

I M D

Partner in Democracy

A N N U A L

R E P O R T

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Preface

One of the significant events of 2003 was the war in Iraq that ended the dictatorship and changed the political dynamics in the Middle East. For those interested in promoting democracy these dramatic events raised a number of questions that have come to dominate international agendas.

Winning a war means neither that peace is won nor democracy established. Democracy cannot be exported. How can the gap between military intervention to end dictatorship and the process of building a democratic nation be bridged? Is it possible to bridge this gap if the military intervention lacks sufficient international legitimacy? How can that international legitimacy be established and not be held at ransom by dictatorial regimes? When democracies go to war to bring democracy, a value based system of governance, should the *casus belli* not meet the highest standards of integrity in order not to undermine the values on which our democracies function?

As a coalition of the political parties represented in the Dutch Parliament, the mandate of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) is to support the development of political parties as key instruments in democracies. In a modest way the IMD hopes to make a contribution to the wider context of preventing violent conflict and of creating stable conditions for sustainable socio-economic development.

Political parties are often neglected when it comes to promoting democracy or in pursuing peace and security. That is a mistake. Whereas political parties all over the world are not functioning well, improving their performance is essential for addressing the challenges in consolidating democracies.

The presidents in Latin America acknowledged this importance of the role of political parties at the meeting of the Rio-group in April 2003 in Peru. It resulted in the Cusco Declaration that states: 'Party systems and political parties, as well as movements and groups, play a central role in democracy. Consequently, it is necessary to strengthen them, starting from the premise that there is no democracy without parties or parties without democracy'.

The IMD currently works with all political parties, both in government and in the opposition, in 12 partner countries across Africa, Latin America and South-east Asia. The partnership facilitates dialogue among the political parties with the objective of producing common reform agendas for strengthening the political systems - contributing towards less fragmentation, less polarisation, more institutionalisation and more policy orientation. Moreover, the partnership facilitates the capacity building of individual political parties to enhance their performance in the political arena.

The partnerships resulted in significant developments during 2003. For example, in Guatemala, the 21 political parties concluded an 18-month dialogue process with an agreement about a comprehensive National Agenda that today forms the basis for the governing pact of the new government in Guatemala. In Tanzania the leadership of all political parties engaged in a second national live TV and radio debate that aroused much political interest among the country's inhabitants. The stakeholders in democracy in Zimbabwe prepared a transitional agenda with proposals for a future peaceful return to democracy. In Indonesia and Malawi the political parties prepared a code of conduct aimed at preventing violence during the elections scheduled for 2004.

The IMD organised two external audits of its programme during 2003, one in Mozambique and one in Guatemala. Both audits reported positive findings and harvested important lessons that are now being applied in the IMD relations with our partners in all programme countries. The results obtained, the positive feedback and the increasing interest expressed in the work of IMD form an important inspiration to continue our contribution to promoting democracy and making the world safer for sustainable human development.

*Prof. J.A. van Kemenade, President IMD
The Hague, January 2004*

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Introduction



The IMD's mandate in perspective

The Dutch government's new development co-operation policy gives high priority to peace, security and governance, together with the need for coherence between development co-operation policies and other international policy areas. Strengthening multi-party democracies, contributing to greater stability and managing conflicts peacefully belong to the core of the IMD's activities.

Reading recent public opinion surveys carried out in Latin America and Africa, one notices the relatively high levels of support among the inhabitants of the various countries for democracy rather than authoritarian systems of government. In comparison, the levels of satisfaction with how democracy functions are generally very low and declining even further. There is little *trust* in how the political system functions and in the political elites. Within the architecture of institutions that make up democracy, the *political parties* across the world - in young and in established democracies alike - belong to the least trusted institutions, as surveys consistently show.

If democracy is to function better, *political parties* need to improve their performance and to regain higher levels of public trust. Hence the IMD's focus on political parties. The Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) was established with a mandate to facilitate the institutional development of political parties in young democracies.

Internationally, there is an increasing awareness of the need to complement processes of economic reforms with simultaneous political reforms. These political reforms need to aim at creating the conditions for social justice and sustainable social and economic development in a context of nation building. 'Politics matter' has become the new mantra in international co-operation. It was first introduced under the banner of *governance*, but it is understood that it is not a technical issue alone that needs improvement.

What is required is *democratic governance*, otherwise known as *democracy*. Countries do not become fit for democracy but *through* democracy, as Prof. Amartya Sen, the Indian Nobel laureate, teaches us.

With the rediscovery that politics matter, both the accountability of leaders toward their citizens and the important role political parties ought to play in this regard are receiving more and more attention on national and international agendas. As practitioners we share the view that political parties ought to play key roles in the 'dynamisation' of the democratic reform processes. Whereas political parties are part of the problem that needs to be addressed, they also form *part of the solution* for providing a more stable and predictable democratic political system that is responsive to the needs of the people.

Part of the dissatisfaction with how democracy functions can perhaps be explained by what some have termed 'the unclear destiny of democracy'. There is no unambiguous blueprint of what democracy is. It needs to be developed based on universal principles, according to the specific historical, geographic and demographic circumstance of each society.

'Countries do not become fit *for* democracy but *through* democracy'

Prof. Amartya Sen

In order to be sustainable, democracy has to be constructed and cannot be imposed. The construction takes place through processes of inclusive dialogues in which the institutional political framework takes shape and mutual trust in the system is developed. The construction is a continuous process in response to the evolution of societies, peoples and technologies.

In practising democracy, perhaps too much emphasis has been put on the *competitive* function of democracy, as highlighted in elections. In developing trust in the democratic system of governance, the other functions of democracy should not be neglected, such as the functions of *accommodation and reconciliation*. Hence the *process through which democracy is constructed*, with a focus on participation, inclusiveness, tolerance and consensus building needs to be emphasised more than the often overly dominant focus on competition and rivalry. For a stable democracy, the different functions need

to be carefully balanced. *Political parties are, therefore, not only competitors but also stakeholders in the political system that citizens expect to function for the common good.*

The composition of the IMD itself is an expression of this joint responsibility of political parties for the performance of the democratic political system that enables political parties to develop. In the IMD's method of working with partners in Latin America, South-east Asia and on the African continent, we engage in dialogues with our partners and encourage inter-party dialogues among our partners. These dialogues aim at a better understanding both of the challenges that political parties face in improving the party system within which they function and of the specific opportunities that exist for the longer-term institutional development of political parties. With a better understanding of and greater consensus about the priorities, it is also possible for international partners such as the IMD to attach available resources to locally owned programmes that address these priorities.

Highlights of the IMD programme in 2003

The IMD four-year funding proposal 2003 - 2006 '**Without Democracy Nobody Fares Well**' was approved by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in early 2003. The approval provided the IMD with the institutional funding to enter into longer-term partnerships with the political parties in the countries where the IMD is active. The funding proposal was published under the same title as the IMD policy paper and is available on the IMD website (www.nimd.org) or in hard copy for distribution.

The programmes in support of political parties in **Guatemala, Bolivia, Ghana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zimbabwe** were further consolidated during 2003, while partnership frameworks with parties in **Malawi**, and **Zambia** were agreed on and first support was provided. Furthermore, important progress was made in preparing the programme frameworks for future co-operation in **Indonesia, Mali and Surinam**.

The IMD programme in 2003 commenced with the organisation of the so-called **Visitors Election Programme**, a programme for IMD partners to experience and assess Dutch democracy in action during the general elections of January 2003. A week-long programme gave a group of 32 leaders of political parties from Ghana, Tanzania, Mozambique, Guatemala and Bolivia the opportunity to gain insights into the functioning of major democratic institutions in the Netherlands. The highlight was the participation in the final campaign evenings of the different political parties and the celebrations on



Party representatives of Bolivia, Guatemala, Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania exchanged views during the the Visitors Election Programme in the Netherlands, January 2003

the election evening itself. The group met regularly during the week at IMD headquarters to discuss their findings and share observations.

One general observation made by the visitors was the high level of trust that Dutch voters have in the way the elections are organized. It was noted that trust within societies is a major prerequisite for democracy to function. Hence there is the need to invest in approaches that contribute towards higher levels of trust in society and in the way the democratic institutions function. The experience was also considered valuable for the inter-party contacts that the visiting leaders were able to establish during the visit to the Netherlands. Positive spin-offs of this new co-operation between the political parties have already been noted in the different participating countries.

The general elections of December 2002 in **Kenya** resulted in a new stage in the political history of the country. After 40 years in government, the KANU party was defeated in free and fair elections and gracefully handed over power to a coalition of opposition parties united in the NARC. Simultaneously, the Kenyan constitution is being reviewed in a participatory process, the outcome of which, anticipated in 2004, is expected to have substantial implications for the political system in Kenya. The IMD has established contacts with the political parties in Kenya to explore their interest in co-operation and is preparing a decision to add Kenya to the list of countries with whom the IMD cooperates. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has formally accepted the IMD's proposal to establish a programme of co-operation with the political parties in Kenya.

In a joint venture of the UNDP and the IMD, an 18-month inter-party dialogue in **Guatemala** resulted in all 21 political parties officially signing a shared national agenda shortly before the general elections in November and December 2003. The national agenda signifies an important consensus about the needed political reforms and policy priorities to strengthen the peace process and to consolidate democracy in Guatemala.

For the first time in their history, the political parties in **Ghana** formed a political party platform that works co-operatively to strengthen democracy in Ghana and to strengthen the political parties individually.

In **Bolivia** the parties established a joint foundation that became an important meeting place during the unfortunate and dramatic political crisis of October 2003. The crisis that ended the government of President Sanchez de Lozada brought home the need for substantial political reforms in Bolivia. The foundation is expected to assist in providing input in the reform process and to help reduce the existing polarisation and exclusion in the political system of Bolivia.

In **Indonesia** there was prolonged consultation about a programme that has been prepared and is to be implemented following the general and presidential elections in 2004. The programme will support the democratisation processes at the regional level with an initial focus on five specific regions within Indonesia considered to be a representative selection. In co-operation with the Indonesian Electoral Commission (KPU) and with the IFES, the IMD

facilitated the drafting of a code of conduct between the political parties aimed at preventing violence during the forthcoming election campaigns. In addition, an Indonesian research network (LIPI) is mapping the selection process of the candidates of the different political parties in a number of regions.

In 2003 the major political parties in **Mozambique** engaged for the first time in strategic planning exercises to develop longer-term institutional development programmes for their parties. In fact, the introduction of strategic planning exercises promises to become an important future tool for political parties in all IMD partner countries to assist in the process of building stronger institutionalised and programme-oriented political parties. The IMD Board decided to look for ways of integrating the outcome of strategic planning exercises in the support provided.

The formal responsibility for the Mozambique programme was handed over to the IMD on January 1, 2003, by our predecessor, the Foundation of a New South Africa (NZA).

In June 2003, the IMD convened an **international workshop** for political parties from Guatemala, Bolivia, Mozambique, Ghana, Tanzania and Surinam to discuss the preparation and application of institutional development criteria for political parties. The workshop resulted in a framework and an implementation strategy for such criteria which is planned to be piloted in the course of 2004.

The first **two independent audits** of IMD programmes were conducted in mid-2003. International teams of experts evaluated the Mozambique programme and assessed the Guatemala programme. Both audits resulted in a number of very positive lessons that assisted the IMD Board and staff in adjusting our policies and practices. The Mozambique evaluation concluded that the programme contributes to the democratisation process in Mozambique and suggested that the ownership of the programme can be enhanced by establishing a Mozambique advisory board. Furthermore, it suggested that the system of drawing rights through which the funding of political parties is administered be upgraded to take performance criteria into account.

The Guatemala assessment noted the specific added value of the multi-party dialogue process and the opportunity to build on the capacity that has been generated among a core group of political party leaders, some of whom have now been elected in the new congress of Guatemala.

The year ended with our helping to organise a Southern Africa regional conference near Johannesburg, South Africa, on the theme **Southern Africa ten years after apartheid: the quest for democratic governance**. The conference brought together representatives of governing and opposition parties and academics from countries in the SADC region. The dialogue that emerged between the different parties on common challenges in the region was considered valuable, and it opened avenues for future dialogue among the governing and opposition parties to strengthen democratic governance in the region.

