-term strategy. The project will therefore be reformulated and will include providing support for political parties on how to develop proposals.

Summary of programme activities

JANUARY

December 2003 - February 2004

Strengthening civic committees

Partners: OAS, University Landivar

Description: The University of Landivar developed training material for the civic committees on lobbying, policy development, budget preparation, and the law on governing municipalities

Results: Civic committees are better equipped to perform their tasks in the municipal council

May 2002 - April 2004

Multiparty dialogues phase I

Partner: UNDP

Description: This two-year programme promotes dialogue between the parties and strengthens a pluralistic political system.

Results: In 2003 political parties developed the Shared National Agenda. In 2004 components of this Agenda were implemented in the legislative agenda.

JULY

July 2004 - June 2006

Institutional strengthening of the political party system in Guatemala

Partner: OAS

Description: Twelve political parties made an internal assessment of their political situation after the elections

Results: This project came about after the political parties had repeatedly asked for training. Until now the parties have only requested support for isolated activities, while the project aims at institutional strengthening. Therefore, in 2005 parties will be supported in drafting a longer-term strategy for their party, including a more elaborate training programme

AUGUST

Supremacy of politics, its current state and the role of the Legislative Branch

Partners: Congress, the United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)

Description: This meeting was organized to discuss the role of the Congress in a functioning democracy

Results: Agreement that the rules and regulations of the congress have to be revised

SEPTEMBER

6 September - 5 November

Monograph on Guatemalan Political Parties

Partner: Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales (ASIES)

Description: To revise and update the data on the political parties

Results: Update of the Monograph on Guatemalan Political Parties and production of the final version, in book and electronic (CD) form

September 2004 - February 2005

Participation in politics: The case of young people, women, and indigenous peoples. Baseline study

Partner: University of Landivar

Description: Defining a research design; reviewing source bibliography and documents; designing indicators and developing tools; survey of individuals in the 'Young Leadership for a Developing Democracy Programme'; in-depth interviews with local and regional political leaders

Results: More inclusive programmes for political party training sessions and institutional strengthening by making use of the information on the socio-political characteristics of young people, women and the indigenous population

September - December

National Conference for Peace and Democracy in Guatemala

Description: To create a space for analysis, debate and reflection on the national issues and the role of democratic groups and political parties in this context

Results: Initiation of a process where progressive political actors and citizens come together and seek agreement in order to construct a society with equity, justice, and peace

NOVEMBER

November 2004 - October 2005

Project for a political-analysis process

Partner: SOROS Foundation

Description: Political analysis of the situation in Guatemala related to the programmes implemented by the participating entities

Results: Shared analysis and understanding of the political developments in Guatemala as the basis for interventions by the organizations involved in strengthening democracy

November 2004 - March 2005

Programme for Institutional Support of Legal Reform II

Description: The project was a follow-up of the Project Legal Reform I. The activities consisted of the approval of the Organic Law by Congress and training sessions on the Law for all political parties and their MPs

Results: Project is still being executed

November 2004 - March 2005

'Entrepreneurs, Politics and the State'

Description: Facilitate the process of formulating a liberal ideology

Results: The conferences will take place in February 2005

Process objectives and activities

Facilitating dialogue between the political parties at the national level is the cornerstone of the Guatemala programme. Similarly, dialogue at the departmental level is considered important. In 2004 the Dialogue Group, that is, the group of political party representatives that developed the *Agenda Nacional Compartida*, decided to establish two departmental dialogue groups and to incorporate them into their own, national, Dialogue Group.

Guatemalan ownership of the programme increased in 2004. Firstly, the Advisory Board, composed of experts on political parties and politics in Guatemala, became increasingly involved in the IMD programme, especially in the development of the second phase of the programme. Furthermore, the Advisory Board became more visible in presenting the programme to the political parties. Secondly, the Guatemalan organisation *Asociación de Investigación y Estudios Sociales* (Association for Social Research and Studies - ASIES) continues to play an important role in evaluating and monitoring the IMD projects in Guatemala and it also became involved in developing the programme. However, one of the organizations that was supposed to become an important player in developing and implementing the Guatemalan programme, the Permanent Forum on Political Parties, has not yet succeeded in identifying a structure and methodology that favours its institutionalization.

Programme support

Together with the OAS, the IMD developed a platform for communication with donor organizations and other partners. The objective of this platform is to exchange knowledge and to design a joint strategy.

The IMD office in Guatemala City continues to play a crucial role in developing and implementing the programme in Guatemala. With the development of a website in Spanish, all information about the programme is now easily accessible.

Lessons learned

The political course of events in a country determines the ability to realize plans made by a supporting organization like the IMD. Due to unpredictable events it can be necessary to advance or to postpone planned activities. Moreover, some activities cannot be implemented at all because the political agenda of the parties and people involved has changed. And sometimes new activities can be implemented because there is suddenly a political opening. This political reality demands a planning that can easily be adjusted.

The integration of women and indigenous peoples in the parties is a long-term objective and requires a long-term strategy based on the coherent approach the IMD has already taken.

The major lesson learned in the programme is the implementation of the results of the Shared National Dialogue. It was one achievement to reach consensus about a national agenda among twenty-five political parties across all kinds of divides, but it is an even greater accomplishment to reach the next step of implementing agreements. Transforming the political will into concrete government policies and parliamentary legislation to consolidate peace and democracy in Guatemala is in many regards a new breakthrough in the dialogue approach practiced by the IMD and its partners in Guatemala.

Surinam



Media and Politics

On 5 and 6 March the conference 'Media and Politics in a Democratic Constitutional State' took place, organized by the Democracy Unit of the University of Suriname. About 90 participants from all political parties attended the conference. Chief editors and journalists of Surinam newspapers and radio stations were also present. Furthermore, international experts participated, among them Milan Rutten, head of communication of the Belgian Social-Democratic Party, Justin Leites, former member of the Clinton-Gore campaign team, and Guikje Roethof, journalist and former MP for D66. To the participants the conference constituted an excellent opportunity to resolve some misunderstandings between politicians and journalists and to discuss issues such as independence and responsibility of the media and the political parties.

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Context

Political parties in Surinam play a central role on the political stage, with several parties having long years of governing experience. Parties are mainly organized along ethnic lines and, since there is no predominant ethnic group, none of the parties can win the elections with a large majority. Therefore, parties present themselves to the voters in electoral coalitions. Consequently, the government in Surinam is always a multiparty government. The smaller parties, not represented in government, very often form electoral combinations as well in their effort to win a seat in the National Assembly. The next general elections, which will be held on 15 May 2005, have already cast their shadow over the political landscape in 2004.

Programme framework

In implementing the IMD programme in Surinam, the Democracy Unit plays an important role. This unit is a multidisciplinary study group of the Faculty of Human Science of the Anton de Kom University (ADEK) of Surinam. The group focuses on research and educational activities regarding democracy in the Caribbean. In 2003, the Democracy Unit organized a conference that marked the beginning of the IMD programme in Surinam. During 2004 the Democracy Unit conducted a preparatory project in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Surinam. This cross-party project, called 'Strengthening of Democracy through Policy Development by Political Parties', had two objectives. The first one was to give scientific and research-based input to policy issues of interest to the political parties. The second objective was to prepare a three-year programme for and with the political parties.

