# NIMD Annual Report 2011

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

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## Foreword

2011 was the year in which a wave of civil uprisings sparked over Northern Africa and part of the Middle East. Since the third democratisation wave, which started in the late '80 of the last century the world had not seen such a large wave of uprisings in an entire region. No one could have predicted that when Mohamed Bouazizi, a fruit venter in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, set fire to himself, he actually started the end of a number of autocratic regimes in North Africa. He sent a powerful wave over the world to take citizens demands for a better life more seriously.

The democratisation process that followed the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and, later on, Libya showed that democratic reform does not come hand in hand with the end of autocratic regimes; it actually takes dialogue and compromise to ensure each next step towards a more democratic society. Apart from that, these events did not only start democratic reform processes in these countries, but also fuelled and influenced uprisings and popular protests in other countries around the globe.

NIMD too responded fairly quick to this process that has been popularly referred to as the Arab Spring by laying the foundations for two new country programmes in Tunisia and Egypt. These country programmes support political actors with the new and important endeavours they face in building up democracies.

In 2011 NIMD also faced a reorganisation, which led to a severe staff reduction and an organisation-wide restructure. Despite its impact on the organisation, this process also provided NIMD with an opportunity to prepare for the future. In close coordination with its partners world-wide a new multi-annual plan was prepared. As an outcome of this strategic planning process, NIMD signed two new strategic partnerships. The first one with International IDEA with the aim to join forces in political party assistance and linking NIMD's practise oriented experience with IDEA's reputation in knowledge development. The second strategic partnership was signed with the Association of Europeans Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) to strengthen the nexus between political parties and Parliaments. With these two strategic cooperations in place NIMD strives to provide a broader range of assistance to its partners and at the same time works on being complementary to other fields of democracy assistance.

This Annual Report provides a record of the activities carried out within NIMD's programmes in 2011 and highlights the most important institutional developments that took place throughout the year. It also contains a short overview of the activities in all programme countries and regional programmes, as well as a financial statement.

#### Hans Bruning

**Executive Director NIMD** 

## **Country and Regional programmes**

# Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA)

#### Africa

#### Egypt

After several fact-finding missions NIMD, DIPD and DEDI agreed with two Egyptian partners, the Egyptian Democracy Academy (EDA) and the Cairo Centre for Human Development (CCHD) to start a pilot on democracy education. The core of the programme involves setting up a long-term, sustained, in-depth, comprehensive form of democracy education in various regions of Egypt. It is foreseen that throughout 2012 Young Egyptians from all walks of life, including young representatives from political parties across the political spectrum, will be invited to participate. Given the unstable political spectrum in 2011 direct collaboration with political parties will only be considered at a later stage.

#### Tunisia

Between April and December 2011 NIMD, in cooperation with the Political Parties of Finland for Democracy (DEMO Finland), the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) and the Bulgarian School of Politics (BSoP), organised four exploratory missions to Tunisia. The purpose of the missions was to assess the possibility of instituting a new programme in Tunisia. A partnership was established with a local organisation, the Centre des Etudes Méditerranéennes et Internationales (CEMI), and an international partnership with DEMO Finland and the BSoP. The focus of the programme, that was drafted late 2011, will be on interparty dialogue with political party leadership on the democratic reform agenda; a School of Politics for young members of political parties; and public debates between political parties and civil society organisations.

#### Burundi

After the elections and taking into account the tense political situation NIMD and its local partner, the Burundi Leadership Training Programme (BLTP), continued to invest significantly in the relationship with all the parties, including the extra-parliamentary opposition parties. With the consent of all the parties and the personal support of the Burundian Minister of Interior, NIMD and BLTP launched a democracy education programme in Gitega. The democracy school was launched in September 2011 with 32 participants, 60 per cent of whom were representatives of various political parties. The aim of the democracy school is to bring actors from different sectors around the table to strengthen their democratic skills and to enhance dialogue between them in the longer run.

#### Ghana

The NIMD programme in Ghana – the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP), which is a joint venture with the Ghanaian Institute of Economic Affairs provides assistance to each of the four parliamentary parties, focusing above all on dialogue between these parties, as well as wider discussions regarding the evolution of the democratic system. Much attention was paid to the legislative process in 2011. The nine-member Constitutional Review Commission concluded its consultations with the Ghanaian people. In addition, the CRC members visited various countries in Africa and elsewhere, while maintaining close contact with the political parties in Ghana.