South Africa is the country with which the Dutch political parties have forged strong partnerships in the post-apartheid area. This co-operation was managed via the IMD's predecessor, the Foundation for a New South Africa (NZA). At the request of the IMD, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs accepted South Africa's inclusion in the IMD programme, specifically with the objective of sharing experiences regionally and supporting multi-party initiatives within South Africa aimed at consolidating and deepening the spread of democracy there.

The **information society** is seeing a dramatic increase in the use of computers and of the Internet. A growing number of citizens worldwide can afford to own or use computers and thus exchange experiences through e-mail and the Internet. The IMD recognizes the importance of computer technology for democracy development in all of the countries in which programmes have been established. Apart from people meeting one another during visits and conferences, an increasing number of meetings take place through the Internet. Knowledge is exchanged through websites and views are expressed on a substantive scale. Despite the inequality between poor and rich countries with regard to access to the Internet, the use of the Internet has quickly increased in all IMD countries.

In this context the IMD organized an **e-democracy workshop** in its field office in Mozambique. The IMD's Information Manager and party representatives from five political parties discussed how the Internet could strengthen the functioning of political parties in a Mozambican context. The participants were also introduced to www.democracia-mozambicana.org, a website dedicated to the Mozambican political parties. This website was built by the IMD.

In December, the IMD was invited to present a paper about e-democracy at Online Educa Berlin, the world's largest e-learning conference. The IMD provided the audience with a broad perspective on e-democracy and its evolution.

The IMD wishes to function as a learning organisation. The experience that is gradually gained on the contents and processes of strengthening party systems and party organisations is made available on the new IMD website, www.nimd.org. With a wide network of expertise on these subjects and the website as its central instrument, the IMD hopes to develop into an important **knowledge centre** for consolidating information about multi-party democracy and the functioning of political parties.

In the course of 2003, the IMD started publishing a regular electronic **IMD Newsletter**. The mailing list for the newsletter has expanded rapidly to 550 addresses. It provides brief updates about the activities and results of the IMD country programmes. From the feedback the IMD is receiving, the newsletter has started to provide an important external communication function.

Institutional developments in 2003

The year 2003 was a memorable one in the institutional development of the IMD. It was the **first operational year** of the four-year work programme. The funding came available, staff appointments were completed, a programme management system and an intranet information system were successfully introduced, together with a new IMD website, and the support to political parties in the partner countries grew considerably, increasing turnover from € 2 million in 2002 to € 5 million in 2003.

The **IMD Board** is composed of eight members, seven of whom represent the seven political parties participating in the IMD. The chairperson is the eighth member, chosen for his eminent achievements in Dutch politics and for his impartiality. The composition of the Board did not change in the course of 2003, reflecting a level of continuity which was most useful in the organisational build-up of the IMD.

The Board met seven times in 2003 with a high record of attendance. Apart from a number of regular meetings, a few extraordinary meetings were held. The first of these, held in August, focused on the financial predictions for 2003. The Board wanted to review the financial perspectives in each of the country programmes in order to avoid under-expenditure of the budget or an undesirable 'spending rush' at the end of the year. A second extraordinary board meeting dealt with the two external audits of country programmes that were undertaken in mid-2003. The reports were discussed in detail and decisions taken about implementing the recommendations of both reports.

The **Executive Committee** of the IMD Board, consisting of the IMD Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson and the Treasurer met twice in between the scheduled IMD Board meetings to discuss on-going business.

After the elections of 22 January 2003, the party **Leefbaar Nederland (LN)** lost both parliamentary seats. Consequently, the party withdrew from the IMD. The two parties **List Pim Fortuyn (LPF)** and the **Socialist Party (SP)**, both represented in the Dutch Parliament, received invitations to join the IMD.

The **IMD Supervisory Council** is the principal advisory body of the IMD Board. The Council elected its own presidency, consisting of the Council Chairperson and two other council members. The Council Presidency met twice to prepare the agendas of the Council meetings. In addition, the Presidium met with the Executive Committee of the IMD Board to review the overall institutional development of the IMD.

In addition to providing general guidance to the IMD Board, the Council decided to focus on one specific IMD partner country at each meeting. By an in-depth review of and discussion about a specific country programme, the Council aims at providing substantial feedback to the IMD Board. One of the Council meetings focused on the **Mozambique** programme and the other meeting on the **Guatemala** programme. The external evaluations of both programmes provided the Council with valuable instruments for reflection.

The composition of the Supervisory Council (two members per participating political party) allows the IMD to make use of the expertise available within each of the Dutch parties. It was decided to ask each of the parties to nominate proxies for the Council members to ensure that each party is represented by two members during Council meetings.

The **IMD bureau** started 2003 with the Executive Director, the Senior Policy Officer, the Office Manager and the Information Manager. Under the four-year programme, the staff was complemented in the course of the year. A Junior Policy Officer, and Policy Officers for Africa, Latin America and Asia/Indonesia were recruited and familiarised with the IMD's work methods. With the central staff formation completed, a weekly meeting of headquarter staff was introduced to share information and to discuss implementing planned activities.

Monthly meetings are held with central staff and the **IMD Programme Officers/Political Party Co-ordinators** who are recruited from the participating political parties and generally operate from the party

headquarters. To facilitate implementing the programmes in the IMD partner countries, a country team has been formed for each of the countries. The teams operate under the responsibility of the IMD Executive Director. Each team is coordinated by one of the IMD political party co-ordinators and consists of a second political party co-ordinator, one of the IMD policy officers and the country representative when such a function exists.

The full staff, including the field representatives, meets twice yearly in two-day retreats to reflect on the question how the IMD's mandate can be implemented and to consider ways of improving the IMD's performance.

The IMD Political Party Co-ordinators of the three largest parties (CDA, PvdA and VVD) play the lead role in the country teams. The responsibility for the 13 IMD country programmes is divided among these three largest parties. The smaller parties (GL, D66, CU and SGP) play a second lead role in each of the country teams. The activities of each of the country teams are organised in a fully transparent manner through the internal websites, and other staff members not part of the country teams can be consulted or requested to participate when appropriate.

The IMD Board decided in 2003 to change the allocation of resources to political parties so that the smaller parties would be in a position to appoint their IMD Political Party Co-ordinators for at least two days per week. This expansion in time has enhanced the role of the smaller parties within the IMD.

The interaction between Political Party Co-ordinators and Policy Officers is coming to maturity now that the country teams frequently meet. Communication between the members of the teams within the decentralized setting in which the IMD operates has been improved by introducing internal websites for each of the countries in the IMD programme. The IMD Political Party Co-ordinators bear overall responsibility for co-ordinating team activities and focusing on the political direction and content of the programme. The IMD Policy Officers are responsible for the management and administrative aspects of the country programmes and focus on the continuity in the partner relationship. The establishment of the country teams and the definition of the complementary roles between the IMD staff has been an important step forward in the overall institutional development of the IMD in 2003.

In 2003 the IMD made use of **two field offices**. The office in Maputo (Mozambique) was originally established by the Foundation for a New South

Africa (NZA), the IMD's predecessor. The task of this office was expanded from facilitating the Mozambique programme towards a Southern African regional office, with IMD programmes becoming operational in Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa. A new office was opened in Maputo, which doubles as an information and communication centre for political parties in Mozambique. The IMD office in Guatemala continued to provide valuable support to the challenging IMD programme in that country.

In addition to field offices, the IMD employs **local consultants** or liaison officers to assist in cementing the partnerships and implementing the planned activities. The roles of these consultants differ from country to country but generally involve providing the IMD with information about the programme and political developments, preparing and organising IMD missions, communicating with parties and organisations and co-ordinating the financial and administrative arrangements for specific cross-party initiatives.

The IMD has provided opportunities for **internships for students** to pursue their studies through working with the IMD. Two positions are available for this purpose. During the year, two interns completed their programmes. The first intern wrote a thesis entitled *The IMD: A learning organisation?* The second intern's thesis focused on the normative frameworks of democracy and political parties as accepted by the regional organisations such as the OAS, AU, EU, etc on the different continents. The results of the studies will be made available on the IMD website.

The **IMD is an institution of Dutch political parties working together** for the political parties in emerging democracies. On the Board of the IMD the representatives of the political parties take decisions on all strategic policy matters relating to programme and institutional developments and the international networks in which the IMD participates. In addition, the members of the Supervisory Council are an important advisory group to the Board and participate occasionally in missions undertaken by the IMD. The IMD Political Party Coordinators play a prominent role in preparing and implementing policies.

The Political Party Coordinators are also responsible for grounding the IMD activities within their respective political parties. This is done through articles in the party magazines, websites, and the use of resource persons from the parties to facilitate discussions within the IMD programmes and information stands at party conferences. In June a first meeting with the directors of the scientific



bureaus of the political parties was convened to share experiences with them.

Although priority in 2003 was given to establishing and implementing partnership relations and related programme activities, it is anticipated that, once the programmes have been consolidated, more emphasis can be given to input from and feedback to the participating political parties. For this purpose, a coordinating platform of IMD Political Party Coordinators has been established that meets bi-monthly.

The year 2003 has also seen a major shift in the [relationship with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#). The start of the year was dominated by negotiations about the funding of the IMD's four-year programme. The negotiations were successfully completed with the decision early in April to fund the programme. Although the date of the decision somewhat delayed the programme's implementation, the IMD was able to intensify its planned operations later in the year and by and large meet the set targets for the first year of the four-year programme.

With the funding decision taken, the relationship quickly moved towards a dialogue about the content of programmes, the methodology applied in support of the IMD programmes and about the management of the four-year programme. The dialogue took place at two specific moments, the first being the first annual policy discussion in November between the Ministry (Directorate: DMV) and the IMD. The discussion focused specifically on the two external audits of the Mozambique and Guatemala country programmes. The second moment was the first dialogue about management issues that took place in October with the Ministry's financial specialists. At this meeting issues discussed included IMD programme approval procedures, the functioning of the newly introduced IMD Programme Management

System and the checks and balances around financial transfers. At the request of the Ministry, the Executive Director contributed to a training seminar for the Ministry's staff.

Besides contacts with the Ministry itself, numerous exchanges have taken place with the Royal Netherlands Embassies in all of the countries in which IMD programmes have been established (there is no Netherlands Embassy in Malawi). In meetings with the ambassadors and their staffs, the developments within countries are usually discussed and the opportunities to reinforce the activities of international partners assessed. The IMD is keen to cooperate with other international partners as well, as already occurs in most of the programmes. Although the IMD is an institution that operates fully independently of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the generally excellent cooperation with and advice received from the Netherlands embassies is much appreciated.

Financial and managerial developments in 2003

Overall turnover increased by 225% during 2003 compared to 2002, with the expenditure on country programmes increasing by a total of 245%. The rapid growth of the organisation is an indication of the demand for the services provided by the IMD and of the pressure on the organisation to meet these demands in a responsible manner. Much time and attention has been spent on introducing and applying management procedures and administering the financial flows both within the organisation and with the IMD counterparts. The successful introduction of a computerized [Programme Management System](#) has proved to be an important and efficient tool in this respect.

A full financial [statement of the expenditures in 2003](#) in relation to the previous years 2002, 2001 and in relation to the budget for 2004 is provided in [annex 1](#) to this annual report.

IMD Financial development in 2003, in 2002 and the budget for 2004

Total expenditure

draft actual 2003	€	5,117,847	Budget 2004	€	7,653,500
actual 2002	€	2,273,549	draft actual 2003	€	5,117,847
Increase		225%	Increase		150%

Expenditure country programmes

draft actual 2003	€	3,016,571	Budget 2004	€	5,084,000
actual 2002	€	1,138,286	draft actual 2003	€	3,016,571
Increase		265%	Increase		169%

The IMD's **external auditors**, Dubois and Co, approved the IMD financial statement over 2002. The dialogue with the auditors has been productive for further improving the overall financial and project-specific administration of the IMD. The auditors conduct a mid-year review that focuses on the performance of IMD's administrative systems and practices. The year-end review checks the IMD financial records in order to validate the IMD's financial statement.

The IMD network of international partners

Networking is a key aspect of the IMD's work. Around the globe the mandate and the approach of the IMD are fairly unique. Yet, supporting the development of political party systems and political parties is very closely related to the activities of other organisations with mandates to promote governance, conflict management, civil society development or the reduction of poverty. The networking is aimed at focusing attention on the role of political parties in political reform processes, developing methodologies to support political reform processes, and reinforcing the efforts of international partners in this field of work.

