

I M D

Partner in Democracy

A N N U A L

R E P O R T

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The IMD – an institute *of* political parties *for* political parties

The Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) is an institute *of* political parties *for* political parties. Its mandate is to encourage the process of democratisation in young democracies by providing support to political parties as the core pillars of multi-party democracy. IMD works in a strictly non-partisan and inclusive manner. Through this approach, the Institute endeavours to contribute to properly functioning, sustainable pluralistic political party systems. It also supports the activities of civil society groups which play a healthy role in multi-party democracies, even though they are not part of any formal party structure.

IMD was set up by seven Dutch political parties in 2000 in response to requests for support from around the world. The IMD's founding members are the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), Liberal Party (VVD), Christian Democratic Party (CDA), Democratic Party (D66), Green Party (GroenLinks), Christian Union (ChristenUnie) and Reformed Party (SGP).

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
Korte Vijverberg 2
2513 AB The Hague
The Netherlands

Address per September 1, 2006:
Passage 31
2511 AB The Hague
The Netherlands

T: +31 (0)70 311 5464
F: +31 (0)70 311 5465
E: info@nimd.org
www.nimd.org

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Preface

Without properly functioning political parties, democracies do not work well – a fact that is not yet fully recognised within the international development community. In 2005, we at the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) were encouraged by increasing interest in the role which political parties can play in ensuring that democracy delivers security and economic development.

As an institution of seven political parties, comprising governing and opposition parties, big and small parties, IMD has a distinct mandate: to facilitate the development of pluriform political systems, focusing particularly on the institutional development of political parties in young democracies.

The competition is intrinsic to multi-party democracy. However, agreement on the rules of the political game, combined with a shared responsibility to improve the way democratic systems function, is essential for multi-party democracy to succeed and thrive.

We also recognise that the methods used to support democracy are just as important as the results. After all, the essence of democracy is to resolve conflicts of interest through dialogue and to settle disputes by non-violent means. Dialogue is the best way to drive forward peaceful reform processes. To be effective, it should take place locally, focus on reform agendas, and build on the political will it generates. Through dialogue, trust can grow – between the stakeholders and in the political process itself. And with trust, democracy can become institutionalised.

Political parties need to be invited to take the lead in addressing gaps in democracy – an endeavour in which they should fully engage civil society organisations.

Wherever possible, our programme is implemented in strategic cooperation with political foundations in other countries and with multilateral organisations such as the UNDP, OAS and OSCE/ODIHR. The great value we attach to such collaboration – and our desire to encourage the European Union to play a more active role in supporting democracy around the world –

resulted in a study for the European Parliament entitled *No lasting Peace and Prosperity without Democracy & Human Rights*. This study contains a number of recommendations for a more strategic and forthright approach to building democracy, concluding that democracy support should become a central pillar of the EU's external policies.

Today, IMD maintains relations with 152 political parties in fifteen countries on five continents. To consolidate these relationships, representatives of the political parties met in The Hague in June 2005. The foundations of this partnership were expressed in a jointly agreed *IMD Partnership Charter*, which forms a milestone in IMD's young institutional life.

Later in 2005, the first full external evaluation of IMD was conducted by the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM). Involving interviews with stakeholders both here and in five of the countries where programmes are running, this produced a positive assessment of our specific approach to democracy assistance and of our contribution to supporting multi-party political systems and political parties.

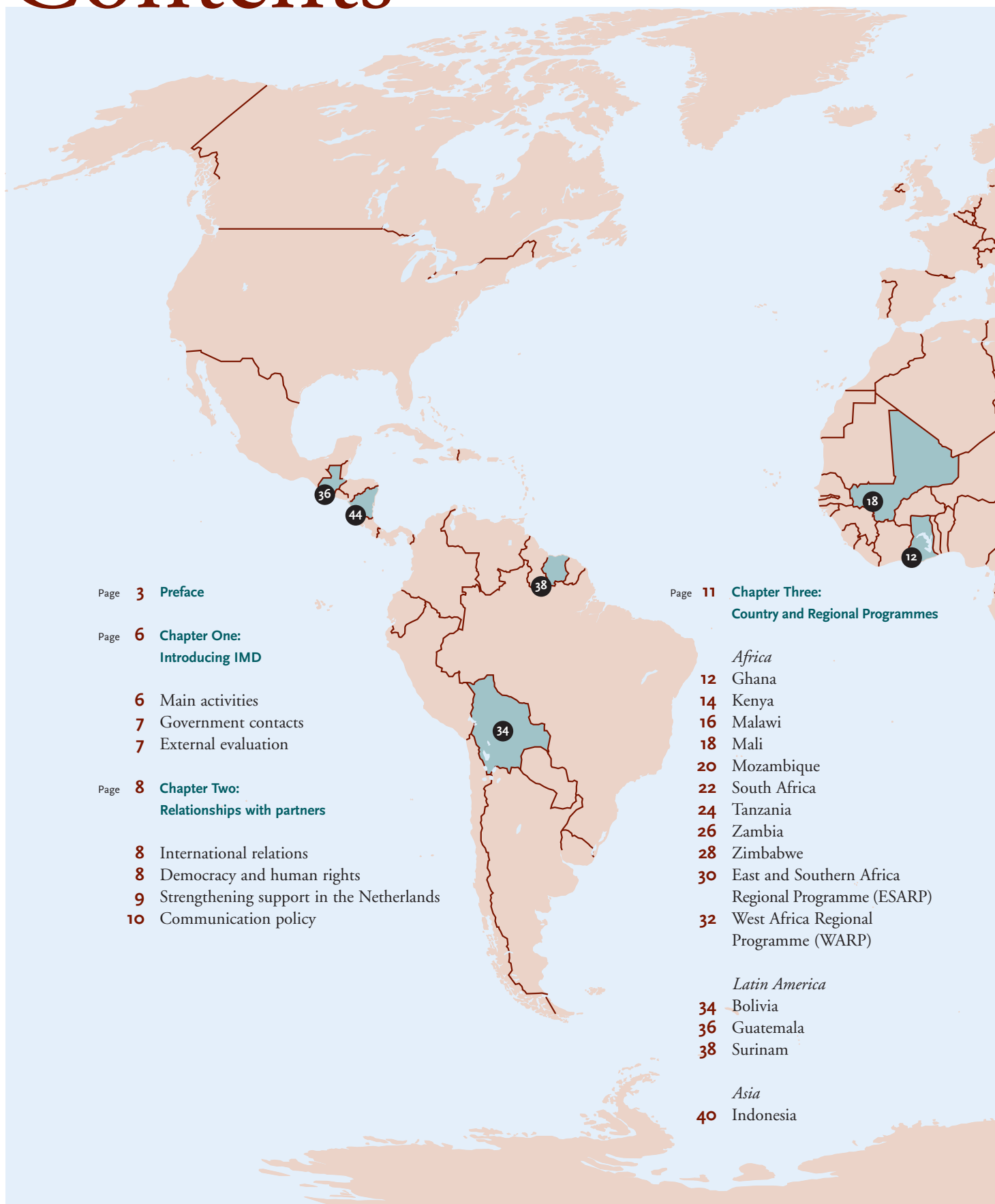
In close consultation with the Dutch political parties, the IMD Board accepted the specific recommendations of this evaluation, which it will start to implement in 2006. Among other issues, this will deepen IMD's knowledge base and help IMD to contribute to an international knowledge network that focuses on political systems and political party development.

As the external evaluation confirmed, the encouraging impact of our programmes provides us with important incentives to plan our next multi-annual programme, which will run from 2007 to 2010. We therefore look forward to deepening relationships with our partners around the world.

By contributing to increasingly stable and secure political systems and institutionalised political parties, we hope to make the links between democracy and development more tangible.

*Professor Jos van Kemenade
IMD President
The Hague, May 2006*

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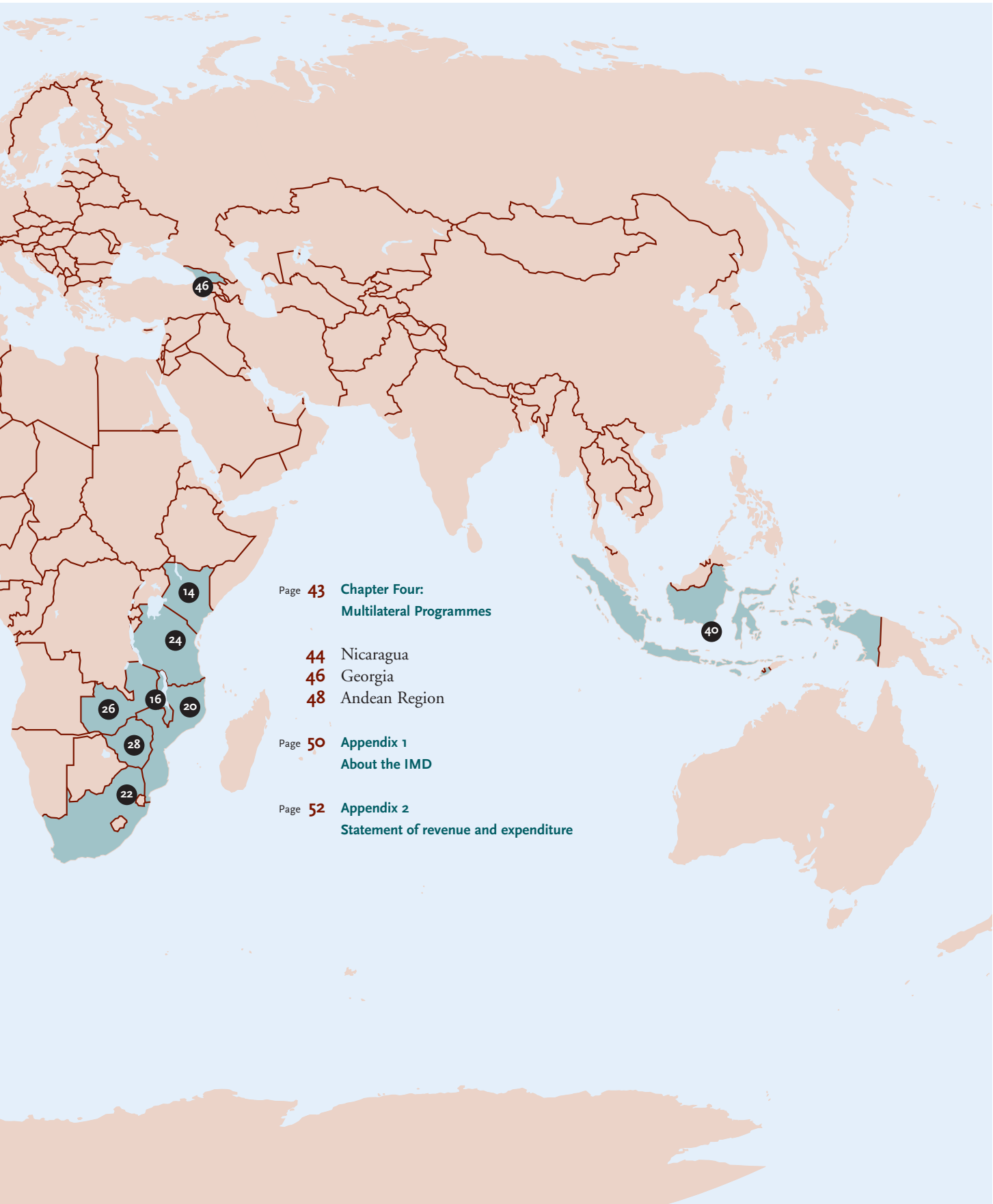
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Chapter One

Introducing IMD



Main activities

The IMD's mandate is to support democratisation in relatively young democracies by providing support to political parties, the pillars of multi-party democracy. Our work is organised in country and regional teams. A special unit was added in 2004 to allow cooperation with multilateral organisations. The IMD Board consists of eight members: seven representatives of the main political parties in the Netherlands plus an independent Chairman, Professor Jos van Kemenade.

Most of the IMD's work is done by dedicated country teams consisting of two political-party coordinators, a policy officer and a country representative or coordinator. These teams meet monthly. They are led by the coordinators for the three largest parties (CDA, PvdA and VVD), with a supporting role being played by the smaller parties (GL, D66, CU and SGP).

In 2005 we continued to support inter-party political dialogue around the world. Centres for Multi-party Democracy – or organisations with similar names - have now been established in most of the countries where IMD supports programmes. Proposals and requests from a wide range of non-programme countries continued to reach IMD, indicating a substantial demand for the kind of cooperation IMD offers.

A new regional programme in East and Southern Africa, which is jointly facilitated by IMD and the South Africa-based Centre for Policy Studies, has helped intensify exchanges between politicians representing 36 political parties throughout the region. A Regional Political Party Forum was set up and conferences were held on issues such as electoral

systems, transparency, relations between the government and opposition parties, and ways in which the role of underrepresented categories of the population (notably women, young people and the disabled) can be strengthened.

The programmes in Latin America and Indonesia are progressing well. The initiatives taken by the IMD-supported inter-party foundation in Bolivia have helped produce a climate in which a peaceful transfer of power could take place, with the election of the country's first president who represents the indigenous population.

The Indonesia programme made huge strides with the formal establishment of an IMD-assisted, locally owned institute – *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (KID) – which succeeded in introducing an innovative programme that aims to build bridges between political parties and civil society in five regions of the country.

Support for the development of political parties continued in 2005. Strategic planning by political parties – with the assistance of IMD – has proved to be helpful in clarifying long-term institutional development goals and identify necessary reforms within parties.

No programme countries were added in 2005. However, the IMD Board agreed to explore ways in which assisting democratisation in Afghanistan and Burundi could help these two conflict-ridden countries in their transition towards stability. Our methodology and some of the results we have achieved so far are documented in the booklet *Support*

for *Political Parties and Party Systems – the IMD approach*, which has been included in a UNDP publication on political parties.

Strategic partnerships with multilateral organisations were successfully implemented in two countries. The basis for a longer-term programme in Georgia was established in a joint agreement with the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR) – an initiative that should also benefit other democratising countries in future. The basis for a joint programme in Nicaragua was established in a contract with the UNDP, with support from the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the Netherlands Embassy.

Centres for Multi-party Democracy have now been established in most of the countries where IMD supports programmes.

In 2005, the IMD Supervisory Council, which consists of two representatives of each of the seven participating political parties, met twice. In its first meeting the Council focused on one of the most challenging programme countries, Zimbabwe. A fruitful exchange took place with the Director of the Zimbabwe Institute about policy options for this troubled country. The second meeting was dedicated to discussing the outcome of the external evaluation of IMD.

Government contacts

IMD's relationship with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued to benefit from meetings with representatives of the Directorate for Human Rights and Peace Building, the Directorate for Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Directorate for the Americas. In addition, close relations are maintained with the embassies in the IMD programme countries. We also presented our work during a training workshop at the Ministry.

On 7 March 2005, a delegation of the IMD Board met with the Dutch Minister for Development

Cooperation, Ms Agnes van Ardenne, to brief her on the progress of IMD programmes. The Minister expressed her satisfaction with the progress IMD has made and underlined the importance of our work to international and development cooperation.

External evaluation

The four-year programme *Without democracy nobody fares well*, covering the period 2003-2006, included a proposal for a comprehensive external evaluation in 2005. An evaluation team organised visits to five countries (Kenya, Mali, Tanzania, Guatemala and Indonesia), representing a wide range of programmes. The evaluators also interviewed more than 250 people, both inside and outside IMD.

Some of their conclusions and recommendations:

- After reviewing the achievements of IMD since the start of the current programme, the evaluators conclude that it is 'fulfilling its obligations towards its main donor' (the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
- While observing that demand for IMD services continues to be 'very substantial' – indicating that its models are 'clearly valid' – IMD is cautioned not to expand too rapidly, and also to make sure there is adequate follow-up to existing programmes and partnerships
- Impartiality is essential to all IMD programmes. If IMD is not perceived to be neutral, the country programmes may run a serious risk.
- While the provision of funds continues to play a central role in the support IMD provides, the importance of knowledge transfer is increasing. The exchange of knowledge – whether from Dutch sources or through peer learning – is an essential ingredient of IMD's work.

The external evaluation provided our Board and Management Team with important insights regarding the choices to be made in the formulation of a new four-year programme (2007-2010). These include the position of party coordinators and the geographical focus of IMD programmes.

Dialogue with the team of highly qualified evaluation experts has proved very useful, providing insight into the ways in which field observations are transformed into conclusions and recommendations. The learning exercise was not limited to management, as the evaluators engaged in briefings and debriefings with all of the staff, the IMD Board and the IMD Supervisory Council.

Chapter Two

Relationships with partners



International relations

The IMD is by no means the only international agency that promotes and/or assists democracy. There are some fifty similar foundations in Europe, the United States, Asia and Australia. However, our multi-party approach is unique and it complements that of many of our sister organisations. The IMD is also the only organisation that provides direct funding for the institutional development of political parties. We participate in a number of international networks, sharing methods and cooperating wherever possible to advance our common objective of promoting democracy worldwide.

In 2005, the EU formulated a common strategy for Development Cooperation and a new approach to Africa. In 2006 the focus will shift toward implementing these strategies. There is increased recognition within EU policy forums of the need to provide support to political society alongside the existing focus on civil society. Stimulating democracy in non-democratic societies is seen as crucial to creating a more secure international environment and one of the best ways to achieve the UN Millennium Development Goals, which were designed to reduce and eventually eliminate the global poverty trap. The World Bank concludes that macro-economic stability is important, but not enough: factors such as infrastructure, environment, health, education and political systems also play a crucial role.