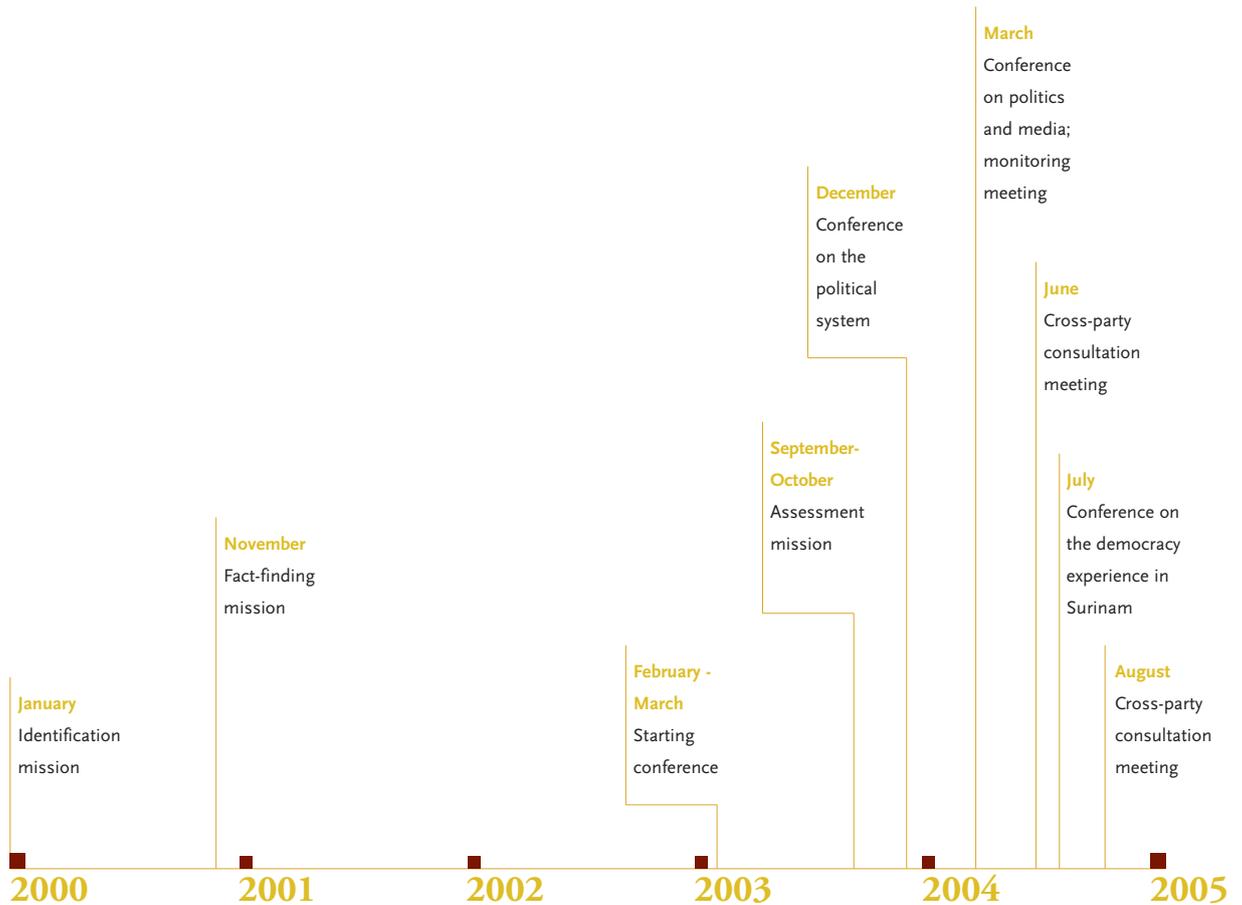
Content objectives and activities

In 2004 two conferences were organized for the political parties, the first one on politics and media

Presidential
Palace
in Paramaribo



Time Indicator



and the second one on how democracy is perceived. During the first conference, called 'Media and politics as partners in a democratic constitutional state', politicians and experts from Europe and the United States presented their views. Issues discussed included the communication between government and the media and the norms and values of the media. The second conference addressed the question of how the people of Surinam perceive democracy. The Democracy Unit provided the research material for this conference. Two of the conclusions of this research were that public trust in democracy and the democratic institutions in Surinam is limited and that local decision-making structures do not function very well.

The continuous discussion between the political parties and the Democracy Unit resulted in the IMD programme 2004-2007. On several occasions the Democracy Unit consulted the parties, both in cross-party meetings with all the parties and in bilateral meetings. Highly interested in a follow-up programme conducted by the University, the parties compiled a list of issues they need information or training on. The list consisted of the political system in Surinam, capacity-building of political parties,

and the public policy of Surinam. To inform the parties about a possible methodology for a multiparty debate on public policy, the IMD representative in Guatemala gave a presentation on the dialogue methodology used in that country.

Process objectives and activities

It is important for Surinam to be embedded in regional structures, both with Latin American and Caribbean countries, and to enhance its visibility in the region. In the IMD's contacts with the Organization of American States (OAS), this organization showed interest in inviting Surinam political parties to the Inter-American Forum on Political Parties (IAFPP). This high-level network of political parties of Latin America and North America aims at promoting democracy through exchanging information on issues of importance to political parties in the Western hemisphere. Due to hurricane Ivan, the IAFPP meeting of the Caribbean parties had to be postponed, but a Surinam delegation of party representatives did participate in the OAS/IAFPP meeting in Brazil in November. The delegation was accompanied by representatives of the Democracy Unit.

Summary of programme activities

JANUARY

January 2004 - October 2004

Strengthening of Democracy and Policy Development by Political Parties in Surinam

Partners: Democracy Unit of the Anton de Kom University, UNDP

Description: Discussion paper was drafted outlining options for the multi-annual programme; consultations were held with political parties on the content of that programme; conferences were organized on priority policy development issues; based on concluding discussions with the parties, the final programme document was presented

Results: A programme was developed to strengthen democracy and to support political parties in order to enable them to formulate development policy effectively and in a participatory manner, allowing for sustainable, national policy-making

NOVEMBER

Fourth annual meeting of the Inter-American forum on political parties

Partners: Democracy Unit of the Anton de Kom University; OAS

Description: Surinam politicians and representatives from the Democracy Unit presented a case-study of the politics of ethnicity in Surinam

Results: The Surinam delegation was able to attend the conference, present the political situation in Surinam, and exchange information with other politicians from the Latin American and Caribbean region, especially on the subject of ethnicity

Programme Support

Two IMD missions took place in 2004, one in March and one in September. During the first mission a mid-term monitoring meeting was held with the UNDP and the Democracy Unit. The monitoring guidelines that had been developed by the IMD were used for this meeting and the following issues were addressed: sustainability, ownership of the parties, growing trust and exchange between the parties and the partnership, and the organization of the project. This meeting led to intensified consultation with the parties. The overall conclusion was that the project had been conducted according to plan, although at a considerably slower pace.

In order for the programme to become functional, the Democracy Unit organized its basic infrastructure by arranging a room at the University and providing the necessary equipment.

Lessons learned

The impartiality of the University is an issue that is frequently discussed in Surinam. Some people fear that the scientific and independent position of the University is at stake by its getting involved with

political parties. The Democracy Unit faces the challenge of convincing the parties that it is possible to be impartial and to contribute to democracy in Surinam in an unbiased way. In order to do so, the University will support the political parties only in a cross-party approach that is transparent and guarantees the equal involvement of all parties.