In the IMD country programmes, the organisation is actively co-operating with political party foundations from either Europe or the US when pursuing similar objectives. The same applies to local offices of the UNDP, the international IDEA, or bi-lateral donors with interests related to the IMD mandate.

At the international level, the IMD participates in the World Movement for Democracy (WMD), the NGO Forum of the Community of Democracies (CoD), and the Worldwide Co-ordination of Democracy-support Foundations.

The IMD is an active participant in the Inter-American Forum for Political Parties of the OAS. In December 2003, a meeting of this platform took place in Cartagena, Colombia, and there the IMD facilitated a workshop on the political reform process in Bolivia in which representatives of the political parties from Bolivia participated. At an earlier meeting of the Forum in Vancouver, Canada, the IMD facilitated a similar workshop on Guatemala.

The IMD is also an active partner in a network facilitated by the UNDP, which shares experiences and best practices about methodologies to support the development of national dialogues and agendas for political reforms. Meetings of this network took place in Argentina and at the Carter Centre in Atlanta.

Within the international networks, concern is regularly expressed about the European Union's low profile or noticeable absence in democracy support. With a rapidly increasing pro-active US engagement in democracy support processes, the almost complete absence of identifiable European contributions in this crucial field is an important missing link for the American partners as well for the partners on the African, Latin American and Asian continents, including the Arab world today.

In recognition of this omission and in accepting our responsibility as a member of the European family, the IMD is giving special attention to co-operation with other foundations in other European countries with the aim of developing an enhanced European profile in the field of democracy support. The initiatives have resulted in a request that the IMD facilitate a European-wide conference on this subject at the beginning of the forthcoming Dutch EU Presidency on July 5 and 6, 2004, in The Hague, The Netherlands. It is hoped that the conference, for which a special website has been opened (www.democracyagenda.org), will result in a European agenda that can be harmoniously pursued by the EU, the newly elected European Parliament and the European Foundations working in the field of democracy promotion.

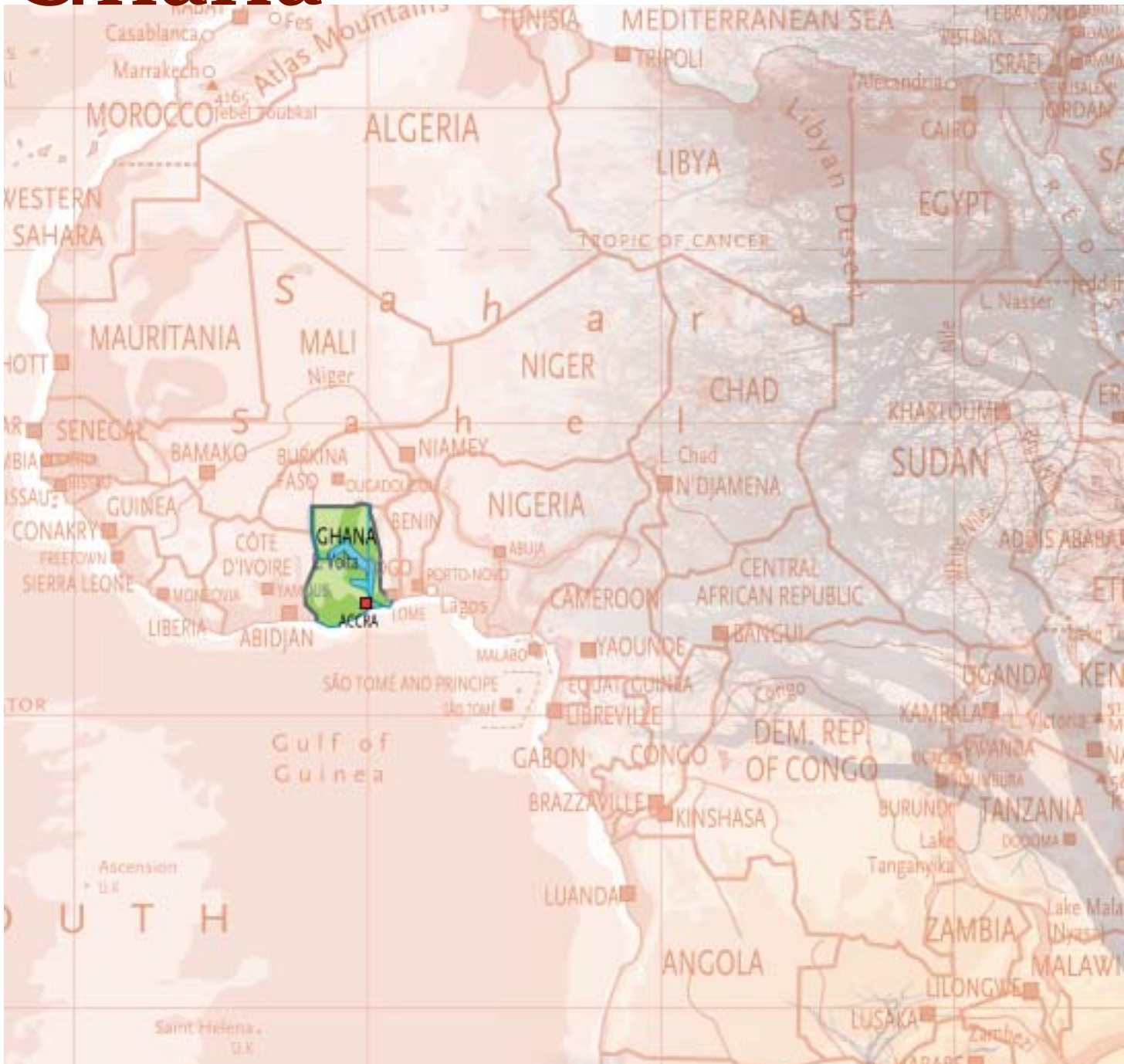
The horizon of the IMD's programme

The IMD programme is in the process of expanding from 11 partner countries to 13 countries in 2004 with the renewal of relations with the South African partners and with the political parties in Kenya.

The list of countries from which the IMD has received requests for support continues to increase and is soon expected to be longer than the number of countries included in the current IMD programme. During 2003 requests were received from Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Serbia, Uganda, Angola, Swaziland, Peru, Nicaragua, Nepal and Georgia.

In the overview of requests, one notes a specific interest from countries that belong to the category of the failed states or the so-called 'low income countries under stress' (LICUS). These are countries in which the process of nation building has to restart and the political systems have to be redesigned. In many of these countries the Netherlands government contributes to furthering peace processes and provides assistance for transitions from war to peace. The requests for assistance necessitate consultations about possible complementary contributions to reconstructing both democratic political systems and functioning political parties, contributions that could in the future be made by the IMD.

Ghana



The independence of the Electoral Commission:

On Wednesday, 8 October 2003, the Institute for Economic Affairs held a press conference and called on the government to revoke its decision to set up a Procurement Committee to supervise all purchases by the Electoral Commission as Ghana prepares for elections in 2004. Almost all of the members of the proposed Procurement Committee were from the Executive Branch. The establishment of such a committee would intrude on the authority of the Electoral Commission as provided in the Ghanaian constitution. This was considered to be a step back in the democratic consolidation process in Ghana. The action of the IEA was supported by all secretaries-general of the political parties cooperating in the platform. Within two days of the IEA press conference the government did, in fact, rescind its decision on the Procurement Committee. This was, to a large extent, because all the national and private newspapers, radio and television stations highlighted the message of the press conference for well over three days.



Country Team

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

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

Mark Dijk (IMD),
Policy Officer Africa

The Secretaries-
General of the
NPP, the PNC,
the CPP and the
NDC



Context

The political situation in Ghana can be described as stable. Multiparty democracy is taking root following a change of government after free and fair elections in 2000. Ghana is becoming a positive example of democratic governance in Africa.

There have since been several by-elections that were all won by the governing NPP, a party with a liberal orientation. The NDC, defeated in the 2000 elections, is undergoing a multiple transition process. Having been the dominant governing party during the previous decades, it now has to function as an opposition party with all the challenges that come with it. At the same time it has to respond to the revelations about past human rights abuses that surface at the hearings of the National Reconciliation Committee. With general elections scheduled for December 2004, competition among the various blocs (those with links to the past and those oriented towards the future) within the NDC are expected to increase. The reformists within the party hope to build it into a party with a social democratic orientation.

The motto of President Kufuor's administration is 'a golden age for business', and indeed, the government is concentrating on creating an economy that will attract business investments. The positive dynamics in Ghana are unfortunately situated in a region of Africa in which stability has been affected by violent conflict, in particular in neighbouring Ivory Coast. Ghana is playing a prominent role in the regional organization ECOWAS with the aim to contribute to ending these conflicts and to create peaceful conditions for sustainable economic development.

Current situation

On the 14 January 2003, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the IMD, the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and the four largest political parties in Ghana: the New Patriotic

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Party (NPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the Convention People's Party (CPP), and the People's National Convention (PNC). In this memorandum, the above-mentioned parties agreed to cooperate in consolidating constitutional democracy in Ghana and in enhancing the organisational and institutional capacities of the political parties. It was the first time that the parties represented in the Ghanaian parliament entered into a cooperation agreement.

This memorandum formed the basis for three contracts that paved the way for the co-ordination and implementation of the programme. The first phase of the programme commenced in March 2003. The main objective of this phase, scheduled to run until 31 December 2003, was to develop a long-term agenda for the role political parties play in consolidating democracy in Ghana and to implement an action plan with joint and party specific activities. The agenda should form the basis for a future multi-annual cooperation programme.

Content objectives and activities

The inter-party cooperation was facilitated via the platform of the Secretaries-General of the political parties by the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA). The activities were outlined in the Joint Action Plan which was completed in July 2003. The platform decided to focus on four issues: 1) organising radio debates between party leaders to improve perception of political parties amongst the population; 2) drafting a code of conduct for interaction amongst the political parties; 3) creating conflict-resolution mechanisms at district level; and 4) organising symposia on major issues.

In November and December three symposia were organised in Accra, Ho and Kumasi. The topics of

the symposia were public funding of political parties, elections and inter-party conciliation, respectively. These conferences were the first events at which all four political parties engaged each other in public discussion, which resulted in a great deal of media coverage.

The code of conduct to be followed by political parties during elections was still under preparation when the year ended. Upon completion, the plan will be submitted to the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC), which is coordinated by the Electoral Commission, for further decision-making. It is hoped that the code of conduct, once finalised, will address not only issues pertaining to elections and electioneering campaigns but will also address and regulate the conduct of political parties during and after elections.

In addition to the cross-party activities, the programme provided a fund for political parties to undertake capacity building activities of parties individually. The objectives of these activities were also outlined in the action plan of July 2004. Most activities focused on training the skills of the party cadre at different levels, strategic planning and leadership.

Process objectives and activities

The main activity of this year's programme was the establishment of the platform for secretaries-general. Every secretary-general was supported by both a policy analyst and assistance provided to compensate for the operational costs of participating in the programme. The joint activities of the platform were facilitated by the Institute for Economic Affairs, which provided three full-time staff members: a project director, a coordinator and an assistant.

Summary of programme activities

<p>MARCH</p> <p>March - December</p> <p>Meetings of the platform of Secretaries-General</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NNP, CPP, NDC, PNC and IEA</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Monthly meetings of the platform to discuss and decide on the direction of the programme.</p>	<p>March - December</p> <p>Meetings of the policy analysts</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NNP, CPP, PNC, NDC, IEA</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Bi-weekly meetings of the party analysts to discuss and co-ordinate the progress of the implementation of the programme.</p>	<p>March - July 8</p> <p>Development and presentation of the Joint Action Plan</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NNP, CCP, NDC, PNC, IEA</p> <p><i>Description:</i> The four parliamentary parties designed a plan for developing the long-term agenda on consolidating democracy in Ghana.</p>
<p>SEPTEMBER</p> <p>September - December</p> <p>Individual activities of the parties</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NNP, NDC, PNC, CPP</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Party-specific activities on training the party cadres, strategic planning and leadership.</p>	<p>September 2003 - March 2004</p> <p>Development of a code of conduct</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NNP, CCP, NDC, PNC, IEA</p> <p><i>Description:</i> the code of conduct, once finalised, will address not only issues pertaining to elections and electioneering campaigns, as did the previous code, but will also address and regulate the conduct of political parties during and after elections.</p>	<p>NOVEMBER</p> <p>November - December</p> <p>Symposia on common issues</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> IEA, NNP, NDC, PNC, CPP</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Three symposia were organised in Accra, Ho and Kumasi. The topics of the symposia were public funding, elections and inter-party conciliation, respectively.</p>

The main objective of the platform was to design a long-term agenda to consolidate democracy in Ghana. To this end, the secretaries-general met on a monthly basis in 2003, while the policy analysts met on a bi-weekly basis. The two major results of these inter-party meetings were the Joint Action Plan and the success of the various symposia organized.