The IMD has taken the lead in promoting a more central place for democracy support within the EU's external policies. It cooperates with other political foundations within the EU in an emerging

Network of European Political Foundations for Democracy.

European profile

The conference 'Enhancing the European Profile in Democracy Assistance' was held in The Hague in 2004. This culminated in the 'The Hague Statement' which was subsequently presented to several European institutions. The essence of the statement is that Europe needs to develop more coherent and visible policies on democracy support and to adopt better means of implementing them around the world. It marked the beginning of a phase of heightened cooperation within the Network of European Political Foundations for Democracy (further referred to as simply 'the Network').

IMD chaired the Steering Committee of the Network, which resulted in the establishment of the Democracy Caucus within the European Parliament and regular consultations between this new Caucus and the Network. Another result is the regular dialogue that has been established with the European Commission and with representatives of the European Council.

New sources of funding

The IMD served as an information point for three meetings during which European Commission representatives consulted European political foundations on how support for political society can in future be funded under the European Initiative on Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). However, current financial procedures make funding for democracy support through these channels highly problematic.



'No lasting Peace and Prosperity without Democracy & Human Rights, Harnessing debates on the EU's future Financial Instruments'. You can download it from www.nimd.org.

Democracy and human rights

The IMD was entrusted by the European Parliament (EP) to carry out a study of the possible future of European policies on democracy and human rights. The IMD research team met with a total of fifty Parliamentarians, Commission and Council representatives, and held intensive consultations with staff of the Sub-Committee on Human Rights in the European Parliament. The results of this study – *'No lasting Peace and Prosperity without Democracy & Human Rights'* – were presented to Dutch Euro-parliamentarians and to the EP. The study proved valuable in subsequent meetings with the European Commission and Council on the subject of EU funding.

Leadership and democratisation

On June 26, African former heads of state and heads of government convened in Bamako, Mali, for a symposium on *Leadership and democratisation*. The symposium was hosted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) with the support of donor partners, including the IMD. The goals of the symposium were threefold:

- 1) to encourage former heads of state to play a constructive role in democratisation,
- 2) to provide a forum for these leaders to share experiences of democratisation and conflict management, and
- 3) to highlight the potential for using their expertise in democratisation and good governance.

The issues discussed included leadership, security and conflict management, observer missions and election standards, and the role of government, parliament and civil society in democratisation.

Global Networks

In 2005 the IMD participated in several global initiatives dedicated to promoting democracy, such as the World Movement for Democracy (IMD is part of the Steering Committee), the Transatlantic Democracy Network and the Community of Democracies (CD) (IMD is also represented on the Steering Group of the Non-governmental process of the CD). Our presentations in these forums focused on the role of political parties in democratisation, which are too often underrepresented in such groups.

Lessons learned

One important lesson learned in 2005 is that successfully targeting the large institutions of the European Union requires considerable patience and persistence. But the advocacy role of IMD in pressing for a more central role for democracy support in the EU's external policies and for the inclusion of political society within EU assistance is paying off. Evidence can be found in the new EU Thematic Programme on Democracy and Human Rights Worldwide, which will be decided in the context of the EU financial perspectives (2007 – 2013), and in the first policy paper on EU democracy support that the Council is preparing.

Strengthening support in the Netherlands

IMD programme officers – delegates of the Dutch political parties – frequently consulted with party members and introduced them to our partners during the IMD Partnership Days. Party representatives have participated in missions to Nicaragua, Guatemala, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Ghana, South Africa and Indonesia.



Our activities in Georgia were highlighted during a lecture given by Georgia's First Lady Sandra Roelofs (organised by the Eduardo Frei Foundation). More generally, attention was drawn to our work through digital newsletters in the 'IMD information' sections on the websites of various Dutch parties, and in articles in party periodicals. Throughout the year, our work was also advertised by means of workshops, lectures and information stands at conferences in the Netherlands.

IMD is a member of PSO (Personnel Cooperation with Developing Countries). Initial contacts were also established with the Documentation Centre for Dutch Political Parties (Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen).

We welcome the great interest shown by the youth branches of the Dutch political parties in our work. Under the guidance of the Dutch Youth Council (*Nationale Jeugdraad*), a seven-member Steering Group analysed how contributions by the Dutch youth branches to the work of IMD could be shaped. The main goals of 'Youth IMD' are sharing experiences with and supporting the youth branches of political parties in their involvement with IMD programmes and informing their constituencies about the work of IMD.

Communication policy

The IMD has developed a communication policy, which includes:

- setting up an IMD database that can be accessed by stakeholders

- improving the website (including a Dutch version) to enhance transparency
- making greater use of Dutch politicians as ambassadors for IMD
- monitoring and responding to the media
- the recruitment of a Communications Officer.

The IMD has published articles in various party magazines and organised a number of party meetings focusing on a country or special theme. In regular luncheon lectures with distinguished guest-speakers such as Mr Diego García-Sayán, Judge at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Dr. Joan Prats, Institut Internacional de Governabilitat de Catalunya, Mr Ernesto Aranibar Quiroga, Permanent Representative of Bolivia to the United Nations and Mr Eduardo Stein, vice-president of Guatemala at IMD headquarters we have also informed a wide spectrum of Dutch politics, not to mention the general public, about the latest political developments in our programme countries – for example, on the political situation in Latin America, Bolivia and Guatemala.

In December 2005 a special edition of the magazine *Idee* – published by the D66 Knowledge Centre – focused on democratisation and the work of IMD. The websites of all major political parties in the Netherlands have links to the IMD site.

Our electronic newsletter is becoming increasingly popular. The current readership stands at 850. In 2005, the IMD website had an average of 193 'hits' per day.

Chapter Three

Country and Regional Programmes

Introduction

The IMD's country and regional programmes were further consolidated and developed in 2005. The lessons learned from four country programme evaluations in 2003 and 2004 have now been applied in a number of other countries. In addition to support for individual political parties, IMD is now actively fostering constructive inter-party dialogue.

In many countries, such dialogue has led to significant results. Some of the highlights were:

- Tanzania held peaceful elections in late 2005, largely thanks to inter-party dialogue. This was directly related to the establishment of the Tanzanian Centre for Democracy (TCD), which played a key role in managing the elections.
- In Zambia, the political parties decided to engage in inter-party dialogue in preparation for general elections in 2006.
- In Ghana, after successful elections at the end of 2004, the parties initiated a long-term Democracy Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP).
- In Guatemala, a similar strategy paper – the product of successful collaboration between political parties – led to the implementation of a Shared National Agenda.
- In Bolivia, the Foundation of Multi-party Democracy (FBDM), which IMD helped establish in 2002, provided a platform for inclusive inter-party dialogue as well as discussions with representatives of a number

of newer social movements. Evo Morales – the first president from the majority indigenous population – was elected in December 2005.

Ghana



Key political events

1981	Jerry Rawlings ends military regime
1992	Approval of constitution, allowing for a multi-party system
1992	Elections: Jerry Rawlings elected president
2004	Elections: John Kufuor elected president

Political parties in Parliament

New Patriotic Party (NPP)
National Democratic Congress (NDC)
Convention People's Party (CPP)
People's National Convention (PNC)

The political situation in 2005

On 7 December 2004 presidential and general elections were held. President John Kufuor of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) was re-elected as president of the Republic of Ghana on the slogan 'so far so good'. Within parliament NPP, NDC as well as PNC and CPP returned with 128, 94, 4 and 3 seats, respectively. Two seats went to independent candidates. The elections were regarded as free and fair by international election observers. The opposition parties CPP and PNC were disappointed by the election results and may merge to form one Nkrumaist Party before the 2008 elections. They have agreed on a name, symbol and motto for this party.

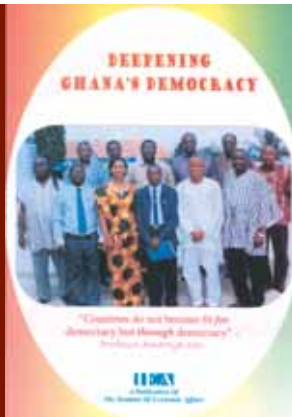
Ghana continued to benefit from debt relief, which helped boost the economy. There appeared to be slightly more awareness of corruption in Ghana. Several institutions, including the Institute of Chartered Accountants, issued positive statements expressing concern about Ghana's rank on the Transparency International's corruption index. President Kufuor

challenged the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Serious Fraud Office (SFO) and other statutory agencies to undertake any investigations they deemed worthwhile. Kufuor stated: 'They should rise to the occasion and do what is expected of them to ensure good governance in Ghana'.

A review of Ghana by the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) started in 2003. The APRM team recommended a review of chieftaincy institutions, reform of land laws and strengthening of governance institutions such as the CHRAJ and the SFO. In the field of economics, it recommended the development of infrastructure, continued reform of macro-economic policies and the maintenance of stable economic conditions.

Programme highlights

After two years in action, in 2005 the programme focused more on long-term capacity building and developing a strategic national agenda. The central element of the programme remained the platform of Secretaries-General of the four parliamentary political parties. This platform is supported by one full-time policy officer per party and a local NGO, the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA), key national partner of IMD. The purpose of the platform is to assess the role that political parties play in consolidating democracy in Ghana. It formulates long-term plans for strengthening the role of the parties, to be implemented through cross-party and bilateral activities. The platform met twice monthly in 2005. In addition, a monthly Chairmen's Caucus and Advisory Council of Eminent Ghanaians provides guidance and advice to the



'Deepening Ghana's Democracy',
a publication of the Institute of
Economic Affairs



Institute of Economic Affairs,
Accra, Ghana



King Okyenhene of the Akin people
in Ghana visiting the IMD,
The Hague, 13 September 2005

programme. The Advisory Council met two times in 2005. The Caucus held a retreat in July, resulting in recommendations for strengthening Ghana's democratic structure, and continued to build bridges among party chairmen. The parties decided to cautiously extend the structure of the programme to the regional level in 2006.

In 2005, the parties developed a national democratic agenda called 'Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper' (DCSP), which identified gaps in democratic governance to be addressed in the years ahead. It will also be used to develop a long-term strategic plan for 2007 and beyond. The main points in the DCSP are research capacity for parties and MPs, a taskforce to examine the legal framework, stronger involvement of non-parliamentary parties, new regional, youth and gender platforms and an elaborated media policy. The Chairmen's Caucus and Advisory Council has advised a gradual approach to implementing these substantial changes.

The IMD facilitated the work of the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) within the Ghana programme. The political parties continued to see this programme as crucial in improving dialogue. Lively discussions on topics important to Ghana's current political debate on the DCSP took place during national symposia throughout the country. These symposia established a platform for inter-party interaction, producing policy papers and enhancing inter-party collaboration. The IEA also organised training workshops for the political parties on financial management and accountability, fundraising, report and proposal writing and policy advocacy.

Furthermore, these courses created space for dialogue on common problems and ways to fill the gaps in organisational set-ups.

The IMD continued to work with the liaison officer Tjalling Wiarda, who is based in Accra. His responsibilities are organising the logistics for visits by IMD delegations, following and reporting on the main political developments in the country, and holding regular informative meetings with IEA.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Ghana Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper (DCSP)
- Establishment of an inclusive platform for inter-party dialogue
- Contribution to regional stability initiatives

Priorities for 2006

- Implement the DCSP

Long-term objectives

- Create durable improved political institutions that will help consolidate democracy and alleviate poverty
- Institutionalisation of political parties

Key national partner

- Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)

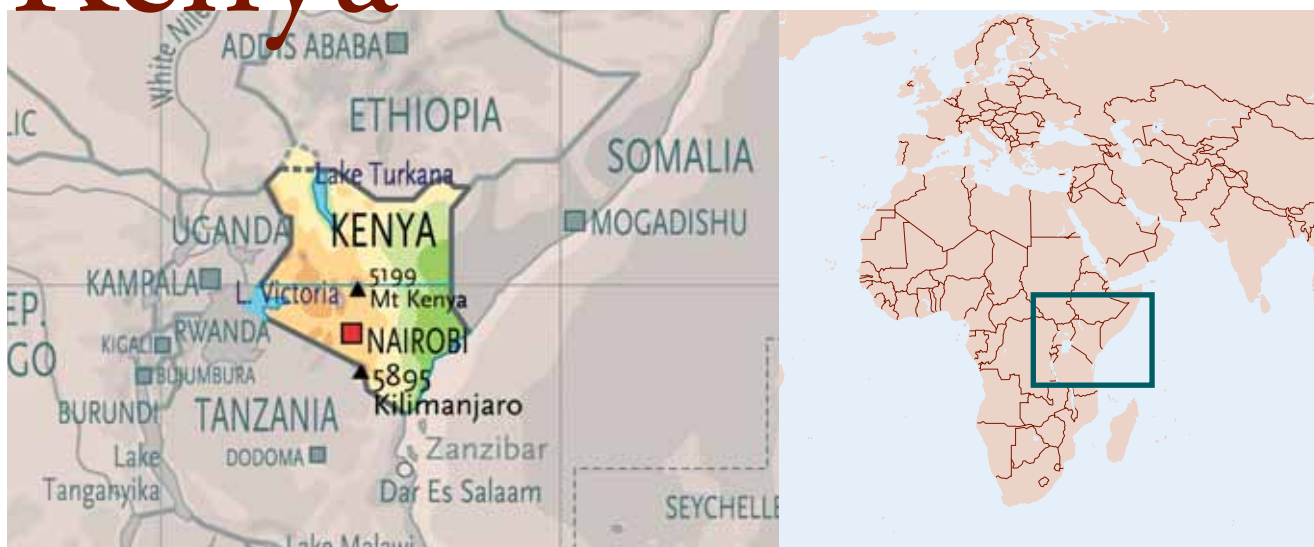
Other national partners

- National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE)
- Electoral Commission
- National Media Commission (NMC)
- Commission for Human Rights and the Administration of Justice (CHRAJ)

International partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy

Kenya



Key political events

Early 1990s	Gradual restoration of multi-party politics
2002	Mwai Kibaki elected president
2005	National referendum on the draft constitution

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 (NARC)
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy Asili (FORD Asili)
Sisi Kwa Sisi
Social Democratic Party (SDP)
National Labour Party (NLP)
Shirikisho
Alliance of several smaller parties (FORUM)
Mazingira Green Party of Kenya
Safina

The political situation in 2005

By 2005 it became clear that President Kibaki's fight against corruption had made little or no progress. The constitution that Kibaki had promised was bogged down in parliament in the first part of 2005. The exemplary People's – or 'Bomas' – draft, proposing limiting presidential powers was deemed a bridge too far by the President and his team. The draft was then altered by parliament in a legally questionable and highly divisive process to the satisfaction of the presidential camp. On 21 November 2005,

Kenyans rejected this draft constitution by national referendum, igniting a political crisis. But never before had political parties been so clearly engaged in multi-party democracy. Kenyans underlined the fact that multi-party democracy is here to stay. The draft became associated with the dictatorial era of ex-President Moi because it was seen as further centralising presidential powers at the expense of parliamentary authority.

In the run-up to the referendum, political parties were heavily involved in informing their electorates on the pros and cons of the draft constitution, and there was substantial debate on its content. Kibaki, who lost the referendum, formed a new cabinet. By the close of 2005, leaders earmarked for ministerial posts were weighing the electoral effects of an opposition or government role, given elections scheduled for 2007. It became apparent that political parties need to learn to form coalition governments and to negotiate policy programmes that provide the cement to keep coalitions together and to implement the priorities on which people have elected them into office.

Programme highlights

In 2005 the programme focused heavily on the Centre for Multi-party Democracy Kenya (CMD-Kenya), whose further institutional development took precedence until the political parties had been able to undertake strategic planning exercises to map out their institutional development programmes. This process started in the second half of 2005. The IMD, through its partner CMD-Kenya, facilitated sixteen television debates, involving all of the country's leaders. The political parties were also able to voice their opinions repeatedly on the radio, a medium that reaches 90% of the population.

Furthermore, 60,000 copies of a politically neutral fact sheet were circulated through the political party networks, the Electoral Commission and other civic education organisations. Kenyans were better informed about the draft constitution, thanks to vibrant political parties not only competing but also co-operating on this issue.

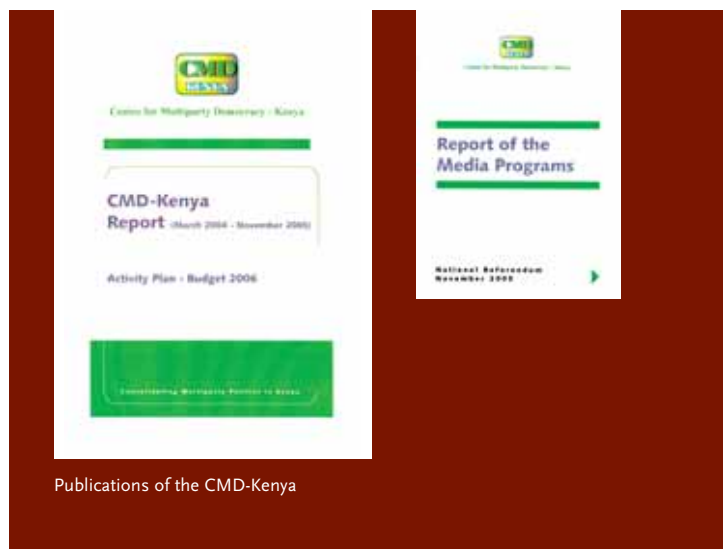
The *issue of representation* in the CMD-Kenya has been partly discussed: NARC is widely considered more a *de jure* than a *de facto* entity in mainstream political life. As a result, in 2005 the four main parties in NARC requested to be represented in the CMD-Kenya individually, as did two smaller parties with parliamentary representation. The discussion on transparent bilateral financing resulted in a formula for distribution in which 50% of the drawing rights are divided equally among the parties. 40% is divided based on national electoral vote and ten percent on representation of women and councillors.