It is a novelty for the IMD, the UNDP and the University to be working together in Surinam, and this new partnership led to some delay in implementing and reporting on the programme. When the IMD becomes involved in a new programme, it should realize that it can take some time for the other organizations to become familiar with the procedures and with the IMD reporting requirements; technical assistance might be needed.

Indonesia



Code of Conduct signed by all parties

In preparation of the elections, the National Election Council (KPU) and International Foundation for Election Support (IFES) developed a Code of Conduct (CoC) for the political parties. The CoC stipulated rules of behaviour for the parties during the time of campaigning and the elections, with a particular emphasis on preventing violent situations. The CoC was signed by the Secretaries-General of the twenty-four registered political parties. The text and signatures were printed and disseminated widely as flyers. The CoC contributed to the overall success of the election process.



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Context

In the year 2004 the political situation in Indonesia was dominated by general and presidential elections conducted on the basis of a profoundly renewed electoral system. The Indonesian people elected new members of the national and regional parliaments as well as members of a new legislative body, the *Dewan Perwakilan Daerah* (Regional Representatives' Assembly - DPD).

Furthermore, for the first time in Indonesia's history Indonesians directly elected a new president and vice-president in two rounds of voting. The whole process took up the larger part of the year, beginning in early April and ending with the inauguration of the president in late October.

Before the elections commenced there was concern about the possible high numbers of invalid votes, about the registration of the large number of parties, and about possible tensions and violence in conflict areas. However, (inter)national observers concluded that the elections had been free and fair. The 'old' parties PDI-P and Golkar did not do very well, while new parties such as the PKS and the PD won a significant number of votes. A relative newcomer, General Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, was elected president. It was especially this choice that made clear that Indonesians voted against corruption and the stagnation in the implementation of *Reformasi*.

After his election, the new president's actions are being closely monitored in Indonesia and abroad to see whether he lives up to his promises, which include restoring the confidence of foreign investors, boosting economic growth, restoring the country's judicial and educational systems and, above all, fighting corruption.

Programme framework

The IMD programme in Indonesia endeavours to respond to the complex political reality and needs of the country. The main aim of the core programme is to support multiparty democracy at a local level, initially in five selected regions: East Java, South Sulawesi, Banten, North

Code of Conduct brochure



Time Indicator



Sumatra and Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). In order to ensure an open and inclusive structure for the IMD programme, it was decided in May 2004 that a National Steering Committee (NSC) would accept responsibility for the programme. This Steering Committee, consisting of prominent and respected individuals from a broad spectrum of Indonesian society, has a mandate of three years to establish a programme at the regional level. In addition to the regional programmes, the NSC conducts activities at the national level in order to involve party leaderships in the programme. The IMD programme was implemented at the end of 2003 with an assessment in five regions by an Indonesian NGO named INSIST. Once the NSC was established, it started developing the programme contents and structure.

The focus of the programme is on building bridges between political actors and civil society by training local politicians and activists in the five regions on democratic principles. The NSC selects local implementing organizations through a tendering process to implement training sessions at the level of *kabupaten* or district. After three years the current members of the NSC will be replaced by elected representatives of the various regions.

The NSC has called the programme structure *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (Indonesian Community for Democracy - KID). It is supported by a secretariat with a programme manager, a secretary, an IT/communication person, and a financial specialist. With the KID in place, the NSC started a series of Round Table meetings with national political stakeholders. The discussions on issues such as the the relationship between democracy and the military system, social security, education, et cetera are

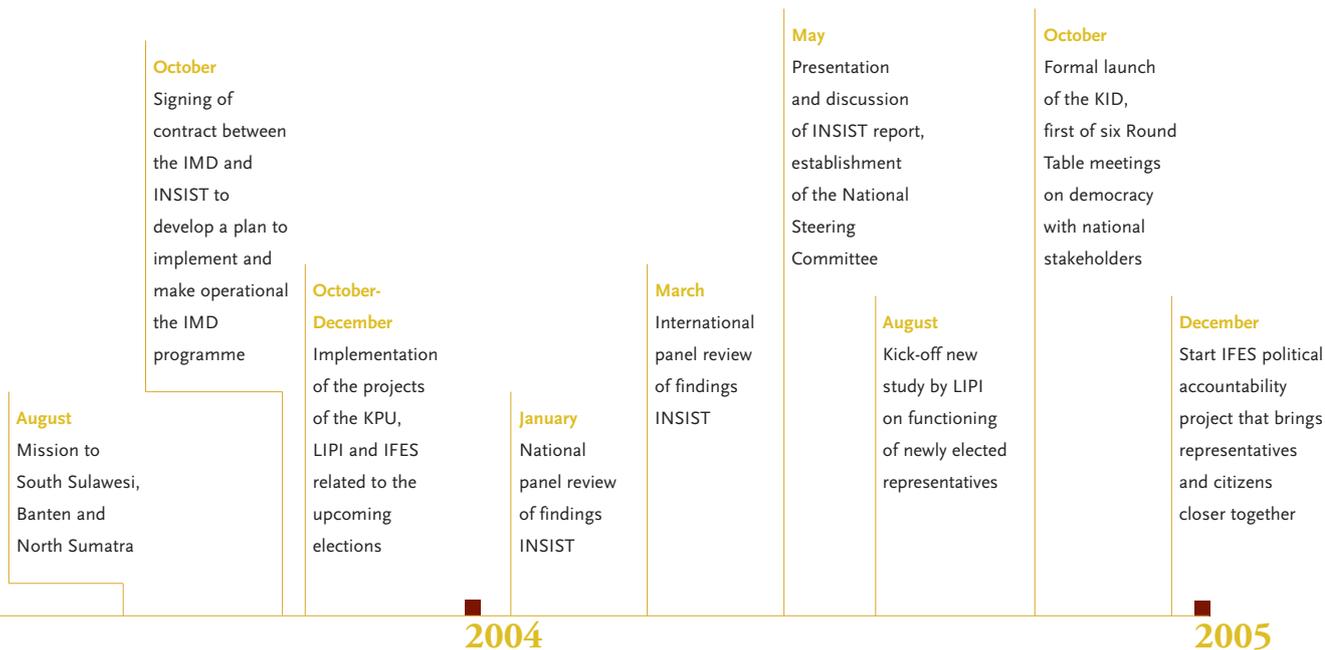
intended to raise awareness about the application of democratic principles.

While the preparations for establishing the KID were underway, the IMD supported various projects related to the general elections. One example is the development of a Code of Conduct by the National Election Council (KPU) for the political parties. Another example is a study by the Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI) of the selection processes of candidates in the various political parties. A follow-up research project by LIPI and the IMD is currently being implemented and will provide baseline data for the KID programme.

In cooperation with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the IMD helped a delegation of Indonesian parliamentarians and civil society representatives to participate in an international conference called *Democrats from the Islamic World*, which took place in Istanbul in April 2004. There will be follow-up activities to this conference in Indonesia during 2005 focusing on political parties in Southeast Asia.

Content objectives and activities

The IMD supported the production and distribution of a Code of Conduct which was signed by all registered political parties. Moreover, a voters' education project was run by the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) in five IMD regions to prepare voters for the new electoral system. LIPI studied the selection of candidates by the political parties. The KID started a series of Round Table meetings to raise the issue of democracy at the national political level, a series that will be finalized in 2005.



INSIST conducted research on the political situation at the local level in the five selected districts. Their report however, did not include a clear plan for a training programme. The decision to have the NSC take over the responsibility for the IMD programme caused some delay in establishing the five local training programmes. In 2005 these programmes will be the first priority of the KID who, by the end of 2004, was already in the process of starting a tendering procedure for local implementing agencies.