To advise IMD and the IEA about programme developments, an Advisory Council was established, in which five eminent Ghanaians from various walks of life are seated. On October 25, the Advisory Council met for the first time. This meeting resulted in clear terms of reference for the tasks and responsibilities of the Council. The guidance of the Council will provide additional assurances that the ownership of the programme is well rooted.

Programme support

The main facilitating counterpart in the Ghanaian programme is the Accra-based Institute for Economic Affairs. It supported the platform, organised all meetings and joint activities and was responsible for monthly reporting on developments in the programme.

The IMD also has a part-time liaison officer based in Accra who is responsible for organising visits by IMD delegations, following and reporting on the main political developments in the country and liaising regularly with the IEA to consolidate the partnership relations.

Lessons learned

The challenge during the initial phase of the programme was to clarify the various roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders involved, to set up the communication mechanisms and to clarify the reporting procedures and requirements. These are key aspects in the co-operation that require dedicated time and attention to assure that mutual confidence is established while efficient working procedures are drafted.

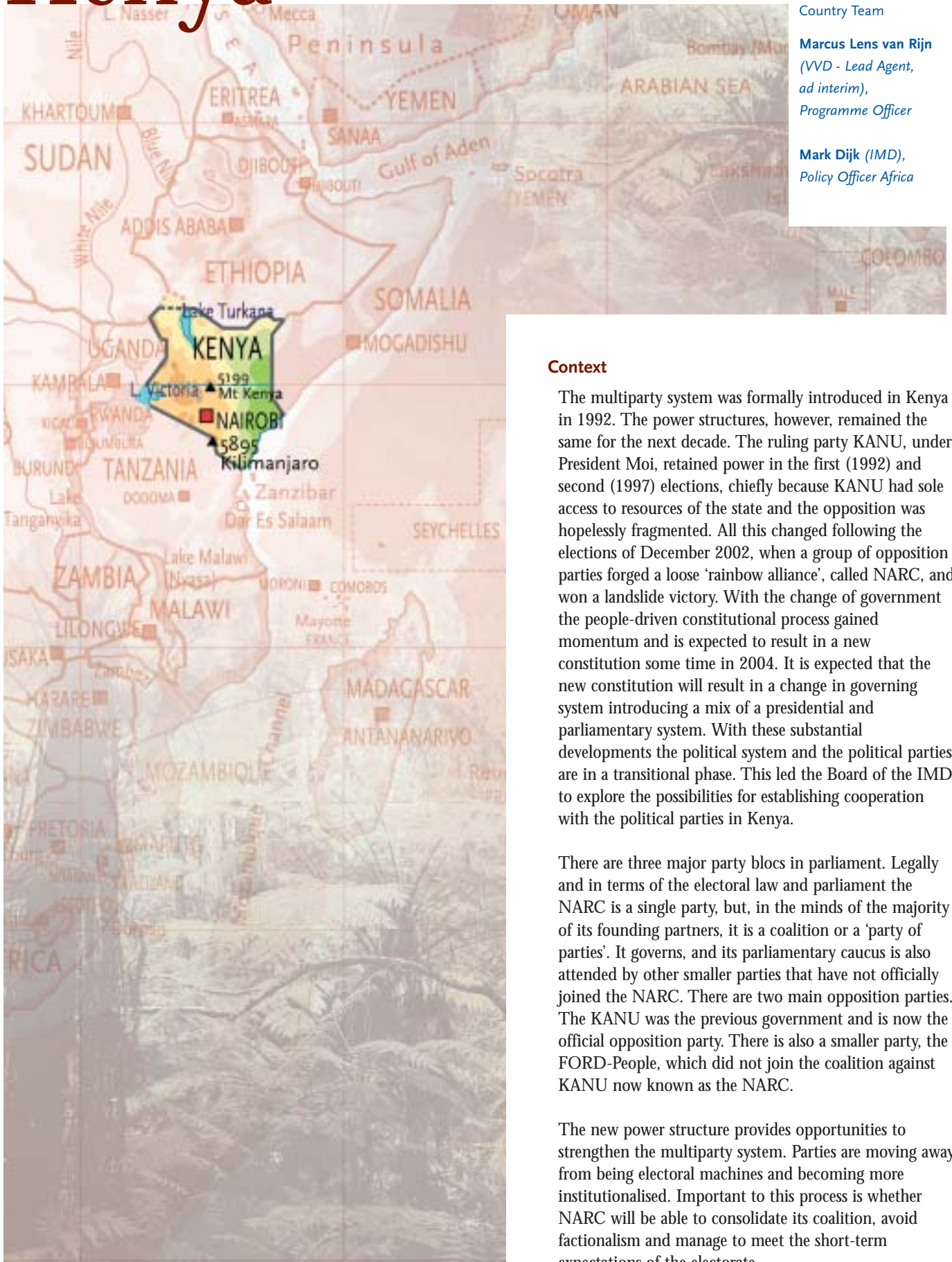
The approach has been successful in establishing the relations with all the stakeholders into an operational programme. The forthcoming general elections at the end of 2004 have put the focus on some of the most immediate concerns. The challenge will be to move the interparty dialogue beyond the short-term concerns and to focus on a longer-term agenda for consolidating multiparty democracy in Ghana.

Kenya

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Context

The multiparty system was formally introduced in Kenya in 1992. The power structures, however, remained the same for the next decade. The ruling party KANU, under President Moi, retained power in the first (1992) and second (1997) elections, chiefly because KANU had sole access to resources of the state and the opposition was hopelessly fragmented. All this changed following the elections of December 2002, when a group of opposition parties forged a loose 'rainbow alliance', called NARC, and won a landslide victory. With the change of government the people-driven constitutional process gained momentum and is expected to result in a new constitution some time in 2004. It is expected that the new constitution will result in a change in governing system introducing a mix of a presidential and parliamentary system. With these substantial developments the political system and the political parties are in a transitional phase. This led the Board of the IMD to explore the possibilities for establishing cooperation with the political parties in Kenya.

There are three major party blocs in parliament. Legally and in terms of the electoral law and parliament the NARC is a single party, but, in the minds of the majority of its founding partners, it is a coalition or a 'party of parties'. It governs, and its parliamentary caucus is also attended by other smaller parties that have not officially joined the NARC. There are two main opposition parties. The KANU was the previous government and is now the official opposition party. There is also a smaller party, the FORD-People, which did not join the coalition against KANU now known as the NARC.

The new power structure provides opportunities to strengthen the multiparty system. Parties are moving away from being electoral machines and becoming more institutionalised. Important to this process is whether NARC will be able to consolidate its coalition, avoid factionalism and manage to meet the short-term expectations of the electorate.

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Current situation

The IMD programme did not formally start in 2003. An exploratory mission took place from October 12 to 17, 2003 to investigate the possibility of a programme in Kenya. Given its expertise, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) was invited to take the lead in this IMD-IDASA delegation.

The mission concluded that the timing for a programme was excellent, the parties were enthusiastic and the environment conducive. The delegation recommended that the first phase should consist of a combination of ongoing dialogues between the IMD and the participating partners, together with some initial confidence-building cross-party activities. Party projects should not be undertaken hurriedly. Several Kenya-based organisations were identified that could be instrumental in setting up a future framework. Furthermore, the IMD Board was advised to begin dialogues with the parties currently represented in parliament, while engaging in further dialogue about future co-operation with the constituents of the NARC and several other extra-parliamentary parties.

As a result of this positive advice, the Board decided to undertake an identification mission in January 2004 to discuss a potential framework for co-operation in 2004.

Content objectives and activities

Although no programme existed in 2003, the IMD did receive a variety of requests for bilateral assistance. These ranged from setting up an operational secretariat to capacity building and training sessions. The IMD informed the political parties that the first priority was establishing a mechanism for co-operation that would ensure sustainable consolidation and induce ownership of the programme by the parties. The next step would involve including these requests in this co-operative framework.

Process objectives and activities

Not applicable in 2003.

Programme support

Monitoring by the IMD's head office and by consultants from IDASA in South Africa resulted in an initial preparatory report and desk study to pave the way for the exploratory mission from October 12 to 17, 2003. The positive results have since led to the identification mission in January 2004.

Partnerships

Given the fluidity of the political landscape, the IMD could not rush into partnerships. Rather, we chose to initiate an intensive dialogue with all parliamentary parties and several extra-parliamentary ones on what kind of partnerships would be most fruitful. The specific possibilities for working with the NARC coalition formed the most delicate issue, due to the unique nature of this large coalition.

Lessons learned

The first lesson appears to be that to attain real ownership of a forthcoming programme, it is essential to manage short-term expectations well. All parties have a plethora of pressing needs that need to be incorporated into a structure that will ensure that any improvement of the political system in Kenya will be a lasting one.

After almost 40 years of one-party rule, Kenya's opposition rallied together to take power during the elections in December 2002 and push for change. This created new opportunities to consolidate the multiparty system and support Kenyan parties in their effort to become programme-oriented bodies rather than simply electoral machines. In 2003 the IMD assessed the potential for a programme encompassing such changes, and the first contours of a mode of co-operation became apparent.

Malawi

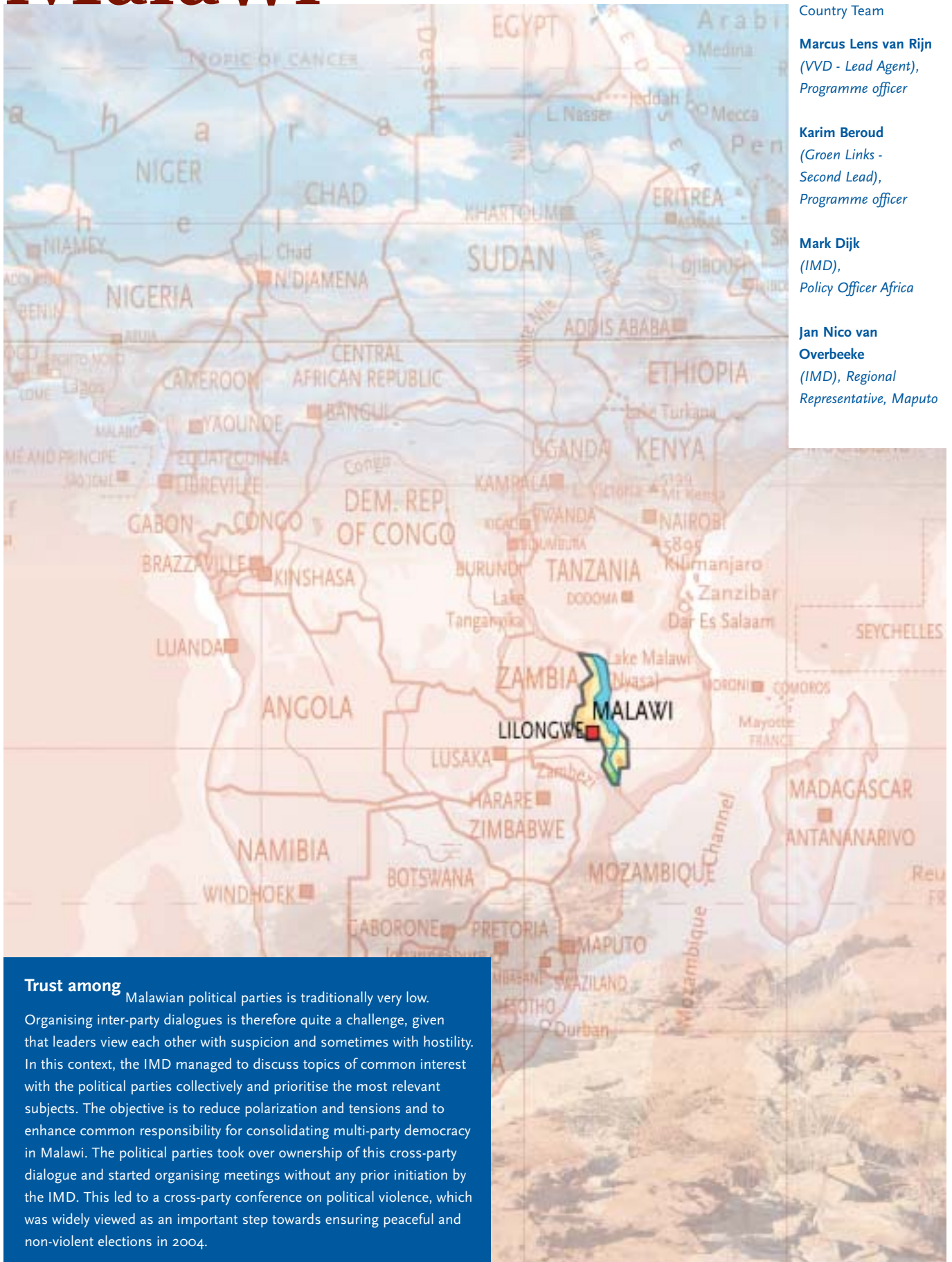
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Trust among Malawian political parties is traditionally very low. Organising inter-party dialogues is therefore quite a challenge, given that leaders view each other with suspicion and sometimes with hostility. In this context, the IMD managed to discuss topics of common interest with the political parties collectively and prioritise the most relevant subjects. The objective is to reduce polarization and tensions and to enhance common responsibility for consolidating multi-party democracy in Malawi. The political parties took over ownership of this cross-party dialogue and started organising meetings without any prior initiation by the IMD. This led to a cross-party conference on political violence, which was widely viewed as an important step towards ensuring peaceful and non-violent elections in 2004.