The level of ownership by the parties exceeded all expectations. Nearly all partners represented in the CMD-Kenya published their bilateral strategic planning, based on which several parties conducted their national delegate elections. Other parties presented projects designed to establish national and provincial secretariats, which IMD supports only when such structures are embedded within a clear strategic vision.

CMD-Kenya organised joint workshops on corporate governance, administration management, youth and gender policy development, computer skills and media communication training. Six multi-party symposia were held on issues of national importance, such as acceptance of the new constitution.

The NARC-affiliated political parties have found new ground in discussing the outcome of the referendum. The CMD-Kenya was created as a legal entity by the political parties. Its board, the main decision-making and policy-making organ, which meets monthly – consists of representatives of the parliamentary parties. The CMD-Kenya General Assembly meets annually. A quarterly Advisory Council has been set up.

Ensuring inclusiveness plays a crucial role in promoting democracy. So guaranteeing full representation of the main political parties within the CMD-Kenya was the main challenge in the first part of 2005. The IMD and the CMD-Kenya held extensive and sometimes tense discussions on how to best guarantee inclusiveness. This tested our mutual partnership, which came out stronger based on the discussions on this key principle in our cooperation. The CMD-Kenya is maturing into an effective partner, and such partners are the key to successfully building democratic institutions. Several



Publications of the CMD-Kenya

parties proposed setting up a secretariat to be funded by adding 10% to the CMD-Kenya budget. Handling the bilateral project cycle should be given more attention in 2006.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Series of television and radio programmes on constitutional debate and referendum
- First tangible shift to institutional development of political parties
- Series of workshops on a variety of topics, including youth and gender policy, computer skills and media training

Priorities for 2006

- Consolidate and strengthen CMD-Kenya

Long-term objectives

- Implement the joint strategic plan of CMD-Kenya

Key national partner

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

Other national partners

- Electoral Commission for Kenya (ECK)
- Law Reform Commission
- Institute for Education and Democracy
- Action Aid
- Media Houses
- CCG-Kenya
- Transparency International

International partners

- Ford Foundation
- Department for International Development (DFID)
- USAID
- National Democratic Institute (NDI)
- European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)
- Royal Netherlands Embassy

Malawi



Key political events

1994 Bakili Muluzi is elected president, ending the totalitarian regime of 'president for life' Kamuzu Banda

2004 Bingu Wa Mutharika is elected president

Political parties in Parliament

Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)

United Democratic Front (UDF)

Malawi Congress Party (MCP)

People's Progressive Movement (PPM)

Alliance for Democracy (Aford)

Peoples Transformation Party (Petra)

The political situation in 2005

Malawi suffered considerably due to a serious social and political crisis that unfolded in the course of 2005. President Bingu Wa Mutharika abandoned the United Democratic Front (UDF) and set up a new party, the Democratic People's Party (DPP). The DPP exerted only marginal political influence in 2005, as it was unsuccessful in co-opting political heavyweights from the main opposition parties.

Faced with a hostile opposition majority in parliament, notably from MCP and former president Muluzi of UDF, the DPP threatened to impeach Wa Mutharika for violation of the Constitution. Wa Mutharika retaliated by arresting the initiator of the impeachment motion and another MP who tabled a motion to indict him. Moreover, Wa Mutharika targeted Muluzi in a corruption investigation.

Because of this political struggle, the president spent much of his time consolidating his position, which left

little time for other urgent state business. A severe food shortage is affecting half of the Malawian population. The structural causes for this are overpopulation, a lack of governance, the AIDS pandemic and an undiversified agricultural economy. Huge amounts of maize had to be imported. Contentious political issues such as fertilizer subsidies were discussed in parliament, but no new policies emerged because of the political crisis. Towards the very end of 2005 the political crisis appeared to subside somewhat, and the impeachment procedure was withdrawn.

Programme highlights

Inter-party dialogue developed well in 2005, resulting in the formalisation of cross-party structures and culminating in the establishment of the Malawi Centre for Multi-party Democracy (CMD-Malawi). The driving force behind the CMD-Malawi is to create a politically mature and stable Malawi with tolerant political leadership, which puts energy and resources into sustainable social-economic transformation and development. Its mission is to deliver inter-party programmes of common interest that promote sustainable multi-party democracy, national political dialogue and social economic development in a transparent and accountable manner. The CMD-Malawi acquired legal status when its constitution was registered on 9 August 2005. This was followed by an official launch on 1 October, when it was formally introduced to the government, political parties, the diplomatic community, development partners, the media, civil society, faith communities and the general public. The Speaker of the National Assembly was the guest of honour. The presence of the top leadership of political parties both within and outside of the CMD-Malawi

was symbolic, showing the nation that political parties can work together and develop a common agenda, even during a political crisis.

Since its launch, six political parties (UDE, MCP, Aford, RP, PPM and Petra) have joined the CMD-Malawi, which they have entrusted with implementing a joint strategic plan. The main challenges were enhancing the active participation of political leaders, gaining voter sympathy, strengthening accountability and tolerance, capacity building and reviewing legislation on the constitution. A stronger focus on the joint programme and cross-party activities – one of the main objectives for 2005 – has thus borne fruit. It is expected that the DPP will join the CMD-Malawi in 2006.

As far as the bilateral programme is concerned, Malawi's political landscape remained changeable. During 2005, parties such as the Republican Party faced difficulties, and new parties, such as the DPP came to the fore. Nevertheless, longer-term bilateral commitments were made. For example, the parties have started on strategic planning and this will continue in 2006.

In November 2003 IMD contracted a local coordinator, Mr Kizito Tenthani, for four days a week. Operating from an IMD office in Lilongwe, his responsibilities are implementing activities, monitoring, collaborating with other organisations and analyzing the political developments. As of July 2006, the Malawi programme will be implemented through the Centre for Multi-party Democracy.

The supreme body of the CMD-Malawi – the General Assembly – will meet annually to:

- review progress on the implementation of the CMD-Malawi strategic plan
- advise on implementation of the vision and mission of the CMD-Malawi
- advise and approve of the CMD-Malawi's annual plan
- guide the CMD-Malawi's strategic review and approve any major strategic changes, based on recommendations from the CMD-Malawi board.

The new inter-party cooperation and dialogue that was established through the CMD-Malawi came at the appropriate time in the volatile political context of the democratic transition in Malawi. Professionalising monitoring, including appraisal and approval of reports, will be included in the next annual plan. The system of bilateral financing will be refined, making it more performance-based. The CMD-Malawi and IMD will look for strategic partnerships with the donor/NGO community and the expertise within the Dutch political parties will be enhanced.



Launch of the CMD-Malawi,
1 October 2005

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Various workshops on strategic planning, gender and financial issues
- Launch of CMD-Malawi
- Start of strategic planning by political parties

Priorities for 2006

- Publicise and communicate objectives and activities of CMD
- Organise training on media relations
- Organise training in democratic resolution and conflict management
- Organise regional study tours
- Gather data, analyse and develop modalities on voter apathy
- Develop a media campaign
- Organise monthly policy meetings of the CMD Board

Long-term objectives

- Enhance the active participation of political leaders
- Gain voter sympathy
- Strengthen accountability and tolerance
- Build capacity
- Review legislation on the constitution
- Improve gender equality

Key national partner

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

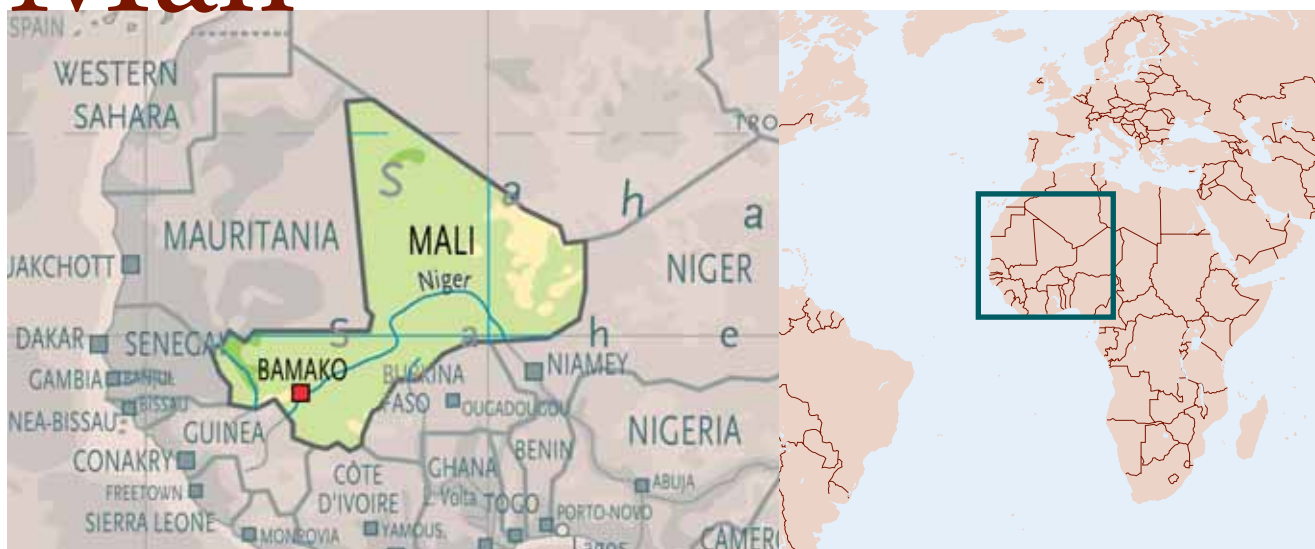
Other national partners

- Malawi Electoral Commission

International partners

- National Democratic institute (NDI)
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)-Malawi
- South African High Commission
- Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)
- USAID

Mali



Key political events

- 1992** Oumar Konaré elected president (re-elected in 1997)
- 2002** Amadou Toumani Touraré elected president

Political parties in Parliament

Adema-PASJ
RPM-RDT
CNID-FYT
LJS
CDS-PDJ-PIDS-MPR
URD-RAMAT
ACC
Independent MPs

The political situation in 2005

After the nineties, when politics in Mali were dominated by harsh debates between dominant party *Alliance pour la Démocratie au Mali* (Alliance for Democracy, ADEMA-PASJ) and opposition parties (who jointly formed the opposition block COPPO), independent Amadou Toumani Touré (also known as ATT) was elected President in 2002. Practically all major political parties decided to support the independent president, preferring to participate in the decision-making process rather than being side-lined as opposition parties. As a result, there is currently no real opposition in parliament.

In 2005, this model seemed to become under increasing pressure: the presidential and parliamentary elections planned for 2007 had already begun to cast a shadow. Ibrahim Boubacar Keita (also known as IBK), Chairman of the Parliament and leader of the main political party *Rassemblement pour le Mali* (RPM), will most likely stand as presidential candidate in 2007. Up to that point all political parties and coalitions - apart from three minor

opposition parties without representation in parliament - officially still supported the incumbent president, ATT. The announcement by IBK therefore prompted these parties to reposition themselves either in favour of or against IBK or ATT. To the detriment of the former, all the parties apart from the RPM expressed a reluctance to distance themselves from the current president - even those that are members of the coalition *Espoir 2002*.

Another aspect of the volatility in Malian young democracy is that there are around 100 registered political parties. This fragmentation of the political landscape presents a special challenge to the IMD programme. The law that regulates public funding for political parties was revised in 2005, but it still allows a large number of parties to receive state subsidies. Stimulating parties to debate aspects (and consequences) of the legal framework of Malian multi-party democracy and inspiring the forming of strategic alliances is one of the core focal points of the IMD Mali Programme.

Programme highlights

The main objective for IMD's Mali programme in 2005 was to provide training for party representatives based on a self-diagnosis conducted by the parties in 2004. In this 2004 exercise, the Malian political parties analysed their strengths and weaknesses in organisational structure, internal and external communication, conflict management, elaboration of party programmes and human resources and financial management. More than 300 party representatives were trained. Party representatives thus trained could then repeat similar training courses within their own parties, using the training modules developed by IMD.

In addition to this cross-party component of the programme, IMD also supports political parties on an individual basis.

The Daily Board of Malian political parties developed guidelines for this bilateral support from IMD. Political parties were also given the opportunity to present project proposals for strengthening aspects of their internal organisation in cross-party training sessions. Together with the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) and the Ministry for Home Affairs and Administration of Local Territorial Units, a debate between the political parties was organised on the content of a draft handbook on financial management.

A second objective concerned the enhancement of the debate between the main political parties on issues of national interest. One conference was organised at which the parties developed an agenda that listed the main challenges for Malian democracy. Topics included the financing of political parties, the fusion and splitting of Malian political parties, the position of women in political parties and how to approach the electorate - political marketing. Subsequently, a first debate took place on the problems related to public funding of the large number of political parties that currently characterises Malian politics. A second debate focused on the Malian context in which multi-party democracy was being cultivated. A third debate dealt with the position of women within the Malian political parties.

The 2005 programme took initial steps toward exchange between politicians within the West African region. Thus, IMD facilitated the participation of Malian politicians in a regional workshop organised by International IDEA. Elements of the party systems and national case studies of five political parties were compared and discussed. During the last months of 2005, efforts focused on the direct involvement of the leadership of the most important political parties in the IMD programme. The result was a commitment by the leaders to form an inter-party Platform where issues of national interest will be discussed. During the first months of the year, it became clear that not all members of the Daily Board were actively communicating developments within the IMD Programme to their own party leaders and, as a result, there was a regrettable lack of knowledge at the leadership level and therefore inadequate party leadership control over developments. IMD improved direct communication with party leaders, who themselves stressed the need for their active involvement. A political Platform is now being set up that will involve the leaders of the most important parties. In addition, members of the Daily Board will in future be drawn from the national executive level of their own party.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Training sessions on the organisational structure of political parties, the elaboration of a party programme, conflict management, human resources, financial management and communication, both at the national and regional level



Three former African heads of state at the ASI conference in Mali, June 2005

- Initiating inter-party cooperation among main Malian political stakeholders
- Increasing debate on policy areas and aspects of the legal framework between Malian politicians
- Strengthening the capacity of the main individual parties and coalitions of other parties

Priorities for 2006

- Support a selection of representative parties in developing a strategic plan
- Institutionalise Inter-Party Dialogue and elaborate a joint strategic plan
- Train party representatives on strategic coalitions and political leadership
- Increase policy debates between political representatives (in cooperation with NDI)
- Elaborate a code of conduct between the political parties in the run-up to the elections

Long-term objectives

- Create a less fragmented political landscape
- Develop greater policy management skills within most representative parties
- Strengthen party organisations
- Develop effective structured dialogue between party leaders

Key national partner

- Comité d'Appui et de Conseil (CAC)

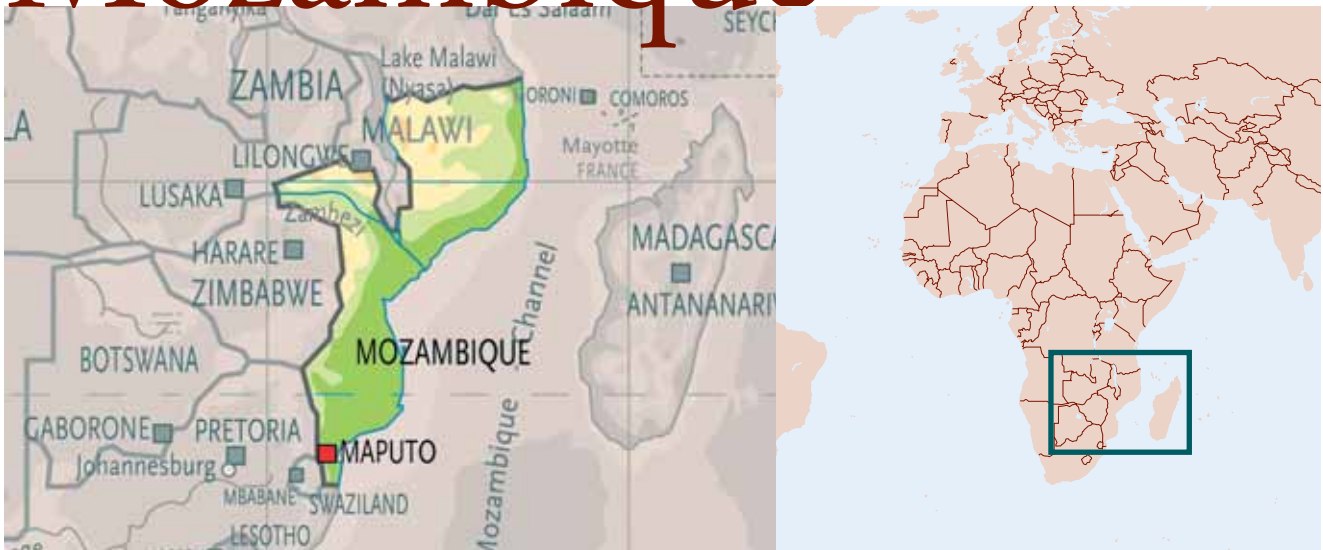
Other national partners

- Ministry of Home Affairs

International partners

- National Democratic Institute (NDI)
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)
- Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
- European Commission (EC)
- Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Mozambique



Key political events

- 1975** Independence, followed by a period of civil war in which an estimated one million Mozambicans perished, 1.7 million became refugees in neighbouring states and several million more were internally displaced
- 1992** Rome General Peace Accords
- 1994** Parliamentary and presidential elections: Joaquim Chissano elected president
- 1999** Joaquim Chissano re-elected president
- 2004** Armando Guebuza elected president

Political parties in Parliament

- Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo)
- Resistência Nacional Moçambicana-União Electoral (Renamo-UE)

The political situation in 2005

This was a post-election year. The good news was that there was far less political violence than in previous elections – in fact, none at all during the elections in December 2004 and virtually none in 2005. The fact that the civil war ended in 1992 (just 13 years ago) makes this an impressive result, indicating that liberal democracy has matured in Mozambique. International observer missions and the largest opposition party, Renamo-União Electoral (Renamo-UE), accepted the outcome of the elections, although they and many others are convinced that the National Elections Commission did not administer fair and transparent elections in all parts of Mozambique.