Process objectives and activities

With the establishment of the NSC, the IMD programme became the responsibility of independent Indonesian individuals from various backgrounds. They have committed themselves to including political party representatives in the programme at the local and regional levels in both the planning and implementation stages. At the national level they will work on bringing in the political parties through the Round Table sessions and other activities planned for 2005.

The IMD continued its partnerships with IFES and NDI through cooperative projects. Furthermore, during every visit to the country, the IMD staff had meetings with other partners working in the field of democratization in one way or another (for example, women's NGOs, *Kemitraan* /Partnership).

Programme support

During 2004 the IMD continued to make use of a local consultant, Mr Benny Subianto, who provided technical and logistical support to both the IMD staff

and its local partner organizations in Indonesia. There were five IMD missions to Indonesia, four of which were working visits and one with a more ceremonial character.

The IMD decided that an audit will be conducted on its first large contract implementation. It is especially important at the start of the programme to set financial standards. The audit will be conducted in the first months of 2005.

Lessons learned

The development of a programme on democracy training at the local level requires a great deal of dedicated time and effort. The programme needs to have a flexible structure so it can work in different settings and regions of the country. It needs to be inclusive so it is welcomed by all stakeholders in the political spectrum. And it needs to have a stable and strong base so it can survive in a complicated society. For all these reasons it is necessary to establish solid partnerships in which all partners are comfortable with one another. The time already invested in reaching the current stage will hopefully prove to have been time well spent in creating the necessary conditions for the core programme.

During 2005, the challenge for the KID will be to build inclusive programmes and to ensure the cooperation of the political parties and the civil society actors in the regions in which the programme will be implemented.

The signing of the Code of Conduct by all parties participating in the general elections and the dissemination of this code was a valuable activity that contributed to the successful unfolding of the year of elections in Indonesia.

Summary of programme activities

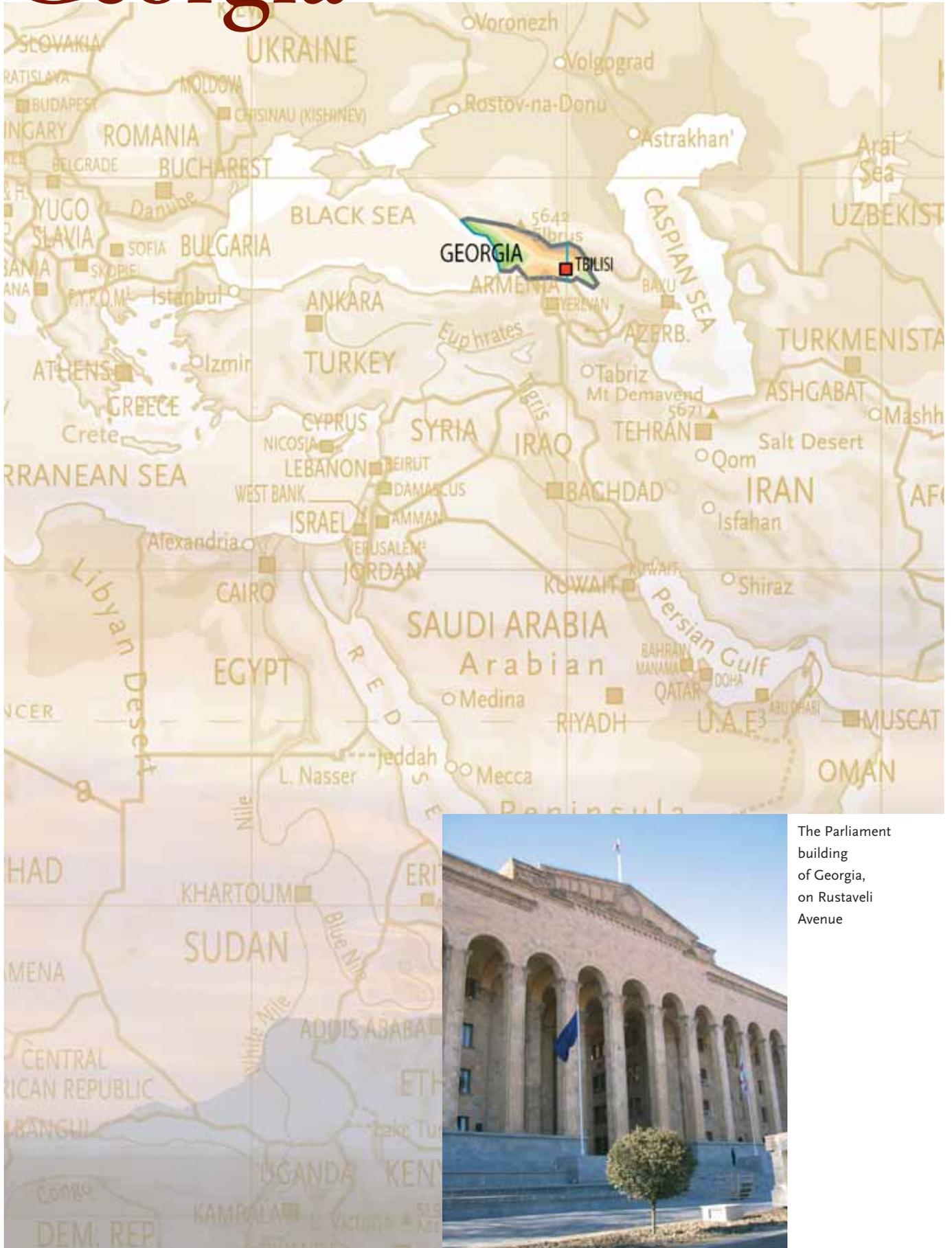
<h3>JANUARY</h3> <p>National panel review Yogyakarta <i>Partners:</i> INSIST and Indonesian experts invited by INSIST <i>Description:</i> First findings of INSIST are discussed by Indonesian experts <i>Results:</i> The input of national experts helps INSIST with the finalization of the study and the report and ensures an Indonesian perspective on things</p>	<h3>MARCH</h3> <p>International panel review Bali <i>Partners:</i> INSIST, Indonesian experts and a number of international experts invited by INSIST <i>Description:</i> Further discussion of the findings of INSIST <i>Results:</i> The input of (inter)national experts helped INSIST with the finalization of the study and the report</p>	<h3>MAY</h3> <p>Finalization INSIST study and establishment National Steering Committee <i>Partners:</i> INSIST and Indonesian experts <i>Description:</i> Together with its Indonesian partners, the IMD discussed how the IMD programme should further take shape; it was eventually decided that the programme should be carried by a group of respected individuals from diverse backgrounds, and the National Steering Committee (NSC) was established as a temporary body <i>Results:</i> Through the NSC, the IMD's core programme will be firmly anchored in Indonesian society, thus guaranteeing its pluralistic and inclusive character</p>	<h3>OCTOBER</h3> <p>Formal launch of the KID <i>Partner:</i> KID <i>Description:</i> The NSC introduced the KID to the public, the media and to those working in politics <i>Results:</i> KID is now known as a serious player in the field of democracy assistance among political parties, civil society organizations, and the general public in Indonesia</p>
<p>January - March</p> <p>Code of Conduct for Indonesian political parties <i>Partner:</i> IFES <i>Description:</i> In cooperation with the KPU drafting, printing, distribution, and socialization of a Code of Conduct (CoC) for Indonesian political parties. The CoC was signed by the Secretaries-General of all twenty-four parties registered for the elections <i>Results:</i> Strong commitment of political parties to avoid violence during the election year; awareness of this commitment in their constituencies</p>	<h3>APRIL</h3> <p>Launch of research results on candidate selection by political parties <i>Partner:</i> LIPI <i>Description:</i> Research findings were presented to public and professionals <i>Results:</i> The research provided interesting and useful information. The study will be published in Indonesian and English</p>	<p>May - December</p> <p>Process of establishing structure and programme of the Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID) <i>Partner:</i> NSC <i>Description:</i> The NSC worked on a physical, legislative, and programme structure for the KID, including an office, support staff, a website, legal regulations, task descriptions, and programme planning at local and national level <i>Results:</i> The KID is now fully equipped to implement the IMD's core programme in Indonesia</p>	<p>October - December</p> <p>Two Round Table meetings <i>Partner:</i> KID <i>Description:</i> The KID held its first Round Table meetings with representatives of political parties and civil society <i>Results:</i> These Round Table meetings furthered dialogues, enhanced the interest and commitment of various stakeholders, and helped put democracy development on the national agenda</p>
<p>January - April</p> <p>Voters' education <i>Partner:</i> IFES <i>Description:</i> Developing and broadcasting TV and radio programmes in different regions to prepare voters for new electoral system <i>Results:</i> Increased knowledge among the Indonesian people of the consequences of new legislation with regard to elections and legislative bodies</p>	<p>International Conference Muslim Democrats in Istanbul <i>Partner:</i> NDI <i>Description:</i> With support of the IMD, a delegation of Indonesian MPs and representatives of civil society participated in the international conference <i>Result:</i> The conference showed that Islam and democracy are not strange bedfellows, on the contrary; it emphasized 'good news' about Islam; this awareness invigorated the democrats from Indonesia (and Mali), who visited the conference on the IMD's behalf; they were able to widen their networks among other Muslim democrats; a follow-up to this conference with a focus on South East Asia will be organized in 2005</p>		
			<h3>DECEMBER</h3> <p>December 2004 - March 2005</p> <p>Start of the project 'Enhancing Political Accountability in Indonesia' <i>Partner:</i> IFES <i>Description:</i> Bringing together citizens and their elected representatives <i>Result:</i> This project increased accountability in a number of regions and enhanced awareness among legislators and constituents alike that indeed representatives in the various parliaments can and should be held accountable; by making representatives visit their constituencies and by involving local media (newspapers and radio stations), the project also offered examples of ways and means of how this can be done</p>