In 2011, consensus was also reached between political parties regarding the new Constitution. It was agreed that part of the new text of the Constitution could be approved by Parliament and then signed by the President, making it the new supreme law. Meanwhile, another part would need to be presented to the Ghanaian electorate in a referendum. The delay in the constitutional review

#### **Africa**

process has forced the deferral of its expected completion until the time of the new presidential and parliamentary elections, which are expected in December 2012.

#### Kenya

As a result of the adoption of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, and the new constitutional dispensation which followed, in 2011 Kenya improved its overall framework. This framework for a political arena, that contains sufficient checks and balances, as well as independent institutions, should ensure a level playing field and more accountable policies and politics. Thanks to the activities of the member parties of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy Kenya (CMD-K), the NIMD backed programme in Kenya was relatively successful in championing various pieces of legislation, especially the new Political Parties Act (PPA). The CMD-K team worked with the parties to inform them of the Act's requirements and ensure compliance through workshops and high level dialogue sessions with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Constitution Implementation Commission, the Parliament, and the Kenya Law Reform Commission. Moreover, parties were intensely involved in discussions on issues of national dialogue and reconciliation.

At the individual party level, a significant amount of work went into preparing the parties for the new requirements of the PPA. The Act's stricter rules on mergers, alliances and floor crossing have been put in place to prevent politicians from viewing parties as individual vehicles to be acquired as needed in the period before the general elections. CMD-K remains a key player in the democratic governance field, especially in relation to democratic reform issues.

#### Malawi

2011 proved to be a difficult year for the Centre for Multiparty Democracy Malawi (CMD-M) and the NIMD programme in Malawi more generally. The political dynamics caused significant polarisation between the parties. In addition, several key opposition parties faced serious internal challenges. This made it difficult to keep the platform functioning, let alone pursue reforms. Nevertheless, an encouraging sign of the interparty dialogue's sustainability was provided by the fact that, despite the difficult political environment and internal challenges in several parties, they continued to meet in CMD-M. Further, CMD-M developed several programmes to find common positions between the parties on issues such as reforms of legislation on political party registration and regulations, the issue of (paid) party membership and the minimum conditions for free and fair elections.

In the first part of 2011 CMD-M invested much time and energy in lobbying and preparations for the local government elections. To improve political parties' understanding of this kind of election scenario, including the related challenges, advantages and disadvantages, CMD-M undertook an exchange visit to Tanzania under NIMD's Africa Regional Programme (ARP).

#### Mali

The most important political themes in Mali in 2011 were preparations for the elections scheduled for April 2012 and proposed democratic reforms, including the updating of the constitution through a referendum. These political developments took place against the background of a deteriorating security situation in the north of the country, especially after the fall of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, which triggered an influx of weapons and Tuareg combatants into Mali.

Despite these events, the Malian Centre for Interparty Dialogue and Democracy (CMDID) organised information and mediation sessions on the contents of the democratic reforms, and a programme to facilitate joint party views on these reforms. Similarly, parliamentary groups were provided with information and analysis that they could disseminate and use in contacts with their constituencies. These were paired with information campaigns on the referendum and preventing electoral fraud, both of which were aimed at the general public. Furthermore, party cadres were trained in election observation. In the bilateral programme most parties focused their activities on preparing for the elections by training their cadres, improving lines of communication with their branches and the development of election programmes.

#### Mozambique

After the successful dialogue sessions on election results and electoral reforms in 2009 and 2010, the NIMD programme in Mozambique continued to support the Parliamentary Committee in charge of the electoral reform process in 2011. In close collaboration with Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), a series of retreats were organised to provide the parliamentary committee members with adequate information and alternative options on various components of the electoral legislation, and to facilitate discussions around the main contentious issued. In addition, a high level exchange visit to Mali and Ghana was organised in April 2011, where Mozambican MPs and members of the three political parties were exposed to electoral laws and regulations of Ghana and Mali. Out of the thirty contentious issues that the committee previously presented, twenty-seven were resolved during the round tables. The three remaining issues, related to the composition of the electoral commission, voter registration and vote counting were dealt with during a last round table early 2012.

In 2011, various roundtables between young policitians and the youth leagues of Renamo, MDM and Frelimo were organized, in partnership with Parlamento Juvenil. Around 50 young leaders from the three parties and the Youth Parliament joined in discussions on the constitutional reform process in Mozambique, and the involvement of youth in political party agenda setting. As an output of the meetings the youth leagues came up with recommendations for constitutional reform which contributed to internal debates within the parties. The events received positive feedback from the public and media, as it was the first time that the youth leagues jointly discussed issues of national interest.

