

| Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy | |
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Annual report 2006

NIMD Programme Countries



Contents

| | | | Chapter one | Introducing NIMD | 12 |
|----------------|--------------|--|--------------------|--------------------------------------|----|
| | | | Chapter two | Relationships with partners | 14 |
| | | | Chapter three | Core country and regional programmes | 15 |
| | | | 3.1 Africa | | 15 |
| | | | 3.1.1 Ghana | | 16 |
| | | | 3.1.2 Kenya | | 18 |
| | | | 3.1.3 Malawi | | 20 |
| | | | 3.1.4 Mali | | 22 |
| | | | 3.1.5 Mozambic | IIIe | 24 |
| | | | 3.1.6 South Afric | | 26 |
| | | | 3.1.7 Tanzania | | 28 |
| | | | 3.1.8 Zambia | | 30 |
| | | | 3.1.9 Zimbabwe | | 32 |
| | | Georgia | | Southern Africa regional programme | 34 |
| The T | | | | a regional programme | 36 |
| | | | 3.1.11 WCSt Allice | a regional programme | 50 |
| | <i>)</i> | | 3.2 Latin Ame | rica | 39 |
| *** T | | Afghanistan | 3.2.1 Bolivia | 7104 | 40 |
| | 7 | | 3.2.2 Guatemala | | 42 |
| | | and the same of th | 3.2.3 Surinam | | 44 |
| | | | 0.2.0 Gaririari | | |
| | | 1 of LA | 3.3 Asia | | 47 |
| Mary 19 | | | 3.3.1 Afghanista | n | 48 |
| | | A INST | 3.3.2 Indonesia | | 50 |
| | | | 100 | | |
| | | | Chapter four | Multilateral programmes | 53 |
| | | | 4.1 Introduction | | 53 |
| | Kenya | Indonesia | 4.2 Andean re | | 54 |
| | | | 4.3 Ecuador | | 56 |
| V | | | 4.4 Nicaragua | | 58 |
| | Malawi | | 4.5 Georgia | | 60 |
| | | | (A ^{ref} | | ĸ |
| | Mozambique | | Appendix 1 | | 63 |
| // | | | About NIMD: | | 64 |
| | Zimbabwe | | - The board | | 64 |
| 1 / The second | | | – The superviso | ry council | 65 |
| / | South Africa | | - The bureau | | 65 |
| | South Africa | | | | |
| | | | Appendix 2 | Publications and events in 2006 | 66 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Appendix 3 | Financial report | 67 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Colophon | | 72 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

Political events calendar



2003 2004 2005 2006 NIMD moves to new office 2007

Ghana 2004 John Kufuor elected president

Kenya 2004
Start NIMD programme,
establishment Centre for
Multiparty Democracy (CMD)

Malawi 2004 Bingu Wa Mutharika elected president

Malawi 2004
Start NIMD programme

Malawi 2005

Launch Centre for Multiparty
Democracy (CMD)

Mali 2003 Start NIMD programme Mali 2007
Presidential and
parliamentarian elections

ESARP 2005
Start East and Southern Africa
Regional Programme

WARP 2006 Start West Africa Regional Programme

Mozambique 2004 Armando Guebuza elected president

Political events calendar

1954 1960 1965 1975 1980 1990 2000 NIMD established 2002

South Africa 1992

End of Apartheid regime

South Africa 1994

Organisation of Dutch political parties (NZA) starts democracy-assistance programme

South Africa 1994

Nelson Mandela elected president

South Africa 1999

Thabo Mbeki succeeds Mandela as president

Tanzania 1964

Tanganyika and Zanzibar form United Republic of Tanzania

Zambia 1964

Independence (from UK)

Tanzania 1995

First multiparty elections, Benjamin Mkapa elected president

Zambia 1990

Multi-party system re-introduced by President Kenneth Kaunda

Zambia 1991 Frederick Chiluba elected president

Zambia 1996

Frederick Chiluba re-elected

Zambia 2001 Levy Mwanawas

Levy Mwanawasa elected president

Zimbabwe 1965

Unilateral declaration of Independence of Rhodesia

Zimbabwe 1980

Independence of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe 1980

Parliamentary elections:

Robert Mugabe becomes

Prime Minister

Zimbabwe 1990

Presidential Elections:

Robert Mugabe

elected president

Zimbabwe 1995

Parliamentary Elections:

large majority for ZANU-PF

Zimbabwe 1996

Presidential Elections: Robert Mugabe re-elected as president

Zimbabwe 2000

Parliamentary Elections: MDC gets nearly as many votes as ZANU-PF

Zimbabwe 2002

Tanzania 2002

programme

programme

Zimbabwe 2002

Presidential Elections: Robert Mugabe is re-elected as president, but is seriously challenged by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC)

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2003 2004 2005 2006 NIMD moves to new office 2007

South Africa 2004
ANC wins elections again,
Mbeki re-elected
South Africa 2004
Start NIMD programme

Tanzania 2005 Jakay Kikwete elected president Tanzania 2006 Launch Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD)

Zambia 2003 Start NIMD programme **Zambia** 2006 Levy Mwanawasa re-elected

Zimbabwe 2005
Parliamentary Elections:
ZANU-PF is again the largest party

Political events calendar

| | | | | | | / april | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1954 19 | 960 | 1965 | 1975 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 NIMD established | | 2002 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | Bolivia 2002 Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada elected president | Bolivia 200 |
| | | | | | | | Bolivia 2002 | Start NIMD programme |
| : | | | | | | | Establishment of the Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy (FBDM) | |
| Guatemala US-support democratic Jacobo Arb | ted ov ally el | erthrow ected p | | | | | | |
| | | | 60-1996 | | the state of the s | iuatemala 1996 | | |
| : C | Civil wa | u | | | : 3 | igning of the Peace Agreement Guatemala 1999 General Elections, Alfonso Portillo Cabrera elected president | | Guatemala 2002 Start NIMD |
| | | | Surina | m 1975 | | : elected president | ' | programme |
| | | | | ation of inde he Netherla | | | | |
| | | | | Surinam 19 Military reg | 980-1987 | | | |
| | | | | | Surinam 1987 Elections and | | | |
| | | | | | of a new const | | | |
| | | | | | Surinam Ronald Ve | | | |
| | | | | | elected p | resident, Jules Wijdenbosch | | |
| | | | | | S | urinam 1996 | | |
| | | | | | i J | ules Wijdenbosch re-elected Surinam 2000 | | |
| | | | | | | Ronald Venetiaan re-elected | | |
| | | | | | | | Afghanistan 2001 US-led military operation ends Taliban regime | |
| donesia 1945 eclaration of inc | denend | dence | | | | Indonesia 1999 First free elections since | | Indonesia 2002 |
| om The Netherl | | | | | | the late 1960s | | East Timor becomes independe |
| | | | | | | | Nicaragua 2001 Enrique Bolaños elected president | |
| | | | | | | | Nicaragua 2002 Daniel Ortega re-elected as | |
| | | | | | i i | | leader Sandinista opposition party | |
| | | | | | | 1991 declares independence from USSR msakhurdia elected president | , | |
| | | | | | Georgia | 1991-1994 | | |
| | | | | | Ge | tat followed by civil war | | |
| | | | | | Ed | uard Shevardnadze elected presid Georgia 2000 | ent | |
| | | | | | | Shevardnadze re-elected | | |

Bolivia 2003 Sánchez de Lozada resigns, Carlos Mesa becomes president Bolivia 2005 Socialist leader Evo Morales elected president

Guatemala 2002 Oscar Berger Perdomo elected president

Andean Region 2005

Start NIMD programme

Afghanistan 2004 Hamid Karzai

Indonesia 2004 Parliamentary elections

Indonesia 2004

elected president

First direct presidential elections, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono elected president

Surinam 2005

Ronald Venetiaan re-elected

Afghanistan 2005 First free parliamentary elections since 1973

Ecuador 2006
Parliamentary elections

Ecuador 2006 Rafael Correa wins presidential elections

Nicaragua 2004 Start NIMD/ UNDP Programme **Nicaragua** 2005 Government and opposition embroiled in power struggle Nicaragua 2006 Daniel Ortega elected president

Georgia 2003 Shevardnadze deposed by Rose Revolution Georgia 2004 Mikhail Saakashvilli elected president Georgia 2005 Start NIMD/OSCE-ODIHR/ CIPDD programme **Georgia** 2006 Publication book

he Political Landscape of Georgia

Preface



By Prof Dr J.A. van Kemenade President NIMD

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Countries are not poor because of democracy. On the contrary: policy makers increasingly acknowledge that democracy is an important prerequisite for improving human security and development. Incorporating the links between democracy, development and security in the way international assistance is provided is one of the major challenges on today's international cooperation agenda.

Acknowledging the importance of well functioning, pluriform political systems and the value of institutionalised political parties within democratic societies is gradually gaining ground. These systems and parties are meeting the challenges of fragile or failing states and of societies in perpetual violent conflict.

In the past year there have been numerous authoritative articles on a what is seen as 'backlash' against democracy around the world. The unprecedented spread of democracy during the 1990s has slowed down significantly during the current decade. Many democratisation processes came to a halt and now appear stalled. The war in Iraq, which was instigated under the pretext of promoting democracy, created the perception that support for democracy necessarily entails change of regime. Competition for scarce energy sources has increased the leverage of energy exporting countries, many of which are autocratic or downright dictatorial. In short, the context in which we operate is becoming more and more challenging and is placing ever-greater demands on those engaged in supporting the advancement of democracy.

Helping political parties to take greater responsibility for democratic political reform within their countries and regions as well as for their own institutional development is at the core of NIMD's work. Partnerships with political parties spanned a total of 17 countries across the world during 2006, including 152 political parties. Through NIMD's strategic partnerships with multilateral organisations, the potential for new programme activities was investigated and preparations were made for new programmes in Ecuador, Burundi, Afghanistan and Moldova. In addition, a special programme on Democracy and Media was launched in Latin America, in cooperation with Radio Netherlands Worldwide, FreeVoice and IYS, the Latin American Institute for Press and Society.

The programmes we support increasingly combine a number of the following activities: ensuring that elections are transparent and proceed without conflict; supporting constitutional reform processes; enhancing the institutional capacity of political parties; promoting the inclusion of women, youth, indigenous populations and people with disabilities in the political process; promoting state funding for political parties; supporting internal party democracy; improving relations between political parties with civil society and media; and, institutionalising inter-party cooperation for consolidating democracy.

Early in December 2006, the new NIMD office was officially opened by the Dutch Minister for Development Cooperation, Mrs Agnes van Ardenne-van der Hoeven and by the Kenyan Minister for Local Government, Mr Musikari Kombo, on behalf of the NIMD partners. With this new facility, which is situated close to the Dutch parliament and, even more importantly, with the trust that has grown between our partners and ourselves, NIMD appears well equipped to take its challenging democracy support mandate forward at the beginning of the new four-year programme (from 1 January 2007).

Introducing NIMD

The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) is an organisation of political parties in The Netherlands for political parties in young democracies. Founded in 2000 by seven parties (CDA, PvdA, VVD, Groenlinks, D66, Christen Unie en SGP), NIMD currently works with more than 150 political parties from 17 countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe.

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

In a relatively short period of time, NIMD has received international recognition for its work. The unique character of NIMD as a joint-initiative of governing and opposition parties in the Netherlands and the specific working methods it has developed since its foundation, have set an example in Europe and led to increasing demand for NIMD's knowledge, expertise and experience.

Programmes

All NIMD programmes combine a number of the following activities:

- · Ensuring that elections are transparent and proceed without conflict.
- Supporting constitutional reform processes.
- · Enhancing the institutional capacity of political parties.
- Promoting the inclusion of women, youth, indigenous peoples and those with disabilities in the political process.
- · Promoting state funding for political parties.
- Supporting internal party democracy.
- Improving relations between political parties and civil society and the media.
- · Institutionalising inter-party cooperation for consolidating democracy.

Establishing Centres for Multiparty Democracy

There has been considerable progress on inter-party cooperation in 2006. In nine countries, Centres for Multiparty Democracy (CMDs) have been established in which all political parties in a country programme participate. These centres, which are in various stages of institutional development, promote dialogue among political parties, resulting in national reform agenda's for advancing multiparty democracy. Such dialogue helps political parties engage in resolution of conflicts of interest in a peaceful manner, while building trust among the key players.

The CMDs serve two additional objectives. The first is to agree on the rules for assistance to individual political parties and to ensure full transparency and accountability. The second is to provide a platform for other international partners who are interested in assisting the development of democracy by supporting political society in general and political parties in particular. It is encouraging that CMDs are also entering into strategic partnerships with other international partners.

Preparing for a new four-year programme

In mid-2006, the Dutch government published a new financial regulation for political and interparliamentary cooperation in which the value of support to political society in the context of assistance to improving democratic governance was recognised for the first time. This new financial instrument of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Development Cooperation allowed NIMD to submit a new four year programme under the title: Political Parties: Pillars of Democracy, for funding by the Dutch Ministry. The programme was subsequently approved and fresh programme funding secured for the period 2007 – 2010. Of the 44 million budget for this period the Dutch Ministry will contribute \$7.5 million.

The importance of supporting political society in order to advance democracy and stability is gradually becoming accepted within the European Union as well. Since the The Hague conference in July 2004, NIMD has strongly advocated that the EU's profile in democracy promotion should be enhanced. This annual report records welcome steps taken within the EU Council, the Commission and the European Parliament in this regard during 2006.

NIMD: autonomous and coherent

While stressing the autonomy of its policy decisions, NIMD attaches a great deal of value to the coherence of its policies with those of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the European Union (EU). In order to facilitate coherence, intensive contacts are maintained with the Ministry at all levels.

Contacts with Netherlands Embassies have continued. Generally NIMD staff visit the embassies in the programme countries at least once per year. In some cases communication is even more frequent and visits are often complemented by e-mail exchanges. NIMD staff also maintains regular contacts with representatives of the EU and UN organizations.

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Communication policy

To communicate NIMD's mission to other organisations that are engaged in democracy assistance, international development practitioners, policy makers, opinion leaders and the public at large, NIMD has developed a new communications policy.

Communications planning is now routine practice for important NIMD events, contacts with the press have become more frequent and steps have been taken to create a media database. Selected journalists, representatives of political parties and members of parliament are now routinely invited for lectures, expert meetings and other NIMD events.

Projects and activities in 2006 included:

- Reviewing and updating the content of the NIMD website www.nimd.org, including the introduction of a live news service per country that tracks over 400 quality sources for news updates and a dedicated democracy news service, which is available by e-mail and via the NIMD website.
- Creating the website www.democracyassistance.eu in support of NIMD's network activities within the European Union.
- Organising the NIMD Visitors Programme during the general elections in the Netherlands in November 2006.
- Implementing a new NIMD logo and corporate identity, which were presented at the opening of the new NIMD office on 4 December 2006.