Chapter four

Multi- and Bilateral Programme



Georgia



The Parliament building of Georgia, on Rustaveli Avenue

Context

The 2003 Rose Revolution led to high expectations about the development of a democratic system in Georgia. Widely supported by the people of Georgia, the new Government started in 2004 with an ambitious plan to transform the country into a modern, democratic, and non-corrupt society.

One year after the Revolution, many people believe that in order to achieve the above goal, it is essential to establish accountable and effective political institutions. To accomplish this goal, political parties need to develop their institutional capacity. In most parties, internal democracy is underdeveloped and suspicion towards other parties is high, resulting in an unsustainable party system. There is also a lack of capacity to produce political party programmes. As in most post-Soviet societies, politics is still a game for the few, closed to the many trapped in the daily grind.

Programme framework

The enhancement of democratic political institutions is crucial for the sustainability of democracy in Georgia. After several consultations with key and international stakeholders in Georgia, both the IMD and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organisation of Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) proposed to initiate a concise identification and analysis of the current situation of Georgian political institutions, particularly of political parties and their representation in Parliament. This assessment will be carried out in 2005. It will be an interactive process between different actors in which political parties themselves will produce a self-assessment of their organizations. The process will provide the analytical foundation on which future assistance programmes can be built. The assessment will conclude with a conference during which a final report will be presented and discussed.

Process objectives and activities

The main objective was to start cooperation with OSCE-ODIHR and to enhance local ownership by directly involving the Georgian parties in the proposed research project. At the end of 2004, the contract between the IMD and the ODIHR was signed, and the political parties informally agreed on the assessment. Furthermore, a local institute had to be identified which could execute the proposed assessment. This institute will be the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD). The assessment will be coordinated by Mr Ghia Nodia, the Director of the CIPDD.

Content objectives and activities

The aim of this project is to identify and analyse the political institutions in Georgia and to present practical recommendations for their modernization. The local expertise and capacity to conduct the assessment, including an assessment of women's participation, will be developed through both the research process itself and through the training session that will be organized by the IMD's Multi- and Bilateral Programme (IMD-MBP) in 2005.

Programme support

The project will be conducted in Georgia by a local assessment team. The research process will be monitored by an advisory group. The project will be managed by the IMD-MBP unit.

The methodology and a set of key questions will be developed by both the assessment team and the IMD-MBP, together with a number of political scientists from the Netherlands.

Lessons learned

The development of democratic, transparent and accountable institutions is essential for the consolidation of democracy in Georgia. Given the international assistance in the last decades and the results achieved, a comprehensive analysis of the lessons learned plus an assessment of the current situation will be most welcome. Such an analysis will constitute the basis for middle- and long-term activities by international organizations and their local counterparts.

Time Indicator



Nicaragua





Context

After the general elections of 1990, Nicaragua entered a difficult albeit positive transition to democracy. Coming from a very violent past of Cold War inspired revolutions and counter revolutions in the 1970s and 1980s, the country has experienced relatively smooth alternations of power through relatively free and fair elections. Although Nicaragua has a multiparty system, the situation is de facto one of multiparty bipolarity, since changes of government since 1990 have been within the same right-wing bloc at the national level, and between them and the left-wing bloc at the local level.

Like other countries in the region, Nicaragua faces major problems: endemic corruption, abuse of public finances, extreme poverty and inequality. Furthermore, the domination of the state and its entities by the two antagonistic and belligerent political parties – *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* (FSLN) and *Partido Liberal Constitucionalista* (PLC) – is considered to be the central political problem. Bringing more openness, transparency and diversity of political alternatives into this bipartisan and quite weak presidential system is generally perceived as one of the great challenges for the future of Nicaragua. In 2006, new general elections will take place.

Programme framework

Following recent analyses of the situation of political parties in Central America by institutions like the Organization of American States (OAS), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and International IDEA, demand has arisen for assistance in modernizing political parties in the region. In a dialogue with the G-4 (UNDP, the Swedish and Netherlands Embassies and the British Department for International Development - DFID)

political parties in Nicaragua have expressed their interest in obtaining such assistance.

In mid-2004, the IMD's Multi- and Bilateral Programme (IMD-MBP) was requested to analyse that demand and to consider possibilities for developing a programme to be implemented through a UNDP-IMD joint venture. This 'Preparatory Assessment', as it is called, started in November 2004 and will be finalized in February 2005. It has three main objectives:

- To produce a picture of the institutional and programmatic situation of the participating political parties;
- To consult international actors about how to proceed in the case of a multi-annual programme to assist the democratization and modernization of political parties;
- To produce the blueprint for such a programme, including the content, objectives, organization and budget for the period 2005-2007.

After two missions to Nicaragua in 2004 (September and November), during which consultations took place with local stakeholders and the international community, the IMD-MBP expects to be involved in a multi-annual programme. In February 2005 the IMD-MBP will present a programme proposal entitled 'Assistance Modernization Political Parties 2005-2007'.