With funding of the Danish Embassy the Schools for Democracy programme was expanded to Nampula Province in 2011. Two training cycles took place during this first year, leading to the graduation of 38 students. In Manica Province, where the Schools for Democracy Programme entered its third year, around 70 students graduated. In order to consolidate the outcomes of the Schools for Democracy in Manica Province and establish closer links between the participants and the local government authorities, various encounters between SfD alumni and local government authorities were organized. In addition to that, the local partner and local trainers have invested more time in following-up on the training programme and assisting the alumni in their contacts with the local authorities, leading to more frequent and more positive levels of interaction between civic leaders and local authorities.

#### Tanzania

The rather complicated reform process bill and the aftermath of the 2010 elections strongly influenced the 2011 programme in Tanzania. In early 2011 the Tanzanian Centre of Democracy (TCD), NIMD's local partner, successfully organised a multiparty

#### Africa

election evaluation session, labelled as a 'healing of wounds' for the purposes of reconciliation and 'letting off steam'. Throughout the year TCD and the political parties contributed greatly to the lobbying for the constitutional reform process. Multiple regular and specific multiparty meetings, as well as public debates and media programming, allowed the parties to come up with joint positions in response to the Presidential draft bill. The parties agreed on the timeframe of the reform process and discussed the roles of political parties and citizens, and the function of civic education in relation to the reform process.

To inform the public about the issue of women's participation, TCD produced and aired a documentary on the subject that featured interviews with leading women MPs. Furthermore, TCD was a successful facilitator of two ARP-exchanges to Tanzania, by Ugandan and Malawian political delegations, respectively, and participated in a visit to Ghana with its own delegation.

#### Uganda

In the first part of 2011 the Inter-Party Organisation for Dialogue (IPOD) focused on ensuring the transparency and credibility of the Ugandan electoral process, holding a number of meetings with the Electoral Commission (EC) in which it reached several agreements. A delegation from IPOD member parties undertook a fact-finding mission to the United Kingdom to observe the printing of ballot papers for the forthcoming Ugandan elections, in order to ensure that the process was secure. As agreed with the EC, IPOD delegates further monitored the transport of the ballots to Uganda and their distribution to the districts. Furthermore, electronic manifestos were prepared for each party and broadcasted on radio stations across the country. An IPOD jingle was also aired on the most popular radio stations in Uganda in five different local languages.

After the elections, IPOD attempted unsuccessfully to hold a meeting of its highest decision making organ, the Summit of Presidents. The meeting did not materialise due to the beating and arrest of the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) leader the previous day. Subsequent attempts to organise a Summit of Presidents were also unsuccessful. A final achievement in 2011 was the organisation of a Healing of Wounds workshop and conference, in which all parties and a broad representation of other key electoral stakeholders were able to jointly reflect on the electoral process and come up with conclusions about ways to improve it.

#### Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, NIMD continued to support a local partner in facilitating interparty dialogue processes which are critical in the building of a democratic Zimbabwe. The country is currently finalising its constitutional process which will culminate in a referendum (expected in October 2012) and general elections (expected in 2013) . The Zimbabwe programme has so far proved to be a big success. After several meetings at the Secretary-General level, this led to the first 'official' Zimbabwe Political Parties Dialogue meeting on 11 November 2011, at which the national executives and the national councils of the three parties met to discuss the problems of interparty political violence.

Despite greater tensions between the different parties in the run-up to the elections, it is also unmistakable that the level of interparty cooperation and dialogue between the parties is increasing. During a constitutional reform exchange seminar in Harare, delegations from Ghana and Kenya shared their experiences with their Zimbabwean counterparts.

#### **Africa Regional Programme (ARP)**

NIMD's Africa Regional Programme (ARP) brings together all NIMD partners in sub-Saharan Africa. It is founded on the premise that although the NIMD programme countries in Africa are characterised by their own individual particularities, there are still a number of common challenges that the democratisation processes in these countries face. Not only do a majority of these countries share a common history, they also naturally grapple with a number of similar reform problems. For instance, in a bid to further consolidate democracy, a number of countries in the region have in the past years been preoccupied with reviewing or re-writing their constitutions.