Visitors programme

From 19-23 November 2006, a group of 27 politicians and NIMD programme coordinators from nine countries (Bolivia, Georgia, Ghana, Guatemala, Indonesia, Kenya, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia) visited the Netherlands to have an opportunity to learn about Dutch democracy at work during the general elections. In the last days of the campaign and on Election Day itself, the guests met with numerous Dutch political leaders on the campaign trail, including CDA leader Peter Jan Balkenende, Mark Rutte of the VVD, Femke Halsema of GroenLinks and André Rouvoet of ChristenUnie. On the eve of the elections the visitors watched the candidates in a TV debate that was shown live on a screen at the International Press Centre Nieuwspoort and again on Wednesday night, when they joined various political parties in The Hague and Amsterdam to await the election results.

The second visitors' programme was well received by the participants, who generally found it informative and rewarding. They particularly appreciated opportunities to meet and exchange views with Dutch politicians and election experts. The visitors programme is a tangible instrument for practising the concept of partnership, since it provides our partners with an excellent opportunity to familiarise themselves with the peculiarities of the Dutch political system as well as with the main issues in the evolution of democracy in the Netherlands.

The visitors programme generated quite some publicity for NIMD, including:

- Publication of a press report by the ANP news agency, which was distributed on the websites of all major Dutch newspapers and printed in several regional newspapers.
- Publication of a feature article on the programme in NRC Handelsblad.
- A ten-minute radio documentary on the programme broadcast by NOS Radio 1 and a news item on a meeting between visitors and Minister van Ardenne on Radio Rijnmond.
- Publication of a video clip by the news agency NOVUM, which was distributed on the websites of all major Dutch newspapers

- Broadcast of a 10-minute video documentary by various local TV stations (including those in Amsterdam, Tilburg and Utrecht)
- Publication of online feature articles on the programme by OneWorld and AfrikaNieuws.
- Several radio programmes broadcast to audiences in Africa, Latin America and Indonesia by Radio Netherlands.
- Newspaper articles in several NIMD programme countries including Ghana and Georgia.

Lectures

With the Society for International Development (SID), SOCIRES, the Free University and the University of Nijmegen, NIMD contributed to a series of lectures on the link between development and democracy. The purpose of these lectures is to raise public awareness in the Netherlands about how the development and democracy agendas are linked and how a better integration can contribute to achieving peace and alleviating poverty.

See Appendix 2 for a full listing of lectures and other public events, NIMD publications and special productions.

Young IMD

Seven youth branches of Dutch political parties have expressed the wish to voluntarily share their experiences with the Dutch mother parties in NIMD in order to address the needs of politically engaged youth in developing democracies. This programme is called 'Young IMD' (YIMD). Fifty representatives of youth branches (SGPj, PerspectieF, JD, JOVD, CDjA, JS, and Dwars) attended the YIMD launch Seminar in Rotterdam in January 2006. An important conclusion of the seminar was that the barriers to youth participation, including apathy and exclusion by the old political elites, can be overcome by exchanging methods and ideas.

The YIMD Steering Group communicates with the youth branches in order to identify individuals who could share best practices among political youth with NIMD's partners. The Young Democrats, for example, organised a lecture series on democratisation, while other youth branches have written articles in party periodicals and contributed to the annual 'Night of the UN' in Amsterdam. Every youth branch is represented in this Steering Group, which also makes sure that the YIMD Ghana/Kenya working group and the YIMD Guatemala working group are well staffed and equipped.

Members of YIMD missions attended youth seminars in Guatemala and Ghana in 2006 (for more details see country chapters). YIMD volunteers regularly attend NIMD lunch lectures and expert meetings. In December the most active YIMD volunteers received training in intercultural management at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

Relationships with partners

The NIMD is every inch a network organisation. In 2006 NIMD participated in a number of national and international networks. The two main objectives were linking political parties in NIMD partner countries to international donors and presenting NIMD's objectives and methodology to wider audiences.

European initiatives

NIMD has an active European agenda, which links a variety of actors and partners. We present the latest European developments on the website www.democracyassistance.eu, which can be accessed via the NIMD website www.nimd.org. In the period between July 2004 and mid-2006, NIMD chaired meetings of a 'Network of European Political Foundations for Democracy Assistance' in the Brussels offices of various partner organisations. Bringing together European political foundations from diverse party-political backgrounds has resulted in a structural dialogue with EU institutions.

In 2006, NIMD visited and/or organised five consultation meetings of political foundations with the European Commission on two common goals: 1) enhancing the strategic position of democracy assistance in the EU external policies and, 2) recognising the crucial role of political parties in democratic reform processes and hence the need to incorporate them within EU external assistance. In the final EU democracy and human rights financing instrument, published in June 2006, the results of our cooperation with the EU can be detected: increased attention for political actors and parliaments and improved status for European political foundations.

At a meeting on 7 February 2006 with representatives of European political foundations, the European Parliament's Democracy Caucus invited the Chief Executives of both NIMD and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) to write a proposal for a flexible, strategic European Foundation for Democracy Assistance, to be modelled on their respective organisations. The March 2006 version of the proposal for a European Foundation for Democracy through Partnership received many comments from the field, which were included in the redrafted version of January 2007. Important support for the proposed foundation has been provided by eminent Europeans who have responded to an invitation by former Czech president Václav Havel to become co-patrons of this foundation.

Global initiatives

For the first time, politicians participated in the General Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy (WMD). NIMD brought several partners to this international platform, which convened in Istanbul in March, in order for them to formulate their priorities. The NIMD furthermore organised two workshops at this huge meeting of democracy activists, one on multiparty democracy and one on the interactive assessment of political parties in Georgia. NIMD's Executive Director is a member of the WMD Steering Committee. This committee was invited to The Hague by

NIMD for a strategic session in October on the current global reversal of the 'third wave of democratisation'. An action-oriented agenda was developed and representatives of the Dutch political parties engaged in discussions with WMD Steering Committee members.

The 2007 biennial Community of Democracies (CoD) meeting in Bamako, Mali, was prepared by a global group of democracy activists and political foundations. In cooperation with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), NIMD brought its partner Malian political parties to this meeting in order to start a separate but parallel track for political parties under the CoD Non-governmental Process. NIMD and NDI have invited international experts to facilitate this process. NIMD's Executive Director is a member of the International Steering Group of the Community of Democracies

Key European partners

European Parliament (Democracy Caucus)

European Commission

European Council

Steering Committee of the European Foundation for Democracy through Partnership

Human Rights and Democracy Network European Networks of Political Foundations

European Peace building Liaison Office

Concord: EU NGO network for relief and development

Key international partners

World Movement for Democracy (WMD) Community of Democracies (CoD)

Priorities for 2007

- Preserve and strengthen NIMD's international position by presenting its objectives and methodologies within international platforms.
- Link political parties in NIMD partner countries to international democratisation agendas, in particular to the governance agenda of the FLI
- Launch a European Foundation for Democracy through Partnership in order to strengthen Europe's involvement in democracy assistance worldwide.
- Enhance political parties' influence in drawing up the agenda for the Community of Democracies' ministerial meeting in Bamako.
- Coordinate an EU/WMD response to the global 'backlash' against strengthening democracy.

Core country and regional programmes

3.1 Africa

2

Key national partners

Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)

National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE)

Electoral Commission

National Media Commission (NMC)

Commission for Human Rights and the Administration of Justice (CHRAJ) $\,$

Key international partners

Royal Netherlands Embassy European Commission-Accra

Political parties in parliament

New Patriotic Party (NPP)

National Democratic Congress (NDC)

Convention People's Party (CPP)

People's National Convention (PNC)

The Ghana parliament also has several independent members

Priorities for 2007

Finalise and disseminate Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP) phase II (and start work on implementation).

Foster strategic partnerships to broaden the programme and fulfil the ambitions within the DCSP.

Step up monitoring of both the bilateral and cross-party component, using locally designed mechanisms including input from local experts.

Polling station during the elections in 2004



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In 2006 Ghana continued on a long but constructive road to consolidating democracy. This is a country that stands out in a volatile region for its relative stability and prosperity.

With national elections scheduled for April 2008, pre-election fever started in 2006. Speculation was rife about who the main Presidential candidates would be, with internal party elections scheduled for 2007. A significant ministerial reshuffle saw many familiar NPP names leave centre stage. Three by-elections were won by NDC on its home territory and a fourth was won by NPP. Local elections attracted a very low voter turnout (30-40%). A lack of local service delivery was considered an important cause of voter apathy at the municipal level. This disgruntlement will no doubt be picked up by the opposition during the upcoming elections.

Two new political parties were formed. The Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), which consists of many ex-NDC personalities, is considered a potential third force in 2008. In contrast, it is unclear whether the new United Republican Party (URP) of Kofi Wayo will participate. No significant development was reported on a possible CPP-PNC merger to form a Nkrumaist party.

The Electoral Commission (EC) made an assessment of political parties' conformity with constitutional provisions and the Political Parties Law. Of the ten registered parties half are dormant. This is in contravention of this law

Programme framework

The programme focused more on long-term capacity building and developing a long-term national agenda, which is expressed in the Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP). This document identifies key national issues that need to be addressed in the field of democratic governance in the years ahead.

The central plank of the programme is the platform of Secretaries-General of the four parliamentary political parties, NPP, NDC, CPP and PNC. This platform is supported by one full-time policy officer per party and NIMD's local partner organisation, the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). The objective of the platform is to assess the role political parties play in consolidating democracy in Ghana. Specifically the platform formulates long-term plans to strengthen the role of the political parties, to be implemented through cross-party and bilateral activities. In addition, a caucus of party chairmen and an Advisory Council of Eminent Ghanaians provide guidance and advice to the programme.

The draft DCSP (2006) called for extension of this programme framework to include regional, youth and gender platforms. The DCSP also argued the need for research capacity for parties and MPs and a taskforce to examine the legal framework. The chairmen's caucus and the Advisory Council advised a gradual approach. Given limited resources, initial planned extensions of the programme did not take place in 2006.

Key achievements

- A level playing field for all political parties: The joint activities, including a highly successful retreat by the party Chairmen on Inter and Intra Party Conflict, reflected greater harmony between and among political parties and a willingness to work together on legislation. Examples from abroad, including the exemplary conduct of the Dutch elections, which were observed by representatives of the main political parties, will be used during the electoral campaigns of 2007 to help ensure free and transparent elections on a level playing field.
- Institutional capacity strengthened: Party unity is crucial. Broadening
 the number of people taking part in the management of the parties
 and strategic planning has created more internal support for and
 commitment to decisions. Parties are now better equipped to carry
 out the strategic plans, thanks to material support from the NIMD.
 Lastly, the internal rule of law was enhanced through new statutes
 and rules on candidate selection and election.
- Enhanced the public image of the political parties: A women's conference, a youth conference and media workshop helped raise the public profile of political parties. The youth conference, which included contributions by Dutch youth wings, showed that political parties can change and become more inclusive and less hierarchical. As a result of the women's conference, more women will be elected to executive positions. The media are now more aware of their rights and their role in scrutinising government, MPs and political parties.

- Partnership relations in Ghana require further institutionalisation and harmonization with those in other NIMD programme countries.
- The Ghana programme needs a stronger focus on long-term results.
 This focus should be embedded in a strategy that matches national, regional and international policies. In this respect, the DCSP will be the guiding document for setting priorities for 2007.
- The ambitions of the DCSP exceed the funding that is available from NIMD. Priority must be given to diversifying IEA's resource base and to finding strategic partners in order to fulfil the ambitions expressed in the document.

Kenya

Key national partners

Centre for Multi-party Democracy Kenya (CMD-Kenya)

Electoral Commission for Kenya (ECK)

Law Reform Commission

 ${\it CAPF consortium of civil society organisations, including Transparency}\\$

International and the Centre for Governance and Democracy (CGD)

Media Focus on Africa

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

Citizen T.V.

Rotary Club

Former Parliamentarians Association of Kenya (FPAK)

Key international partners

Royal Netherlands Embassy

Ford Foundation

UNDP

UNIFEM

Department for International Development (DFID)

USAID

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

International Republican Institute (IRI)

European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)

Political parties in parliament

Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)

Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Kenya (FORD Kenya)

National Party of Kenya (NPK)

Kenya African National Union (KANU)

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People (FORD People)

National Rainbow Coalition - Kenya (NARC)

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Asili (FORD Asili)

Sisi Kwa Sisi

Social Democratic Party (SDP)

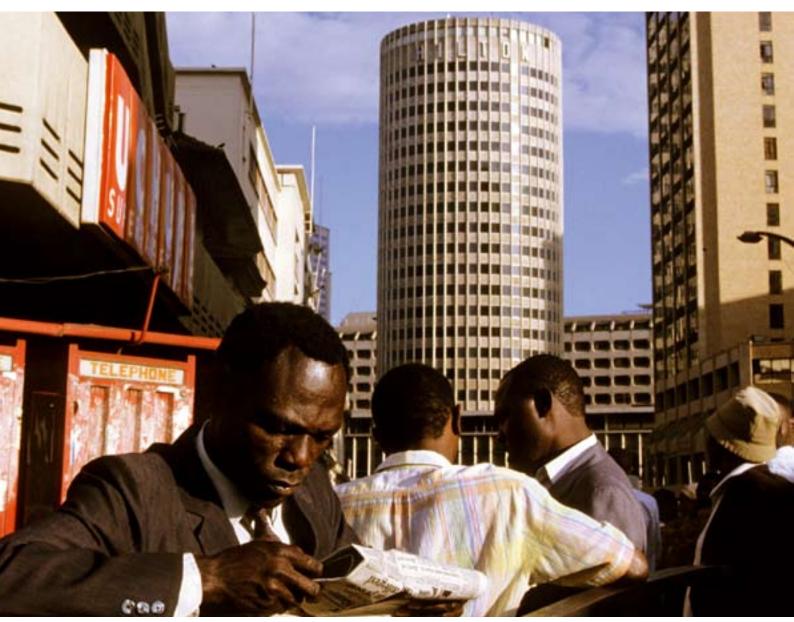
National Labour Party (NLP)

Shirikisho

Mazingira Green Party of Kenya

Safina

Business men at a newspaper stand in Nairobi



Apart from these parliamentary parties within CMD, there is an alliance of several smaller local and regional parties (FORUM) was established. This alliance provides an incubator for smaller political parties to develop, institutionalise and seek cooperative arrangements.