A source of concern is the fact that voter participation was lower than in the previous two general elections. Only one out of three registered voters actually voted. This low turnout fits into a longer-term trend, which – combined with the increasing weakness of Renamo in parliament –

shows the vulnerability of the democratisation process in Mozambique. The democratic gains made so far could be at risk, with one dominant ruling political party, Frelimo, controlling parliament, government and the state institutions in a society where the people are turning their backs on politics by no longer participating in elections. Does this mean that people no longer believe in the possibility of influencing national policies? This question poses new challenges for democratic consolidation in Mozambique. The participation of women in politics has grown. Around 30% of parliamentarians are women, and Mozambique has a female Prime Minister, Luísa Días Diogo. Mozambique ranks second in Africa when it comes to female representation in parliament and government.

Programme highlights

The first half of 2005 was a transitional period. The parties needed time to regroup and respond to the election results. Meanwhile IMD evaluated the results of the parties and concluded that a change in approach was necessary. The electoral results provided IMD with a tool to evaluate the democratic role of the parties and their growth during the past four years. It became clear that some small parties do not have the capacity to develop into fully operational parties on their own, despite having received support.

IMD has therefore changed its strategy. From focussing on bilateral support to each party to cross-party support and dialogue between the parties. While at the same time support for individual parties has been differentiated. The IMD directed financial resources to the two parliamentary parties, while at the same time supporting a cross-party approach for the small parties outside parliament. The IMD also increased support for dialogue, aiming to reduce the tensions between the parliamentary parties and increase cooperation between parties outside of parliament.



Mr Bas Eenhoorn and Mr Roel von Meijenfledt of the IMD with
Zambian delegation at the Regional Conference 'Evaluation and
Way Forward', Maputo, 8-12 December 2005



Regional Conference 'Evaluation and Way Forward', Maputo, 8-12 December 2005

The first projects of the bilateral programmes with Renamo and Frelimo were agreed upon. The IMD selected projects that were designed to develop strategies, with Frelimo focusing on involving more voters in their party, while Renamo wished to elaborate a more effective opposition strategy.

As a result of the East and Southern African Regional Programme, in which the Mozambican parties participate, a project was prepared with an NGO on how best to lobby political parties to improve the situation of disabled people.

The results of the elections were discussed with all the stakeholders in a seminar in Maputo and in regional meetings organised by the Centro de Promoção de Democracia Multipartidaria Moçambique, CPDM-M. CPDM-M was set up by three non-parliamentarian parties to stimulate dialogue among political parties outside of parliament.

The IMD consulted Frelimo and Renamo several times to start a dialogue on policy issues with non-parliamentarian parties. Local ownership of the IMD programme was strengthened by consulting the Advisory Board and by including a Mozambican political expert on the staff in Maputo.

Visits by representatives from IMD Headquarters to the IMD office in Maputo were intensified to help re-start the programme. IMD's regional representative also regularly visited Maputo to offer his support. It took three to four months for the political parties to recover after the elections and be prepared to engage in dialogue with other parties. None of the smaller parties obtained any parliamentary seats.

The change in IMD approach has taken more time than expected. This issue is delicate and had to be developed at the highest political level.

Some parties that participated in the bilateral programme in 2003 and 2004 did not manage to produce proper reports on time. This hampered the progress of the programme as a whole. Again, new measures have been introduced to ensure appropriate reporting.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Establishment of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy
- Reorientation of the programme
- Evaluation of the outcome of the elections

Priorities for 2006

- Enhance dialogue between the parties also on the sub-national level
- Develop parties on a strategic level
- Encourage participation of women in the parties

Long-term objectives

- Enhance dialogue between political parties and encourage an inclusive consensus seeking attitude
- Integration of women, youth and disabled in the parties

Key national partner

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

Other national partners

- Associação Mocambicana para o Desenvolvimento (AMODE, Mozambican Association for the Development of Democracy)
- Centro De Estudos De Democracia E Desenvolvimento (CEDE)

International partners

- European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA)
- Electoral institute of Southern Africa (EISA)

South Africa



Key political events

1994	Nelson Mandela elected president
1999	Thabo Mbeki succeeds Mandela as president
2004	General elections: ANC again the big winner

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 Organisation (AzaPO)
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)
United Democratic Movement (UDM)
National Democratic Convention (NDC)
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)
Minority Front (MF)

The political situation in 2005

Since the first democratic elections in 1994 two more rounds of general elections have been held, proving that the institutional capacity for organising elections is well-established. In the April 2004 elections the African National Congress (ANC) further strengthened its position as the dominant party in South Africa, obtaining more than two-thirds of the seats in parliament. As a result of the proportional representation system, some tiny parties have members of parliament, while the inheritance of the British system means that the DA (Democratic Alliance) – the largest opposition party – has taken on the role of ‘official opposition’. The level of polarisation between the governing party and opposition parties continues to be high, while the opposition itself is extremely divided.

In June, President Mbeki dismissed Vice-President Zuma because he was linked to a corruption scandal. In the same period an investigation was conducted against a group of Members of Parliament who were involved in the so-called Travelgate affair – the fraudulent use of travel vouchers issued to MPs. Travelgate has seriously damaged the image of politicians. Another development which affected the balance between the opposition and the ruling party was the ‘floor-crossing’ that took place in September. A significant number of black MPs from opposition parties crossed over to the ANC.

The government faces numerous major challenges. South Africa is torn by HIV/Aids, many – especially black South Africans – still live below the poverty line and cities are growing fast, creating urban slums and deprived rural areas. Furthermore, unemployment is increasing and the gap between rich and poor is widening, while in large parts of the country, municipalities are underdelivering on social services.

Programme highlights

In 2003, IMD decided to re-establish relations with its South African partners and engage in consultations about resuming cooperation. The first period of cooperation, from 1994 to 1999, was implemented by IMD's predecessor, the Foundation for a New South Africa (NZA). The emphasis of its programme was on helping the political parties organise themselves under the new democratic constitution. The current programme is designed to further strengthen the multi-party system by stimulating inter-party dialogue and implementing initiatives that emerge from this dialogue.



Polling station at Guguleta township

A series of discussions are currently being held to compensate for the acknowledged lack of debate among the political parties. Representatives of these parties have established an informal, confidential forum, facilitated by the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), which provides a neutral space for MPs to meet and exchange views on issues of national importance.

Early 2005, the South African political parties agreed on the format and rules of the forum and on a list of topics to be addressed. Since then three forum meetings were held. The first discussion, which took place in May, focused on South Africa's economic role in the region.

A second discussion on 'Poverty, inequality and the challenge of HIV/Aids' was held in August. A third meeting on 'The national question' - that is the question how to transform South Africa into a democratic, non-racial yet culturally diverse polity and society - took place in November. The forum meetings will continue during 2006, and might be expanded to the provincial level.

The IMD has a regional representative for East and Southern Africa who is based in Johannesburg. Besides maintaining contacts with the political parties, he also networks with international and local organisations active in the field of democratisation. The IMD contracted the Johannesburg-based CPS to act as facilitator in the forum discussions. CPS has proved to be very capable of bringing the parties on board and maintaining their trust in the programme. In addition, CPS provides papers and research and maintains a programme website.

As the representatives participating in the South Africa programme are all MPs, activities take place mainly in Cape Town and the planning of the programme is synchronised with the parliamentary agenda.

The forum provides a unique space for dialogue and sharing of views on topics of national interest. Indeed, parliament has very often become so polarised that it rarely functions as a true debating space.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Forum discussions on South Africa's economic role in the region, poverty, inequality and HIV/Aids, and 'The national question'
- Increasing trust and dialogue between political parties

Priorities for 2006

- Continue forum debates

Long-term objectives

- Reduce animosity between opposition and ruling party
- Create open dialogue and debate between parties at the national and provincial level
- Create space for a vibrant and democratic culture

Key national partner

- Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

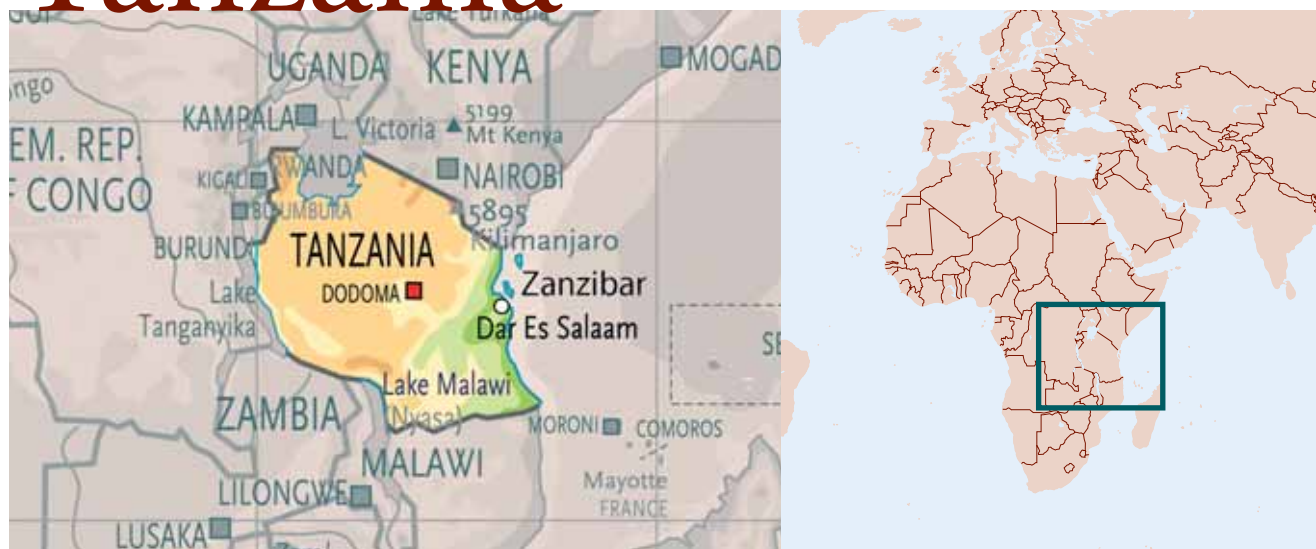
Other national partners

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

International partners

- Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
- SADC Parliamentary Forum
- Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA)
- International IDEA

Tanzania



Key political events

1995 Benjamin Mkapa elected president

2005 Jakay Kikwete elected president

Political parties in Parliament

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary State Party – CCM)

Civic United Front (CUF)

Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Party of Democracy and Development – Chadema)

United Democratic Party (UDP)

Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)

The political situation in 2005

The Revolutionary State Party (CCM) remains all-powerful in Tanzania and in 2005 it further strengthened its position. The political playing field therefore remains substantially uneven. The opposition is weak and divided. Nevertheless, CCM is credited with providing stability and continuity and with maintaining the trust of the population. The elections that were held in the second half of 2005 were declared largely free and fair, although in practice the opposition has little room for manoeuvre. A severe financial disadvantage and the risk of losing one's job or business deter opposition candidates from standing. Outgoing President Mkapa stepped down voluntarily, which was an important milestone in the democratic process, following the practice established by his predecessors. His successor President Kikwete won his nomination as presidential candidate for CCM following an extensive internal electoral process.

The CCM easily won the mainland elections. The Union Parliament remains CCM-dominated. The number of women in the cabinet has risen from four to seven and there are now ten female deputy ministers.

In Zanzibar, Amani Karume assumed the presidency on behalf of CCM. CCM retained its majority in the archipelago's legislature, with 30 seats against 19 for the main opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF). Following the violent 2000 elections in Zanzibar, the reconciliation process between CCM and CUF, known as Muafaka II, was effectively stalled in 2005. The electoral act was modified and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission was reformed to include two CUF members out of five. No JPSC secretariat emerged, media coverage remained one-sided and the recruitment of security forces is still restricted to CCM members. A massive police force guaranteed that the elections were relatively bloodless.

Overall, Tanzania remains a stable, peaceful and homogeneous nation.

Programme highlights

In 2005, the Tanzania programme was once again restructured, changing from a primarily bilateral programme to a more balanced bilateral and cross-party programme. The joint programme revolves around the new Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD).

There has been a gradual growth of trust and cooperation, in which the TCD is now fully owned by the parliamentary parties. The TCD's mandate is to implement the joint strategic plan, which revolved around three themes in 2005: 1) ten years of democracy, 2) regional and international enlightenment and 3) advancing multi-party democracy. Two important milestones in this election year were the signing of a code of conduct to mitigate tensions in the run-up to elections and the implementation of an early warning system (EWS) to monitor political conflicts.

The bilateral programme was suspended for much of the campaigning period in order to avoid polarisation. Capacity building activities undertaken in 2005 were financed through a transparent system for allocating funds. The parliamentary parties agreed on a formula whereby 50% of the funds would be equally distributed, 30% based on seats in parliament and 20% based on the popular vote. Strategic planning was deferred until after the elections, but this will remain a key priority.

Activities arising from the bilateral programme were concentrated into the first half of 2005, since elections took up the second half of the year. The CCM, CUF, CHADEMA, Labour Party (TLP) and United Democratic Party (UDP) all organised activities during this first period, including a national convention to elect the party leadership, training seminars and meetings to discuss party politics.

At the cross-party level, IMD was engaged in various activities related to the launch of the TCD, including the dissemination of a code of conduct, further development of the joint Strategic Plan/2006 Activity Plan, and meetings of the Technical Committee. A post-election 'healing of wounds' workshop will be held in early 2006 as part of the 2005 programme. Lastly, a technical workshop was held on report writing.

The joint programme has been supported by both technical and high-level (heads of parties) committees. The regular meetings of these committees have led to enhanced trust between the partners in the TCD.

The establishment of TCD and the agreement about its strategic programme was a new milestone in the programme as well as in inter-party cooperation in Tanzania. The latter proved instrumental in ensuring peaceful conditions during the mainland elections.

The challenge for the smaller political parties is to grow into meaningful institutions. The post-election period is a good time to reassess the challenges and opportunities and to use the period in between elections for investing in the institutional development of the political parties.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- National Convention and training in capacity building
- Training of trainers (ToT)
- Capacity building for candidates and campaign managers
- Workshop on internal democracy and voters' education
- Strategic plan for a joint code of conduct
- Joint radio and TV debates
- Joint 'healing of wounds' workshop
- Joint strategic planning workshop



Launch of the Tanzania Centre for Democracy, 5 July 2005

• Launch of TCD

Priorities for 2006

- Organise structural TCD meetings
- Domestication of the regional programme
- Formulate of a Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper
- Organise training workshops
- The bilateral programme will focus on a post-mortem of the elections and on strategic planning
- Develop strategic partnerships
- Organise gender activities
- Institutional development of TCD (housing and staffing)

Long-term objectives

- Organise regular TCD meetings
- Institutionalise the regional programme
- Formulate a Democratic Consolidation Strategy Paper
- Organise more training workshops
- Carry out a post-mortem on the elections
- Engage in strategic planning
- Develop strategic partnerships
- Organise gender-based activities
- Further develop TCD (arrange housing and staffing)

Key national partner

- Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD)

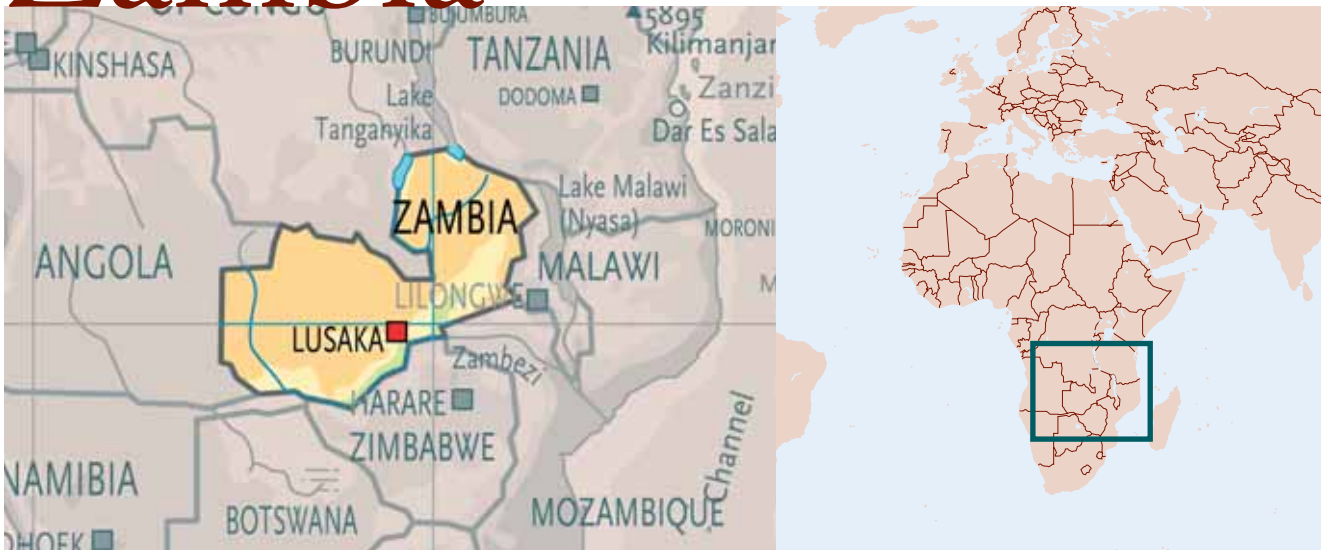
Other national partners

- Electoral commission
- Poris
- Miza-Tan
- REDET

International partners

- European Union
- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Demo
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)
- Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS)
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)

Zambia



Key political events

1990	Multi-party system reintroduced by President Kenneth Kaunda
1991	Frederick Chiluba elected president
1996	Frederick Chiluba re-elected
2001	Levy Mwanawasa elected president

Political parties in Parliament

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)

The political situation in 2005

The issue that dominated the political agenda in 2005 was a review of the constitution. Coalition 2005, an alliance between civil society organisations and opposition political parties, held demonstrations in response to the government's insistence that the new constitution would not be presented before the 2006 elections. The Coalition launched a petition, with the aim of collecting over two million signatures from Zambian citizens to press for amendments to the Electoral Act and the new Republican Constitution before the 2006 elections through a Constituent Assembly. Peaceful demonstrations were held in the Copper belt, Lusaka and other parts of the country. According to government a new constitution could not be elaborated before the 2006 elections because of a clear lack of time, whereas the opposition kept stressing the lack of political will on governments' side. Given its

participatory character and the time it will take to let the process run its natural course, a new Constitution will only be adopted after the 2006 election. Attention soon shifted to the Electoral Act.