Content objectives and activities

The political system shows a strong tendency to remain bipartisan with both parties involved in a 'power-sharing game'. Bipolarity certainly exists during electoral periods, but the political conduct between elections is rather of a 'political deals-seeking' and policy-oriented Assembly. Both political parties (FSLN and PLC) are also highly institutionalized and have a stable constituency (40 and 50 percent, respectively). Both are also accused of misusing institutional power, which hinders human development, poverty reduction, the reduction of inequalities and the fight against corruption. A new political party, *Alianza por la República* (APRE), has arisen out of discontent with both parties. APRE took sides with the president (Mr Bolaños, formerly PLC) and has gained strong support from international agencies. Nonetheless, the probability that APRE will succeed as a third force is low. At the municipal elections of November 2004, APRE was not able to become the third political party able to compete with the other two, even though one-third of the electorate is instable. Another problem is the general lack of knowledge of what political parties are all about and how they work in Nicaragua.

Process objectives and activities

At this initial stage, the main objective was to start the analysis in close cooperation with the political parties, the UNDP and the G4 countries. That objective was achieved. Two formal structures were created: the Connection Group (consisting of representatives from the political parties) and the Technical Consultative Group (consisting of the staff at the embassies responsible for this programme).

Programme support

In December 2004 a local coordinator was appointed at UNDP's office in Managua who will work under the supervision of the IMD-MBP to continue the ongoing dialogue with local stakeholders and the G4. In this preparatory assessment phase, a special questionnaire was used (developed by the IMD) to obtain a detailed image of the political parties in three areas: 1) involvement of party members, democracy and procedures to elect officials; 2) party finances and the use of resources, emphasis on tools to hold public opinion polls; 3) the party sectors lacking expertise and capacity. This will produce the needed 'demand-description' on the basis of which the programme will be designed with the indicators to define the starting points of the programme as well as the criteria for evaluating its results.

The assessment was conducted in November and December 2004 through meetings with representatives from the four political parties represented in the National Assembly (the right wing PLC, the leftist FSLN, the protest coalition of small parties APRE, the small religious Camino Cristiano) and relevant stakeholders at the local level (YATAMA at the Atlantic Coast). It suggested a substantial demand for assistance but a poor understanding of what this assistance should mean in actual practice.

Lessons learned

Though it is still too early to draw lessons, one general conclusion may be that in the democratization and institutionalization of political parties more work needs to be done in strengthening professionalism and transparency. Political parties in Nicaragua have had relatively little experience, competitive elections having been held only since 1984. At the beginning of 2005, the political leaders of the PLC and FSLN will identify their candidates for both the 2006 presidential elections and the leaders in the National Assembly. Taking into account that the present political leaders will do just about anything to stay in power, this implies the need to support the internal democracy of the

Time Indicator



parties. A rehabilitation of the idea of politics and its actors is urgently needed. It is important to link this work with formal actors outside the political parties (academics, the media, the private sector, et cetera). Enhancing the universities' capacity to produce focus groups is part of the programme proposal and has been welcomed by the political parties. It is also important to establish a link with the young leadership initiative. The need to develop a more participatory democracy requires a political class and organizations which are inclusive, rooted in society, and not entrenched behind the party walls.

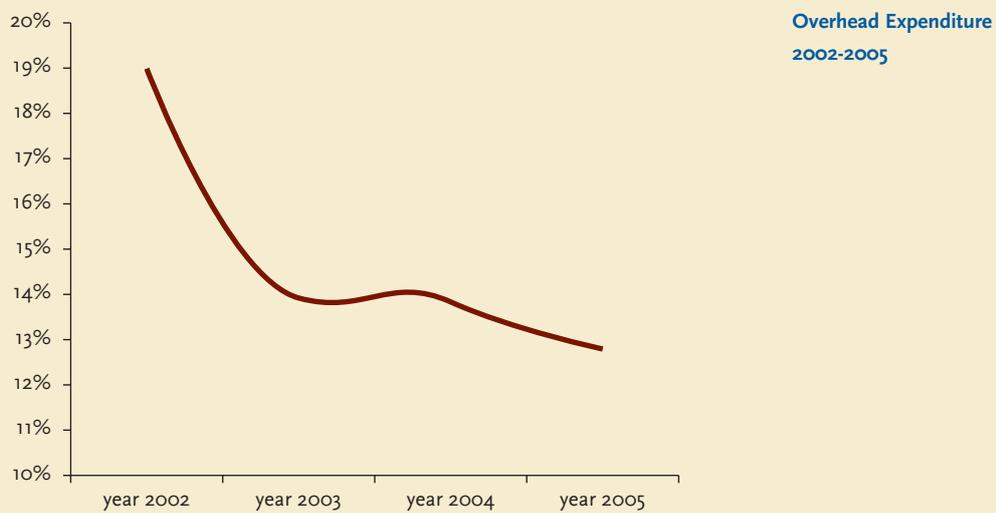
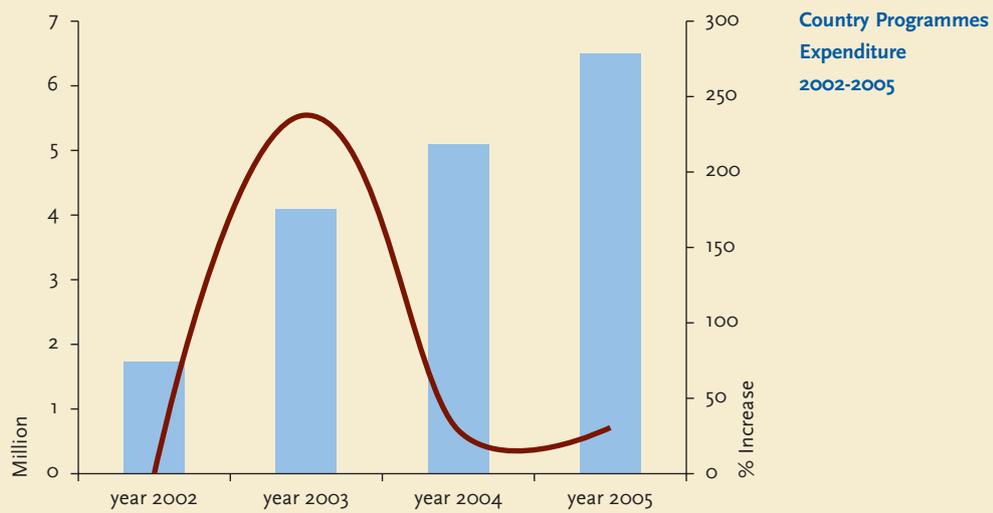
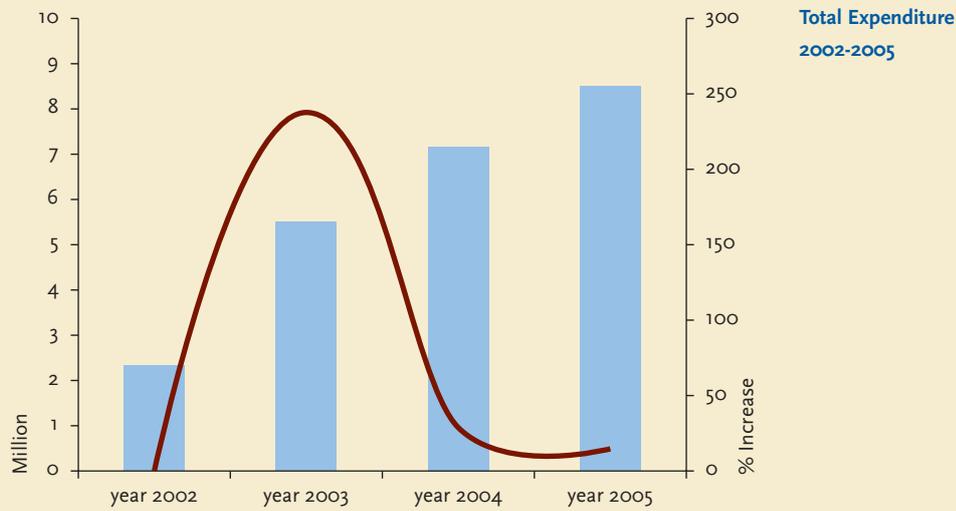
A strategy is needed in which the work with political parties is a visible and integral part of an active approach by the UNDP and the bilateral donors and a condition for international assistance provided to the country.