Priorities for 2007

| Conduct an independent mid-term review to provide the basis for reform of CMD-Kenya governance structures to reflect current political realities. |
|---|
| Step up guidance and support for the bilateral programme. |
| Provide strategic input for the Constitutional reform debate and the Political Parties Bill. |
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The state of democracy

2006 marked another eventful year in Kenyan politics. Coups and counter coups within political parties were at the order of the day (including Ford-Kenya; DP and Ford Asili), often resulting in protracted court cases seeking legal opinions over a party's legal representation. The pre-election year was furthermore marked by stepped up efforts towards coalition building (largely based on tribal lines). Three main groups dominated the scene. First, a reinforced Orange Democratic Movement (ODM-Kenya), consisting of heavyweights from LDP and Kanu, which demonstrated its strength during the by-elections which took place in five constituencies. Second, a re-branded NARC-K consisting of sitting MPs aligned to President Kibaki aiming to piggyback on the strength of the incumbent (though the President has not yet formally aligned himself with this force). A third force, a revamped NARC, is in the making, spearheaded by NPK and Ford-K. Coalitions, however, come and go and the situation will likely remain fluid until the Presidential and Parliamentary elections, due at the end of 2007.

In addition to the anti-corruption agenda which continues to dominate political, legal and public debates in Kenya, the constitutional reform talks took central stage again. The talks were long tied up between two groups. One pushing for 'realistic and achievable' reforms before the elections due in December 2007 (and further reforms thereafter) and the other pushing for full-scale reforms. Towards the end of the year, both groups managed to agree on an 'eleven point essential reform package', bringing together politicians and civil society organisations under the banner of Muungano wa Katiba Mpya (MWAKA) – Movement for a New Constitution which formally requested the Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD-Kenya) to facilitate the process. As with previous constitutional reform talks, progress is slow and its outcomes before the general elections next year still very uncertain.

Programme framework

2006 marked a difficult year for NIMD's main implementing partner, the Centre for Multi-party Democracy Kenya (CMD-Kenya). Leadership problems within the Oversight Board and the Steering Committee culminated into the dismissal of the CMD-Kenya chair by the Oversight Board in November. Early January 2007, the Oversight Board and the Annual General Meeting will elect a new Board including a new Chairperson.

The problems at Board level did take their toll in terms of a delay in programme implementation with a fair amount of activities being pushed to 2007. Despite this, CMD-Kenya has been able to implement most of its planned programmes and took a lead role in the constitutional reform talks as a formal facilitator. In addition to its programme activities, CMD-Kenya has continued to make headway with its institutionalisation process, including the development and implementation of operational manuals on staff development, procurement and financial management and the further strengthening of its financial management systems.

Key achievements

- Leadership programme with Media Focus on Africa: Four inter-party debates on topical issues of national interest (including the culture of impunity; ethnicity; leadership and peace building) were aired on national television at prime time. They offered the political leadership an opportunity to demonstrate their vision and strategy to the Kenyan public.
- Constitutional Reform process: CMD-Kenya was formally invited to play a key role in facilitating the implementation of the reform package, which is a formal recognition of the confidence and credibility of CMD-Kenya and has put the Centre at the heart of the political reform process.
- Coalition building: in light of the emerging coalitions in the run up to next years elections, CMD-Kenya has embarked on the facilitation of a series of informal bonding and networking talks with the top leadership of political parties around a joint strategy to win the next general elections.
- Internal democracy of political parties: Under its bilateral party programme, NIMD facilitated internal party elections, often since the first time since their registration.
- Centrality of strategic plans: The continuous reference to strategic
 plans in guiding party programmes and activities is a key
 achievement. Traditionally, the parties tended to blame all their
 difficulties on a lack of resources, even when they had no clear-cut
 programmes. With NIMD support, they now use their strategic plans
 as a guide to action, intra-parties dialogue, debates and setting
 priorities.

- CMD-Kenya has clearly put itself on the political map. This has
 resulted in an increase of requests for guidance and assistance from
 both political and civil society. CMD-Kenya needs to continue to
 focus on its core business, especially in an election year.
- The bilateral party programme is both ambitious and labour-intensive.
 More attention should have been devoted to guidance, monitoring and supervision of the fourteen programmes with bilateral partners.
 Additional assistance is required to assist the NIMD coordinator in Kenya to effectively monitor the bilateral programme in the election year.

Malawi

Key national partners

Forum for Dialogue and Peace (initiated by the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit -GTZ)

Young Politicians Union

Key international partners

European Union (EU)

Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD)

Department for International Development (DFID)

Political parties in Parliament

DPP (Democratic Peoples Party)

UDF (United Democratic Front)

MCP (Malawi Congress Party)

PPM (Peoples Progressive Movement)

Petra (Peoples Transformation Party)

Aford (Alliance for Democracy)

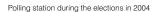
RP (Republican Party)

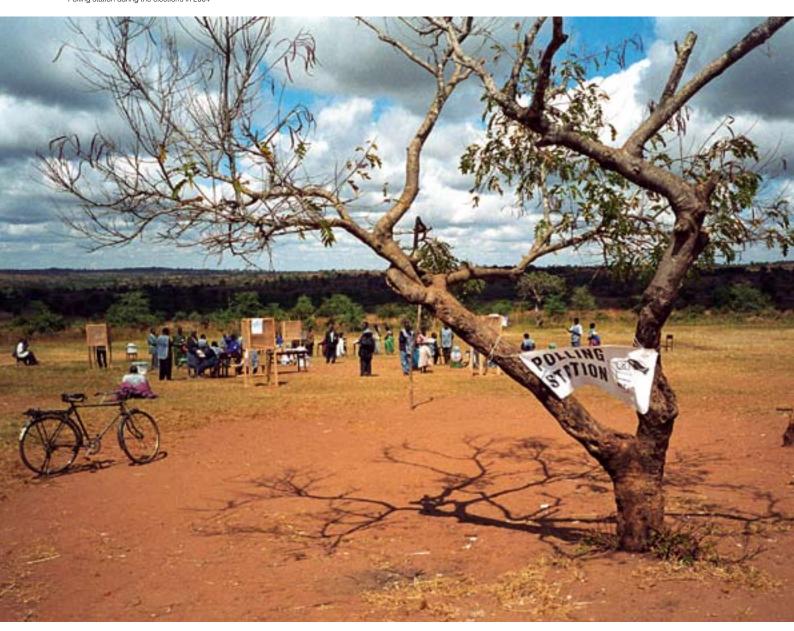
Priorities for 2007

Institutionalise Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Malawi (CMD-M) Prepare for the local elections in 2007.

Start an inter-party dialogue with a focus on the top leadership. Integrate lessons from the regional programme into the national programme, with a focus on inclusiveness.

Establish strategic partnerships.





In the course of 2006, the political tables were turned in Malawi. The minority party in government, the Democratic Peoples' Party (DPP), started out as an influential player, but faced serious internal bickering and challenges from the opposition. The majority opposition, which was disgruntled and unorganised at the beginning of the year, became an important political factor once again.

One of the major reasons for this political reversal is the Constitutional Court's opinion on 'Section 65' of the Constitution, which deals with the issue of crossing the floor in parliament. The implications of this could be far-reaching. Floor crossing could become considerably harder in the years ahead, which could be seriously detrimental to the DPP. The DPP has responded by appealing to the Supreme Court. A verdict is still pending. Another high-profile event was the legal case against the Malawian vice-president Chilumpha, who faced treason charges throughout 2006.

During 2006, the government decided to schedule local elections for 2007. The Malawi Electoral Commission was revitalised and new members were appointed by the president. However, the opposition political parties challenged these appointments, saying that important procedures were flouted. In yet another court case, the office of the Attorney General, representing the government, entered a consent judgement, and consequently, the court nullified the appointments. The Commission therefore remains non-operational and the president has had to start electing new commissioners. This raises doubts as to whether local government elections will indeed take place in 2007.

Programme framework

The Centre for Multiparty Democracy – Malawi (CMD-M) initiated dialogue among the parties and their leaders, while successfully maintaining its neutrality. CMD-M focused on capacity building, conflict resolution mechanisms, strengthening management accountability and tolerance. The institutionalisation agenda will continue to be addressed in 2007, including (a) further professionalising the CMD-M secretariat, (b) strengthening the Centre's governing structures and (c) increasing political buy-in among top party leaders.

The focus in the bilateral programme shifted from projects (often without clearly linked activities) to an approach based on annual plans linked to strategic plans. All parties developed strategic plans and annual plans targeting specific areas in their strategic plans. Most concentrated on strengthening their party structures.

An NIMD programme based on performance-based criteria was not achieved in 2006. Parties need time to adjust and the required institutionalised structures of CMD-M are not yet in place. In 2007, performance-based criteria will be on the agenda again, with the aim of laying a solid foundation for partnerships in 2008.

Strategic partnerships were established with the European Union (EU), GTZ, DFID, the Westminster Foundation, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and several national organisations, including the Young Politicians Union. Funding by the EU will be a key issue in 2007.

Finally, the process of internalising lessons learned from the East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP) has started.

Key achievements

- Successful consolidation of CMD-M, which was launched in October 2005
- Enhanced awareness among parties of the relevance of key issues such as conflict resolution, accountability, politics and media.
- Shift from working on a project basis with political parties to working on an annual basis, which guarantees continuity.
- The groundwork was laid for strategic partnerships, which will hopefully materialise – along with external funding – in 2007.
- All parties concluded their strategic plans, which will provide a framework for future annual plans.

- It proved difficult to actively engage the top leadership of all parties with CMD-M. This will require an extra effort in 2007. The NIMD may make use of a high-level mission to attract such involvement.
- Party differences remain large, which continues to be a source of vulnerability for CMD-M. Paying more attention to a code of conduct and other ways of further anchoring CMD-M will be important in the years ahead.
- Malawi's parties are relatively under-institutionalised and lack the
 necessary resources, structures and secretariats to effectively
 implement the programme. The NIMD is dealing with this problem
 in various ways. However, due to a restricted budget for 2007 and
 continued political volatility, this issue will require further attention
 in future

Key national partners

Daily board of Malian political parties (Comité d'Appui et de Conseil)

Ministry of Home Affairs

Electoral Commission

National Television Network ORTM

Local legal partner Delta-C

Key international partners

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

Community of Democracies (CoD)

Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)

European Union (EU)

Political parties in parliament

Adema-PASJ

RPM-RDT

CNID-FYT

LJS

CDS-PDJ-PIDS-MPR

URD-RAMAT

ACC

Independent MPs

Priorities for 2007

Implement a code of conduct in order to ensure peaceful, free and fair elections.

Organise both national and regional policy debates in the run-up to elections.

Train party agents to monitor the elections on election day.

Increase the number of international institutions contributing to the NIMD Mali programme.

Interparty Dialogue organised by NIMD



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In light of the upcoming presidential and parliamentarian elections, most political parties have indicated that they will continue to support the incumbent, President Amadou Toumani Toure (also known by his initials ATT), and not field a presidential candidate of their own. This decision led to schisms within the Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali (Adema-PASJ), the dominant political party in Mali. Whereas in 2002 political parties rallied around ATT only after the presidential elections, most have now been able to negotiate before the elections.

A new electoral law was debated in parliament. A 30% quorum for women's participation on the list of candidates was rejected, but measures to limit the number of presidential candidates were approved. The number of polling stations was significantly increased.

Both the public funding of political parties and the law on political parties were contentious issues. All major parties agree that additional criteria should be established in order to reduce the number of registered parties (108 at the end of 2006). However, parties were hesitant to address this issue in public during a pre-election year. The government initially refused most of the financial annual reports presented by the parties. Following the publication of a manual on financial management and subsequent training sessions organised by the Ministry of Home Affairs with support from NIMD, these reports improved.

Mali continued to present itself as a warm host for important international events. After having received the Heads of State of many African countries and France during the last Francophone Summit, it also welcomed the Africa chapter of the World Social Forum.

Programme framework

During the first years of the programme, NIMD support mainly involved institutional strengthening of the Malian parties. From 2006 onwards, inter-party dialogue on crucial aspects of Malian democracy as well as discussions between party representatives also became priorities. Three initial weaknesses of the NIMD programme: limited involvement by top party leadership, the lack of structural relations with other institutions active in the field of good governance, and the absence of direct exchange with politicians from the West African region and the Netherlands – have all been overcome.

In 2006 it was agreed that bilateral funds would in future be restricted to:

- Individual political parties obtaining a minimum of 10% of seats in Parliament (15 MPs or more)
- Coalitions de Circonstance ('incidental coalitions') of at least three parties that collectively represent a minimum of 5% of seats in Parliament (8 MPs or more).

This use of funding stimulated coalition building, while avoiding strengthening parties that lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the general population.

Through their representation in a daily board within the NIMD programme, the Malian political class took responsibility for the 2006 annual plan. In addition, the presidents and vice-presidents of the four largest parties actively participate within the *Caucus des Présidents*, to discuss important political issues and the main lines of the NIMD programme. In 2007, NIMD and the political parties will elaborate a more substantial longer-term strategy (2008-2012).

Key achievements

- Joint formulation and public signing of a code of conduct by party leaders
 - With the support of NIMD and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), representatives of the Malian political parties drew up a code of conduct for the campaigning period, election day and post-election period. A monitoring mechanism and a communication strategy, designed to inform as many citizens as possible, were also agreed.
- Improved position of political parties within Malian consensus democracy.
 - NIMD has actively contributed to reflection on the consequences of Malian Consensus Democracy for the position of political parties, concluding that this had improved as a result.
- Significant increase in policy capacity and financial management.
 Parties that participated in national TV debates were actively supported in developing well-prepared policy positions. This has increased the scope of their outreach. Significant progress was also made in financial management.

- Regional exchanges proved extremely valuable.
 Input from political representatives from countries within the West
 African region proved extremely valuable. This was the case with coalition building, the law on political parties, the lack of opposition, consensus democracy and electoral regulations.
- Policy strengthening as a crucial step for democratic consolidation.
 The priorities of Malian citizens have recently been highlighted in
 various studies. Although they still favour a democratic governance
 structure, they also expect their living conditions to improve soon.
 Providing a network of experts to the parties has increased their
 capacity to create policy. More resources will need to be put into
 NIMD-organised debates on national TV.
- Added value of strategic partnerships with like-minded organisations. In 2006, NIMD established a strategic partnership with the US-based NDI. This helped avoid duplication, saved resources, increased impact and promoted greater coherence for democracy support in Mali.

Mozambique

Key national partners

Centro de Promoção de Democracia Multipartidaria Moçambique (CPDM-M)

Associacao Mocambicana para o Desenvolvimento (AMODE, Mozambican Association for the Development of Democracy) Centro de Estudos de Democracia e Desenvolvimento (CEDE)

Women for Law and Development (Muleide)

Institute for the Development of Mozambique (IDM)

Key international partners

Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA)
Department for International Development (DFID)
Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)

Political parties in parliament

Frente de Libertacão de Moçambique (Frelimo) Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana-União Electoral (Renamo-UE)

Priorities for 2007

Develop a new strategy for supporting a dialogue between the political parties.