The major role of ARP in 2011 continued to be the facilitation of sharing of knowledge and experiences between and among NIMD partners. ARP facilitated a peer-to-peer learning exchange to Tanzania. The exchange allowed the key political parties from Uganda to reflect on their post-election challenges by learning from how their Tanzanian counterparts have dealt with the post-election healing process. Realising that constitutional reforms had become a dominant and common reform challenge, the annual ARP conference in 2011 was dedicated to this theme. The conference resulted in a praxisoriented publication that showcases some guiding principles in constitutional reforms. Through ARP, NIMD has been developing, in close cooperation with, the Institute for Democracy in Africa (IDASA) a generic leadership curriculum called the initiative for Leadership for Democracy in Africa (iLEDA) which will be piloted in 2012. Thus, in general through ARP partners remain innovative in their programme conceptualisation, effective in the implementation process and efficient in utilisation of resources, while at the same time ensuring sustainable interventions.

#### Latin-America

#### Bolivia

In response to the countries polarised political landscape following the 2010 elections NIMD's key partner in Bolivia, the Bolivian Foundation for Multiparty Democracy, organised many debates in various parts of the country in 2011. The exchanges of views during these debates focused on the various topics linked to the recently adopted Constitution, including the interests of specific groups in society, including indigenous people, women and young people.

FBDM produced many new materials aiming to reach a divers and broad audience. An interesting example of these materials, aimed at a larger audience, were the so-called *docuficciones*, televised documentaries in which new elements of the constitution are clarified in the playful context of the work of a private investigator.

FBDM's regional office in Santa Cruz produced a new magazine (*Mojón21*) in which different political views are expressed, have been produced. This magazine goes far beyond the usual stereotypes that exist between the western highlands and eastern lowlands regions of the country. It therefore assists in creating much more profound mutual understanding.

#### Colombia

2011 could be considered a politically turbulent year for Colombia. According to new laws, all political organisations now have to comply with a normative set of criteria on transparency, voter registration and the inclusion of under-represented groups. The introduction of a gender quota, according to which at least 30 per cent of the candidate list must be of only one gender, caused a fierce debate in Congress and resulted in a counter-proposal which, in the end, was not adopted.

#### Latin-America

During the implementation of the law on political organisations the Programme for Democratic Strengthening (PFD), a joint NIMD, International IDEA and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) effort in Colombia, supported at least seven political parties in socialising and analysing the implications of the new law. This happened during an international seminar and multiparty meetings at national and departmental levels.

In three departments – Bolivar, Nariño and Santander – alliances were created between approximately 150 civil society and media organisations, universities, local authorities and political parties in order to distribute election programmes and stimulate election debates between candidates. In the end, these alliances contributed to greater transparency in the campaigns of both candidates and political parties.

#### Ecuador

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In 2011, Agora Democratica (a partnership between NIMD and International IDEA) created several multiparty dialogue spaces through the editorial commission of the quarterly *Agora Politica* magazine, the women's multiparty group (GMM), and the women's group of the National Assembly (GPDM). Issues on the agenda included reflections on the political party system, reforms of the Code of Democracy, women's political participation and social dilemmas in Latin America.

A second milestone was the socialisation of the law on Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD), which formed the basis for the National plan for Decentralization. In a series of workshops facilitated by Agora Democratica, this National Plan for Decentralization was discussed with local authorities in order to receive their input to the parliamentarian commission dealing with this law. On basis of the workshops a 'Frequently Asked Questions' document was published and distributed to all local authorities.

#### Guatemala

In September 2011 elections for Guatemala's president, vice president, members of parliament (MPs) and mayors took place. The run-up to these elections caused the usual political turmoil. Although these political tensions made it hard to promote the legislative agenda on political system reform, NIMD opted to place even more emphasis on building the capacities of Congress' technical unit by training newly-elected MPs and strengthening the Institute for Legislative Studies. In this way, NIMD helped to strengthen existing institutions and managed to improve staff knowledge and skills, thus contributing to enhanced law-making skills and better understanding of the political and economic situation of the country. In light of the elections, the youth commission of the multiparty Forum of Political Parties, supported by NIMD, launched a broad campaign to promote young people's political participation in politics.

After years of promoting dialogue between business sector and unions (in which cooperatives also later participated), a draft law establishing a Social Economic Council was agreed upon. Congress approved the draft on its first reading, and the final law to establish the CES was passed in January 2012.