The current government's commitment to the 'fight against corruption' was questioned by a number of opposition parties and civil society organisations. Economically, the government has been able to claim a number of successes. One important achievement is that Zambia is receiving debt relief under the World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) programme.

In 2005, the opposition parties launched several attempts at cooperation. It is generally assumed that the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) will not be beaten in the 2006 elections unless an opposition block can be formed among the main opposition parties. Talks continued, but there was no breakthrough in 2005. In March 2006 three parties jointly formed the United Democratic Alliance, a coalition with reasonable chances to play an important role during the upcoming (parliamentarian) elections.

Programme highlights

In 2003, the IMD funded a study to identify the main institutional challenges to Zambian political parties and democracy in general. The results were discussed with the parliamentary parties. The IMD programme focused initially on individual support to these political parties. In addition, a number of cross-party training sessions (merely focussing on political skills) were organised at the national and regional level. From 2004 onwards, IMD facilitated a process of inter-party



IMD staff and programme coordinator in Zambia on a visit to the headquarters of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), December 2005

dialogue between the main Zambian parties on issues of national interest. One of the main results was a joint strategic plan in which the parties agreed on six common objectives for the years ahead:

- developing a Code of Conduct for political parties in the run-up to elections
- dialogue on constitutional reform and the electoral process
- examine the funding of political parties
- improve the position of women, youth and physically disabled people in political parties
- build capacity and the strengthen political parties
- enhance civic education (to address voter apathy and the public image of political parties and
- build partnerships and strengthen regional networking.

Finally, senior representatives of the Zambian parties actively participated in IMD's regional programme for East and Southern Africa.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Regional capacity-building workshops organised by individual political parties
- Visit by ZCID bureau members to Kenya, Ghana and Malawi
- Training provincial officials of parliamentary parties in financial management
- Assistance given to parliamentary parties in developing an individual strategic plan
- Parties helped to develop a joint strategic plan
- Code of Conduct regulating inter-party relations established
- Intra-party discussions on the draft constitution facilitated
- Enhancing internal administrative procedures
- Producing a handbook on financial management within political parties
- National and regional training sessions on internal and

external communication

- Monitoring party activities
- Auditing party administration
- Facilitating inter-party dialogue on issues of national interest

Priorities for 2006

- Have a Code of Conduct with a national enforcement mechanism in place
- Facilitate regional debates on policy issues
- Assist parties in developing /improving their media strategy
- Assist parties in increasing their expertise with respect to various policy issues
- Facilitate debates around equal access to the media

Long-term objectives

- Review the constitution and electoral process
- Improve the funding of political parties
- Include disadvantaged groups in politics
- Strengthen political parties institutionally and build their capacity
- Mobilise the electorate
- Develop partnerships
- Formulate national and regional party policies
- Facilitate the organising of internal elections
- Enhance internal organisation (to strengthen party unity)
- Improve internal communication between people at local, regional and national level of the parties

Key national partner

- Zambia Centre for Inter-Party Dialogue (ZCID)

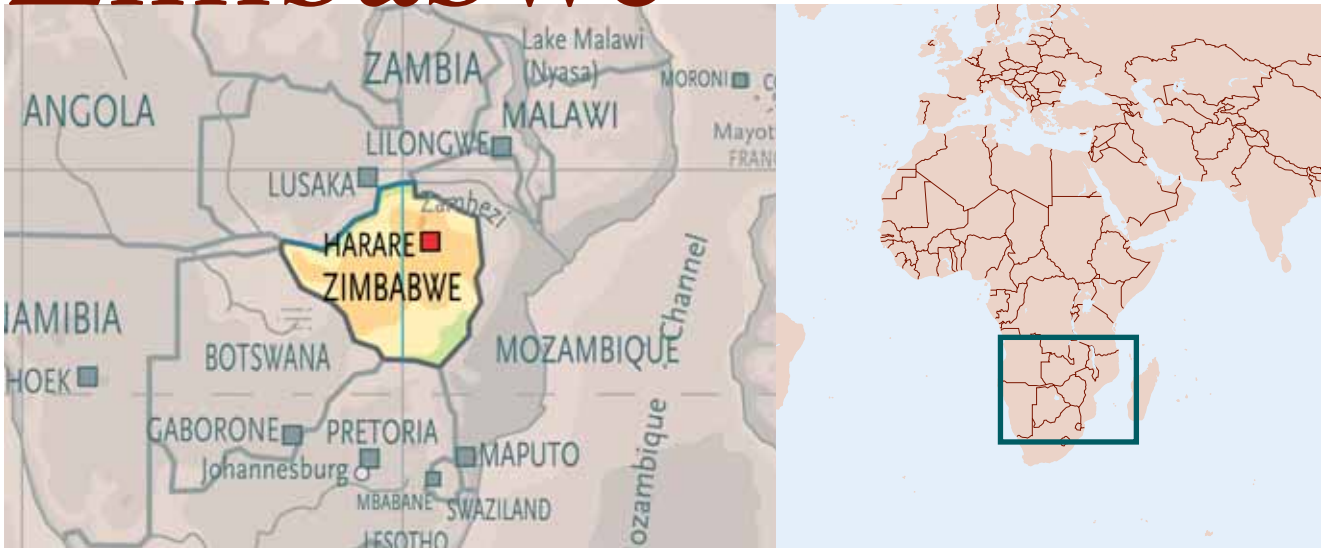
Other national partners

- Foundation for Democratic Process (Fodep)
- Anti-Voters Apathy (AVAP)
- Electoral Commission Zambia (ECZ)

International partners

- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)
- Electoral Institute of Southern Africa (EISA)

Zimbabwe



Key political events

1965	Unilateral declaration of Independence of Rhodesia
1980	Independence of Zimbabwe
1980	Parliamentary elections: Robert Mugabe Prime Minister
1990	Presidential Elections: Robert Mugabe elected president
1995	Parliamentary Elections: ZANU PF (large) majority party
1996	Presidential Elections: Robert Mugabe re-elected president
2000	Parliamentary Elections: MDC nearly as many votes as ZANU-PF
2002	Presidential Elections: Robert Mugabe re-elected president but seriously challenged by Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC)
2005	Parliamentary Elections: ZANU-PF largest party

Political parties in Parliament

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

The political situation in 2005

In 2005, the already poor quality of democracy in Zimbabwe deteriorated still further. Parliamentary elections, which took place in March, gave President Mugabe's ruling party, ZANU-PF, a two-thirds majority in parliament, thus allowing him to amend the constitution. The conditions in the country, the violent campaign period and the way in which votes were counted confirmed fears that these elections would be neither free nor fair. As were the elections in 2000 and 2002.

Political intimidation and government restrictions did not stop after the elections. In fact, new policies were introduced that further exacerbated an already disastrous shortage of food. Since then, the standard of living has continued to decline, and in May the government launched Operation *Murambatsvina* (literally: 'drive out the filth') against illegal dwellers, unregistered entrepreneurs and operators of small transport buses. The UN strongly condemned this campaign of oppression, in which the shelters and livelihoods of 700,000 poor people have been destroyed.

The November election for the newly established Senate was uncontested. Voter turnout was very low (less than 20%), and these elections caused a split in the most important opposition party, the MDC. Not only was the party embroiled in controversies about undemocratic behaviour, violence and fraud, but it could not agree about whether the election should be boycotted. The MDC became absorbed in a power struggle between a group formed around party leader Morgan Tsvangirai and another which supports party Secretary-General Welshman Ncube and Vice-President Gibson Sibanda.

With the media operating under severe restrictions, civil society drastically curtailed and the opposition party split, the democratic forces in the country have been severely weakened. In the meantime, millions of Zimbabweans face hunger because of food shortages created by government policies. Continuing economic decline has resulted in hyperinflation and unemployment rates of 75% to 80%.

The prospects for Zimbabwe are very bleak. However, as neighbouring countries (especially South Africa) and organisations such as the African Union are finally beginning to lose patience with the Mugabe government, there is at last some hope that regional pressure on the regime may result in change.

Programme highlights

After taking stock of the implications of the March elections, the IMD organized a meeting in South Africa with important stakeholders to discuss the future direction of the programme. In addition, IMD met with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and its Regional Representative visited the Netherlands Embassy in Harare. There were also several meetings with the key IMD partner in the country.

The May meeting of the IMD Supervisory Council was dedicated to developments in Zimbabwe and to debating an appropriate response. The participants concluded that direct funding of political parties in Zimbabwe continues to be impossible as the leaders of ZANU-PF still control all the levers of power, while the level of repression has increased. Meanwhile, IMD's basic approach – attempting to create conditions for a national dialogue – has not changed.

In South Africa, IMD has facilitated activities that support democratic reform in Zimbabwe. These focus on:

- dialogue between pro-democracy forces in Zimbabwe and the region
- rebuilding a democratic culture, and
- helping those in the country who can formulate policies for the 'post-Mugabe period', as well as for a possible transition period in which democracy can be restored.

Several meetings with Zimbabwean and South African stakeholders and partners were organised to discuss developments in the country. The IMD also actively participates in a network of Dutch agencies with programmes in and for Zimbabwe.

It is a major challenge to contribute to a peaceful transition in a country whose government is based on a repressive ideology, especially when that regime is convinced of its own superiority and not subject to any significant external pressure and engagement.

Attempts to formulate well-founded alternative policies are important to prepare for an opening in democracy building in Zimbabwe are necessary but not enough. If people are to become aware of the potential for change and for developing non-violent ways to resist the undemocratic actions of their government,



People queue up at a polling station on election day, 31 March 2005

Posters of the two main political parties in Zimbabwe during the elections in 2005

it is also essential that these policies be disseminated among the general population in clear, easily understandable language.

The split in the main opposition party does not help the democratic reform process. As reconciliation between the two factions is no longer likely to occur, developments both within ZANU-PF and in the two opposition factions will determine whether new initiatives for a political turnaround will become possible in 2006.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Development of policy on issues such as gender, economy and the constitution
- Dialogue between civil society and political stakeholders

Priorities for 2006

- Will depend on the political developments

Long-term objectives

- Help restore democratic institutions and democratic culture

Key national partner

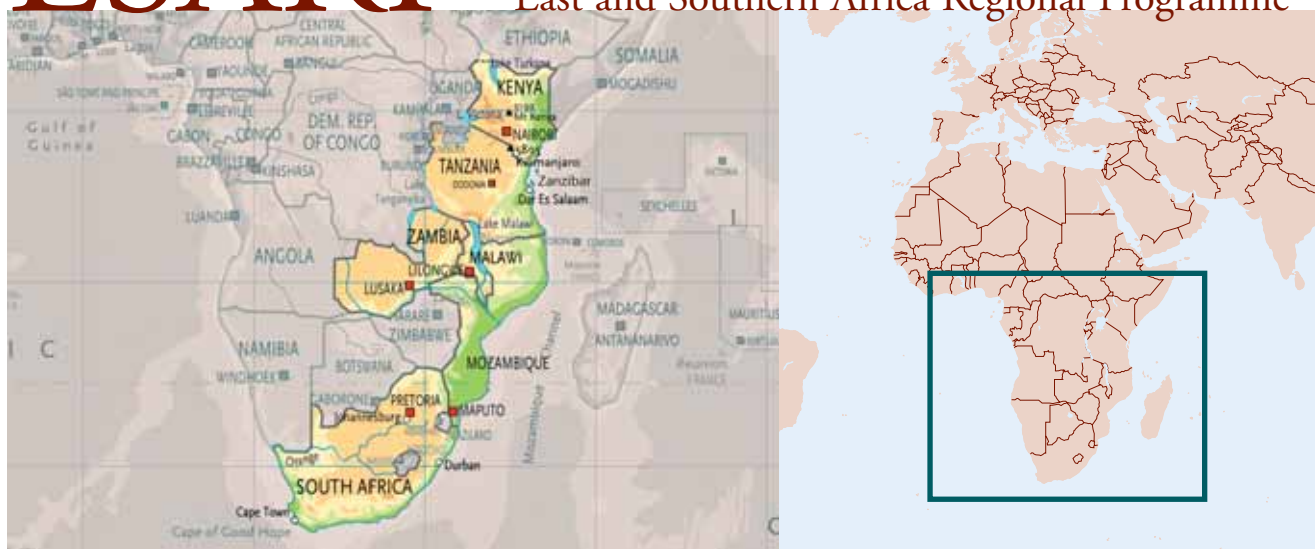
- A organisation based in South Africa committed to change in Zimbabwe

Other national partners

- Institute for Democracy Assistance in South Africa (IDASA)

ESARP

East and Southern Africa Regional Programme



Countries participating in the programme

Kenya
Malawi
Mozambique
South Africa
Tanzania
Zambia

The political situation in 2005

Most countries within the East and Southern African region have moved towards multi-party democracy, with the exception of Swaziland (which is an absolute monarchy), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (which is taking steps towards democratic government) and Angola (which is a *de facto* one-party state). Although elections are held in all other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, the electoral process and the outcome of the elections are often contested, as in the case of Zimbabwe. There are currently stable multi-party systems in South Africa, Mauritius and Botswana. Elsewhere, formal democracy exists in various degrees; the challenge for IMD is to find effective ways to support progress towards full democracies.

Several initiatives (by the African Union, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), SADC and the Pan African Parliament) promote cooperation, transparency and development on the continent. These initiatives work mostly at the governmental or parliamentary level. Through the East and Southern Africa Regional programme (ESARP) IMD contributes to regional cooperation between ruling and opposition parties.

Those engaged in politics in southern Africa encounter a variety of challenges. These include economic hardship,

political parties that have emerged from liberation movements, dominant ruling parties and weak opposition parties, as well as all the usual difficulties of consolidating democratic processes within and between political parties.

Programme highlights

The programme brings together the ruling parties and main opposition parties from the six countries in the region with an IMD programme. Its main aim is to help political parties in the region learn from each other. By sharing best practices and lessons learned, as well as addressing common difficulties together, it is expected that democratisation and professionalisation will be strengthened throughout East and Southern Africa.

The programme is the result of a consultative process with the parties in the region, which led to the establishment of a regional multi-party forum in November 2004. It identified a number of key issues which the programme should address:

- the link between democracy and development
- improving the quality of democracy
- political parties, the building blocks of democracy
- implementing existing guidelines.

The regional forum appointed an interim Steering Committee to plan a first round of activities. During this first full year of the programme, the first two of the four issues were given priority. In December 2005, the parties met to agree on how best to continue with the programme.

One of the main objectives of the programme is to enhance regional cooperation and networking between political parties. As a first step, the Interim Steering

Committee met and agreed on a work plan. The IMD and its partners implemented this by holding a series of conferences in 2005. Each of these two-day meetings took place in a different country, hosted by local political parties. Supported by experts, the participants (around 80 each time) assessed the situation in the region, compared experiences, and discussed necessary action. A first conference (on 'Enhancing Transparency') took place in Kenya in May, a second (on 'Electoral Systems') took place in Malawi in June, a third (on 'Relations between Opposition and Governing Parties and Party Financing') in Zambia in September, and a fourth was held in South Africa in October (on 'Democracy and Vulnerable Groups').

These conferences proved very valuable. Besides persuasive presentations and enthusiastic discussions, bonding took place at two levels: participants strengthened their cross-border contacts and got to know the representatives of other parties from their own country better. The parties compared ways to become more active in daily public life and to act more democratically internally.

The programme is developed and run by political parties from the region, with the support of IMD's regional representative and local consultants. Both ruling parties and the main opposition parties play an active role. An evaluation at the end of 2005 formed the basis for the parties' plans for new activities in 2006. Academics and institutions from the region, mostly identified by the partners, provide almost all the input for the thematic meetings.