Strengthen the relationship with civil society and facilitate the cross-party women initiative.

Polling station during the elections in 2004



While democracy is fairly well-established in Mozambique the risk of the country becoming a de facto one-party state remains. Over the nearly fifteen years of multi-party democracy that the governing party Frelimo, with a strong internal culture, has been in power the party has gradually become synonymous with the state apparatus. At the same time Renamo – the largest opposition party – has weakened. The tensions between the two parties eased in 2006, but fruitful dialogue is not taking place. Meanwhile the people of Mozambique appear to be losing interest in elections, with declining voter turnouts.

Reform of the electoral law and the preparations of the first provincial elections in 2007 were the most important political issues in 2006. The main source of tension between the governing party and the opposition was the new electoral law. The two parliamentary parties could not agree on the composition of the electoral commission, as both parties want political control over this commission and consequently over the electoral process.

In 2007, elections for provincial assemblies will be held. Although the government will continue to nominate the provincial governors and the role of the provincial assemblies is limited, these elections could give a voice to the opposition in several provinces in which Renamo is strong.

The threshold for parliamentary representation, that used to be five percent of the votes, has been removed. This decision favours the development of multiparty democracy in Mozambique.

Programme framework

The NIMD promotes an inclusive culture in the political system, a non-authoritarian culture in the parties and a democratic culture in the whole of Mozambique. NIMD supports the role of civil society, especially through initiatives taken by women and those designed to stimulate open debate.

Strengthening the political parties in Mozambique was the objective of three programmes: one with Frelimo, another with Renamo and a third with the Centre for the Promotion of Multiparty Democracy in Mozambique (CPDM). The NIMD engaged in an an ongoing dialogue with various high-level representatives of Renamo and supported, on request of this party, an internal analysis by local consultant IDM of its state of affairs. The NIMD discussed with several high-level representatives in Frelimo the option to start a sincere dialogue with the other parties. In addition a training project was organised.

CPDM is a network of extra-parliamentary opposition parties. The Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD), the Independent Party of Mozambique (PIMO), the Workers Party (PT) and the National Reconciliation Party (PARENA) organised several regional conferences.

Research on voter turnout during the national elections in 2004 was carried out by the Centre for Democracy and Development Studies (CEDE) and the results were distributed in book form. Low turnout was found to be caused by a lack of political interest, the distance between the homes of the voters and the polling stations, changes in the electoral registration and the period in which the elections were held (December – the rainy season). In this period, many peasants are working in the fields and find it difficult to vote.

A new project focused on the role of women in political parties. A group of women from different political parties was formed. As a result, Muleide is trying to facilitate the creation of the Forum for Inter-party Dialogue among women leaders of political parties.

In 2006 a public debate was organised on reforming the electoral law. The NIMD participated by co-organising a debate on the composition of the electoral commission.

Key achievements

- Management of projects involving Frelimo, including overall monitoring and transparency, has significantly improved.
- Renamo reflected on its strengths and weaknesses. This was done
 in an inclusive way, involving both the grassroots and the top of the
 party.
- In 2006 NIMD succeeded in involving civil society organisations (CEDE, AMODE and Muleide) in its programme. The first experiences are positive, and NIMD will continue to work closely with AMODE and Muleide.

Lessons learned

 In 2006 dialogue between the two parliamentary parties and representation of the extra-parliamentary parties did not take off as was anticipated. NIMD has put a lot of effort into supporting the CPDM, which could – in the future – represent the non-parliamentary parties in such a dialogue.

The relationship between NIMD and CPDM was formalised in a Memorandum of Understanding, signed in December. The MoU is expected to contribute to better mutual understanding in the future.

South Africa

Key national partners

Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

Key international partners

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)
Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)

Political parties in parliament

African National Congress (ANC)

Democratic Alliance (DA)

Freedom Front Plus (FF+)

Pan African Congress (PAC)

Independent Democrats (ID)

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)

Azanian People's Party (AzaPO)

United Democratic Movement (UDM)

National Democratic Convention (NDC)

Priorities for 2007

Revive high-level forums around strategic themes to improve issuebased dialogue.

Organise a series of public debates between political parties and civil society organisations with the aim of enhancing an inclusive dialogue on strategic issues.

Reorient the relationship with CPS to one of strategic advisory input, leaving programme facilitation to NIMD's regional representative.

Polling station in Kayelitsha during local elections in 2006

United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)

Minority Front (MF)



Since the 2004 general elections and the 'floor crossings' of September 2005, the African National Congress (ANC) is holding more than two-thirds of the seats in parliament. This has affected parliamentary debates about the development and the implementation of policies. The Democratic Alliance (DA) – with 12% of the votes the largest opposition party – has taken on the role of 'official opposition'. The other ten parliamentary parties are mostly tiny and therefore quite powerless.

The level of polarisation between the governing party and opposition parties continued to be high, while the opposition itself remains often extremely divided. Significant changes in the political mainstream are ahead with the prospect of a new leadership contest in the ANC in December 2007.

Programme framework

The NIMD's programme in South Africa focuses on cross-party activities to deepen the multiparty political system and culture of democracy. The programme proposed to pitch its activities around a series of strategic, high-level meetings set up to address issues of common concern which are difficult to discuss in public. The programme provides a neutral space for parties to come together and exchange views on issues identified by the political parties. These discussions, which are facilitated by the respected South African Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), take place in an informal setting. Selected experts provide information relevant to the subjects under discussion.

None of the planned meetings took place in 2006. This stalling of the programme is due to two main reasons. First, the South African political parties were preoccupied with the local elections, which took place in March. Second, NIMD's main partners CPS showed a serious lack of initiative in taking the programme forward. During a regional meeting in Dar es Salaam in December 2006, NIMD agreed with the South African political parties that the dialogue platform will be reactivated in March or April 2007, based on a redefinition of the division of tasks between CPS and NIMD's regional representative. Also, the recruitment of a senior researcher for the East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP), who takes up his assignment in January 2007, will ensure that NIMD can take more initiatives, both in South Africa and in the regional programmes.

Tanzania

Key national partners

Electoral Commission

Media Houses of Tanzania

Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme (ESAURP)

University of Dar es Salaam

Research for Education and Democracy in Tanzania (REDET)

MISA-Tanzania

Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO)

Key international partners

Finnish democracy-assistance organisation DEMO-Helsinki

UNDP- Dar es Salaam

Royal Netherlands Embassy- Dar es Salaam

NDI - Nairobi

Political parties in parliament

CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi)

CUF (United Civic Front)

Chadema (Party of Democracy and Development)

UDP (United Democratic Front)

TLP (Tanzania Labour Party)

In addition, non-parliamentary parties are represented on the board of the Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD).

Priorities for 2007

Enhance democratic leadership practices within TCD.

Enhance the level of CCM participation in TCD.

Arrange capacity building and institutionalisation of political parties. Engage the political parties in constitutional and legislative reform

initiatives and promote further dialogue on Zanzibar.

Stimulate the empowerment of women, youth and other underrepresented groups.

Arrange strategic collaboration with other organisations that are active in the promotion of democracy.

Civic education in rural community



Tanzania's political system remained stable in 2006. The hegemony of the ruling party, CCM, is undisputed on the mainland. On Zanzibar, opposition party CUF retained a significant following but it lacks the political clout of the CCM.

Tanzania's economy fared well. The international community generally gave Tanzania good ratings and pledged more support, particularly for small and medium-sized enterprise initiatives. The transparency of public finances improved slightly. The country was commended for its gender-friendly policies, with 30% female MPs and significant female representation in President Kikwete's cabinet.

The 40-year-old Union between Tanganyika (mainland) and Zanzibar, which together constitute the Republic of Tanzania, continued to be a contested issue. A joint ministerial meeting concluded that the key to resolving the Zanzibar issue lay in legal and constitutional reforms. Apart from continued dialogue, there were no significant political developments on this issue in 2006.

Issues related to national political interest in 2006 included the revision of land laws (private ownership), enhancement of the education system, public support for farmers and reform of the civil service.

Programme framework

The Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD), which was formally established in October 2005, was set up institutionally in 2006. In addition to the Programme Coordinator, who continued to manage the programme on behalf of NIMD, a TCD Director was selected by the TCD Board and became operational in August 2006. In September 2006 the draft plan was elaborated into a full strategic plan, which will be the backbone of the joint programme for the next four years. The TCD Secretariat opened its doors in October. Strategic cooperation between TCD and the Finnish organisation Demo got underway.

Key achievements

- · Finalisation of a joint strategic plan for 2007-2010.
- A pledge from the Tanzanian government (at ministerial level) to the TCD Board to find a way to support TCD. This is a fundamental step in ensuring the durability of the programme as well as diversification of funding.
- Inclusion of non-parliamentary parties in the TCD Board. This
 enhances the profile of TCD as an inclusive forum of all the political
 parties.
- The TCD has been selected by the UNDP as one of the implementing agencies of its multi-annual Deepening of Democracy programme in Tanzania.

- The quality of proposals by individual parties differed significantly and was in certain cases below par. The NIMD needs to pro-actively assist some of the partners in developing their parties, in particular TLP and UDP.
- Delineation between the regional programme and national programme was not perfect. NIMD needs to reflect on ways of creating clear-cut responsibilities and capacity for the regional and national programmes so that all concerned know where their priorities lie.

Zambia

Key national partners

Zambian Centre for Inter-Party Dialogue (ZCID)

Local NGO Foundation for Democratic Process (Fodep)

National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG)

Local NGO Anti Voter-Apathy Project (AVAP)

Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ)

Key international partners

Department For International Development (DFID) European Union (EU)

Political parties in parliament

Before elections:

United Party for National Development (UPND)

Patriotic Front (PF)

Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)

United National Independence Party (UNIP)

Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)

Heritage Party (HP)

Zambian Republican Party (ZRP) participates in cross-party programme only)

After elections:

United Democratic Alliance (coalition of UNIP, UPND, FDD)

Patriotic Front (PF)

Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)

National Democratic Forum (NDF)

United Liberal Party (ULP)

Independents

Priorities for 2007

Achieve a political compromise over the constitutional review process if there is sufficient political will and popular pressure.

Increase policy capacity within political parties.

Continue to decentralise the programme.

Institutionalise ZCID.

Ensure that financial monitoring is done on a programme basis, with spot checks during the year.

A woman casts her vote at a polling station in Lusaka



The election year 2006 secured the position of the incumbent President Mwanawasa in office. His party, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), now has a small absolute majority. However, the Patriotic Front (PF) also performed well and now presents a serious political opposition to the government. International and local monitoring organisations stated that the fairness of the electoral process had improved significantly compared to the elections in 2001. No formal complaints were presented in court. Access to the media by opposition parties has also improved.

Policy issues were key during the campaigns. MMD stressed its economic successes, its performance in the agricultural sector, the reaching of the HIPC-completion point, which led to the cancellation of much of Zambia's foreign debt and to an increase in foreign investments. PF put forward a case for improved business deals in the mining areas, a significant reduction in personal income tax and the need for redistribution of the gains of economic growth to ordinary Zambian citizens. Acceptance of the election results was enhanced by the presence of party agents at the local level, monitoring the elections on behalf of their parties.

Following various inter-party sessions and increased public pressure, MMD committed itself – before the tripartite elections – to endorse a programme of constitutional review after the elections.

The parties Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), United Party for National Development (UPND) and United National Independence Party (UNIP), jointly established the United Democratic Alliance (UDA). After a promising start relations between the coalition partners have been hampered by the death of the respected president Anderson Mazoka. Relations between the coalition partners have deteriorated ever since. After the 2006 elections, no further significant floor crossing occurred. If sustained, this will help to strengthen Zambian democracy.

Programme framework

The NIMD's mandate in Zambia focuses on two inter-linked processes in the field of democratisation. On the one hand, it provides support to individual political parties in order to strengthen them as agents for democracy. On the other hand, NIMD supports building a fair and neutral party system for which political parties are jointly responsible.

Strengthening the party system was put high on the agenda by the political parties which, during the second half of 2005, had jointly elaborated a strategic plan in which common challenges are identified and translated into specific objectives. On the basis of this strategic plan, the Zambian Centre for Inter-Party Dialogue (ZCID), which became operational in the second half of 2006, carried out a number of joint activities. The Board of ZCID consists of the Secretaries General of all parliamentary parties and one representative of the non-parliamentary parties. At the end of 2006, the Zambian political parties embarked on a process of redefining the joint priorities and identifying common strategies for the years ahead.

Following internal discussions, it was decided to suspend support to individual Zambian parties after the first quarter of 2006, as the NIMD's mandate to support the institutional strengthening of parties becomes almost impossible during a campaigning period.

Key achievements

- Contributions through ZCID to successful, free and fair elections.
 More Zambian citizens than ever were registered as voters, more party agents than ever were trained to monitor the elections and ZCID's code of conduct was partly integrated in the official one.
- Improved elaboration and communication of party policy positions.
 By assisting parties to define a media strategy based on their manifestoes, through regional debates between party representatives, the publication of a 'manifesto summary' and more frequent contact between the national elite and regional and local branches.
- Increasing cooperation with other institutions.
 DFID and the EU showed an interest in cooperating with ZCID in light of the tenth European Development Fund. The NIMD coordinator was invited to participate in a governance group established to share lessons learned and stimulate mutual cooperation.

- No constitutional change without local pressure: in 2006 it became
 very clear that Zambia will not see any rapid or fundamental changes
 in its constitution if public pressure is not mobilised around priorities
 agreed by most political parties and/or civil society. Inter-party
 dialogue generates a common opposition agenda, but if agreements
 are to be reached with the ruling party, more popular support for the
 agenda should be mobilised.
- Political parties lack a solid basis for policy development: although
 parties were able to present policy issues and prioritise their own
 agenda, most of these were of a populist nature. Much more support
 is needed to strengthen analytical skills, budgetary scrutiny and
 strategic policy development.
- A crucial role for party agents during elections: the international community often invests heavily in training monitoring agents from civil society. The elections in Zambia demonstrated the importance of party agents monitoring the elections and showed that party leaderships can increase the acceptance of election results and enhance the legitimacy of the electoral process.

Zimbabwe

Key national partners

An organisation based in South Africa committed to change in Zimbabwe.

Key international partners

The Institute for Democracy Assistance in South Africa (IDASA)

Political parties in parliament

Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Jonathan Nathaniel Moyo (Independent)

Priorities for 2007

| Open dialogue between the two opposition factions. Opposition parties have a clearer focus on the steps to be taken. An inclusive dialogue on a democratic agenda for Zimbabwe. |
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Printing press in Harare



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The initial small gap in the number of parliamentary seats between the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the ruling party – the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) – widened after the elections in March 2005. This weakening of MDC in parliament was followed by its weakening as a party. At the end of 2005 MDC split into two. The reason for the split was undemocratic decision-making in the party in relation to participation in the November 2005 Senate elections. However, dissatisfaction among an important group of party members about the way in which the MDC operates had been growing for much longer.