#### Asia and Latin America Programme

NIMD organised several activities on democracy and security under the auspices of its Latin America Regional Programme (ALARP) in 2011. Together with International IDEA and New York University's Centre on International Cooperation, NIMD developed and discussed case studies on the link between organised crime and political parties. Special attention was paid to the role of drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) and state capture in West Africa and Latin America. An exchange between Georgia and Guatemala on security issues took place in March, during which a Georgian expert, Shota Utiashvili from the Ministry of the Interior, shared his experience of police reform and increasing the level of security with Guatemalan MPs, political parties, CSOs and NGOs. Another interregional exchange, between Bolivia and Georgia, was organised upon the request of the Georgian Electoral Committee and several political parties. This exchange resulted in a new agreement between Georgian politicians and the electoral authorities on a pilot for a biometric voting system.

#### Asia – Europe

#### Georgia

In 2011 NIMD's programme in Georgia assisted the seven largest political parties in framing strategic plans and supported them in strengthening strategic planning capacities. This will accelerate the institutional development of political parties, strengthen internal democracy and increase policy analysis capacities.

The first Georgian democracy school was opened and enthusiastically welcomed in September 2011 in the provincial town of Telavi. The school attracted widespread interest in the city and its surroundings and the programme proved to offer and use novel and effective approaches to communication, training and management.

Furthermore, NIMD has been actively engaged in publishing policy papers on women's participation in politics, young people's involvement in political parties, and increased civic engagement in selfgovernment. Finally, an exchange visit led by the former President of the Bolivian Electoral Committee was organised to share Bolivia's experience with the introduction of a biometric voting system. This triggered a cross-party discussion on the need to reform the Georgian voting system by modernising and updating the voter registration system.

#### Indonesia

NIMD's partner in Indonesia, the Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi, (KID) implements a longterm political education programme in Indonesia. In 2011 a draft law on health services was produced by the alumni of the Democracy School in Tangerang (West Java), and was subsequently sent to the local parliament for legislation. This shows that within only a few years a democracy school can have a significant impact on local democracy in ways that go far beyond the classical civic education engagement

#### Asia – Europe

with politics. As the so-called Community Committee (CC) in Tangerang is well organised and highly engaged with regard to improving the living conditions of the citizens, it is very likely to produce further positive results. The CC in Malang (East Java) is close to doing something similar, having just recently concluded research that will form the basis of a draft proposal on health services which will be sent to the parliament of Greater Malang, where the Democracy Schools and the CCs enjoy the support of the local government.

# Programme countries 2011



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#### Board, Advisory Council and Staff

#### **Board**

Mr B.R. Bot, *President* Mr J.M. Wiersma (PvdA), *Member* Mr W. Jacobs, *Treasurer* Mr R. van Eijle (CU), *Member* Mr J. Hoekema (D66), *Member* Ms L. van Hooijdonk (GL), *Member* Mr C.S.L. Janse (SGP), *Member* Mr M. Stolk (CDA), *Member* 

Board members who resigned in 2011: Mr R. Koole (PvdA), Vice President Mr J.J.A.M. van Gennip (CDA), Member Ms M. C. Meindersma (D66), Member Mr P. van de Stadt (VVD), Member

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#### Staff on 31 December 2011

Management Mr Hans Bruning, Executive Director

#### **Programme team**

Mr Pepijn Gerrits, Director of Programmes Ms Annemieke Burmeister, PME Officer Ms Marieke Hoornweg, Communication Officer Mr Hans Christiaanse, Financial Programme Officer Ms Karijn de Jong, Senior Programme Manager Africa Ms Heleen Schrooyen, Senior Programme Manager Latin America Ms Lizzy Beekman, Programme Manager Ms Anne-Mieke van Breukelen, Programme Manager Mr Will Derks, Programme Manager Mr Wouter Dol, Programme Manager Ms Kati Piri, Programme Manager Mr Augustine Magolowondo, Regional Programme Coordinator, Africa Regional Programme (ARP), based in Lilongwe, Malawi Mr Egbert Pos, Programme Manager Mr Jerome Scheltens, Programme Manager Mr Jan Tuit, Programme Manager

#### **Finance and Administration**

Mr Wim Nusselder, *Coordinator Finance* Ms Thelma Doebar, *Administrator* 

#### **Office Management**

Ms Ursula Jagesar, Secretary to the Management and Executive Board Ms Monique Ronza, Office Manager Ms Germaine ter Heijden, Office Assistant

# Publications, Videos and NIMD in the Media

#### **Publications**

- Drugs, Democracy and Security: the impact of organised crime on the political system of Latin America (English and Spanish – June 2011)
- NIMD Annual Report 2010 (English August 2011)
- Ágora Política, Issue 4 and Issue 5 (Spanish – May 2011 and September 2011)
- Ágora Libro (Spanish)
- NIMD Georgia Left/Right brochure (Georgian – December 2011)

#### Video

 Video on Democracy Schools in Mozambique (English and Portuguese)

#### NIMD in the media

- An article by Jerome Scheltens on the Tunisian elections appeared in *Trouw* on 24 October 2011.
  Scheltens also participated in a radio interview on the Tunisian developments on 22 October 2011.
- NRC published an interview with an NIMD partner from Tunisia on 28 September 2011 under the title 'Tunisia in dangerous phase'.
- Will Derks participated in a radio interview on Egyptian developments on 9 September 2011.