Context

Early in 2003 political discussion focused on the so-called third term issue. President Bakili Muluzi and his UDF cabinet intended to amend the constitution to open the possibility of standing for another term. To achieve this, President Muluzi needed a two-thirds majority in parliament, including support from the two opposition parties, the MCP and Aford. These parties were already split into two factions, but this division was now exacerbated by pressure from the UDF. Civil society was actively engaged in the debate about this issue through the Forum for the Defence of the Constitution (FDC).

In March 2003 President Muluzi relatively unexpectedly appointed a successor, which ended the third term debate at once. The successor, Mr. Bingu Wa Mutharika, was fairly unknown in Malawi, and his appointment caused tensions within UDF. The president also re-shuffled his cabinet and dismissed some ministers such as Mr Harry Thomson and Mr Aleka Banda, who had been opposed to a third term, in order to create a cabinet of national unity. This also involved appointing five Aford MPs as ministers, including the Aford party leader Mr Chihana as Vice-President.

Aford was already split in an anti and a pro UDF faction. Appointing Aford MPs to the cabinet only increased this division. A number of Aford MPs formed a new party, Mgode. Conversely, the MCP closed its ranks. During the national convention at the end of May, the two rival leaders Mr Chakuamba and Mr Tembo reconciled their differences after internal elections chose Mr Tembo as the party's president and Mr Chakuamba as vice-president.

The MCP and the non-parliamentarian parties such as Mafunde, the MDP and the new parties PPM and Petra, which emerged from FDC, are currently discussing forming an opposition coalition for the next elections. Magode has also joined this Kenya-like initiative, one which is strongly supported by the churches.

Current situation

The programme started in 2002 with two identification missions. During this initial phase the main objective was to build trust between the IMD and the parties and to reach agreements on how the programme would be designed. At the beginning of 2003, the identification and orientation phase was finalised and the implementing of the agreed-programme-framework commenced. Several missions were undertaken to explain the procedures and to discuss further implementation. In 2003 the programme consisted of a bilateral programme and

cross-party activities. The bilateral programme was based on so-called drawing rights for five political parties (UDF, MCP, Aford, Mafunde and MDP), while the cross-party activities facilitated by the IMD focused on common issues.

All participating parties submitted project proposals in 2003, some of which will not be realised until next year. Representatives of the five parties met regularly to identify suitable topics for cross-party activities and to plan these activities. Through these meetings, which were supported by the IMD, a real demand-driven approach to cross-party activities was created. In addition, both the ruling and the opposition parties expressed a clear commitment to the objectives of the programme.

Content objectives and activities

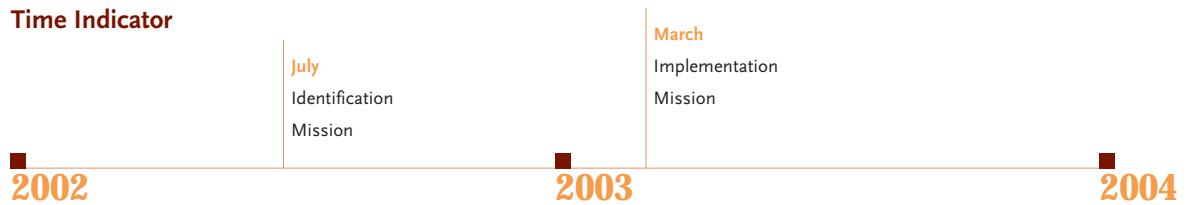
Resulting from a number of cross-party meetings, a national conference on political violence was held on 24-25 November 2003. Non-parliamentary parties were also invited to send representatives to the gathering as were representatives of civil society and the government. The conference was jointly organised by the political parties, the IMD and the University of Malawi, and is generally considered to have been an important contribution to the discussion on political violence. The conference resulted in a code of conduct for the political parties to contain violence. The ownership of cross-party activities by all political parties was another achievement, considering the political situation in Malawi.

With regard to the bilateral programme, obtaining feasible proposals from the participating political parties was a time-consuming exercise. In the end, contracts were signed with all of the parties involved. The projects included leadership training seminars, national conventions, seminars on training trainers and membership training seminars. These projects contributed to the process of internal democratisation



Cross-party meeting with UDF-MCP-Aford-MDP-Mafunde, Mulika Club, Blantyre, August 2003

Time Indicator



within the parties (during the national conventions), to strengthening the parties at all levels and to training new cadres within the parties. The bilateral programme also created a good working relationship between the IMD and the parties involved, providing a strong basis for continuation in the future.

Process objectives and activities

The development of the programme in Malawi takes place in a complex political environment in which it has been difficult to identify the right contact persons within the political parties. Because of the country's volatile political constellation, IMD had to operate carefully to maintain an impartial position in the context of the rapidly changing internal developments of the political partners. The main approach was to develop relationships with the formal parliamentary parties as well as with some prominent extra-parliamentary parties. The core objective was to keep the ownership of the programme at the level of the parties themselves. This careful approach helped to secure positive relations across the full political spectrum in Malawi.

Convening the participating parties at joint meetings to discuss a common cross-party approach proved successful, and several meetings took place with and without an IMD presence. Given the often tense political situation, this achievement forms the foundation for a consolidation of the partnership and for the future development of the programme.

Programme support

IMD missions took place in March, May, August and October 2003 to identify the basic conditions for a successful programme in Malawi and to explain to the partners the requirements and conditions for presenting proposals. Later missions could be used to discuss the projects presented and to stimulate the development of cross-party activities. By the end of 2003 both the bilateral programme and the cross-party activities were at an advanced stage and were providing concrete results. In the course of 2003 the IMD had established serious and dependable partnership relations and appeared to become an integral part of the Malawian political landscape.

Underlining this role and commitment, a local consultant was contracted to provide logistic support

and help move the programme forward from within Malawi. He set up shop towards the end of 2003, started to assess various activities and became acquainted with IMD procedures.

The IMD signed a new contract with O&M Associates in 2003 to cover two sets of activities. Firstly, new arrangements were made on how and when the financial reports of the parties would be verified. Secondly, a survey of the financial management procedures within the parties was undertaken. In 2004 this will lead to tailor-made workshops on financial management for all parties, resulting in more transparent and justifiable financial procedures within the parties.

Lessons learned

One of the main lessons learned in Malawi is that building trust takes quite some time but that it eventually bears tangible results. It has been difficult to obtain commitment for the cross-party branch of the programme. However, the cross-party meetings are now up and running and have gained momentum of their own. It is exciting to see the internalisation of this process, and IMD certainly aims to continue its support in this area so that the programme will take on a durable character.

A second lesson is that organisational limitations can severely hamper the effectiveness of the various partners, even if political commitment is sufficient. An IMD presence in-country was urgently hoped for by the participating partners and could eventually be realised. The rapidly changing political environment makes it necessary to follow developments closely and to maintain some flexibility in the programme while remaining a reliable partner. In this respect, continued discussions with the political parties on the criteria for inclusion in the programme are necessary to enhance legitimacy and transparency.

In a donor-dependent country like Malawi, it is very important to co-operate with existing like-minded organisations and to exchange agendas and programmes. It is important both to avoid overlap and to look for possibilities to join forces and develop common initiatives. Close connections with the existing donor community have proved to be essential for an effective integral approach.

Summary of programme activities

MARCH

March - December

Multiparty committee meetings

Partners: UDF, MCP, Aford, MDP, Mafunde

Description: From March onwards the Secretaries-General of the participating parties met each other to strengthen the inter-party dialogue and develop cross-party activities.

APRIL

April 28 - May 1

The party convention

Partner: Malawi Congress Party

Description: partial coverage of logistical costs for the pre-election year party convention.

JULY

July - December

Capacity building for party structures – grassroots level

Partner: Malawi Democratic Party

Description: The main aim of the proposal is to train party cadre and increase members' awareness of party principles and philosophy, as well as general principles of multiparty democracy.

AUGUST

August - December

Civic education for democracy

Partner: Malawi Congress Party

Description: needs assessment and related training programme for 150 trainers.

NOVEMBER

November 24 and 25th

Conference on political violence

Partners: University of Malawi, multiparty committee, Kizito Tenthani

Description: a two-day national conference to address issues pertaining to political violence in Malawi. The discussions resulted in an improved awareness of the problems and motivated the leaders to address this problem with their party activists.

November 2003 - January 2004

Selection of candidates for the 2004 tripartite elections

Partner: Alliance for Democracy

Description: organising and holding primary elections for both parliamentary and local government elections.

DECEMBER

December 2003 - December 2004

Capacity building and institutional development

Partner: Mafunde

Description: Training 180 party cadres on basic party organisation and election issues in a total of six districts across Malawi. This training session was preceded by the development of training material.

JANUARY

January - February 2004

Training election monitors at the constituency level

Partners: Malawi Congress Party

Description: The project aims to train 250 trainers for three days, using five modules. These trainers will train a further 8,000 monitoring agents in the constituencies.