For ZANU-PF things are not looking positive either. Although the party is still formally united, the internal tensions caused by the succession issue around the ageing President Robert Mugabe and by the evident failure of politics are building up.

Civil society in Zimbabwe and in the region was disappointed by the split within MDC, but it did not fill the political vacuum. The level of mobilisation of opposition forces is relatively low, partly because of the daily struggle to survive. MDC has only shown limited capacity to act as a catalyst of popular protest. Civil society organisations, which are regularly curtailed and intimidated, have not managed to cooperate effectively. Meanwhile, the international community is divided and unable to motivate leaders in the region to use their influence to move Zimbabwe in a democratic direction.

Zimbabwe's economic decline continues with massive unemployment and the world's highest inflation. Agricultural production, both of exportable cash crops and of local food crops, has continued to fall. In addition, the country saw a dramatic decline in life expectancy and standards of living.

Programme framework

Dialogue between elements of the opposition was the main focus in 2006. Two papers were produced on the political developments inside MDC before and after the split and one covered developments in ZANU-PF.

Inclusivity continues to be a key element in the NIMD programme. A constructive dialogue on a democratic agenda for Zimbabwe will require the inputs of opposition parties, the governing party and a series of civil society organisations.

Key achievements

- Improved mutual understanding within the Zimbabwean opposition.
 - Increased insight regarding political dynamics and more space for dialogue.

Lessons learned

 While all elements of the Zimbabwean opposition share the desire to work on a democratic agenda for the country the methods used have been different and have created disunity.

East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP)

Key national partners

Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

Centres for Multi-party Democracy (CMDs) in ESARP programme countries.

Key international partners

Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA)
Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)

SADC Parliamentary Forum

International IDEA

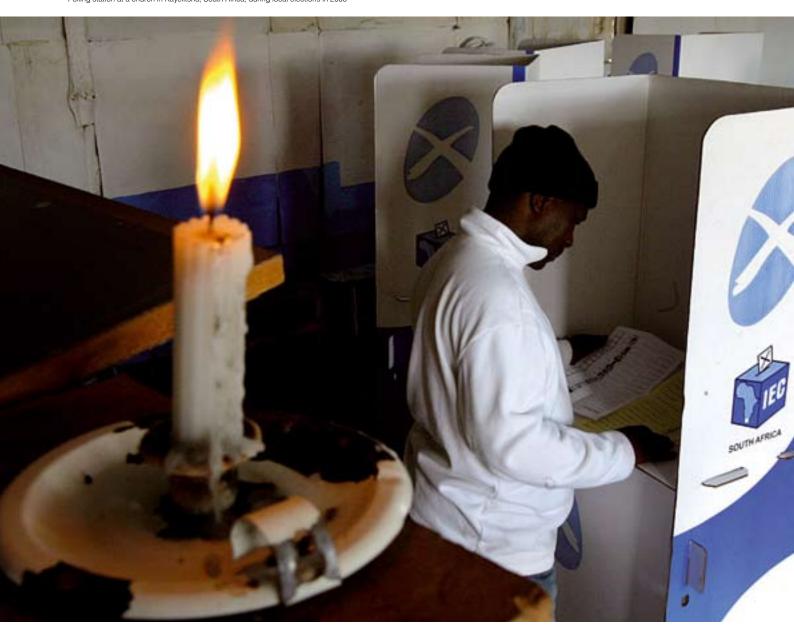
National Democratic Institute (NDI)

Priorities in 2007

Ensure an explicit link between the regional and national programmes in both planning and implementation processes and invest in capacity building and facilitation to assist both parties and the CMDs in translating regional lessons into national strategies and activities.

Arrange multi-party visits between ESARP programme countries to apply knowledge from the regional network and make it easier for lessons to be learned. Step up programme facilitation and coordination through NIMD's regional representative and a newly recruited senior researcher.

Polling station at a church in Kayelitsha, South Africa, during local elections in 2006



34

Within the East and Southern African region, most countries have a multiparty democracy, with the exception of Swaziland (which is governed by an absolute monarchy) and Angola (which is a de facto one-party state). Although elections are held in all other Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) countries, both the electoral processes and their outcomes are often contested. There are currently stable systems of multi-party democracy in South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana. In most other countries in the region, the challenge remains to deepen democratic structures by moving beyond formal institutions.

Political parties in the region tend to encounter similar issues. These include economic hardship, the phenomenon of liberation movements that have become political parties, dominant ruling parties and weak opposition, low public trust, weak capacity and general difficulties in consolidating democratic processes within and between political parties.

Programme framework

The East and Southern Africa Regional Programme (ESARP) brings together the ruling parties and main opposition parties from the six countries in the region which have an NIMD programme (Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia). The aim is to support inter-party cooperation and to strengthen the institutional development of the parties through networking and exchange. By sharing best practices and lessons learned and by addressing difficulties together, the political parties in East and Southern Africa can learn from each other, and learn together.

The focus of the ESARP programme is laid down in a common agenda defined by the participating political parties. Four themes are central to the programme:

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

In 2006, ESARP's activities focused on deepening a series of subissues selected from these four overarching themes in order to allow the political parties sufficient time to deepen the dialogue about floor crossing, coalition building, inclusiveness and transparency in their national dialogue processes.

In the last quarter of 2006, an inventory was made in all six ESARP countries to find out to what extent the regional exchange and networking had borne fruit at the national level. These studies concluded that the themes addressed in the programme are central to the issues of governance that top the national agenda in each country. While some themes have been taken up more successfully than others, almost all parties recommended a continuation and deepening of the current themes. The added value of the regional programme lies in complementing the NIMD national programmes, utilising them and giving them new impetus to get parties to work together on the identified themes.

The NIMD continues to establish new partnerships with think tanks and academics in the region so that they can contribute substantively to the programme activities. In a meeting organised by the Regional Representative, the Electoral Institute for Southern Africa (EISA), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) overlapping interests and possibilities for future cooperation were discussed.

Kev achievements

ESARP conferences have contributed positively to taking forward national debates by providing concrete tools and knowledge on a number of strategic themes. A number of parties have included specific provisions on the representation of women, youth and the disabled in their party rules and have designed plans of action to further promote the representation of these vulnerable groups.

- Integration of the regional component in the national country
 programmes, including the provision of sufficient skills and capacities
 and appropriate feedback loops, has been insufficient. In the
 planning process for 2007, this point was explicitly taken on board
 but it requires dedicated efforts to better ensure the link between the
 regional and national programmes in programme implementation.
- The ESARP Steering Committee (SC) was not effective. The NIMD's strategy to engage two SC representatives per programme country did not result in effective network facilitation. To ensure that the programme moves ahead and that results are made visible, the CMDs will assume greater responsibility.

West Africa Regional Programme (WARP)

Key national and regional partners

Bénin

Renaissance du Bénin

Parti du Renouveau Démocratique

Ghana

New Patriotic Party (ruling)

National Democratic Congress (opposition)

People's National Convention (opposition)

Convention People's Party (opposition)

Ivory Coast

Front Populaire Ivoirien (ruling)

Rassemblement des Républicains (opposition)

Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire (opposition)

Liberia

Unity Party (ruling)

Liberation Action Party (opposition)

Mali

Rassemblement Pour le Mali

Alliance Pour la Démocratie et la République

Nigeria

People's Democratic Party (ruling)

All Nigeria Peoples Party (opposition)

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone People's Party (ruling)

All People's Congress (opposition)

Togo

Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (ruling)

Union des Forces de Changement (opposition)

Convention Démocratique des Peuples Africains (opposition)

Ghanaian Institute of Economic Affairs

NIMD Mali and Mali Forum of Political Parties

A woman checks her voter card in a line for the presidential elections in Benin, 2006



Key international partners

Royal Netherlands Embassies in Ghana, Nigeria and Mali (with other countries to be included in 2007)

European Commission Accra

Westminster Foundation for Democracy, UK (in Sierra Leone)

Countries participating in the programme

Bénin, Ghana, Ivory Coast Liberia, Mali, Nigeria Sierra Leone, Togo

Priorities for 2007

Ensure full ownership of the joint programme and the full participation of representatives from Mali and Nigeria, who were unable to attend the steering committee meeting.

Develop a long-term WARP vision document, including strategic partnerships.

Achieve a consensus on the structure and scope of WARP.

The state of democracy

The political situation in the West African region improved slightly in 2006, although it remains a potentially volatile region. Except for Ivory Coast, where scheduled elections were cancelled, the democratic process moved forward gradually. Successful elections took place in Liberia (2005) and the Gambia (2006) and elections are planned in Nigeria (2007) and Ghana (2008). In Sierra Leone and Liberia, post-conflict reconstruction continued. In Togo, a breakthrough was recorded with the formation of a National Unity Government in 2006. Through the Ghana-Togo icebreaker meeting, the National Conference on Peace Building in Togo and the Regional Conference of Political Parties, the West Africa Regional Programme (WARP) played a constructive role in facilitating the Togo breakthrough.

In West Africa there is clear demand for an organisation such as NIMD to strengthen regional links between political parties in democratizing countries. Developments in the region have spillover effects on neighbouring countries in terms of stability, economic development and the prospects for democracy.

Programme framework

2006 was a year of study and observation in which a gradual approach was adopted to setting up the programme as well as better understanding and analysing the political contexts, while building trust, networks and initial agendas through a first series of activities. Lessons were drawn from the Eastern and Southern African Regional Programme (ESARP) in the design of WARP, although the programme is distinct from ESARP. Two research studies were undertaken to map the region in terms of democratic development.

In 2006, the programme consisted of three components:

- The emerging joint programme (joint agenda of the seven countries).
 A joint conference and a steering committee meeting were held.
- Bilateral activities. Three icebreaker meetings took place.
- Country activities (activities in one country, in addition to the existing national programmes in Ghana and Mali). A national conference was held in Togo.

Key achievements

- A joint regional conference, which attracted top-level politicians, a clearly prioritised agenda for stimulating democracy, substantial media attention and promising levels of ownership. Political society is asserting itself in the sub-region.
- The Togo national conference and icebreaker meeting contributed to a positive atmosphere that later led to the Ouagadougou peace accords.

- The ambitions in the region exceed the resources currently available to NIMD. As a result, the programme has been curtailed until other partners can be found.
- The NIMD and IEA are still searching for the best governance structure and communication lines between the three programme components, the participating political parties and the implementing organisations. The delineation of roles and responsibilities and the communication between IEA-Ghana and NIMD-Mali deserve particular attention.

Core country and regional programmes

3.2 Latin America

6

Bolivia

Key national partners

Corte Nacional Electoral (CNE)

Asociación Nacional de la Prensa (ANP)

Asociación Nacional de Periodistas de Bolivia (ANPB)

Asociación Boliviana de Radiodifusoras (ASBORA)

Red de Participación y Justicia Compañeros de las Américas

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Instituto Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales (FES ILDIS)

Key international partners

European Union (EU)

Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Royal Netherlands Embassy in Bolivia

Swedish Embassy

UN Democracy Fund

Political parties in parliament

Movimiento al Socialismo (Movement towards Socialism, MAS)

Frente de Unidad Nacional (UN)

Poder Democrático Social (Podemos)

Priorities for 2007

The main objective of the programme is to focus on providing objective information to ensure a debate based on facts rather than emotions.

The NIMD will also continue to promote dialogue between government and opposition parties to reduce tension and facilitate political agreement.

The NIMD will continue to strengthen the political parties.

Signs of social protest on a wall in La Paz



The December 2005 elections resulted in an overwhelming victory for the indigenous leader Evo Morales and his Movement Towards Socialism (MAS). He received 53% of the vote, a huge victory that had not been predicted by any polls. Only two other parties were elected: the Podemos party – headed by former president Jorge Quiroga – and the National Union party (UN) set up by the entrepreneur Samuel Doria Medina.

After his inauguration, Evo Morales rapidly started delivering on his electoral promises: he renegotiated contracts with the oil companies, thus ensuring that a larger share of the profits goes to Bolivia, and he called for elections for the Constituent Assembly. These took place in July and, once again, the MAS won, though not with the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution. Consequently the MAS decided to change the rules of the Constituent Assembly, proposing to accept new articles with a simple majority. This led to fierce reactions in the country: demonstrations, hunger strikes and riots. In the end, the MAS agreed to a two-thirds threshold for the amendment of disputed constitutional articles.

Programme framework

The NIMD's partner, the Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy (FBDM), carries out the programme in Bolivia. FBDM contributes to the strengthening of the party system and political parties as well as their relationship with civil society.

The changes in the composition of the congress, as a result of the December 2005 elections, were an important test case for the FBDM: would it be possible for FBDM to elect a new board reflecting the changed political situation in the country, while maintaining its multiparty, inclusive character? This was not an easy process. The entire procedure was an exercise in democracy and showed that the FBDM is now mature and strong enough to cope with these changed political situations and with changes in power as a result of elections.

FBDM representatives have now been appointed regionally. Given the differences and conflicts between the regions, it is important to work more at the local level to ensure dialogue and exchange visits.

As the only organisation consisting of and working with political parties, FBDM is of great interest to an increasing number of international organisations.

Key achievements

- With bilateral projects consisting of training and capacity building

 the political parties have shown their commitment to become
 parties with ongoing programmes.
- The project 'Let's make history and create the future' invited the
 parties to define their party proposals for the Constituent Assembly,
 ensuring that Bolivians had access to comparable information about
 party programmes.
- National and international politicians and scholars are reading and discussing FBDM books and other publications that contribute to better insight into and understanding of the current political reality in Bolivia.

- The presidential elections of December 2005 ended the hegemony
 of the parties that had been in power for the past two decades.
 The victory of the MAS created, for the first time, a real opportunity
 for indigenous people, workers and small farmers to participate in
 politics.
- The fact that the MAS has a majority of seats in parliament has
 caused the party to govern on its own, not sufficiently taking into
 account parties representing other parts of the country and those
 with different ideas. The NIMD has learned from this situation that it
 is crucial to engage major social movements into political dialogue
 at an early stage.