It is important to ensure that the regional programmes complement existing national programmes. In the past year, the agenda of activities was sometimes perceived as too ambitious.

The political parties that participated in the regional meetings have not always conducted follow-up sessions at home. In some countries, these did take place, but it is necessary to develop a methodology to ensure systematic follow-up at the national level. The IMD coordinators in the region can play a useful role here.

The regional programme is the first regional forum in which governing and opposition parties have cooperated. It provides a unique platform for peer support and pressure through the exchange of experiences among people from the participating countries. The debates are lively, not least thanks to the participation of parties from Kenya to South Africa. It is also the first time that parties have linked up with the established regional frameworks, which are mostly government driven, such as SADC, PTA, NEPAD and the SADC Parliamentary Forum.



Regional Conference 'Evaluation and Way Forward', Maputo, 8-12 December 2005



Launch of the Tanzania Centre for Democracy, 5 July 2005

Key programme information

Programme achievements

Enhancing regional cooperation and networking between parties by

- Organising a regional conference on 'Enhancing Transparency'
- Organising a regional conference on 'Electoral Systems and Reform In Representation'
- Organising a regional conference on 'Rules of Engagement between Opposition and Governing Parties, and Party Financing'
- Organising a regional conference on 'Democracy and Vulnerable Groups'
- Organising a regional conference on 'Evaluation and the Way Forward'

Priorities for 2006

- Institutionalise lessons learned and incorporate action points into the national programmes of participating countries

Long-term objectives

- Enhance regional cooperation and networking between parties
- Improve the quality of democracy through regional peer pressure

Key partner(s)

- The Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

Other regional partners

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

International partners

- Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)
- SADC Parliamentary Forum
- Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA)
- International IDEA

WARP

West Africa Regional Programme



Countries participating in the programme

Ghana
Ivory Coast
Mali
Nigeria
Sierra Leone
Togo

The political situation in 2005

The vast majority of the sixteen countries in the region are constructively engaged in conflict resolution and prevention, pursuing economic growth, poverty reduction and greater democracy. Ivory Coast, although an exception to this trend, remains a key player as a potential economic powerhouse in the region. Instability there will continue to have regional ramifications.

Programme highlights

In West Africa there is both an urgent need and a clear demand for an organisation like IMD to strengthen regional links between democratic institutions that indirectly contribute to growth, poverty reduction and multi-party democracy. Developments in key countries in the region help encourage stability, economic development and the prospects for democracy in neighbouring countries. The initiative for the regional programme lies to a large extent with the political parties in Ghana, which have been supported by their counterparts in Mali. The political parties in Ghana have assumed the role of developing a democratic hub in the Western African region, and IMD is facilitating this initiative.

The success and impact of the Ghana programme has generated considerable interest in the wider region.

Requests to assist the democratisation process were received from Ghana's neighbours Ivory Coast and Togo. In August 2005, IMD's Ghanaian counterpart – the Institute for Economic Affairs, which has the endorsement of the Ghanaian political parties – conducted a short mission to Ivory Coast. It concluded that, given the prevailing adverse conditions there, only *indirect* assistance could be considered but that this should ideally be embedded in a wider regional initiative to ensure long-lasting impact. At the same time, high-level requests from Togo were received to facilitate dialogue between government and opposition parties following contentious elections.

In September 2005, the IMD Board approved three activities in the context of an emerging West Africa Regional Programme (WARP). The main aims are to start developing a regional democratic agenda, provide a platform for discussion/conflict prevention and create a network of West African political parties. The first two activities were so-called 'icebreaker' meetings between the Ghanaian chairmen of political parties and their respective counterparts in Ivory Coast and Togo. The objective of these meetings was to share collective experience on building and nurturing democracy, reduce tensions, and propose concrete follow-up actions. The third activity is a regional conference (at the level of Chairmen and Secretaries-General). The aim of this conference is to bring together the main ruling and opposition parliamentary parties in Ghana, Mali, Ivory Coast, Togo and Nigeria.

A gradual approach has been adopted. Firstly, greater expertise in understanding the political systems of the various countries is needed. Secondly, activities with



Political tensions in Abidjan Ivory Coast,
August 2005



Mural on parliament building in Mali

clear long-term impact must be scrupulously defined, while avoiding duplication. What is more, while this initiative is driven by IMD's Ghanaian partner, IMD itself is currently consolidating it. The IMD has therefore kept its role limited, while reinforcing the ability of its Ghanaian counterpart to deliver on regional objectives.

The responsibility taken by the political parties of Ghana for sharing their experience in democratic transition with the political parties in neighbouring countries that are in conflict is very interesting and encouraging. The ownership and initiative lies fully with the Ghanaian counterparts. This kind of locally driven initiative for regional cooperation will hopefully help to contribute to greater regional stability in future.

The IMD intends to respond to the needs and requests for regional cooperation from its partners within the established country programmes. This adds a new dimension to the IMD programme of consolidation of multi-party democracies at the national level, which is now having a regional impact on other nations in West Africa.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Initial support structures at the Ghanaian Institute for Economic Affairs established
- Regional cooperation and networking between parties started by supporting an 'ice-breaker' meeting in Togo

Priorities for 2006

- Facilitate a forum conference in Togo (as a follow-on from the icebreaker)
- Facilitate icebreaker for Ghanaian Chairmen with their

Nigerian counterparts

- Facilitate icebreaker for Ghanaian Chairmen with their Ivory Coast counterparts
- Facilitate icebreaker for Ghanaian Chairmen with their Sierra Leonean counterparts
- Facilitate a second regional conference in Mali

Long-term objectives

- Translate successful cases of multiparty democracy, peace and prosperity to other countries in the sub-region

Key partner

- Ghanaian Institute for Economic Affairs

Other regional partners

- Partnerships presently being established in participating countries

International partners

- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- European Union

Bolivia



Key political events

- 2005** June - President Mesa resigns
- 2005** December - Socialist leader Evo Morales elected president

Political parties in Parliament

- Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR)
- Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria - Nueva Mayoría (MIR-NM)
- Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN)
- Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS)
- Movimiento Sin Miedo (MSM)
- Plan Progreso (PP)
- Frente Revolucionario de Izquierda (FRI)
- Movimiento Bolivia Libre (MBL)
- Unidad Cívica Solidaridad (UCS)
- Frente de Unidad Nacional (UN)

The political situation in 2005

Bolivia is in the throes of a fundamental, enduring clash over its political identity and direction. Throughout the year, large-scale anti-government protests and blockades were the order of the day. One of the major problems is that social division overlaps with a regional discrepancy between the extremely poor highlands in the western part of the country and the wealthier lowlands in the east and south. Both regions presented their political agenda in which the poor demanded greater economic and political participation (by means of changes in the constitution and nationalisation of gas and oil profits), whereas the wealthier eastern and southern regions demanded more autonomy (through decentralisation). This social and regional discrepancy led to severe social unrest, and eventually President Mesa, whose

term was due to continue until 2007, submitted his resignation in June. The head of the Supreme Court, Eduardo Rodriguez, was sworn in as interim president and he decided to call elections by decree on 18 December 2005.

The elections led to a landslide victory for Evo Morales and his Movement towards Socialism (MAS). The only counterforce is in the Senate and among (some of) the regional prefects. Nationalisation of natural resources will be one of the first priorities of the new government, along with the establishment of a Constituent Assembly. The Bolivian struggle to come to terms with profound economic, cultural and political issues will continue in 2006 and beyond but after years of neo-liberal rule, these challenges will now be faced by a socialist government.

Programme highlights

The IMD continues to support the Bolivian Foundation for Multi-party Democracy (FBDM) in which all political stakeholders are assembled. Throughout the year, the FBDM provided a platform for dialogue in periods of extreme unrest. The FBDM was also able to enter into important strategic partnerships with other national and international organisations such as UNDP, OAS, the Foundation supporting Parliament and Citizens' Participation (FUNDAPAC), the Andean Development Cooperation (CAF), the University of Catalonia, the National Electoral Court and various media associations.

When it became clear that new elections would be held at the end of 2005, FBDM developed

a joint programme with the National Electoral Court and the press and media associations to inform Bolivian citizens on the positions adopted by the political parties on eight topics (see below). The FBDM proved to be effective in creating new channels to disseminate the comparison of the different party programmes, thus contributing to a better-informed electorate.

The FBDM managed to increase its visibility as an organisation for strengthening political parties and the party system. The FBDM also plays a central role in the public debate on the Constituent Assembly. Its task is to guide the process and assist a commission of MPs and senators in determining the precise mandate for the Assembly.

The FBDM also facilitates a national platform in which other sensitive topics such as regional autonomy and the election of prefects are discussed. A series of well-attended and highly appreciated conferences, seminars and public debates on these issues has been organised, bringing together representatives of the political sector, social movements and civil society.

The FBDM has provided both technical and organisational support to the parties. Furthermore, a project committee has been established to evaluate individual project proposals. The FBDM also continued to play a key role as a centre for information, with a range of publications relevant to the Bolivian political parties.

Finally, special attention was given to youth representatives from political parties and social movements who were enabled to participate in an extensive training programme, co-organised by the FBDM, on various issues related to Bolivian democracy.

All Bolivian parties – despite their diversity – stress the importance of the FBDM as a platform for exchange and dialogue and value its role in strengthening democracy. Other national actors as well as the international donor agencies recognise the important role for the FBDM in building trust and increasing mutual confidence.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Nation-wide campaign to inform the public about the programmes and proposals of political parties participating in the presidential elections



Party programme comparisons published in national newspapers

Priorities for 2006

- Strengthen national political parties
- Facilitate discussions on issues to be addressed by the Constituent Assembly
- Implementation of the IMD's Andean programme

Long-term objectives

- Strengthen regional sections of political parties and internal communication
- Strengthen internal democracy
- Build trust between political parties and civil society
- Reduce the polarisation between political actors
- Facilitate the establishment of a Constituent Assembly
- Inform citizens on the visions and policies of the various political parties

Key national partner

- Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (FBDM)

Other national partners

- The National Electoral Court
- Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF)
- Fundación Apoyo al Parlamento (FUNDAPAC)
- various media associations

International partners

- United Party for National Development (UNDP)
- Organisation of American States (OAS)
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
- European Union (EU)
- Friends of the Americas
- National Democratic Institute (NDI)
- University of Catalonia
- International Republican Institute (IRI)
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)

Guatemala



Key political events

1954	US-supported overthrow of the democratically-elected President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán
1960	Period of Civil War in which 200,000 Guatemalans were killed, 450 Mayan villages were destroyed and over one million became refugees
1996	Signing of the Peace Agreement
1999	General elections
2003	General elections, Oscar Berger Perdomo elected president

Political parties in Parliament

GAN (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 Cristiniana Guatemalteca)
DIA (Partido Desarrollo Integral Auténtico)
MR (Movimiento Reformador)
PSN (Partido Solidaridad Nacional)

The political situation in 2005

The Free Trade Agreement and the lack of security were high on the political agenda during 2005, while internal power struggles meant that the government enjoyed a very low level of popularity: less than 20% of the population are satisfied with this administration. It is widely felt that the country is not heading in the right direction. The constitution of the governing political party, the

Great National Alliance (GAN), received legal status at the end of the year.

Amendments to the Electoral Law have produced several important changes. The parties now need a minimum number of 15,000 registered members (previously this was 5,000) before they can be accepted by the Electoral Council. This has forced emerging parties to form alliances in order to qualify and is expected to result in decreasing fragmentation of the political spectrum. A further amendment applies to the political parties' financial situation, demanding greater transparency and accountability.

Although these amendments to the Electoral Law are positive, they are not yet sufficient. Aware of this situation, the political parties represented in Congress agreed to introduce additional reforms. The fact that this level of agreement is possible is evidence of the degree of maturity that the political parties have reached and their commitment to the consolidation of democracy in Guatemala.

Programme highlights

The general objective of the IMD programme is to strengthen the political party system in Guatemala. Specific objectives are:

- to create a platform for dialogue in and between the political parties at the national, departmental and municipal levels
- to contribute to the institutional strengthening of the political parties and civic committees
- to promote the exchange of experiences and models of political development among the Guatemalan, Dutch and other European political parties.

All IMD activities take into account the participation of women, young people and indigenous peoples as well as the effect the IMD programme has on groups that are currently less well represented in Guatemalan politics.

The Shared National Agenda, the result of a one-year process of dialogue between the political parties, continues to be a reference document for the parties in their political debate and for other actors in Guatemalan society. The parties also draw on the National Agenda to establish their own legislative agendas. While it is possible to reach an agreement between the parties on some issues, such as electoral reform, joint actions on other issues of the Shared National Agenda remain difficult. At the departmental level, two Shared Departmental Agendas have been developed by the political parties with the participation of their leaders.

Dialogue between the parties is most clearly expressed in the work done by the National Permanent Forum of Political Parties, which created a Meeting Centre with IMD's support. Over the past six months, more than 1500 people have met and worked at this centre, the precursor of the Multiparty Institute for Political Studies.

Almost all parties have engaged in strategic planning. Representatives of the political parties value such exercises highly. Strategic planning also contributes to programme choices and establishing criteria for political action. The use of the Shared National Agenda in the strategic planning exercises allows these two programmes to reinforce each other.

Through a series of seminars on ideology, the programme has also helped parties develop their ideological identity, which is essential if they are to position themselves within the political party system. A clear ideological identity allows citizens to distinguish between parties and cast an informed vote.

In the year 2005, the IMD programme in Guatemala was evaluated as part of the overall IMD evaluation. The findings of the evaluation commission were highly positive. IMD or the Dutch Institute (El Instituto Holandés) as it is called in Guatemala is well known and is regarded by the parties as an impartial organisation that takes ownership and dialogue seriously.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- IMD activities contributed to the ability of political



Poster announcing a series of seminars as part of the Shared National Agenda project

parties to work together outside and inside the Parliament and to increase the ability of the parties to function effectively

Priorities for 2006

- Strengthen IMEP and reform the Congress; empower women, indigenous peoples and youth in political parties; institutionalise political parties; enhance governance through dialogue between the social partners

Long-term objectives

- Support the democratisation in Guatemala

Key national partner

- Instituto Multipartidario de Estudios Politicos (IMEP)

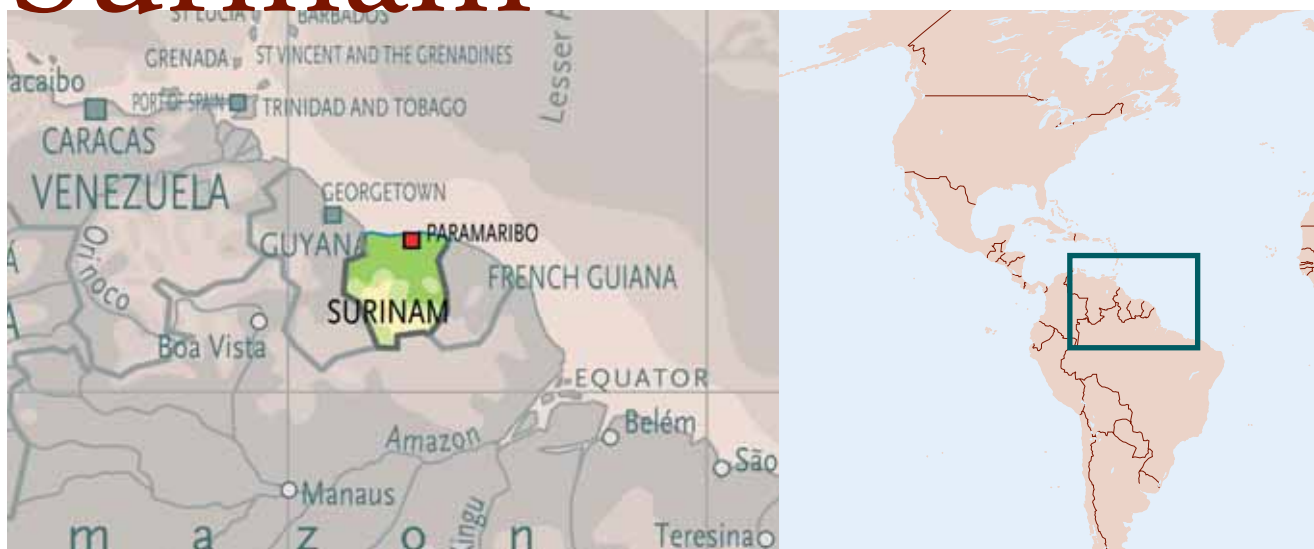
Other national partners

- ASIES (an organisation committed to strengthening democracy)
- University Rafael Landívar
- ENPI network of organisations of indigenous peoples

International partners

- Organisation of American States (OAS)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- Fundación Soros Guatemala (FSG)
- Proyecto de Apoyo a la Reforma Legal (PROLEY)
- Children of Promise International (COPI)
- Swedish Multiparty Network
- Swedish Development Cooperation

Surinam



Key political events

1954	Became an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands
1975	Declaration of independence
1980 - 1987	Military regime
1987	Elections since the coup and adoption of the Constitution
1990	'Telephone coup'
1991	Ronald Venetiaan elected president, replacing Wijdenbosch
1996	President Wijdenbosch re-elected president by the People's Assembly
2000	President Venetiaan re-elected president
2005	President Venetiaan is re-elected by the People's Assembly

Political parties in Parliament

New Front for Democracy and Development:

- National Party of Suriname (NPS)
- Progressive Reform Party (VHP)
- Pertjajah Luhur (PL)
- Surinamese Labour Party (SPA)
- National Democratic Party (NDP)
- People's Alliance for Progress (VVP)
- Democratic National Platform 2000 (DNP 2000)

A-combination:

- Democratic Alternative '91 (DA '91)
- Political Wing of the FAL

The political situation in 2005

The multi-cultural character of Surinam's society is reflected in its political system. Most parties have an ethnic basis. Surinam has a history of coalition building between parties that represent the largest religious, cultural and ethnic groups in society: Hindustani, Javanese and Creoles.