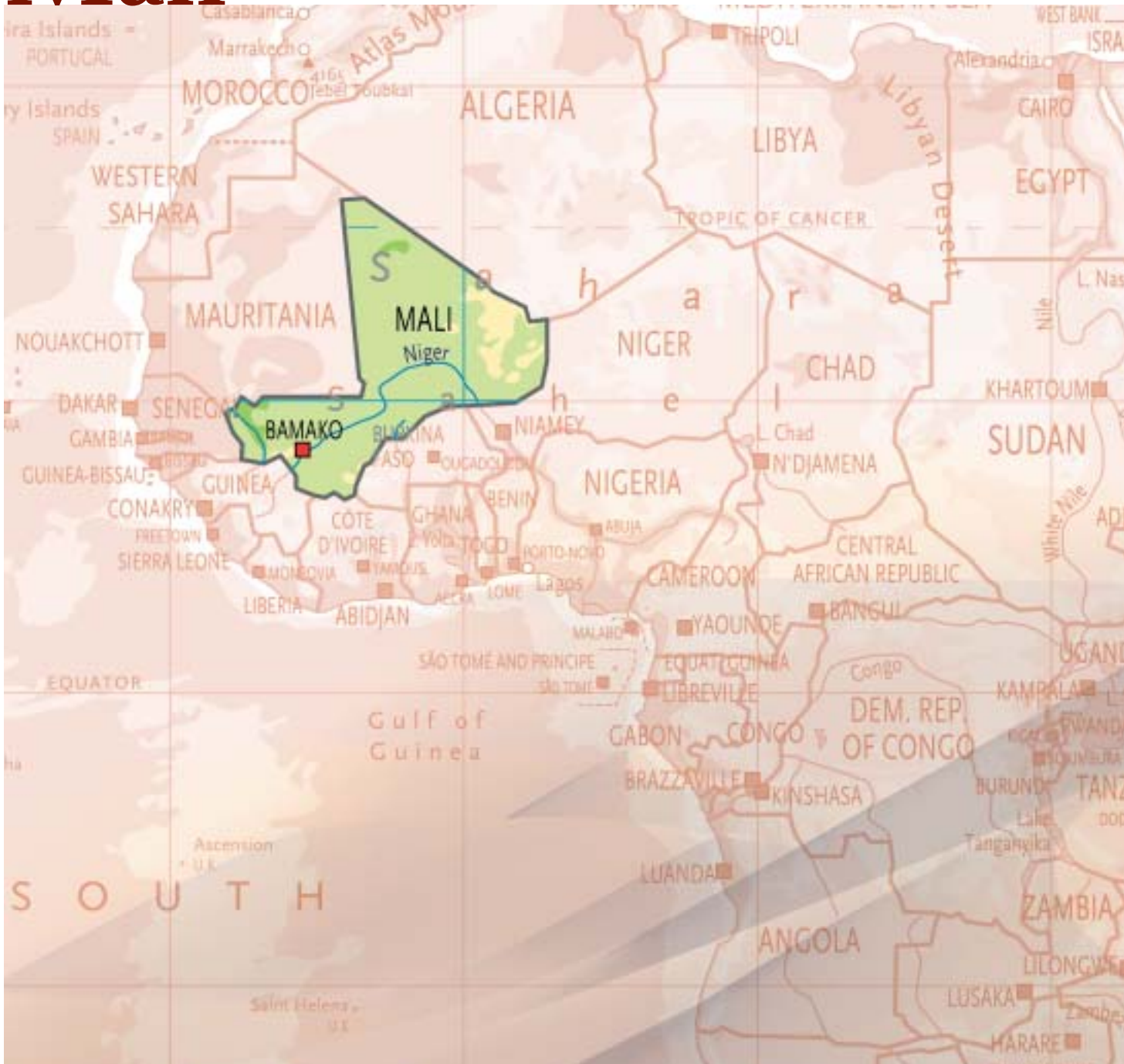
January - March 2004

Leadership training on democracy

Partner: United Democratic Front

Description: Several four-day seminars to train, in six modules, 150 participants on leadership and management capacities.

Mali



Much time and effort in 2003

was concentrated on structuring the Mali programme, though in the last quarter of this year the first series of activities began. During an IMD mission to Bamako in October, the Comité de Pilotage presented the content objectives for the second implementation phase. Political parties will be given the opportunity to discuss a number of previously well defined needs during the so-called Ateliers de diagnostic organisationnel (to be held in the first months of 2004). It was agreed that future project proposals will be based on the results of these seminars. In the same period, a total number of 27 public debates on democratic values (i.e. the role of the opposition, the constitution) are being organised in the regional capitals of Mali, and debates between different political leaders will be broadcasted on national television and radio. These activities all seem to follow a clear line and to prove that after a period of focus on the institutional basics, the Mali programme is now entirely ready to support the process of democratisation in direct partnership with the actors involved.



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Jan Tuit (IMD),
Senior Policy Officer

Context

Independent President Amadou Toumani Touré formed a government in which as many as ten political parties were represented. No major party claimed to represent the opposition. Debates on concrete issues were therefore rare in parliament and almost no initiative was taken to further develop or implement proposed laws. Renewing the executive board of the parliament board proved time-consuming and was marked more by personal than by political disputes.

Another important issue in 2003 was the ongoing process of separation within, and creation of new, political parties, so that Mali now has more than 90 officially registered parties.

The Malian context, which remains very peaceful, was furthermore characterized by an absence of contact between the numerous political parties and the population.

Current situation

After an identification mission in April 2002, the IMD decided to organise a start-up conference in partnership with the NGO Support Network for the Electoral Process in Mali (APEM) after the parliamentary elections, in order to define the needs of Malian political parties. A preparatory conference was held in December 2002. The results provided a general impression of basic requirements, but needed to be elaborated. It was obvious that active and continuous involvement of the political parties

Mr Issa N'Diaye,
President
of the Comité
de Pilotage



within the IMD programme required their working with more than only one local think tank.

The activities in 2003 were mainly aimed at developing a structure that ensured a substantial level of ownership by and participation of political parties within the programme. During the last few months of 2003 the IMD Mali programme completed its first implementation phase, which consisted of an identification study of Malian political parties. Throughout the first half of 2004, a second implementation phase will attempt to diagnose the most vital institutional needs in concert with the parties and to promote basic democratic values throughout the country.

Content objectives and activities

As the main objective for a great part of 2003 concerned establishing the institutional bases of the programme, there were at this stage few content activities. Once the Malian foundation of the programme was created, a first implementation phase was completed during the last part of 2003. Most significant content activities involved a research project aimed at identifying the political parties and assessing information on their institutional capacity. In addition, a bibliography of publications related to the subject of democracy in Mali was composed. The activities envisaged for the first half of 2004 are based upon this first phase, all following a clear and coherent line.

Process objectives and activities

In order to ensure a Malian institutional foundation of the IMD programme and to guarantee the programme's ownership by political parties, considerable emphasis was laid on structuring the Mali programme in 2003. Representatives of numerous political parties and the Civil Society formed an advisory council (Conseil d'Orientation) from which an executive board (Comité de Pilotage) was elected.

The local NGO and IMD partner Centre Djoliba was requested to provide the necessary administrative and organisational support. This organisation is widely respected for its contributions to the promotion of democracy in Mali during the last thirty years and is considered politically impartial. The participation of political parties within the Conseil d'Orientation has increased considerably since its formation in April 2003. The Comité de Pilotage was mandated to further develop and implement the IMD programme. In order to keep the parties well informed and involved, several meetings with the Conseil d'Orientation have taken place.

Besides forming different partnerships within the Mali programme, IMD also maintained relationships with organisations working in the area of democratisation, such as the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Parliamentarians for Global Action (PGA), Agence Suédoise de Coopération Internationale au Développement (ASDI), Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

Programme support

As indicated above, most of the outline of our programme in Mali was shaped by the Comité de Pilotage, which was mandated by the Conseil d'Orientation. In addition, a Dutch expert with considerable working experience in Mali was (and will next year also be) involved in the Mali programme.

Lessons learned

A positive lesson learned is that, by forming a Conseil d'Orientation, political parties became more directly involved within the IMD programme. A consequence of this focus on structure was that the pace at which the Mali programme developed in 2003 was relatively modest. However, the now-existing framework does seem to offer an appropriate context for sustainable results and tailor-made projects that are locally owned.

Summary of programme activities

APRIL

April - October

Structuring of the IMD Programme in Mali

Partner: Comité de Pilotage

Description: The elaboration and formalisation of relations between the actors (Conseil d'Orientation, Comité de Pilotage, Centre Djoliba and IMD) involved in the IMD programme.

OCTOBER

October - November

Identification Study

Partner: Comité de Pilotage

Description: A research project aimed at identifying political parties in Mali and assessing basic information on their institutional capacity.

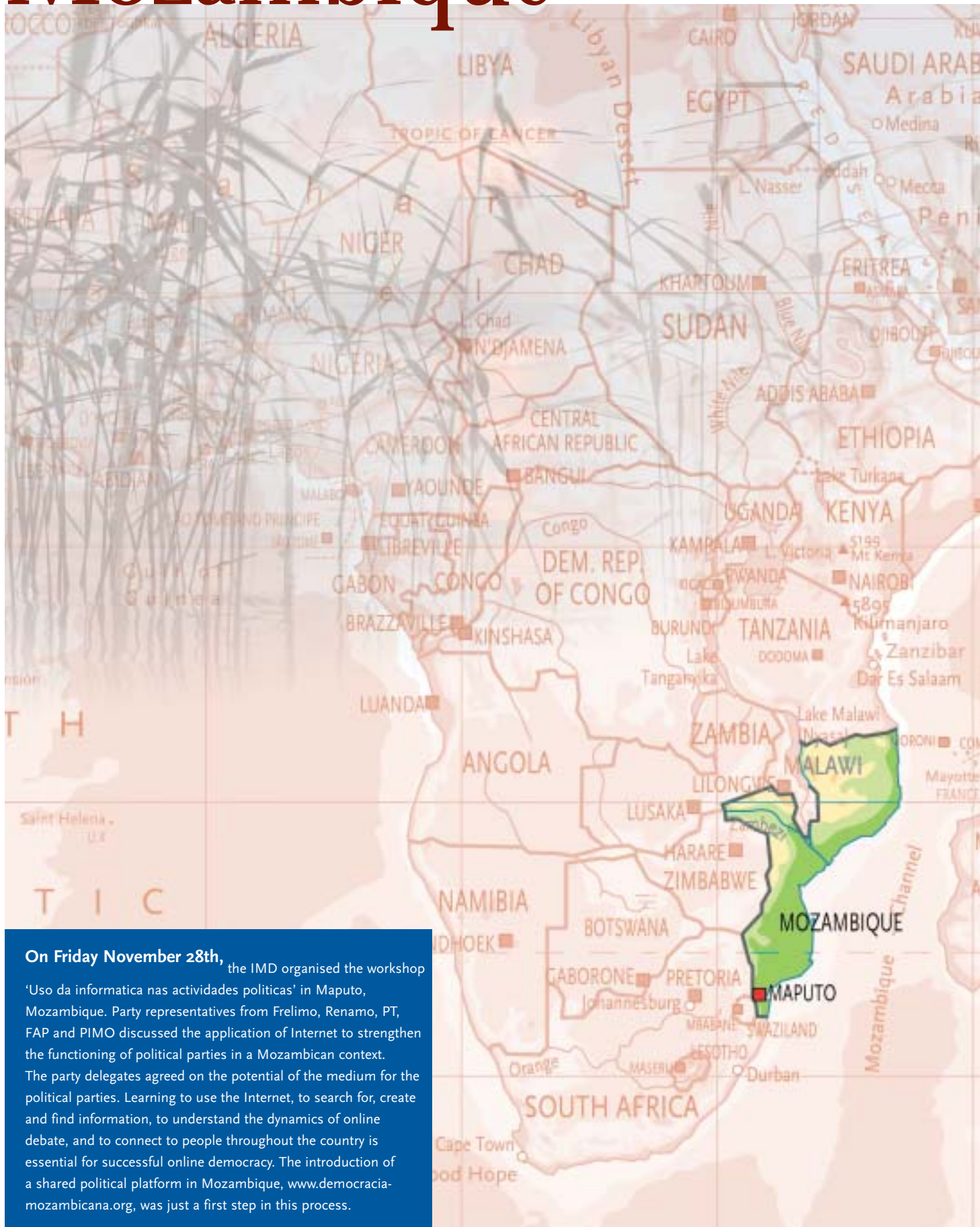
October - November

Bibliography on Democratisation

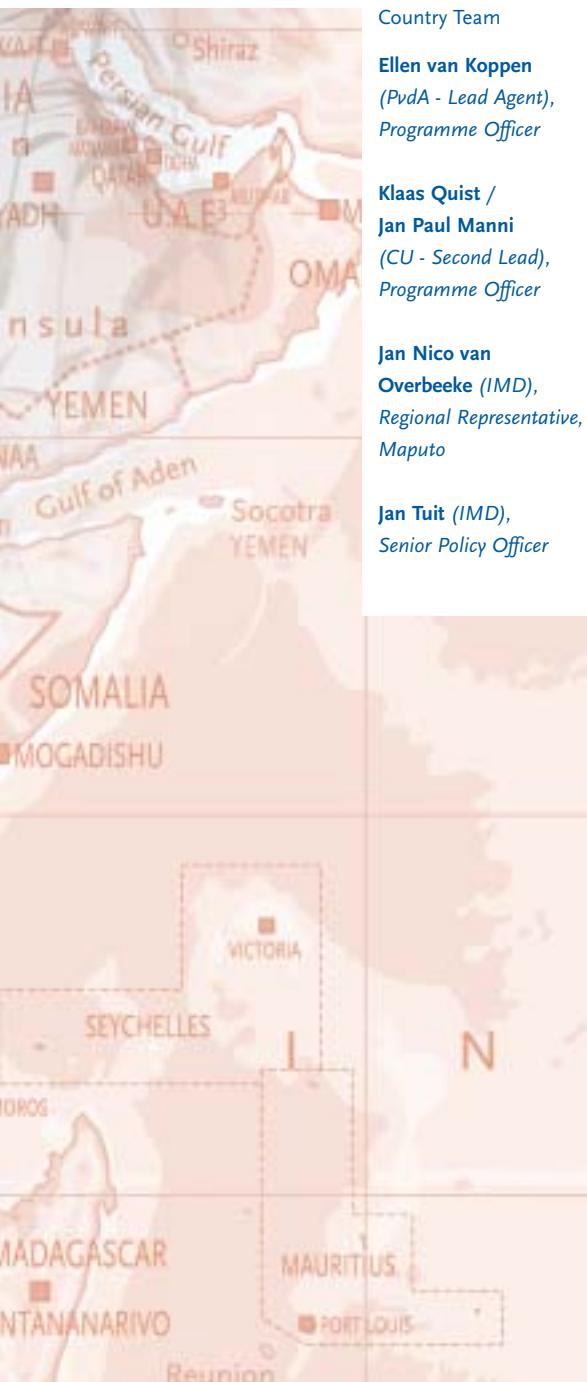
Partner: Comité de Pilotage

Description: An extensive bibliography of publications related to the subject of democratisation in Mali.