Guatemala

Key national partners

Instituto Multipartidario de Estudios Politicos (IMEP)

ASIES (an organisation committed to strengthening democracy)

University Rafael Landívar

ENPI Network of Organisations of Indigenous People

Political Parties

Entrepreneurs and Trade Unions

Key international partners

OAS

UNDP

Proley

Coopi and other EU projects

Swedish Multiparty Network

Swedish Development Cooperation

Embassies of Spain and the Netherlands

Political parties in parliament

GANA (Gran Alianza Nacional)

FRG (Frente Republicano Guatemalteco)

UNE (Unidad Nacional de la Esperanza)

PAN (Partido de Avanzada Nacional)

PP (Partido Patriota)

PU (Partido Unionista)

ANN (Partido Alianza Nueva Nación)

URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca)

UD (Unión Democrática)

DCG (Democracia Cristiana Guatemalteca)

DIA (Partido Desarrollo Integral Auténtico)

MR (Movimiento Reformador)

PSN (Partido Solidaridad Nacional)

UCN

SOLIDARIDAD

Encuentro por Guatemala

BIEN

Villagers listen to local politician in Alta Verapaz



Priorities for 2007

Continue to strengthen dialogue between the political parties. The NIMD, in cooperation with UNDP, supports translating the Shared National Agenda (SNA) into the electoral platforms of the political parties. The NIMD, which views IMEP as the beginning of a Centre for Multiparty, will continue to foster this institution. Progress in 2007 will be limited, due to the elections. Important objectives will be the political survival of the Forum during the electoral period, a stronger say of the Forum in relation to the support by donor organisations and a realistic work plan for IMEP in 2008, endorsed by the Forum.

| n 2008, endorsed by the Forum. |
|--|
| To foster a democratic culture of debate on policy issues during the |
| campaigning period, parties will be helped to prepare content for |
| debates at both the national and the departmental level. |
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The state of democracy

The last months of 2006 have been highly significant for the evaluation of the overall performance of the Guatemalan government, headed by GANA. Its weakness in terms of controlling organised crime and general street violence was made even more complicated by a 'sudden' crisis in the country's banking system. In December the banks were unable to provide cash to their account holders due to a general shortage of currency. The inability of the authorities to monitor this has led to criticism of the way political parties function in Congress and in Government.

As a result of amendments in the Electoral and Political Parties Law, the parties had to increase their number of members threefold. Therefore, they were very actively involved in registration campaigns.

The political parties are increasingly challenged to prove their capacity to cope with the overall situation of fraud, violence and obscure forces that have proven uncontrollable for the GANA government. This may be an opportunity to develop the political parties because people are tired of hearing the empty slogans of electoral campaigns. They want clear proposals and a different approach from the party that will be elected.

Programme framework

The objective of the Guatemala programme is to strengthen political institutions at three levels:

- as organisations,
- in their performance as political parties within the political system (in Congress),
- as representatives of the people (in programme development, in dialogue with other parties and in the new Socio-Economic Council).

The approach is based on two components: an ongoing multiparty dialogue (support for the permanent Forum of Political Parties) and developing the individual party organisations, with a special emphasis on the content of their programmes. The NIMD strongly supports developing the specific identity and ideology of each party and capacity building among groups within the parties such as women, youth and indigenous peoples.

The Shared National Agenda (SNA) has been implemented on a multiparty basis (Forum) as well as by the individual parties.

The Forum has a number of work groups that interact with civil society and government institutions, Congress and other state organisations.

Guatemala needs a long-term development road map. A Socio-Economic Council (SEC) is being established to create constructive collaboration between the business community and trade unions. The Embassies of Spain and the Netherlands are facilitating its development with assistance of NIMD.

The lack of security and the high level of crime continue to be central issues in Guatemalan society. In 2006 a successful agreement was reached between the political parties and the entrepreneurs on how best to address this problem. This security agreement is currently being translated into new policy and laws.

The Organisation of American States (OAS) has significantly reduced its technical support for the political parties in Guatemala, leaving it to the NIMD.

Key achievements

- The multi-party dialogue concept has caught on and has been decentralised, thus fundamentally changing the political culture.
- Partner organisations work together, following the lead of NIMD to create a guide for the institutional development of the political parties.
 Political parties are using this tool and the prospective analysis instrument to develop their strategy and monitor their achievements.
- An organisation of entrepreneurs and the trade unions decided to start a social dialogue and develop a Guatemalan version of the Dutch SER (SEC).

- The implementation of a national development plan requires longterm ownership by the stakeholders. The office of the Forum is now used as the place for dialogue and negotiation.
- The political participation of indigenous peoples is hindered by an entrenched culture of historical inequality and discrimination, which requires permanent attention.

Surinam

Key national partners

Democracy Unit (DU) of the University of Surinam

Key international partners

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Political parties in parliament

NPS (Nationale Partij van Suriname)

VHP (Vooruitstrevende Hervormingspartij)

PL (Pertjajah Luhur)

SPA (Surinaamse Partij van de Arbeid)

NDP (Nationale Democratische Partij)

VVV (Volksalliantie voor Vooruitgang)

A-Combinatie:

DA '91 (Democratisch Alternatief '91)

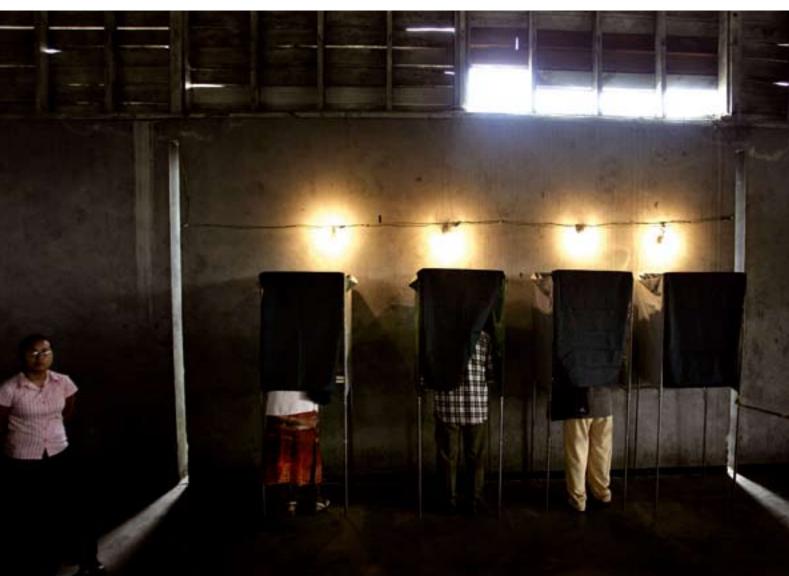
Alternatief 1

Priorities for 2007

Recruit staff and provide training to members of the Democracy Unit. Finalise research among constituencies on their perceptions of political parties (baseline study).

Organise two seminars: one on the perceptions among constituencies of the electoral platforms of political parties and one for political parties on the Millennium Development Goals.

Organise exchanges for members of political parties with counterparts in Central America.



Polling station in Paramaribo during elections in 2005

In May 2005 elections were held in Surinam. The results of these free and fair elections were disappointing for the ruling coalition New Front: they lost ten seats and ended up with 23 of the 51 seats in parliament. Desi Bouterse's National Democratic Party (NDP) gained five seats, ending up with fifteen seats. Two other smaller coalitions, the People Alliance for Progress (VVV) of former President Jules Wijdenbosch and the A-combination of Ronnie Brunswijk each won five seats. To achieve a majority in parliament the New Front parties had to form a coalition with the A-combination and DA91 of Dr Winston Jessurun.

Eventually the parties succeeded to form a government led by President Ronald Venetiaan.

Voting by the members of the Progressive Reform Party (VHP) to choose a new Board for their party was an important signal of increasing participation. The impartial way in which this election took place had not been seen before in other parties in Surinam.

Programme framework

The NIMD supports the Democracy Unit (DU) of the Anton de Kom University of Surinam, which carries out the programme in cooperation with UNDP. In 2004 an assessment was carried out to identify the needs of political parties with regard to policy development. This preparatory project provided the input for a three-year programme designed to enhance participatory democracy in Surinam through the institutional strengthening of democratic structures. In addition, the programme will strengthen the capacity of political parties to effectively formulate and monitor development policies in a participatory and transparent manner.

Due to the elections in 2005 and the fact that the Chairperson of the DU, Maurits Hassankhan became Minister of Internal Affairs, the implementation of the NIMD programme proceeded slowly. Following a review of the programme at the end of 2005, NIMD decided to continue to programme on the basis of an agreement between the Anton de Kom University and UNDP.

Because the programme took longer to start than had been expected, planned activities were postponed except for a first research project and three meetings. In December 2006 the programme was officially launched.

Key achievements

- Two launch events were organised. One served to inform the academic community about the programme and the opportunity to participate. At a second event the political parties were informed about the programme.
- Preparations were made for research on current and desired awareness of political parties' programmes among their constituencies.
- In December a first seminar entitled 'Political parties and people's sovereignty' was held.

- During the internal launch it was discovered that the purpose of the project was insufficiently known. So this was a good occasion to inform the academic community.
- During the external launch the political parties stressed their appreciation of the project and made clear their need for a training programme.
- By carrying out research on current and desired awareness among constituencies, it became clear that there still is some hesitation among the political parties about whether to participate.

Afghanistan

Key national partners

There is as yet no NIMD programme in Afghanistan.

Key international partners

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

European Union (EU)

Netherlands Embassy

Political parties in parliament

Jamiat

Junbesh

Naveen

Tanzim-e-Dawat Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum

Millat

Mutahed Milli

Eqtedar Milli

Mahaz-e-Milli (NIFA)

Sulh wa Wahdat

Wahdat-e-Islami

Da Soly Ghorzang

Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi

Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum

Wahdat-e-Milli Islami

Hambastagi Jawanan

Paiwand Milli

Democrat

Harakat Islami

Refa Afghanistan

Priorities for 2007

Arrange an NIMD Board identification mission.

A final decision by the Board as to whether or not an NIMD programme in Afghanistan can be started and under which conditions.

Afghan parliamentarians meet with NIMD mission in Kabul



On September 18, 2005 – almost four decades after the last legislative elections – Afghanistan held elections for the Lower House of the National Assembly (Wolesi Jirga) and Provincial Councils. Following energetic campaigning, in which nearly 6,000 candidates participated – including over 550 women – Election Day was relatively peaceful and orderly. Given security concerns and the enormous complexity of the voting and the vote-counting processes, the administration of these elections can only be described as impressive. Most observers agree that the elections, despite being held under very difficult circumstances, represent a positive step forward in Afghanistan's political development.

Despite these achievements, Afghanistan faces significant challenges in the effort to further the country's democratic development. The Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) electoral system has resulted in a politically fragmented parliament, with approximately 20 political parties and a large number of independents winning seats in the National Assembly. More broadly, most political parties – even those represented in the National Assembly – are in the initial stages of development. Most campaigns were personality-driven rather than issue or platform-based and almost all of the parties remain tied to traditional ethnic or tribal affinity groups, limiting their reach beyond these narrow constituencies. Until strong political parties emerge which can play a more effective role in Afghanistan's political process, the country will continue to face major obstacles in consolidating the democratic gains made to date.

Programme framework

Initially planned for early 2006, an NIMD identification mission was postponed due to politically sensitive circumstances in the Netherlands (the military deployment of Dutch troops in the Uruzgan region of the country). It was then decided to first commission the National Democracy Institute (NDI) to carry out a Political Party Assessment. Their report was presented to NIMD in late August 2006. It identified the strengths and weaknesses of (a number of) the Afghan political parties, as a first step in the process of determining how best to strengthen the political parties' organisational capacities and thus enhance their performance in the National Assembly. Based on this assessment, an Experts Meeting was subsequently convened in early December in The Hague, during which a group of Afghan democratic stakeholders met with international experts to formulate concrete recommendations to the NIMD Board. Their main recommendations were:

Advocating reform: The initial focus of a possible NIMD programme in Afghanistan should be on reform of the electoral system and the Political Parties Law.

Consultative platform: It was recommended to create a broad, consultative platform. This platform, which should consist of a representative group of political parties and other democratic stakeholders, should be given the task to:

- Develop proposals for structural changes in Afghanistan's political dispensation.
- Identify the specific needs and demands of the various parties in terms of capacity building and advise NIMD in this respect.
- Carefully develop criteria and modalities that will help determine with whom NIMD should collaborate

Pooling of resources: The pooling of donor resources and an exploration of the possibilities to work together with partners with local facilities was strongly recommended.

Identification mission: It was recommended that the NIMD Board delegation will visit Afghanistan to discuss the recommendations and to lay the foundation for future programme cooperation.

Key achievements

- An Assessment Report in which the strengths and weaknesses of the Afghan political parties are assessed.
- Concrete recommendations to the NIMD Board for a programme framework.

Lessons learned

The main lesson learned with regard to setting up a possible NIMD programme in Afghanistan is: caution. The best approach is one small step at a time.

Indonesia

Key national partners

Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID)

Indonesian Academy of Sciences (LIPI)

Partnership/Kemitraan

Placid's Averroes

Lembaga Advokasi Penelitian (LAP Timoris)

Melania Foundation

Yayasan Puspa

IRE

Key international partners

Asia Foundation

International IDEA

Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)

Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS)

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

International Republican Institute (IRI)

Indonesië Beraad

Political parties in parliament

Functional Groups Party (Golkar)

Indonesia Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P)

National Awakening Party (PKB)

United Development Party (PPP)

Democratic Party (PD)

Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)

National Mandate Party (PAN)

Priorities in 2007

Further consolidate the SDs in the five regions and prepare their representation in KID.

Establish partnerships with the seven main political parties and prepare joint programme activities.

Newspaper stand in Jakarta



Since the 2004 general elections and the election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ('SBY') as president, the political situation in Indonesia continues to be relatively stable. The election results underscored the fact that Indonesians want political reform and call for an end to endemic corruption. However, the present coalition government has to strike a balance between entrenched interests, including the military, and its promises to the people. As a result, the reform process proceeds slowly. Nevertheless, some results relating to decentralisation and strengthening democracy at the local level are promising. The country is currently going through a long period of local and regional elections, in which each region and each district elects its executive (governors and bupati). Another important political development is the peace agreement that was reached between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) in Aceh, which brought an end to an old military conflict. The peace agreement was realised in the aftermath of the Tsunami that hit Aceh hard at the end of 2004. Local elections then led to the election of a former GAM leader as governor of the province.

Programme framework

Based in Jakarta, the Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID) is NIMD's partner organisation in Indonesia. The KID has developed a programme called Simpul Demokrasi (SD) that has two main aims: to train young regional politicians and activists in democratic values and practices, and to create a new generation of democratic politicians who can build bridges between civil society and political institutions. The programme focuses on five regions at the kabupaten or district level as pilot projects. The KID selected local implementing organisations in the programme regions through a tendering process. These local organisations conduct trainings for local politicians, youth, women and activists.

In October 2006, the KID conducted a first evaluation of the programme, which showed that the SDs have become respected institutions that have enhanced local involvement in the processes of government and have increased the general commitment to democracy. Another evaluation on the impact of the SD will be conducted during the 2009 elections, when it will become clear how many SD 'graduates' are active in regional and national politics. In addition to the local programme, KID strives to push Indonesia's reformasi agenda forward nationally by organising lectures on the issue of democracy.