The map of international agencies active in the field of political parties, directly or indirectly, shows that there are many ad hoc activities or plans for 2005/2006. USAID and IRI will be strongly active during these years because of the forthcoming general elections. Others, such as the German Foundations and the OAS, have activities or plans that should be taken into account by the UNDP-IMD programme. All international organizations are willing to coordinate and exchange ideas.

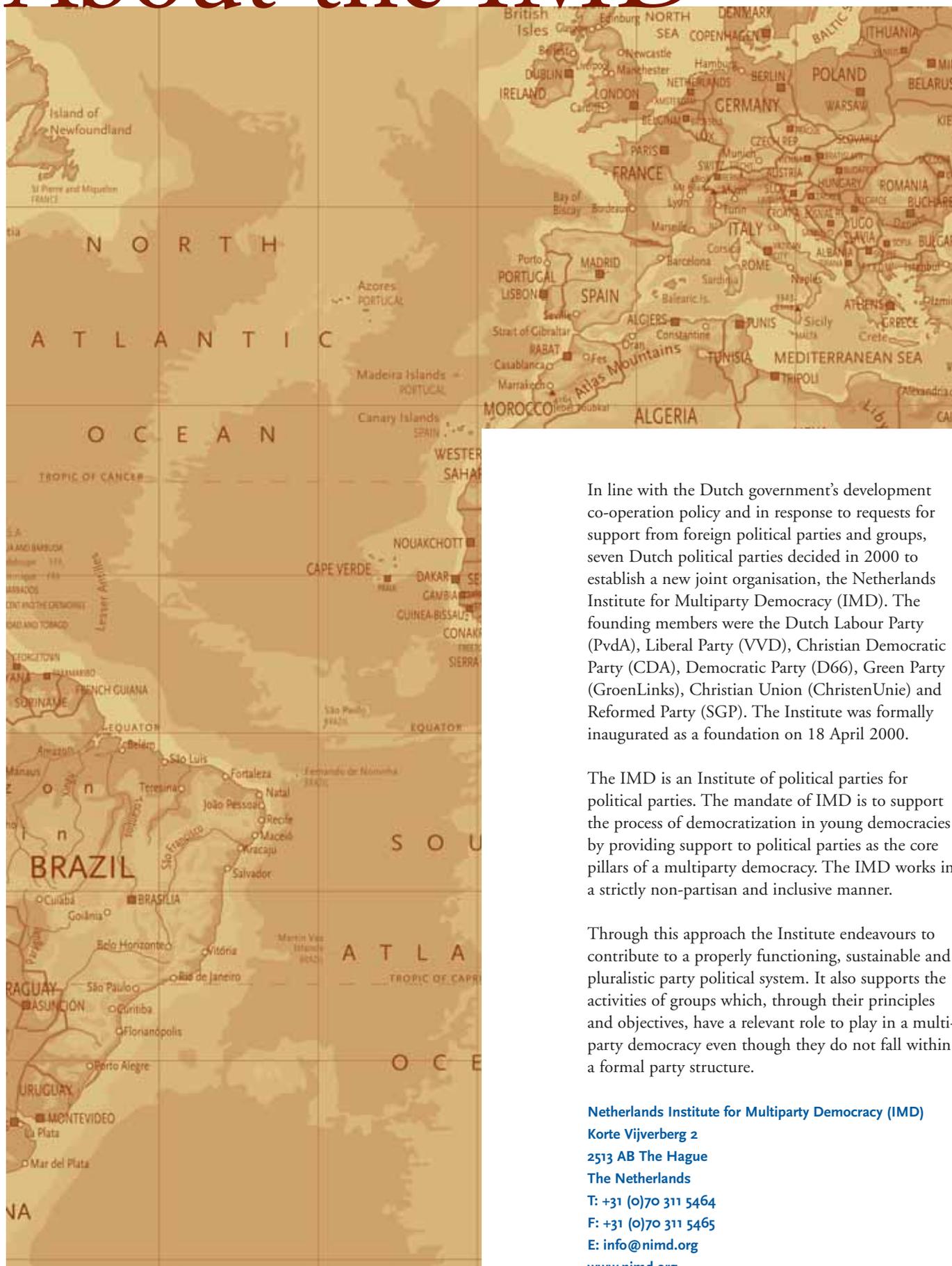
Appendix 1

Statement of revenue and expenditure - cash basis

	Budget 2005 €	Actual 2004 €	Actual 2003 €
Revenue			
Support Ministry of Foreign Affairs: programme	8,500,000	7,100,000	4,671,874
Support UNDP: programme MBP Nicaragua	-	16,297	-
Interest	PM	-6,912	12,053
<i>Total revenue</i>	8,500,000	7,109,385	4,683,927
Expenditure			
Country programmes			
- Mozambique	440,000	757,316	635,831
- Tanzania	464,000	240,437	334,670
- Zimbabwe	480,000	306,318	463,261
- Zambia	350,000	326,166	224,985
- Malawi	338,000	315,670	194,075
- Ghana	700,000	625,715	448,762
- Mali	207,000	184,198	53,509
- Guatemala	728,000	635,750	513,106
- Bolivia	465,000	259,369	235,239
- Surinam	216,000	75,096	135,565
- Indonesia	680,000	463,036	243,513
- South Africa	150,000	194,535	205,442
- South and East Africa	682,000	-	-
- Kenya	700,000	289,105	20,331
- Technical support	-	310,000	-
<i>Total country programmes</i>	6,600,000	4,982,711	3,708,289
Support Netherlands political parties	350,000	364,726	306,626
Evaluation	200,000	72,350	65,320
Management	1,100,000	1,030,883	876,720
Special purposes	250,000	279,496	165,888
MBP			
- Nicaragua	-	43,810	-
- Georgia	-	11,637	-
<i>Total MBP</i>	-	55,447	-
<i>Total expenditure</i>	8,500,000	6,785,613	5,122,843
<i>Movement in cash</i>	-	323,772	-438,916



About the IMD



In line with the Dutch government's development co-operation policy and in response to requests for support from foreign political parties and groups, seven Dutch political parties decided in 2000 to establish a new joint organisation, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD). The founding members were the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), Liberal Party (VVD), Christian Democratic Party (CDA), Democratic Party (D66), Green Party (GroenLinks), Christian Union (ChristenUnie) and Reformed Party (SGP). The Institute was formally inaugurated as a foundation on 18 April 2000.

The IMD is an Institute of political parties for political parties. The mandate of IMD is to support the process of democratization in young democracies by providing support to political parties as the core pillars of a multiparty democracy. The IMD works in a strictly non-partisan and inclusive manner.