# **Financial overview**

Statement of costs and revenue 2011 in €

Statement of costs and revenue 2011 In €	Revised budget 2011		Actuals 2011		Actuals 2010	
	Subsidies	Expenses	Subsidies	Expenses	Subsidies	Expenses
		·				
TO BE FUNDED						
Programmes						
ALARP (Asia & LA Regional Programmes)		250.000	5.986	55.509	49.679	204.445
ARP (African Regional Programmes)	95.000	380.000		317.661		389.396
Bolivia		280.000		296.468		277.105
Burundi	80.000	130.000	53.533	68.102	26.467	281.994
Colombia		155.000		160.000		
Ecuador	300.000	425.000	230.174	288.391	244.911	504.574
Georgia		220.000		208.269		116.668
Ghana		480.000		449.207		461.209
Guatemala		600.000		621.476		603.825
Indonesia		650.000		653.182		686.831
Kenya		470.000		524.640		474.077
Malawi		515.000		492.910		493.709
Mali		425.000		469.739		539.422
Mozambique	215.000	545.000	194.915	539.548	16.724	359.902
Suriname					9.618	189.174
Tanzania		320.000		208.666		364.503
Uganda	215.000	605.000	234.355	420.038	116.313	234.455
Zambia						155.678
Zimbabwe		310.000		157.612		410.692
NIMD missions & other technical assistance		200.000		195.042		293.340
Savings from underspent grants		-375.000				
Subtotal programmes	-	6.585.000	-	6.126.460	-	7.040.998
Subtotal MFA funded costs in The Hague		2.040.000		1.626.918		3.935.679
PSO funded costs in The Hague		35.000		35.328		25.692
Total to be funded	-	8.660.000	-	7.788.706	-	11.002.369
FUNDING		-	710.000	-	400.004	
Programme level funding	905.000		718.963		486.094	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs funding	7.575.000		7.038.137		10.327.133	
PSO funding (PM&E)	230.000	-	116.144	-	212.015	
Total funding	8.710.000		7.873.244		11.025.242	
Sustainability reservation		50.000		84.537		22.873

Balance sheet as of 31 December 2011 in €

Balance sneet as of 31 December 2011 in €	Ref.	31 December 2011		31 December 2010		
ASSETS						
FIXED ASSETS						
Intangible fixed assets	5.3.1					
Programme management software		9.700		19.505		
Capitalised website development costs		319		21.860		
	_		10.019		41.365	
Tangible fixed assets	5.3.2					
Architectural changes		-		182		
Cars representation in Kenya and Mozambique		-		2.942		
Furniture		17.480		20.732		
Computer equipment		24.813		26.467		
	_		42.292		50.323	

#### CURRENT ASSETS

Receivables	5.3.3				
VAT to be returned		644.384		-	
Other receivables		4.926		-	
Advance payments and accrued receivables	-	355.751	_	536.683	
			1.005.060		536.683
Liquidities	5.3.4		1.980.276		2.256.722
		-	3.037.648	-	2.885.093
LIABILITIES					
Sustainability reserve	5.3.5		133.191		48.654
Liabilities	5.3.6				
Programme liabilities		316.455		401.940	
Dutch political parties (strengthening support base)		26.471		203.049	
Estimated liabilities		15.700		537.789	
Personnel related creditors		156.949		203.593	
Other creditors		75.100		212.933	
Subsidy Ministry of Foreign Affairs received in advance		2.076.454		526.855	
Other advance receipts and accrued expenses	_	237.327		750.280	
			2.904.457		2.836.439
Total liabilities		-	3.037.648	-	2.885.093

### Colophon

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**Editing** David Prater Judith van Tiggelen

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Stephan Csikós, The Hague, the Netherlands

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Passage 31 / 2511 AB The Hague / The Netherlands / T + 31 (0)70 311 54 64 / F + 31 (0)70 311 54 65 / info@nimd.org / www.nimd.org