KID also finalised a needs assessment of political parties at the regional level in 2006. The purpose of this assessment is to prepare the grounds for establishing relations with the seven largest political parties at the national level and to develop a shared programme for implementation. The next step will be a visit of Indonesian politicians in January 2007.

The NIMD and KID have good contacts with the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Jakarta and discuss programme developments on a regular basis.

Key achievements

- The Simpul Demokrasi is up and running in three regions.
 Implementation in two additional regions is under preparation.
 The SDs have become locally known and respected institutions.
 Plans are being developed for further activities to be run by alumni.
- KID has trained and guided local implementing agencies in a sustainable way, thus securing the future of their work.
- The NIMD and KID have developed a joint approach for establishing partnerships with the main political parties.

- The programme's success has hinged on meticulous monitoring of local implementing agencies by KID and intensive training of staff.
- Various experts have confirmed that the bottom-up approach of the SDs at the district level is a wise one.

Voters in the streets of Bujumbura, Burundi, during the elections in 2005



Multilateral Programmes

4.1 Introduction

The main task of the NIMD Multilateral Programmes unit (MP) is to set up joint programmes that are either co-funded by other organisations or funded completely on the basis of external resources. In these joint programmes the MP unit provides the management, the programme coordination and the specific expertise necessary to collaborate with political parties in new democracies. It also develops the analytical quidelines and monitoring instruments needed.

Since its establishment in July 2004 the MP has been coordinating two multi-annual programmes, one in Nicaragua and the other in Georgia. During 2006 the MP was able to increase its capacity considerably with new personnel as well as new projects. Following a decision by the NIMD Board, MP engaged together with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) in a joint country programme in Ecuador, as a follow-up to the International IDEA Agora Democrática study on political parties in the Andean region, to which NIMD had also contributed. Mid 2006 a two-year joint programme started with Radio Netherlands World Service and Free Voice on 'Media and Politics' in the Andean and Central American region. At the request of the Netherlands embassy in Nicaragua and co-sponsored by six other diplomatic representations, MP started preparing for eight debates on 'Democracy, Social Cohesion and Regional Cooperation' in Nicaragua. In all of these programmes, MP works closely together with local organisations.

Exploring conflict resolution in Burundi

After earlier explorations in Burundi and exchanges with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the NIMD Board undertook an official identification mission in May to assess the situation in Burundi.

The NIMD delegation spoke with the leadership of all political parties, international organisations and civil society organisations. On the basis of the delegation's mission report the NIMD Board started preparing preliminary discussions with and between the five biggest political parties. Throughout the rest of 2006 the MP explored options for starting a post-conflict programme in Burundi. The implementation of the process has been delayed by conflicting signals from within the rulting party. Once these have been carified, implementation of the programme can commence.

Andean Region

Key national partners

Sub-regional: Latin American Association of Radio Stations (ALER) Bolivia: Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (FUBODEM)

Colombia: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Ecuador: Agora Democrática (NIMD-IDEA programme), Facultad

Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Flacso)
Peru: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

(International IDEA), Instituto Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS)

Venezuela: independent journalists

Key international partners

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI)
Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
Department for International Development (DFID)
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
(International IDEA)
Inter American Development Bank (IDB)

Priorities for 2007

The first priority for 2007 is to continue with the execution of the Andean region part of the programme, to achieve its objectives and develop – together with the partner organisations currently involved as well with other organisations – a follow-up to the programme in terms of a regional institutional framework for the mixed commissions/debates. The Andean Community of Nations (CAN) might provide such framework.

The second priority is to start with and finalise the Central American part of the programme before the end of the year.

Window of a newspaper publisher in the city centre of La Paz



Political parties and politicians in Latin America have faced enormous challenges in the last ten years. Although democracy returned to nearly the whole continent, the income gap between rich and poor has increased. This has led to more inequality and less confidence among citizens in their political leaders and, as a consequence, a very tense relationship between politicians and the media. As the 2004 UNPD report on Democracy in Latin America has shown, politicians perceive the media to be an unaccountable source of political power. Incidentally, this fact was also highlighted by Latin-American representatives during the NIMD Partnership Days of 2005, who suggested developing a programme to improve this relationship as well as an improvement of public access to information.

Programme framework

In 2006 NIMD started a comprehensive programme on the relationship between media and politics and its consequences for the quality of democracy. The programme, which targets media representatives and politicians in the Andean and Central American regions, was developed together with two Dutch organisations specialised in training and developing media: Free Voice (FV) and Radio Netherlands World Service (RNW). While all three organisations participate equally in terms of funding (bilateral agreements of co-operation between the institutions were signed in June 2006), the programme is managed, in coordination with FV and RNW, by NIMD. FV and RNW are co-responsible for the content of the seminars and workshops, whereas NIMD is responsible for the selection of politicians and for acquiring additional funding. For the Andean region, funding was committed by the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI) and UNDP. The Central American part of the programme is scheduled for 2007 and will be coordinated with and financially supported by several multilateral and bilateral donors.

The programme was developed in an open way, leaving scope for possible adjustments by the stakeholders and beneficiaries. In the Andean region (and in 2007 in Central America) it started with a strategic seminar for selected politicians, media representatives and academics. During this seminar, which was held in September in Lima, Peru, the most pressing issues in the relationship between media and politics were identified and discussed. Subsequently a series of national workshops were prepared during which particular items from the Lima seminar would be touched upon at the beginning of 2007. Through the workshops national agendas on the subject would be agreed upon. The latter are planned to be presented at the closing regional seminar, together with a series of training materials produced on the basis of the outcomes of the workshops and seminars, in February 2007.

Key achievements

- High-level mixed commissions established per country and national debates started
- Stable coalition of multilateral and bilateral organisations working together and securing the financial sustainability of the programme for the next few years.
- Stable cooperation between NIMD and local partners established, securing the long-term sustainability of the programme.

- Strategic partnership between NIMD and Dutch organisations specialised in other fields are highly effective in terms of combining networks and enhancing political and civil society contacts.
- A new approach (collaboration between NIMD, RNW, FV and IPYS)
 makes it easier for politicians and journalists to address controversial
 issues

Ecuador

Key national partners

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Flacso)
Ecuadorian political parties participating in NIMD-IDEA programme
NGO Ruptura 25

Key international partners

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI)

Political parties in Parliament

Partido Renovación Institucional Acción Nacional (PRIAN)

Partido Sociedad Patriótica (PSP)

Partido Social Cristiano (PSC)

Izquierda Democrática (ID) Alianza Red Ética y Democracia

Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE)

Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik

Movimiento Popular Democrático (MPD)

Unión Demócrata Cristiana (UDC)

Movimiento Nuevo Pais (NP)

Independiente

Priorities for 2007

The main priority for 2007 is to develop and start executing the 2007-2010 programme, which is aimed to help develop party systems that are more conducive to building consensus and effective governance, thus leading to parties that are better organised, longer lasting and have a greater sense of participation. To this end, annual work plans will be made to achieve the following:

Ensure that proposals for reform of the political system are designed, debated and approved among political parties and between parties, social organisations and civil society.

Develop a political culture that is more strongly oriented to inter-party dialogue, consensus building and communication between parties and civil society.

Polling station in the highlands during the elections in 2006



Provide political parties with the necessary internal rules and instruments for institutional strengthening, internal democracy, financial transparency, and an ability to prepare plans and programmes that are conducive to national development.

Support the emergence of political leaders, especially women and youth, who have more knowledge of fundamental aspects of the state, decentralisation and the political party system.

Develop an appropriate relationship of mutual respect and cooperation between political organisations and the media.

Foster political participation by youth and women through the introduction of measures designed to ensure positive discrimination and equity.

The state of democracy

Ecuador has a history of political instability. During the last decade all presidents were forced to resign and there have been no less than four presidential and parliamentary elections (1996, 1998, 2002 and 2006), three provincial elections and five municipal elections (1996, 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2004). In addition, a referendum was held in 1997 to approve constitutional reforms. Frequent elections have made it hard for parties to reflect on their work and strengthen their organisations.

Evidently, this situation has not stimulated dialogue. Moreover, as is the case in all other countries in the Andean region, the crisis of traditional parties and institutions such as the parliament has facilitated the rise of strong contesters from social movements. The victory of Rafael Correa during the December 2006 presidential elections and his anti-system movement is the most dramatic expression of this trend. Political instability and unrest is therefore expected to persist in the years ahead.

The President, who is elected for a non-renewable four-year term, has the power to appoint and remove cabinet ministers. This second best candidate in the first round of the presidential elections – he was eventually announced the winner – is now facing the situation of having the presidency of the country but not the parliamentary support that he needs to govern. The other candidate, who lost the second round and is publicly known for corruption and vote buying, enjoys a comfortable parliamentary majority. In other words, the ongoing political crisis in Ecuador, reflecting the instability and lack of governance in the country, will continue. A clash between the Executive and the Legislative is almost inevitable. It is equally probable that the president will marginalize parliament and govern with the support of the street, aiming to change the political system through a constitutional assembly. Efforts to facilitate dialogue between the parties will continue to be necessary in the years ahead.

Programme framework

In 2006 NIMD started conversations with all political parties and with relevant stakeholders such as NGO Transparency, the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Flacso) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Two NIMD missions were undertaken to assess the situation. The general conclusion was that all political parties seem to see the need to take action. Whether that conviction is genuine or just window dressing is something which needs to be monitored in the course of the proposed 2006-2010 programme, which was prepared in 2006. Action is certainly necessary in terms of increased dialogue and national consensus - something which the media and society at large also seem to be demanding. Furthermore, there is a need to improve the political party system to consolidate democratic governance and to reduce fragmentation and instability, especially given the appearance of new political organisations. The purpose of the programme is to help develop party systems that are more conducive to building consensus and effective governance, thus leading to parties that are better organised, longer lasting and with a greater sense of participation.

NIMD-MP Programme in Ecuador is a joint venture with International IDEA that is co-financed by both organisations and third parties under the general programme coordination of NIMD-MP and IDEA. The project in Ecuador will be executed in close connection to activities in Peru and Bolivia.

Nicaragua

Key national partners

The nine political parties (see below)

SNV (Nicaraguan branch)

Key international partners

Royal Netherlands Embassy

Royal Swedish Embassy and Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)

Royal Danish Embassy

Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI)

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

British Department for International Development (DFID)

Political parties in parliament

Alianza Liberal Nicaraguense (ALN), since November 2005

Alianza por la República (APRE)

Camino Cristiano de Nicaragua (CCN)

Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN)

Movimiento Renovador Sandinista (MRS; since November 2005)

Partido Conservador (PC)

Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC)

Partido Multiétnico por la Unidad Costeña (PAMUC; left the programme after March 2006)

Partido Resistencia Nicaraguense (PRN)

Yapti Tasba Masraka Nanih Aslatakanka (YATAMA)

Priorities for 2007

Successfully finalise the project 'Enhancement of Political Institutions, Nicaragua 2005-2007'.

Secure a second phase for the 'Enhancement of Political Institutions' project.

Successfully start the 'Debates on Democracy, Social Cohesion and Regional Integration' project.

Assist the political parties in designing and establishing the 'Nicaraguan Multiparty Centre'.

Present and debate the final version of the Interactive Assessment Report.

Voters celebrate the result of the elections in 2006



Elections dominated 2006. In March elections were held for the Regional Autonomous Councils, which were seen as a test case for the general elections and were won by the Sandinistas led by Daniel Ortega's Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) and their allies, the YATAMA party and the Liberals. In May various electoral blocks were formed. There was a strong block representing the FSLN and its allies and another for the main liberal party Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC) and its allies. Both represented the old political parties and, although united by their bilateral pact, they were divided by ideology. Two new blocks – the Alianza Liberal Nicaraguense (ALN) and the social-democratic Movimiento de Renovación Sandinista (MRS) – presented themselves as alternatives to the traditional political parties. In the run-up to the elections it became clear that the battle would be between the FSLN and the ALN, whereby the latter would only be able to win by reconciling with the 'old' Liberals.

The 5 November elections (general and presidential) were won by the FSLN, albeit with only 38% of the overall vote. To be able to govern the country during the years ahead, President Daniel Ortega will be forced to search for a new majority every time he presents plans to the General Assembly. An alternative to this could be the renovation of the pact between the FSLN and the PLC, which would secure at least two thirds of the Assembly - but this is not expected to take place in the near future. It is expected that the presence of the two new blocks in the Assembly - the ALN and the MRS – will force the political class to become serious about a change in Nicaraguan politics.

Programme framework

Since mid-2005, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and NIMD have been involved in a joint project entitled 'Enhancement of Political Institutions, Nicaragua 2005-2007', which has been co-financed by the embassies of Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands, the British Department for International Development (DFID) and the Spanish Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional (AECI). The NIMD is directly responsible for an interactive assessment and the design and implementation of monitoring and evaluation processes, as well as coordination with the Central-American Political Party Initiative (a multi-donor programme).

The programme for 2006 focused mainly on those activities from the Multi-annual framework that would not be hampered too much by the impact of the elections, such as the starting an interactive assessment and the design and introduction of a monitoring and evaluation system. Bilateral workshops were held for prospective members of the Regional Autonomous Councils as well as workshops focusing on the link between politics and poverty reduction strategies.

Key achievements

- Throughout 2006 NIMD and the programme team jointly developed a monitoring and evaluation system for measuring the qualitative effects of NIMD interventions.
- In June 2006 the political parties jointly expressed their wish to have a multiparty training facility up and running before the end of the programme in 2008.
- In response to requests by the political parties and in the run-up
 to elections for the Regional Autonomous Councils as well as the
 general elections, the NIMD decided to focus on strengthening the
 programmatic as well as the judicial-administrative capacities of
 regional politicians, thus broadening the scope of the programme.

- Experts from the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) were hired to run the workshops on poverty alleviation and the Millennium Development Goals. In future, all trainers should be assessed with regard to their ability to deliver workshops and design training specifically targeting politicians, understanding their realities, their problems and their environment.
- During 2006 the need for a continuous NIMD presence within the programme became clearer. At the end of 2006 NIMD placed an international expert in the country, who is expected to train a local NIMD expert by the summer of 2007.
- Despite the need to continue on-going programme activities, the annual plan during electoral years should take into consideration activities such as training candidates for the General Assembly and literature reviews for the Interactive Assessment.

Georgia

Key national partners

Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), Tbilisi Georgia

Key international partners

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

Political parties in parliament

National Movement
Republican Party
Conservative Party of Georgia
Industry Will Save Georgia
Labour Party of Georgia
New Conservative Party

Priorities for 2007

The main priority is to strengthen the internal organisation and democratic practices of Georgian political parties. Assistance will be given, including toolkits and help with implementing them.