Through this approach the Institute endeavours to contribute to a properly functioning, sustainable and pluralistic party political system. It also supports the activities of groups which, through their principles and objectives, have a relevant role to play in a multiparty democracy even though they do not fall within a formal party structure.

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E: info@nimd.org
www.nimd.org

IMD Board



J.A. van Kemenade *President*

Prof. Dr. Van Kemenade is Minister of State of the Netherlands. He was a Member of Parliament for the Dutch Labour Party, was Minister of Education, was Mayor of the City of Eindhoven, and has been a Royal Commissioner for the Province of North Holland.

J.J.A.M van Gennip (CDA) *Vice-president*

Member of the IMD Board and Senator of the CDA party. At present Senator van Gennip is member of the Board of Directors of International IDEA, Senior Vice-president of the SID (Society for International Development). He is also President of Socires and is on the Board of a variety of civil society organizations.

M.C.J. Groothuizen (D66) *Deputy Vice-president*

Mr Groothuizen, D66's former International Secretary, is head of the Financial and Economic Affairs Department of the Ministry of Justice.

W. Haitsma (ChristenUnie) *Treasurer*

Member of the Christian Union party. Mr Haitsma is a business and mediation consultant and was previously an entrepreneur in the construction sector.

C.S.L. Janse (SGP) *Member*

Mr Janse is member of the SGP party. He is a political scientist and became journalist after an initial academic career. He worked for 25 years at the Reformatorisch Dagblad, a Christian Reformed Daily of which he was the editor-in-chief when he recently retired.

R. van der Meer (VVD) *Member*

Mr Van der Meer is a member of the VVD party. He is Director government relations and policy, National Aerospace Laboratory and board member of the Liberal International group in the Netherlands.

A.P. Pinto Scholtbach (PvdA) *Member*

Mr Pinto Scholtbach is member of the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA. He is a political scientist by training and worked as a journalist, as co-ordinator of the Foreign Affairs committee of the PvdA in the Dutch Parliament, and, until December 2003, as International Secretary and Vice-chair of the Labour Party (PvdA). Mr Pinto Scholtbach officially resigned from the Board in June and was succeeded by:

R. Koole (PvdA) *Member*

Mr Ruud Koole is Chairman of the Dutch Labor Party and lecturer of political science. He is an historian by training. Mr Koole was previously the Director of the Documentation Centre for Dutch Political Parties. Mr Koole joined the IMD Board in October.

S. Pormes (GroenLinks) *Member*

On behalf of the party of GroenLinks (GreenLeft), Senator Sam Pormes is the spokesperson for Foreign Affairs in the Dutch Senate. He's also the executive director of a center for international solidarity (COS Drenthe).

Supervisory Council



J.P.R.M. van Laarhoven (CDA)

J.J.M. Penders (CDA)

P. Luijten (VVD) *chairman*
(resigned in October)

T. Kuperus (VVD)

J. Bos (PvdA)

A.G. Koenders (PvdA)

B. Stolte-van Empelen (GroenLinks)
member of presidium

M. Cornelissen (GroenLinks) *resigned*

F. Karimi (Groenlinks)

I. Engelshoven (D66)

W. Derksen (D66)

G. Geijtenbeek (ChristenUnie)

A. Bloed (SGP) *resigned*

J. Dankers (SGP) *member of presidium*

New Supervisory Council members in 2004

J. W. Bertens (D66)

M. de Jong (D66)

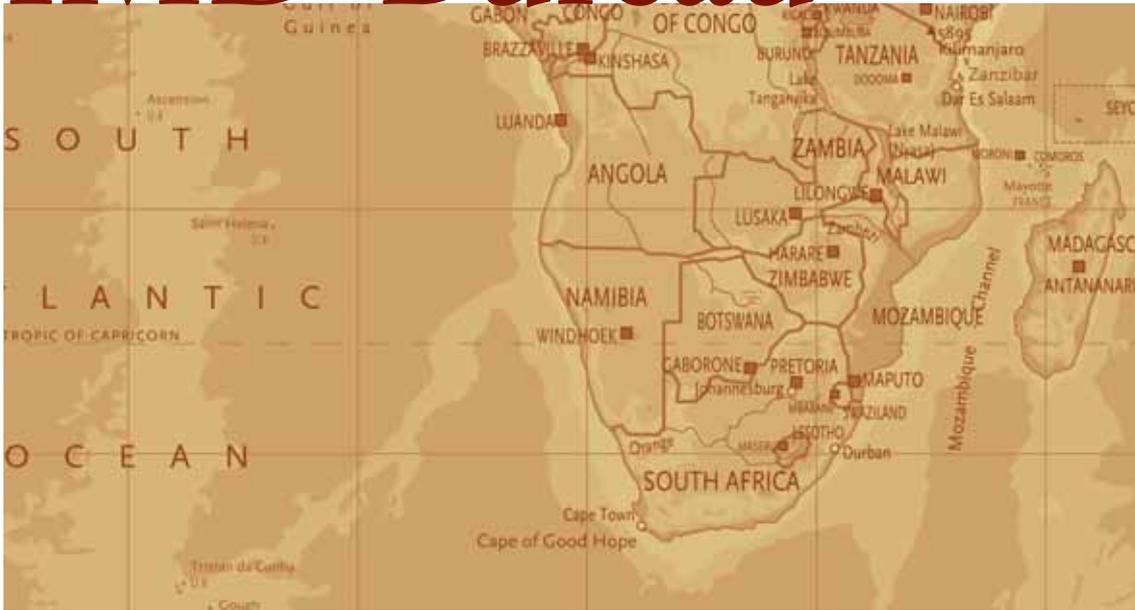
K. Ollongren (D66)

R. Donk (SGP)

J. Lock (SGP)

R. Kuiper (Christenunie)

IMD Bureau



H.R. von Meijenfeldt	<i>Executive Director</i>
J. Tuit	<i>Senior Policy Officer</i>
M. Dijk	<i>Policy Officer Africa</i>
W. Derks	<i>Policy Officer Asia/Indonesia</i>
H. Schroyen	<i>Policy Officer Latin America</i>
M.T.G. van Doorn	<i>Policy Officer International Relations</i>
L. van den Doel	<i>Assistant to the Policy Team</i>
Y. de Baay	<i>Office Manager</i>
W.P. de Jager	<i>Information Manager</i>
A. Pinto Scholtbach	<i>Multi- and Bilateral Programme Director (as of July)</i>
E. Revesz	<i>Manager Finance, Control and Personnel (as of July)</i>

Programme Officers

K. Beroud	<i>GroenLinks</i>
E. van Koppen	<i>PvdA</i>
E. Zeijlemaker	<i>PvdA</i>
T. Maas	<i>D66</i>
J.P. Manni	<i>ChristenUnie</i>
M. Lens van Rijn	<i>VVD</i>
S. van Rosse	<i>CDA</i>
M. van Vliet	<i>CDA</i>
K. de Vries	<i>SGP</i>

Field Representatives

D. Cruz	<i>Representative, Guatemala</i>
J.N. van Overbeeke	<i>Regional Representative for East and Southern Africa (resigned in August)</i>
R. Nijskens	<i>Regional Representative for East and Southern Africa (as of September)</i>

Financial Services

A. Mijnsbergen	<i>Fiadlon (till September)</i>
F. Boersema	<i>Fiadlon</i>



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