The elections for the National Assembly (51 seats) took place on 25 May 2005. The results were disappointing for the ruling coalition of the New Front parties, which are composed of the National Party of Suriname (NPS), the United Reform Party (VHP), the Pertjajah Luhur and the Surinam Labour Party, which lost ten of its 33 seats. The National Democratic Party (NDP) of former president Desi Bouterse has become the second largest party with fifteen seats in parliament.

Due to the loss of a majority in the National Assembly and the resulting shift in the balance of power, election of the new president by a two-thirds majority was not possible. The election of the president was therefore delegated to the People's Assembly, which consists of 871 national and local elected members. They re-elected Ronald Venetiaan from the NPS, and the new government was installed at the end of August.

Programme highlights

The IMD programme focuses on supporting policy development in the political parties. The IMD identified the Democracy Unit (DU) of the Anton de Kom University (ADEK) as its counterpart. During 2004, a preparatory project was executed by the DU and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that included research on the functioning of political parties and the perception of democracy in Surinam. In addition, the needs of the political parties with respect to policy development were identified and assessed. It was decided that the Democracy Unit would not carry out any activities in the period before the elections in May 2005



Presidential Palace in Paramaribo

to avoid any risk of the university being seen as politically biased.

This project provided the input for elaborating a three-year programme, which was planned to start just after the elections in the second half of 2005. However, it was delayed for six months also due to long process of the instalment of the new government. Finally, on 30 december 2005, the project was officially signed by all stakeholders, including the Minister of Planning and Development Cooperation, the University and the UNDP.

Integration into Caribbean and Latin American politics is considered very important for the development of Surinam. Politicians and members of the Democracy Unit therefore participated in the Caribbean Meeting of the Inter-American Forum on Political Parties (FIAPP) in Jamaica. More than 50 representatives of governing political parties from twelve Anglophone Caribbean countries attended. Topics included constitutional reform, challenges associated with formulating efficient public policy in the context of globalisation, regional integration and promotion of the participation of women and other under-represented groups in politics. Participation resulted in better insight into regional democracy and an extended network for Surinam politicians and the Democracy Unit.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Preparatory project concluded
- Signing the three-year programme 'Strengthening of Democracy and Policy Development Capacity of the Political Parties'

Priorities for 2006

- Implement the programme 'Strengthening of Democracy and Policy Development Capacity of the Political Parties'

Long-term objectives

- Strengthen democratic structures
- Strengthen participatory democracy
- Stimulate the capacity of political parties to effectively formulate and monitor national development policies

Key national partner

- Democracy Unit (DU) of the University of Surinam

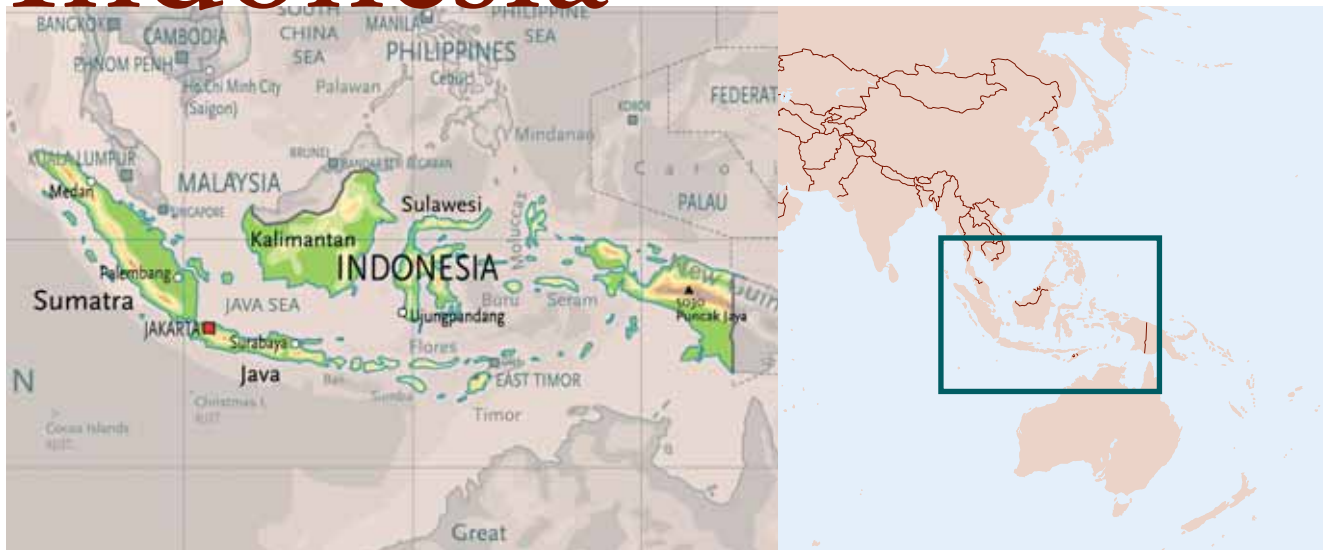
Other national partners

- No other organisation is involved

International partner

- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Indonesia



Key political events

1998	President Suharto falls after 32 years in office
1999	First free elections since the late 1960s
2002	East Timor becomes independent
2004	Parliamentary elections
2004	First-ever direct presidential elections
2005	Start of local elections
2005	Government and Free Aceh Movement sign a peace deal
2009	Next parliamentary and local elections

Political parties in Parliament

Golkar
Indonesian Democratic Party-Struggle (PDI-P)
National Awakening Party (PKB)
United Development Party (PPP)
Democratic Party (PD)
Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)
National Mandate Party (PAN)
Crescent Star Party (PBB)
Reform Star Party (PBR)
Prosperous Peace Party (PDS)
Concern for the Nation Functional Party (PKPB)
Justice and Unity Party (PKPI)
Freedom Bull National Party (PNBK)
United Democratic Nationhood Party (PPDK)
Indonesian National Party Marheanism (PNIM)
Indonesian Democratic Vanguard Party (PPPI)
Vanguard Party (PP)

The political situation in 2005

Post-Suharto Indonesia has made the transition to democracy. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ('SBY') won the first-ever direct presidential elections on a programme of reform and fighting corruption. In 2005 he began to show that his 'Rainbow Cabinet', as his coalition government is called, is

able to deliver, for instance in fighting corruption. But Indonesia's political arena is extraordinarily complex and still faces many problems. Starting in June 2005, elections were held at the district level – given the regional autonomy now regulated by law in Indonesia, a highly significant event. Most of these elections proceeded peacefully. More importantly, for the first time Indonesians were able to vote directly for their district leaders, increasing their involvement.

The government's policy to cut oil subsidies has resulted in steep price rises, causing protests throughout the country. However, the only group to oppose this government decision in parliament was the PDI-P (of former president Megawati). Part of the country's oil revenues are being used to improve the education and health sectors. Not everyone is satisfied with the government's performance in distributing these funds, but a growing number of the poor now seem to have more access to education and health.

The Helsinki Peace Accord between the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Indonesian government has led to the transformation of the GAM movement from a rebel army into a political party. The question is whether this party will participate in the elections for the Aceh governorship in 2006. To make this possible, the Law on Political Parties has to be changed, as no local or regional parties are allowed in Indonesia. In this connection there are still problems ahead, as parliament does not seem to agree with the Helsinki Peace Accord and will be reluctant to cooperate.

Programme highlights

The IMD programme has two main aims. The first is to assist in improving inter-party cooperation, and the second is to contribute to parties' institutional development and

democratic culture. Widespread consultations during the identification phase led to the conclusion that these aims can best be reached by supporting democracy education at the regional level, building bridges between political and civil society in Indonesia.

Given the complex political culture in Indonesia and the new democratic space that has emerged since the reforms that commenced in 1998, IMD decided to engage in a long-term programme. Following initial consultations in 2003 and 2004, an operational plan was developed by a local partner in 2004, and a National Steering Committee (NSC) was formed in the same year. The NSC consists of prominent individuals from a broad spectrum of Indonesian society. The NSC members have taken over the programme and set themselves a mandate of three years to implement the programme in five selected regions. If successful, the programme could be expanded to other regions. Following this three-year period, the NSC members will be replaced by elected representatives from the regions. The Steering Committee established an association – the *Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi* (KID) – to implement the IMD programme. The KID has a secretariat and an executive staff in Jakarta. The IMD/KID regional programme focuses on the *kabupaten* – the district level – in East Java, South Sulawesi, Banten, Lampung and Nusa Tenggara Timur. The programme, which is called Simpul Demokrasi, has two main aims: firstly, to train young regional politicians, women and activists on democratic values and practices; and secondly, to help educate the next generation of democratic politicians in Indonesia. The KID will undertake a first evaluation of the programme in October 2006. Another evaluation on the impact of the Sekolah will be conducted around the 2009 elections, when it will become clear how many Sekolah ‘graduates’ are active in regional and national politics.

The second pillar of the IMD programme in Indonesia is engaging the political parties at a national level. The KID is carrying out a needs assessment for the political parties, which will be finalised in 2006. The IMD will also look for other ways to cooperate with the parties. In September, IMD, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung co-organised a conference on Muslim Democracy in South East Asia. Representatives of political parties, universities and NGOs in Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia discussed the role of Islam in the democratic system. Again, the interest shown by the Indonesian political parties - with the exception of the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) - was minimal.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Three Sekolah Demokrasi are now fully operational
- Design of a series of training modules on democratic



Flyers issued as part of the Simpul Demokrasi educational programme

values and practices

- Start of a needs assessment among political parties at the national level

Priorities for 2006

- Make all five Sekolah Demokrasi operational
- Explore ways to cooperate with Indonesian political parties
- Improve the relationships between political parties and civil society

Long-term objectives

- Develop a widespread culture of transparency and accountability (via KID)
- Set up Simpul Demokrasi in 5 regions and 15 districts
- Ensure the election of 30% of Sekolah Demokrasi graduates in provincial parliaments in the 2009 elections
- Develop a cross-party programme with political parties at the national level

Key national partner

- Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID)

Other national partners

- Indonesische Academie voor Wetenschappen (LIPI)
- Indonesian Election Council (KPU)
- Partnership/Kemitraan
- Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO)
- Placid's Averroes
- Lembaga Advokasi Penelitian (LAP Timoris)
- Melania Foundation

International partners

- Asia Foundation
- International IDEA
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES)
- Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS)
- National Democratic Institute (NDI)
- International Republican Institute (IRI)
- Indonesië-Beraad

Chapter Four

Multilateral Programmes



Introduction

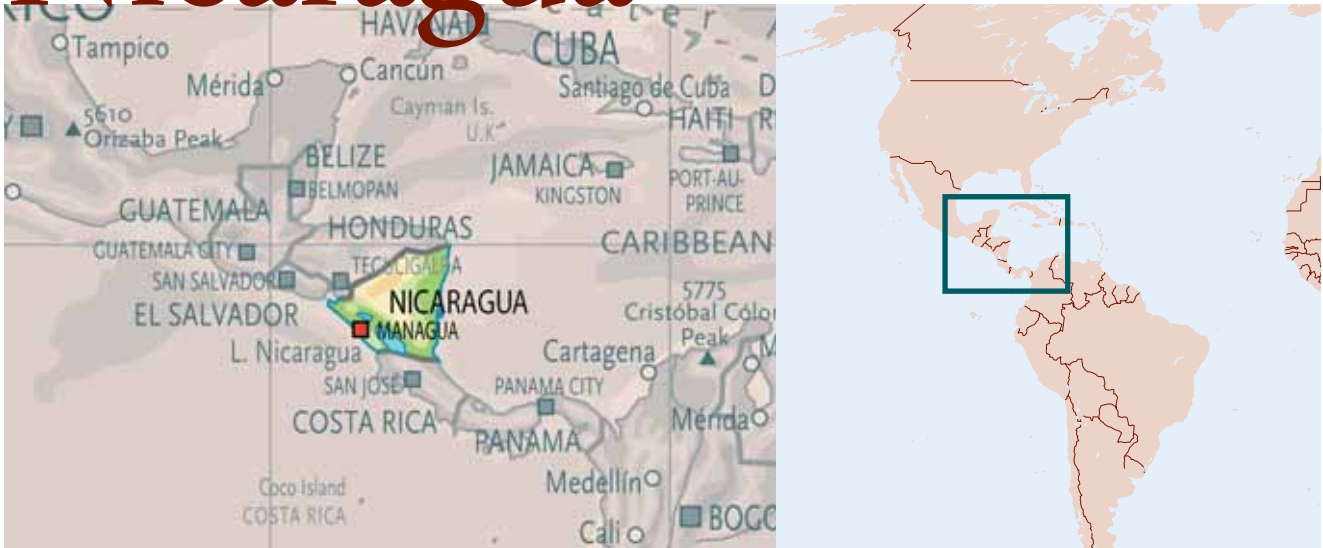
The IMD Multilateral Programme unit (IMD-MP) builds strategic partnerships through its joint ventures with multilateral and bilateral institutions. In 2005 IMD-MP implemented programmes in Nicaragua, Georgia and the Andean Region.

In 2005, strategic partnerships developed with UNDP and OSCE/ODIHR provided good prospects for further collaboration in 2006. Strong relationships developed with organisations working together with IMD in the Andean region and in Central America, especially with UNDP and International IDEA. These will be consolidated in 2006.

Also in 2005, successful discussions between OSCE/ODIHR and IMD led to a mutual commitment to form a strategic partnership to examine the potential for developing activities in Moldova, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan similar to the current programme in Georgia. In response to a request by OSCE/ODIHR, IMD undertook a first fact-finding mission to Moldova.

At the request of the government of Burundi, the EU and the Belgian Ministry of Cooperation, the IMD undertook a first exploratory mission to Burundi in November. On the basis of the findings of this mission, it is expected that the IMD Board will undertake a formal identification mission to Burundi in 2006 to investigate the possibility for a future partnership programme with the political parties there.

Nicaragua



Key political events

2001	Enrique Bolaños elected president
2002	Opposition Sandinista party re-elects Daniel Ortega as its leader
2005	The government and an opposition alliance become embroiled in a power struggle
2005	Political crisis eases as Congress agrees to delay constitutional reforms, which will weaken the powers of the president

Political parties in Parliament

PLC (Partido Liberal Constitucionalista)
PRN (Partido de la Resistencia Nicaragüense)
CCN (Camino Cristiano Nicaragüense)
FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional)
PC (Partido Conservador)
AC (Alternativa Cristiana)

Not in Parliament, but participating in the programme:

Yatama (Yapti Tasba Masrika Nanihaslatakanka)
APRE (Alianza por la República)
PAMUC

The political situation in 2005

Throughout 2005, Nicaragua was afflicted by political tensions between the executive and legislative powers, which almost resulted in a constitutional crisis. After various interventions – first by UNDP and subsequently by the Organisation of American States (the OAS) – an agreement was reached in October to shelve all controversial issues and to put these back on the agenda after the general elections scheduled for November 2006. This standoff reflects the political situation since the general elections of 1990: a difficult but generally positive transition to democracy, with constant heated

discussion about what democracy should entail.

Like other countries in the region, Nicaragua has faced and still faces major problems of endemic corruption, the misappropriation of public finances, extreme poverty and inequality.

Perhaps more than other countries in Central America, the Nicaraguan state and its institutions are strongly dominated by traditional political parties, in this case by the Sandinistas (the governing party until 1990) and the anti-Sandinistas (representing the Contras, who fought a guerrilla war against them in the 1980s). It is widely understood that this situation stands in the way of social and economic development. The political system is bipartisan, with both parties distributing financial, political and judicial power on the basis of personal interests. There is little or no transparency. If the country's political institutions are to be modernised and the people are to be governed properly, it is generally agreed that more openness and transparency are needed along with more political alternatives.

Programme highlights

Since mid-2004, IMD has been involved in a three-year UNDP-initiated subprogramme known as 'Assistance in the Modernisation of Political parties 2005-2007', which is co-financed by the Swedish, Danish and Dutch Embassies as well as the British Department for International Development (DFID) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The first year was devoted to developing a general approach, generating the necessary confidence among political parties, and establishing a team that would be responsible for implementing the programme under the general coordination of IMD.



The National Palace, Managua

The programme was designed to

- 1) advance the programming capacities of political parties,
- 2) strengthen their internal democracy,
- 3) increase their analytical capacity,
- 4) foster more openness and modernisation.

The first steps toward changing these four aspects of the political culture were taken in 2005.

A team was formed and trained to work with focal groups and provide political parties with information. This team was led by experts from two national universities, UAM and UCA.