Develop recruitment criteria in order to increase the participation of under-represented groups such as youth and women as well as ordinary members in decision-making and policy development.

Work on the reformulation and adaptation of internal party regulations. Stimulate dialogue between the government and the opposition. Introduce strategy planning and VoteMatch to strengthen parties for the elections in 2008.

The NIMD will finalise, present and disseminate a toolkit for local and regional capacity building.

We will build up more analytical expertise on politics by discussing the outcomes of the research with political parties and making additional information accessible through information packages.

The NIMD will assist the political parties in starting a debate on legal regulations for political parties, their funding and the legal implications of their institutional development. Parties will also be assisted in developing internal regulations, including an exchange of views with European political institutions.

Demonstration in front of the parliament in Tbilisi



In 2006 relations between the government and the opposition deteriorated drastically. Russian-Georgian relations also worsened, due to renewed tensions in the secessionist regions of South-Ossetia and Abchazia. This pattern is likely to continue in 2007.

The United National Movement secured a more powerful position in the October 2006 local elections and is expected to be able to maintain that lead. The President has a strong desire for Georgia to join NATO. He is willing to closely cooperate with Western partners and to take a strong stand in his country's relationship with Russia. This policy has earned him a degree of support among the Georgian population. With its substantial majority in parliament, the ruling party has initiated and adopted legislative drafts such as the new Election Code as well as a recently proposed constitutional amendment.

The opposition parties remain weak. Unless they get involved in multiparty dialogue and in coalition building prior to the elections in 2008, their chances of crossing the electoral threshold individually are relatively low. The international community still supports the incumbent government due to its pro-western stance and reforms, but also because there are no viable alternatives. Criticisms, mainly from representatives of the EU, are voiced about the government's conduct in areas such as the judiciary, civil liberties, the media and democratic governance.

Programme framework

Early in 2006 an interactive assessment – The Political Landscape of Georgia – was finalised. The results were presented to the political parties for approval and to the international community. All parties approved the document and the final book version was published in late September. Arrangements for the 2006-2008 programme, which is financed by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and implemented by the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD) and NIMD-MP, were concluded early in June.

The programme focuses on capacity training for political parties at the local level, developing a multiparty facility to systematically create analyses of political parties and the political system in Georgia. It will also facilitate a multiparty debate on the regulation of political parties' institutional rules and public support. The content of the programme has been developed in cooperation with all Georgian political parties participating in the project and is being discussed with the Matra organisations in the Netherlands.

Key achievements

- The Political Landscape of Georgia was published and presented.
- An initial meeting of leading politicians was followed by an informal meeting at the Dutch Ambassador's residence in Tbilisi.
- Party leaders and cadres prepared together with NIMD (IPP, CDA)

 a series of strategy planning and VoteMatch-related workshops for 2007.

- The elaboration of an interactive assessment, together with local partners and political parties, is the best way to obtain a concise analysis of the situation in a specific country. This made it possible to design an action plan for political parties and political systems.
- The appointment by NIMD of a local person in charge of daily affairs is strongly recommended.

About NIMD

Appendix 2

Publications and events in 2006

About NIMD

The Board

J.A. van Kemenade President

Professor Dr Jos van Kemenade is Minister of State of the Netherlands. He has been a Member of Parliament for the Dutch Labour party, Minister of Education, Mayor of the City of Eindhoven, and Royal Commissioner for the Province of North Holland.

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

Mr Jos van Gennip is Senator of the CDA party, member of the Board of Directors of International IDEA, Senior Vice-president of the SID (Society for International Development), President of SOCIRES and board member of a variety of civil society organisations.

W. Haitsma (CU) Treasurer

A member of the Christian Union party, Mr Willem Haitsma is a business and mediation consultant who previously worked as an entrepreneur in the construction sector.

S.L.J.M. Filippini (D66) Member

Ms Simone Filippini is the International Secretary of the Liberal Democrat party D66 and President of the International Democratic Initiative Foundation D66. She is Head of the Gender, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Division of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

C.S.L. Janse (SGP) Member

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

U. Rosenthal (VVD) Member

Prof. Dr Uri Rosenthal is Professor of Public Administration at Leiden University and chairman of COT Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis Management in The Hague. He is chairman of the Liberal Group (VVD) in the Dutch Senate in which is also a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

R. Koole (PvdA) Member

Prof. Dr Ruud Koole is a historian and political scientist at the University of Leiden, specialising in comparative politics and political parties. Until December 2005, he held the Chair of the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA). He combines practical experience in managing a political party with academic knowledge on political parties. During an earlier phase in his career, he was the Director of the Documentation Centre on Dutch Political Parties at the University of Groningen.

L. Sipkes (GL) Member

A former Member of Parliament for the green-left party, GroenLinks (from 1990-1998), Leoni Sipkes is currently acting mayor of Wester-Koggenland, a municipality north of Amsterdam. Within GroenLinks, Ms Sipkes chaired the selection commission for the Elections of the European Parliament in 1998 and was vice president of the selection commission for the National Parliamentary Elections in 2002. Since 2004 she chairs her party's national dispute-settlement commission.

The Supervisory Council

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

J.J.M. Penders (CDA)

J.C. van Baalen (VVD), chairperson

R.H. van der Meer (VVD)

A.G. Koenders (PvdA)

J. Bos (PvdA)

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

J. Lagendijk (GroenLinks)

W. Derksen (D66)

J.W. Bertens (D66)

E. van Middelkoop (ChristenUnie)

R.A.C. Donk (SGP)

J. Dankers (SGP), member of the presidium

Supervisory Council members who resigned in 2006

G. Geijtenbeek (ChristenUnie)

R. Kuiper (ChristenUnie)

F. Karimi (GroenLinks)

NIMD Staff

Yvonne de Baay, Office Manager/Personal Assistant to the Executive Director

Maarten van den Berg, Policy Officer Communications (started in February)

Will Derks, Policy Officer Asia/Indonesia

Marieke van Doorn, Policy Officer International Relations

Ariëtta van Eck, Assistant to the Policy Team

Pepijn Gerrits, Policy Officer MP-unit (started in January)

Livia van Helvoort, Senior Office Assistant

Karijn de Jong, Senior Policy Officer Africa (started in April)

Ellen van Koppen, *Programme Officer, PvdA*Marcus Lens van Rijn, *Programme Officer, WD*

Roel von Meijenfeldt, Executive Director

Bernard Naron, Assistant Programme Officer, PvdA Annie van de Pas, Programme Officer, GroenLinks

Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach, Multilateral Programme Coordinator

Monique Ronza, Office Assistant (started in November)

Sylva van Rosse, Programme Officer, CDA

Heleen Schrooyen, Policy Officer Latin America

Josha Sietsma, Assistant Programme Officer, ChristenUnie

Ilse Smit, Programme Officer, ChristenUnie

Anne van Staalduinen, Junior Policy Officer Africa

Jan Tuit, Senior Policy Officer

Sascha Veltrop, Office Assistant MP (started in January)

Emily van de Vijver, Programme Officer, D66 (until February)

Martin van Vliet, *Programme Officer, CDA* Karel de Vries, *Programme Officer, SGP*

Field representatives

Doris Cruz Estrada, Representative in Guatemala Renier Nijskens, Regional Representative for East and Southern Africa

Financial Services

Michel Hoeymans, Interim Financial Management, (Ab-Ovo) Dzevada Jasic, Financial Management (W+R) Yahya Latif, Controller (W+R) Fred Trompert, Interim Controller (Ab-Ovo)

Publications and events in 2006

Publications

- NIMD publication The Political Landscape of Georgia: Political Parties: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects, Ghia Nodia and Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach, NIMD Series, Eburon, Delft 2006.
- NIMD co-sponsored the research for the book Confronting the weakest link: aiding political parties in new democracies by Thomas Carothers, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington DC, 2006.
- NIMD actively participated in the publication of UNDP's A Handbook on Working with Political Parties, 2006.
- NIMD published translations of the NIMD Institutional Development Handbook in Indonesian, French and a special edition for Guatemala in Spanish.
- NIMD co-sponsored the African Statesmen Initiative conference, Bamako, Mali, June 5-8, 2005 and the subsequent publication of the conference report.
- NIMD staff published an article on democracy in Indonesia in the periodical ZemZem.

Public events

- January 2006: NIMD Workshop in cooperation with the Society for International Development, featuring a lecture by Prof. Dr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former president of Brazil and President of the Club of Madrid.
- April 2006: NIMD Lunch Lecture on the influence of AIDS on democracy in South Africa by Dr. Per Strand of the University of Cape Town
- April 2006: Lecture by professor Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, codirector of the Afrobarometer, on public opinion and democracy in Africa at the Afrikadag (Africa Day), an annual event organised by the Evert Vermeer Stichting (EVS.
- May 2006: NIMD Lunch Lecture by Manuel Alcántara Sáez, Director of the Institute for Latin America and Portugal of the University of Salamanca
- June 2006: NIMD Lunch Lecture on Indonesia, featuring
 Mr P. Sulistiyanto (Southeast Asia Studies, University of Singapore),
 Mr K. Morville (University of Copenhagen), Mr I. Kleden (Steering
 Committee KID, Indonesia) and Mr D. Sparringa (University of
 Surabaya).
- October November 2006: NIMD co-organised the lecture series
 Democracy and Development of the Netherlands Chapter of the
 Society for International Development (SID), which started in 2006
 with a lecture by Ms. Agnes van Ardenne, Minister for Development
 Cooperation (October 2006) followed by Paul Collier, Professor of
 Economics, Oxford University (November 2006) and David Beetham,
 Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of
 Leeds.

Special productions

- Production of two reports on the WMD Assembly 2006 in Istanbul, Turkey, published online by the World Movement for Democracy (WMD), April 2006.
- Generation of international publicity for the WARP conference in Accra, Ghana, resulting in three publications by international press agencies, two articles in Ghanaian newspapers, several interviews of conference participants by Radio Netherlands Africa, culminating in a radio programme on NIMD's programmes in West Africa and Mali, July 2006.
- Production of a report on the Media & Politics programme regional conference in Lima, Peru, published in Spanish and English by Radio Netherlands, September 2006.
- Production of two 1-minute video clips, a 10-minute video documentary and several press releases on the NIMD Visitors Programme during the general elections in the Netherlands in November 2006.

Financial report

67

Sheet of revenue and costs over 2006

(abstracted from the audited annual financial report 2006)

| | Result 2006 | Result 2005 | |
|---|-------------|-------------|--|
| | € | € | |
| Revenue | ••••••• | •••••••••• | |
| Contributions | | | |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs: programme | 8.451.118 | 9.108.674 | |
| UNDP: Multilateral / Bilateral programmes Nicaragua | 67.574 | 108.883 | |
| OSCE/ODIHR Georgia | 179.108 | 133.611 | |
| European Parliament: Special purposes, Studies | _ | 13.700 | |
| OAS/SIDA: Gua-05-Sida-Proley programme Guatemala | 60.534 | 60.069 | |
| Other contributions | 16.341 | 1.676 | |
| Financial revenue and costs | 16.710 | 959 | |

Total revenue 8.791.385 9.427.572

ω

| | Result 2006 € | Result 2005 € |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Costs | | |
| Programmes | | |
| Mozambique | 365.992 | 177.172 |
| Tanzania | 372.650 | 528.751 |
| Zimbabwe | 372.994 | 428.099 |
| Zambia | 450.522 | 449.949 |
| Malawi | 261.795 | 485.683 |
| Ghana | 533.074 | 722.204 |
| Mali | 27.978 | 737.648 |
| Guatemala | 736.378 | 522.234 |
| Bolivia | 427.124 | 373.975 |
| Surinam | 150.000 | 8.164 |
| Indonesia | 732.711 | 508.263 |
| South Africa | 56.888 | 311.544 |
| Kenya | 527.380 | 972.236 |
| East and Southern Africa | 16.834 | 568.893 |
| Afghanistan | 13.526 | 69.496 |
| West African Region | 246.383 | 252.864 |
| Remuneration Dutch political parties | 321.363 | 324.482 |
| Total of programmes | 5.613.592 | 7.442.536 |
| Multilateral / Bilateral programmes | 519.561 | 306.917 |
| Evaluation | 6.778 | 135.198 |
| Special purposes | 350.714 | 293.298 |
| Management (excl. personnel costs MP) | 2.300.740 | 1.249.623 |
| Total costs | 8.791.385 | 9.427.572 |

Result –

Balance sheet as of 31 December 2006

(abstracted from the audited annual financial report 2006)

| | 31 December 2006 | | 31 | 31 December 2005 | |
|--|------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|--|
| Assets | € € | | € | | |
| Fixed assets | | | | | |
| Intangible fixed assets | | | | | |
| PMS (Programme Management Systeem) | | 1.091 | | 27.279 | |
| Tangible fixed assets | | | | | |
| Constructural changes | 54.797 | | - | | |
| Cars representation in Mozambique | 7.426 | | 9.871 | | |
| Furniture | 72.778 | | 44.561 | | |
| Computer equipment | 61.071 | | 71.105 | | |
| | | 196.072 | | 125.537 | |
| Current assets | | | | | |
| Receivables | | | | | |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs: programme 2003-2006 | _ | | 1.649.222 | | |
| Securities | 1.792 | | 1.792 | | |
| Other receivables | 185.904 | | 70.536 | | |
| Advance payments and estimated receivables | 178.434 | | 106.187 | | |
| Support from Dutch political parties | _ | | 25.856 | | |
| | | 366.130 | | 1.853.592 | |
| Liquidities | | 399.026 | | 46.469 | |
| | • • • | • • • • • • • | | | |

962.319

2.052.878

| Liabilities | 31 December 2006 | | 31 December 2005 | |
|---|------------------|---------|------------------|-----------|
| | € | € | € | € |
| General reserve | | _ | _ | - |
| Long-term liabilities | _ | - | _ | |
| Short-term liabilities | | | | |
| Programme liabilities | 356.235 | | 1.750.970 | |
| Support from Dutch political parties | 62.717 | - | | |
| Fund for special purposes | _ | 7.447 | | |
| Multilateral / Bilateral Programmes | - | | 7.296 | |
| Wage tax December | 26.396 | | - | |
| Creditors | 238.919 | | 17.729 | |
| Taxes and contributions social insurance | - | | 8.841 | |
| Pensions | - | | 5.640 | |
| Other liabilities | 85.128 | | 60.697 | |
| Advance receipt and estimated liabilities | 192.924 | | 194.258 | |
| | | 962.319 | | 2.052.878 |

962.319 2.052.878

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All other photos: ANP, AFP, EPA

Print

Veenman Drukkers, Rotterdam