Mozambique



On Friday November 28th, the IMD organised the workshop 'Usó da informática nas actividades políticas' in Maputo, Mozambique. Party representatives from Frelimo, Renamo, PT, FAP and PIMO discussed the application of Internet to strengthen the functioning of political parties in a Mozambican context. The party delegates agreed on the potential of the medium for the political parties. Learning to use the Internet, to search for, create and find information, to understand the dynamics of online debate, and to connect to people throughout the country is essential for successful online democracy. The introduction of a shared political platform in Mozambique, www.democracia-mozambicana.org, was just a first step in this process.



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Context

In 2003 the political situation in Mozambique was dominated by preparations for local elections in 33 municipalities on 19 November.

The first step in the election process was to elect the members of the National Election Committee (CNE) composed of representatives of Frelimo and of the Renamo coalition. Both the voter registration procedure and the procedures involved in drawing up the lists of candidates caused some problems and political tension.

About fifteen political parties and local groups actually took part in the elections. The final results showed a major success for the Frelimo candidates, who won a majority in 29 assemblies. The Renamo coalition gained power in the remaining 4 municipalities and their presidential candidates won in five, including Beira, the second largest city. The small parties and local groups had little success. The voter turn out was low, at an average of 28%.

National and international observers considered the electoral campaign peaceful; voting itself took place with no major problems. However, the actual counting of the votes was not always transparent and the final results had to be altered several times by the CNE.

The legal process around the murder of the well-known journalist Carlos Cardoso in 2000 attracted great public attention in the first months of 2003. The case revealed a connection between the murder and a big banking fraud and implicated persons with connections to the political elite.

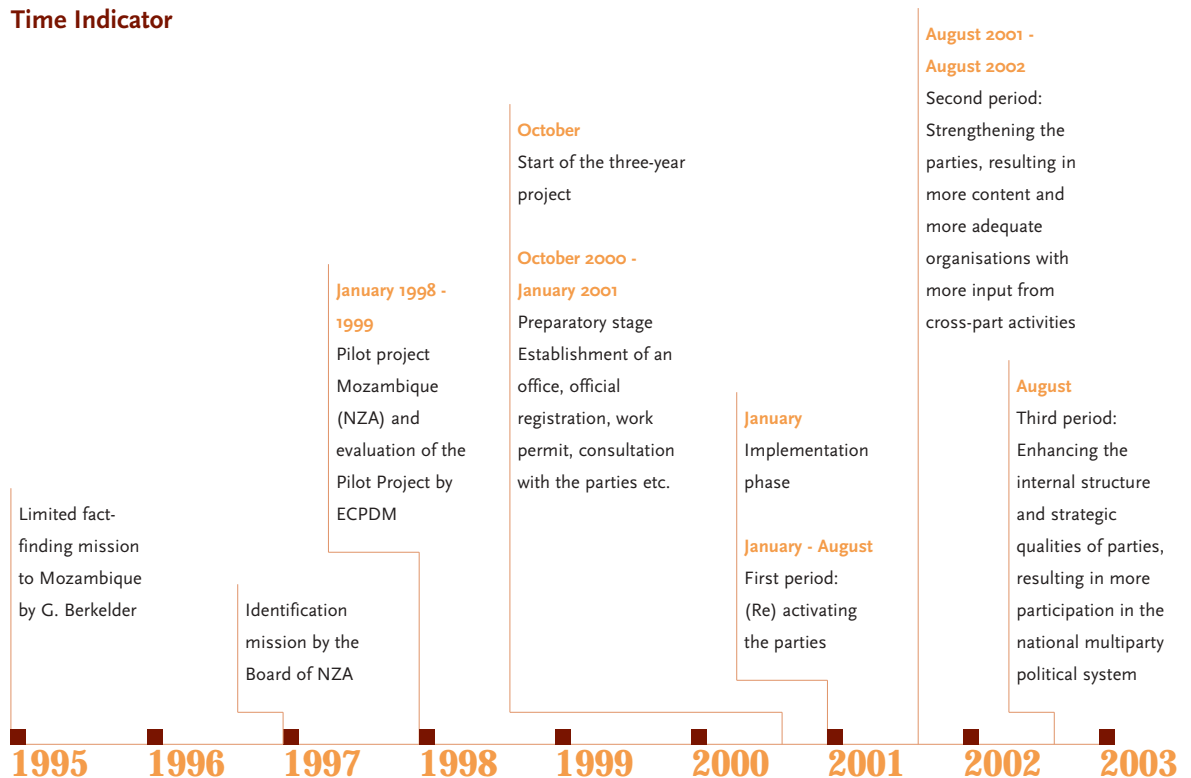
Current situation

In 2003 the IMD programme in Mozambique started its third year of activities. The Institute has positioned itself as a well-respected organisation in the political landscape, is frequently consulted on

E-democracy workshop in IMD's regional office, Maputo



Time Indicator



political developments in the country and co-operates with various national and international institutions.

An external team evaluated the programme in August 2003. The results were positive, and recognised the added value of the institutional capacity building of the individual political parties and of the democratisation process as a whole. The conclusions and recommendations of the report form the framework for the future development of the programme in Mozambique.

Content objectives and activities

The objectives of the programme in 2003 focused mainly on strengthening the political parties in preparing for the local elections. The parties were very interested in being trained in managing campaigns, drawing up electoral procedures and monitoring elections. Cross-party activities had to be so planned that the parties could include elements from the seminars in their individual training programmes and meetings. In the first half of 2003, a number of seminars were organised on communication strategies, campaign preparation and electoral procedures in the various provinces.

To avoid disputes on electoral results and to promote democratic practices, party monitors were trained as election observers. These party monitors play an important role as 'watchdogs' on election days and help to ensure transparent procedures.

To encourage coalition-forming, some funds were made available for the Renamo-UE coalition to prepare their campaigns. These funds were used to help explain the role of the coalition to the various party members in the provinces and to jointly train party monitors. The UD-coalition also received a small fund for their joint preparation for the local elections.

A cross-party project was initiated to encourage political parties to become more result-oriented. Five political parties elaborated a strategic plan in the first half of 2003. These plans were subsequently distributed and discussed within the party and now form the basis for further co-operation with IMD.

Fifteen political parties presented and implemented projects within the 'bilateral' programme. Apart from the two major parties Frelimo and Renamo, the smaller parties within the Renamo coalition and a number of extra-parliamentary parties also benefited from the bilateral co-operation with IMD. The projects consisted of provincial and regional seminars, specific training programmes for monitoring elections and national congresses.

Process objectives and activities

A seminar was organised with the National Youth Council (CNJ) to bring together the young members of the various parties in order to discuss their views on party and nation-wide issues. This multi-party approach will be continued next year.

In January 2003, six political parties from Mozambique took part in the visitors' programme that IMD had organised to explain the electoral process in the Netherlands. This event was highly appreciated by the participants and helped strengthen the links with political parties in the Netherlands and other IMD programme countries.

A number of representatives from political parties in Mozambique also took part in the regional conference that IMD organised in November 2003 in South Africa to discuss the results of ten years of democratisation in the southern African region.

Co-operation with other organisations has been an important element within the cross-party activities that we developed in 2003. The seminars that aimed to prepare the parties for the elections were jointly organised with NDI and Awepa. An important side-effect of these seminars is that they brought the parties together to discuss basic elements for free and just elections.

Regular meetings were held with other partners, for example the German foundations, EISA, UNDP, Carter Centre and local NGOs. These meetings helped to compare agendas, to prevent overlaps and to identify possibilities for co-operation. These contacts will be intensified in 2004, the year in which national and presidential elections will be held.

The IMD moved its office in October 2003 to a more appropriate building that can accommodate services for political parties, offering access to internet and other information sources, meeting facilities and some space to work. An initiative was started to set up a website that can be used by the parties to publicise their information. These facilities will meet some of the parties' basic needs that cannot be provided on an individual basis. The centre will be fully operational next year.

Various external consultants have contributed to the IMD programme in Mozambique, mainly to the cross-party activities. The local consultancy firm CBE followed the process of strategic planning, and individual consultants were used as trainers in the seminars.

Programme support

Our office in Maputo has been crucial in implementing the programme in Mozambique. The regional representative and his staff have maintained intensive contacts with representatives of the various political parties to identify their priorities and to discuss the content of project proposals. The

representative is supported by a few staff members: a project officer, a secretary and some logistic support.

Lessons learned

The year 2003 was the first election year for the IMD programme in Mozambique. Although the biggest parties did well in the elections, in particular the governing party Frelimo, the electoral results of the smaller parties were very limited. A joint evaluation with the political parties is needed to review their organizational capacities in preparation for the 2004 national elections.

Political tensions tend to intensify in electoral periods. Yet, there is a need to bring parties together and create a space for dialogue, and to look for ways to stimulate the process of reconciliation that is still ongoing in the country.

Debate on policy issues is still a weak factor in the Mozambican political environment. Cross-party activities could also be used to highlight issues of national interests that should be discussed by the various political parties.

The political parties are still experiencing difficulties in preparing sound proposals and handling funds. Additional initiatives should concentrate on cross-party activities in terms of providing training programmes and the necessary follow-up, including an assessment of costs and objectives. Training should be the main element in improving the quality of the projects while keeping the ownership in the hands of the Mozambican parties.

The presence of an IMD representative has been effective for maintaining the trust and co-operation with all parties across the political spectrum. The parties feel part of the overall IMD programme and have emphasised the importance of our willingness to continue the cooperation. To enhance Mozambican involvement in the IMD programme, an advisory group of eminent Mozambicans will be established.

Another important element is a framework to monitor the progress of the parties and analyse the development of democratisation in Mozambique by linking activities to the achievement of major goals, such as improving party participation in the elections, expanding their contacts with the civil population, safeguarding the parties' internal democracy, etc. The principle of selection or, even better, of differentiation based on the performance of political parties accepted into the programme, should be (more) institutionalised and made public to the stakeholders for the sake of transparency.