The programme is part of a comprehensive UNDP-IMD joint venture entitled 'Enhancing political institutions, Nicaragua 2005-2007', which includes two subprogrammes: 'Modernisation of the National Assembly' and 'Strengthening Juvenile Political Leadership'. The UNDP and the IMD directors share responsibility for coordinating the programme. The IMD representative acts as general programme coordinator and contributes to the overall strategy. Similarly, IMD coordinates the specification and implementation of activities, provides materials as well as inputs to seminars and debates, represents the programme at the regional level, and helps coordinate the activities generated by this regional initiative.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Launching a three-year programme for enhancing political institutions
- Supporting 50 bilateral activities (seminars, workshops, thematic guides, international exchanges)
- Supporting a course in political management for 52 party members

- Supporting a seminar in preparation for an international multi-party conference
- Supporting a multi-party workshop on fiscal control and social responsibility

Priorities for 2006

- Implement the 2005-2007 programme
- Develop strategic plans for programme development and institutional strengthening of political parties
- Conduct an interactive assessment of political parties

Long-term objectives

- Strengthen the policy development and management capacities of political parties
- Stimulate inter-party dialogue and connections with civil society
- Enhance internal democracy
- Analyse the political party system and provide international assistance for modernisation

Key national partner

- The Liaison Group (in which all political parties are represented)

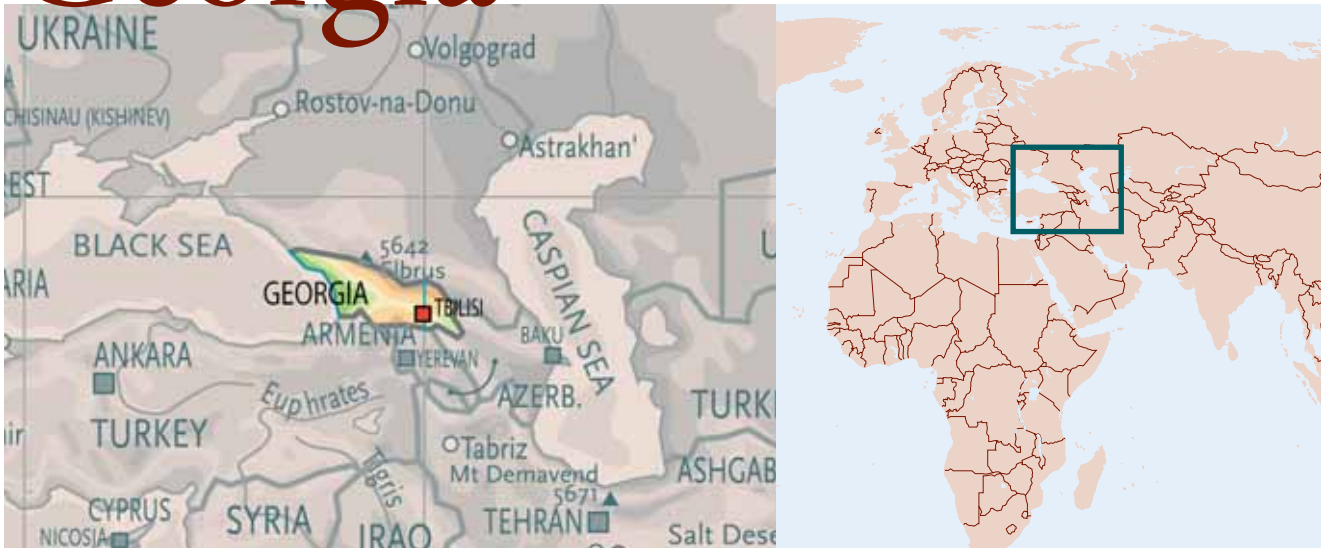
Other national partners

- Central America Business School (INCAE)
- Civil Society Advisory Group
- Autonomous Metropolitan University (UAM)
- Central American University (UCA)

International partners

- Spanish Agency for Development Cooperation (AECI)
- Department for International Development (DFID)
- Royal Danish Embassy
- Royal Netherlands Embassy
- Royal Swedish Embassy
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Georgia



Key political events

2003 Parliamentary elections were held, but these were characterised by voting irregularities. Official results confirm President Shevardnadze's party as the winner

2004 Mikhail Saakashvili wins the presidential election

Political parties in Parliament

Conservative Party of Georgia

Industry Will Save Georgia

New Conservative Party

Republican Party

United National Movement

Not in Parliament, but participating in the programme:

Labour Party of Georgia

The political situation in 2005

Throughout the year the political situation in Georgia looked promising but remained unpredictable. The President and his executive team still enjoyed broad national and international support, and the governing party's strong position was consolidated in some of the regions by gains in the 2005 elections. It is promising that the government has a strong international orientation and that it has focused pragmatically on solving the serious problems of the country's weak (economic) governance and potential territorial fragmentation. Its overwhelming majority in parliament presents an opportunity to achieve results in both areas. At the same time, a democratic system of checks and balances is still missing.

Because the political parties lack an institutional background, parliament is a very weak institution.

The presence of political parties has so far been limited to the capital Tbilisi. Political life is more based on personalities rather than on organisations. Because of a lack of party structures and discipline, the coalition government regularly faces dissidence at the local level. The difficult relationship between political parties and the State also hampers the consolidation of autonomous, transparent, accountable institutions.

Programme highlights

In the aftermath of the 'Rose Revolution' of November 2003 and the following presidential and parliamentary elections in 2004, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and the IMD began a one-year interactive assessment programme in January 2005. Managed by the IMD, the programme was basically a research project and confidence-building measure carried out with local stakeholders. It has been implemented successfully, with assistance from the Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development (CIPDD), a Georgian think tank.

The main objective of the interactive assessment was to produce a concise analysis of the political institutions in Georgia. Based on that analysis, a set of practical recommendations for the modernisation of democratic political institutions has been developed. The project was carried out by a group of Georgian social scientists, together with representatives from the political parties. The most important results were the joint analysis and the commitment of political parties to work with OSCE/ODIHR and IMD on preparing a longer-term programme, which will start in 2006.

The project was carried out in Georgia by a local assessment team. Research was monitored by an advisory group, while the project was managed by the IMD. The methodology and a set of key questions were developed jointly by the assessment team and the IMD. The Georgian partners' local expertise and their capacity to conduct this assessment were effectively developed during the year by the IMD in cooperation with specialist institutions from the Netherlands.

The interactive assessment revealed a clear cross-party consensus on the need to improve the functioning of political parties in Georgia. All parties agree that their weak institutional base remains a major obstacle for the consolidation of democracy. In that sense the multi-party character of the project was highly appreciated by all those involved, although they clearly stressed the need for a long-term commitment from all partners. This will be essential for the further institutionalisation of political parties.

Local control and development of resources – plus the creation of a critical mass of national political observers and scholars – were also seen as crucial to establishing a vibrant democratic political system and a healthy civil society. As links between parties and civil society are currently weak, two of the main objectives are to reverse the state-orientation of political parties and to promote their links with civil society organisations.

The assessment underlined the need to focus more on the creation of local expertise in order to develop the parties' internal knowledge and skills. Future training projects will focus on local party members and mid-level leaders in order to improve the balance in internal power relations. Moreover, all stakeholders felt the need to develop political knowledge and analytical expertise in the years ahead.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Organising an interactive assessment programme, which included:
 - a two-day training session for a Georgian delegation in The Hague to discuss the proposed content and methodology of the 2005 assessment
 - organising a multi-party conference 'Political parties in Georgia's New Democracy' for political parties and other stakeholders
 - organising a series of constituency and regional workshops on party ideology and identity, internal democracy, organisational structures, public relations and election potential.
- Finalising a draft of an analysis of Georgia's political institutions and a strategic plan



Participants in a training session for members of Georgian political parties in The Hague, March 2005.

Priorities for 2006

- Qualitatively and quantitatively measure the impact of activities for and with political institutions
- Increase coherence and focus of Georgian parties through the development of criteria for the recruitment of party elite and party activists
- Strengthen the administrative capacities of regional and local party representatives as well as their capacities to develop policies
- Increase party members knowledge of political systems, political organisation and political tools. A toolkit and relevant documents will be made for educational purposes (universities)
- Proposal on legal reforms of regulation and funding will be jointly debated as well as exchanging views on European best-practices

Long-term objectives

- Improve the internal organisation and democracy of Georgian political parties
- Improve knowledge of politics and political institutions
- Encourage debate on the legal regulation of political parties and public funding as well as assistance with institutional development (especially with regard to legal matters)
- Increase the participation of youth and women

Key national partner

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

Other national partners

- Young Lawyers Association
- Open Society Foundation
- Platform of Women Associations

International partners

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

Andean Region



Countries participating in the programme

Bolivia
Colombia
Ecuador
Peru
Venezuela

The political situation in 2005

The Andean region, which consists of Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia, has seen a dramatic deterioration in political party systems in recent years, while at the same time social movements have emerged to challenge traditional political institutions. Although the changes have been less dramatic in Peru and Colombia, there are nevertheless striking similarities between political developments in all five countries. Political parties in the region are no longer perceived as representative, partly because of their apparent impotence in tackling such important issues as the increase in poverty, the widening gap between rich and poor, low economic growth and the steep rise in public disorder and insecurity. Other actors, such as non-governmental organisations, churches and the press, appear to represent broad interests more effectively and interpret public sentiment on a range of public issues more genuinely. These emerging actors compete with political parties and provide people who have long been unable to express themselves through the parties with a voice and an opportunity to participate.

In recent years the region has seen numerous constitutional reforms, but there has been no genuine debate concerning mechanisms for a more representative and direct democracy or for increasing participation and decentralisation. Taking into account this general failure,

it is evident that the roles of political party systems and electoral systems stand in urgent need of review if democratic life is to become effective and the living conditions of the region's citizens are to be improved.

The Andean region is the most politically unstable region in Latin America. Since 2002, four 'traditional' presidents have been forced to resign. Four 'outsider' presidents, who did not represent any of the institutionalised political parties, were elected with popular support. In Venezuela there was a referendum on presidential impeachment, which was supported by the United States. In Bolivia and Ecuador populist, anti-establishment, ethnically-oriented political movements have come to power and challenged international commercial interests.

Programme highlights

In June 2005, after several regional consultations, IMD decided to collaborate as a partner in the research programme 'Sistemas Políticos, Gobernabilidad y Desarrollo en los Países Andinos', to be conducted by the Peruvian organisation *Ágora Democrática*. This study of political parties and political systems, which is being conducted in all five countries that make up the region, provides both analysis and practical recommendations in areas of interest to political parties and methods for their implementation. The first phase of this programme began in June 2005 and will end in April 2006 with the presentation of a report on political parties and democracy in the Andean region. Based on this information, it is anticipated that by early 2006 strategies will be developed to improve and modernise those institutions in the years ahead.



Lecture by Ernesto Aranibar Quiroga,
permanent representative of Bolivia at the
United Nations, 21 April 2005

The first objective of the programme was to obtain quantitative and qualitative information about the institutional situation in Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela. A team of experts and researchers worked from March to September interviewing party leaders and carrying out surveys by means of interviews and questionnaires, as a result of which they were able to gain first-hand information on the internal functioning of parties, their structure, training possibilities and finances as well as the way in which they develop their policies and electoral strategies. These interviews and questionnaires provided the basis for an analysis of all political parties represented in each national parliament. The analysis includes indicators for levels of party fragmentation, electoral results and the size of the territory covered.

A second objective of the programme was to create platforms for public debate, involving all sectors and all parties, on issues related to the crisis in political institutions in the Andean region. A first seminar was organised in early August in Quito, Ecuador, where politicians and experts discussed and compared political party systems in their respective countries, including electoral and party legislation as well as different experiences of parties' participation in a regional harmonisation process. In November, Peruvian politicians participated in a seminar in Nicaragua on 'Construction of consensus and political party regulation', at which they offered their experience of these issues in Peru.

The IMD was part of the Steering Committee and participated throughout the year in various coordination meetings. It was also responsible for coordination between the Andean region project and the national programme in Nicaragua, and provided opportunities

for politicians to exchange points of view and experiences in relation to political party systems.

Working in the region has provided the IMD with an opportunity to extend expertise acquired in the Bolivia programme, gaining wider recognition for methods, training material and modules developed there, as well as making its general expertise available to a larger public.

Key programme information

Programme achievements

- Completion of a report on political parties and democracy in the Andean region

Priorities for 2006

- Formalise cooperation with IDEA International/Ágora Democrática in a strategic partnership
- Set up a joint office in the region

Long-term objectives

- Assist with the development of proposals for political reforms
- Strengthen the culture of dialogue
- Assist with the institutional development of political parties
- Strengthen the skills and capacities of political leaders
- Strengthen gender equality

Key national partner

- Ágora Democrática
- Transparencia Peru (a Peruvian NGO)
- Political parties and local organisations

Other national partners

- the Andean Community and the Andean Parliament
Andean Community (CAN)

International partners

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

Appendix 1

About the IMD

IMD Board

J.A. van Kemenade *President*

Professor 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 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 (ChristenUnie) *Treasurer*

A member of the Christian Union party, Mr 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 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 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.

T. Kuperus (VVD) *Member* (newly appointed during 2005)

Mr Kuperus is political advisor to the Junior Minister of Transportation and a member of the National Executive Board of the Dutch Liberal Party (VVD). He is also a Board Member of the Dutch Liberal Group of the Liberal International, Executive Committee member of the Liberal International and VVD representative in the European Liberal and Reform Party (ELDR).

R. Koole (PvdA) *Member*

Professor 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.

S. Pormes (GroenLinks) (resigned in 2005) *Member*

Senator Pormes is the GroenLinks (Green Left) spokesman for Foreign Affairs in the Dutch Senate.

M. Dadema (GroenLinks) *Interim member*

Mr Dadema is International Secretary of GroenLinks (Green Left).



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
F. Karimi	(GroenLinks)
W. Derksen	(D66)
J.W. Bertens	(D66)
G. Geijtenbeek	(ChristenUnie)
R. Kuiper	(ChristenUnie)
R.A.C. Donk	(SGP)
J. Dankers	(SGP), member of the presidium

Supervisory Council members who resigned in 2005

T. Kuperus	(VVD)
M. Cornelissen	(GroenLinks)
I. Engelshoven	(D66)
A. Bloed	(SGP)

IMD Staff

Yvonne de Baay	Office Manager/Personal Assistant to the Executive Director
Karim Beroud	GroenLinks (until February)
Will Derks	Policy Officer Asia/Indonesia
Mark Dijk	Policy Officer Africa (until February)
Marieke van Doorn	Policy Officer International Relations

Ariëtta van Eck	Assistant to the Policy Team (started in February)
Livia van Helvoort	Office Assistant (started in July)
Wiebe de Jager	Information Manager (until September)
Ellen van Koppen	PvdA
Marcus Lens van Rijn	VVD
Tessa Maas	D66 (until May)
Jan Paul Manni	ChristenUnie (until June)
Roel von Meijenfeldt	Executive Director
Annie van de Pas	GroenLinks (started in May)
Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach	Multilateral Programme Coordinator
Etienne Revesz	Finance Manager
Sylva van Rosse	CDA
Freek Ruijs	Temporary Policy Officer Latin America
Heleen Schrooyen	Policy Officer Latin America
Ilse Smit	ChristenUnie (started in May)
Anne van Staalduinen	Junior Policy Officer Africa (started in February)
Jan Tuit	Senior Policy Officer
Emily van de Vijver	D66 (started in May)
Martin van Vliet	CDA
Karel de Vries	SGP
Elsbeth Zeijlemaker	PvdA (until September)

Field representatives

D.A. Cruz Estrada	Representative in Guatemala
R. Nijskens	Regional Representative for East and Southern Africa

Financial services

F. Boersema	Fiadlon
H. Perfors	Fiadlon

Appendix 2

Statement of revenue and expenditure

Subject to Auditors approval

	Budget 2006 €	Draft Actual 2005 €	Actual 2004 €
Revenue			
Support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: country programmes	9,075,000	8,500,000	7,100,000
Support from the European Parliament		13,700	
Support from the OVCE: MP programme		102,800	
Support from the UNDP: MP programme Nicaragua		87,606	16,297
Interest	PM	-6,342	-6,912
Total revenue	9,075,000	8,697,763	7,109,385
Expenditure			
<i>Country programmes</i>			
Mozambique	350,000	197,000	757,316
Tanzania	450,000	548,000	240,437
Zimbabwe	400,000	470,451	306,318
Zambia	350,000	458,000	326,166
Malawi	450,000	377,000	315,670
Ghana	665,000	865,000	625,716
Mali	500,000	384,000	184,197
Guatemala	700,000	877,000	635,749
Bolivia	400,000	521,000	259,369
Surinam	210,000	4,000	75,097
Indonesia	800,000	522,001	463,036
South Africa	100,000	231,500	194,535
Kenya	700,000	661,000	289,105
Afghanistan	200,000	69,000	
<i>Regional Programmes</i>			
East and Southern Africa	450,000	395,999	
West Africa	350,000		
Other initiatives		57,800	
Technical support	-	-	310,000
Total (country programmes)	7,075,000	6,639,750	4,982,711
Support from Dutch political parties	325,000	360,000	364,726
Evaluation	75,000	1,500	72,350
Management	1,100,000	1,330,000	1,030,883
Special purposes	250,000	195,000	279,496
<i>Multilateral Programmes:</i>			
Nicaragua		113,232	43,810
Georgia		111,768	11,637
Total (MP)	250,000	225,000	55,447
Total expenditure	9,075,000	8,751,249	6,785,613
Movement in cash	-	-53,486	323,772



NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

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Executive editors

Maarten van den Berg, Will Derks

Editorial advisors

Friederike Kleijn (coordinator), Michael Gould Associates, Susan Parren

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Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

Korte Vijverberg 2, 2513 AB The Hague, The Netherlands

Tel.: +31 70 311 5464 Fax: +31 70 311 5465

www.nimd.org info@nimd.org