Summary of programme activities *Bilateral projects*

<p>FEBRUARY</p> <p>16/02/03 - 23/02/03</p> <p>Training for high-level party leaders</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> FRELIMO</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Capacity building for First Secretaries of the district committees in the northern region</p>	<p>MARCH</p> <p>15/03/03 - 15/04/03</p> <p>Provincial seminars</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PIMO</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Ten provincial workshops to prepare members for the elections</p>	<p>15/03/03 - 15/04/03</p> <p>Provincial workshops</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PIMO</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Continuation of the provincial seminars to prepare for the elections.</p>
<p>APRIL</p> <p>01/04/03 - 30/05/03</p> <p>Electoral training</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PT</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Workshops in 11 provinces to train members to discuss and practice electoral strategies</p>	<p>10/04/03 - 10/06/03</p> <p>Regional seminars</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PRD</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Seminars in the 3 regions to prepare members for the elections</p>	<p>15/04/03</p> <p>Regional seminars</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PUN</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Seminars in the 3 regions to discuss party statutes, programmes and electoral strategies.</p>
<p>24/04 - 25/04/03</p> <p>Capacity building for young members of political parties</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> CNJ</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Seminar with the young members of all political parties to train them in leadership, advocacy and lobbying, and to discuss their possible roles within political parties.</p>		
<p>MAY</p> <p>15/05/03 - 01/06/03</p> <p>National Congress</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> PALMO</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Contribution to the 2nd National Congress of the party, including electing new leadership</p>	<p>21/05/03 - 15/07/03</p> <p>Train the trainers project</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> FRELIMO</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Train the trainers seminars for electoral trainers and for party monitors.</p>	<p>30/05/03 - 25/06/03</p> <p>Capacity building for members</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> FAP</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Two seminars in the centre and south to train members in areas of leadership, the role of local government and elections</p>

JUNE

26/06/03 - 28/06/03

Regional workshops

Partner: PANADE

Description: Regional workshops for the centre and the south on party programmes, human rights and the role of women.

AUGUST

01/08/03 - 03/08/03

Provincial conferences

Partner: FRELIMO

Description: Training spokespersons for the elections and for candidate campaign workers.

01/08/03 - 30/08/03

Preparation for participation in the elections

Partner: PT

Description: Posting party officials to nine municipalities to monitor the administrative process for presenting lists of candidates.

11/08/03 - 30/08/03

Capacity building for municipal elections

Partner: PACODE

Description: Six workshops for 200 party members to prepare for local elections.

11/08/03 - 30/08/03

Regional seminar

Partner: UDF

Description: Seminar for the Northern provinces to support preparations for the elections.

15/08/03 - 30/08/03

Meeting of the National Council

Partner: ALIMO

Description: Electing new leadership and preparing candidates for local elections.

20/08/03 - 20/10/03

Official visits by the members of the Central Electoral Cabinet

Partner: RENAMO UE

Description: Visits by members of the preparatory group for the elections to all provinces to prepare the members for the electoral procedures.

20/08/03 - 20/10/03

Training of administrative staff

Partner: FRELIMO-FORMADORA

Description: Training administrative staff from six provinces in secretarial skills, computer skills and compiling archives.

28/08/03 - 28/10/03

Electoral preparation

Partner: UNIÃO DEMOCRÁTICA

Description: Regional visits by members from the coalition to prepare candidate lists in the various regions.

29/08/03 - 29/10/03

Capacity building for municipalities

Partner: PAMOMO

Description: Seminars in nine municipalities for 290 party members to prepare for local elections.

SEPTEMBER

10/09/03 - 10/11/03

Workshops on the presentation of the Strategic Plan

Partner: PT

Description: Three regional seminars to present and discuss the party's Strategic Plan.

11/09/03 - 11/11/03

Capacity building of electoral candidates

Partner: UNAMO-03

Description: Capacity building of candidates for municipal assemblies.

19/09/03 - 19/11/03

Provincial conferences

Partner: RENAMO

Description: Provincial conferences to elect the provincial leadership of the party and to discuss selection strategies.

19/09/03 - 19/11/03

Capacity building of party monitors

Partner: RENAMO UE

Description: Three seminars for all provinces to prepare and train party monitors of the coalition.

OCTOBER

01/10/03 - 31/10/03

Capacity building for municipal elections

Partner: FRELIMO

Description: Training more than 2,000 party monitors in the northern and central provinces.

30/10/03 - 10/11/03

Capacity building for municipalities

Partner: PT

Description: Training party monitors in 13 municipalities.

NOVEMBER

04/11/03 - 04/01/04

Capacity building workshop

Partner: PALMO

Description: Implementing and monitoring the Strategic Plan in the northern region (four provinces).

28/11/03 - 29/11/03

National workshop

Partner: PIMO

Description: Presentation of the Strategic Plan.

Regional seminars

Partner: UDF

Description: Seminars in the central and southern regions to prepare members for the elections.

Summary of programme activities *Cross-party activities*

FEBRUARY

10/02 - 05/03

Training programme in strategic planning

Partner: CBE

Description: Training five political parties in making a strategic plan.

Preparation for local elections

Partners: NDI - AWEPA

Description: Seminars for delegates from all political parties from 11 provinces to prepare for the local elections: campaign strategies, communication tools, electoral laws.

Preparation of party monitors

Partners: AWEPA - STAE

Description: Seminars for delegates from all parties from the 11 provinces to train them in electoral procedures, the role of party monitors and the electoral laws.

Viability study for an information and service centre for political parties

Partner: Local consultant

Description: Analyse the need for and possible structure of an information and service centre for political parties to be set up in the IMD office.

Start of an information and service centre for political parties

Partner: Political parties

Description: Opening a centre for the political parties that gives them access to internet and computers, provides meeting facilities, and disburse information on party systems, electoral procedures and party programs. The centre is part of the IMD office.

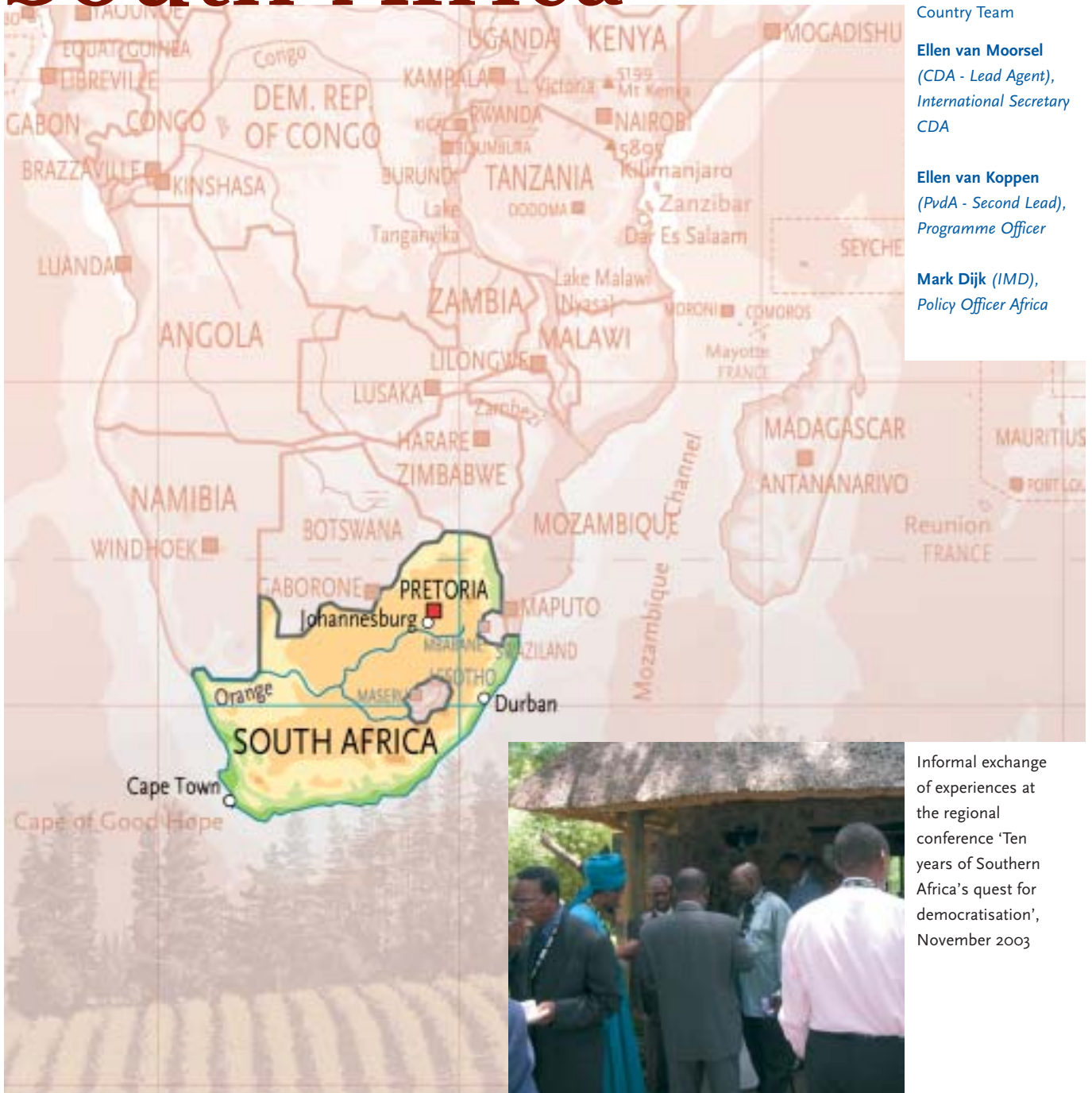
South Africa

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Informal exchange of experiences at the regional conference 'Ten years of Southern Africa's quest for democratisation', November 2003

Ten years after apartheid: a contest of ideas!

For two days, 86 participants from Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Malawi, South Africa, Botswana, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Namibia talked about the way in which they had experienced the past ten nerve-racking years, sharing their hopes and their frustrations. In traditional African style the jokes came thick and fast, with serious undertones. Self-ridicule is an integral part of the African culture. And it reverberated through comments such as 'We fought long and hard for an apartheid-free world and what did we get? Democracy!' Where hope and frustration go hand in hand, one conclusion remains: democracy is a contest of ideas.

Context

In 1994 apartheid came to an end and South Africa organized its first free democratic elections. Expectations and hopes were high throughout the country. Ten years after this historic change there is a general sense that the political situation has improved. The institutional capacity that underpins multiparty democracy in South Africa is well established but remains under considerable pressure to perform in addressing the vast inequalities and social needs of the population.

During the past ten years, the African National Congress has strengthened its position as the dominant party, thereby generating public debate on the existence of sufficient and effective checks and balances in society. The opposition parties have had limited success and have not been able to present alternative policies or to attract substantial support amongst the electorate. The next general elections in South Africa will be held in April 2004.

Most countries within the Southern African region are constitutionally multiparty democracies but their party systems are generally dominated by one party. In Zimbabwe, this domination has resulted in a crisis of legitimacy in the government and a sharp decline in almost all indicators of human security. The effects of the Zimbabwe crisis had a negative impact on neighbouring countries in the Southern Africa region.

Current situation

In the summer of 2003 the Board of the IMD decided to renew the contacts with South Africa, investigating the possibilities of regional (southern Africa) support for democratisation processes. In this context an identification mission was undertaken (August 2003). All South African parties welcomed the IMD and often referred to the assistance provided in the 1990s by the IMD's predecessor, the Foundation for a New South Africa (NZA). The mission recommended to explore the possibilities for developing cross-party activities as well as regional co-operation. A first step along that path was taken by the participation of an IMD delegation in the first regional Conference 'Southern Africa ten years after apartheid: the quest for democratic governance' (November 2003). The conference, at which political parties and academics from the SADC region met, formed an excellent platform for consultations with South African and regional stakeholders about the options for supporting the consolidation process and strengthening political parties in southern Africa. The conference was jointly organized with the Center for Policy Studies (CPS) in Johannesburg and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) in Pretoria. During 2004 IMD will continue to identify partners and programmes.

Content objectives and activities

Since the Board of the IMD did not formally decide to develop a programme in South Africa until October 2003, the IMD programme still remains in the identification phase. No firm programme framework has yet been developed. Based on the information gathered during the first identification mission and the outcome of the regional conference, attention currently focuses on the possibilities of cross-party programmes and regional collaboration. The discourse at the regional conference will be published in a book that shall be launched in South Africa at the occasion of the 10th commemoration of the historic transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994.

Process objectives and activities

The same holds true for the steps to be taken by the IMD to develop a programme in South Africa. In 2003 we identified some potential partners in the broad arena of civil society, varying from political parties to academics and NGOs.

Programme support

In 2003 the IMD did not make use of any additional programme support other than our own staff (including the IMD regional representative and a South African consultant) and supporting NGOs in South Africa (regional conference, CPS and IDASA).

Lessons learned

Since the programme has not yet started, we cannot draw any lessons from this specific programme. However, it was encouraging to learn of the interest in regional co-operation and the possibilities for sharing experiences and best practices at the regional level. The emerging dialogues between the political parties in government and the opposition parties are an important avenue for consolidating and practising multi-party democracy.

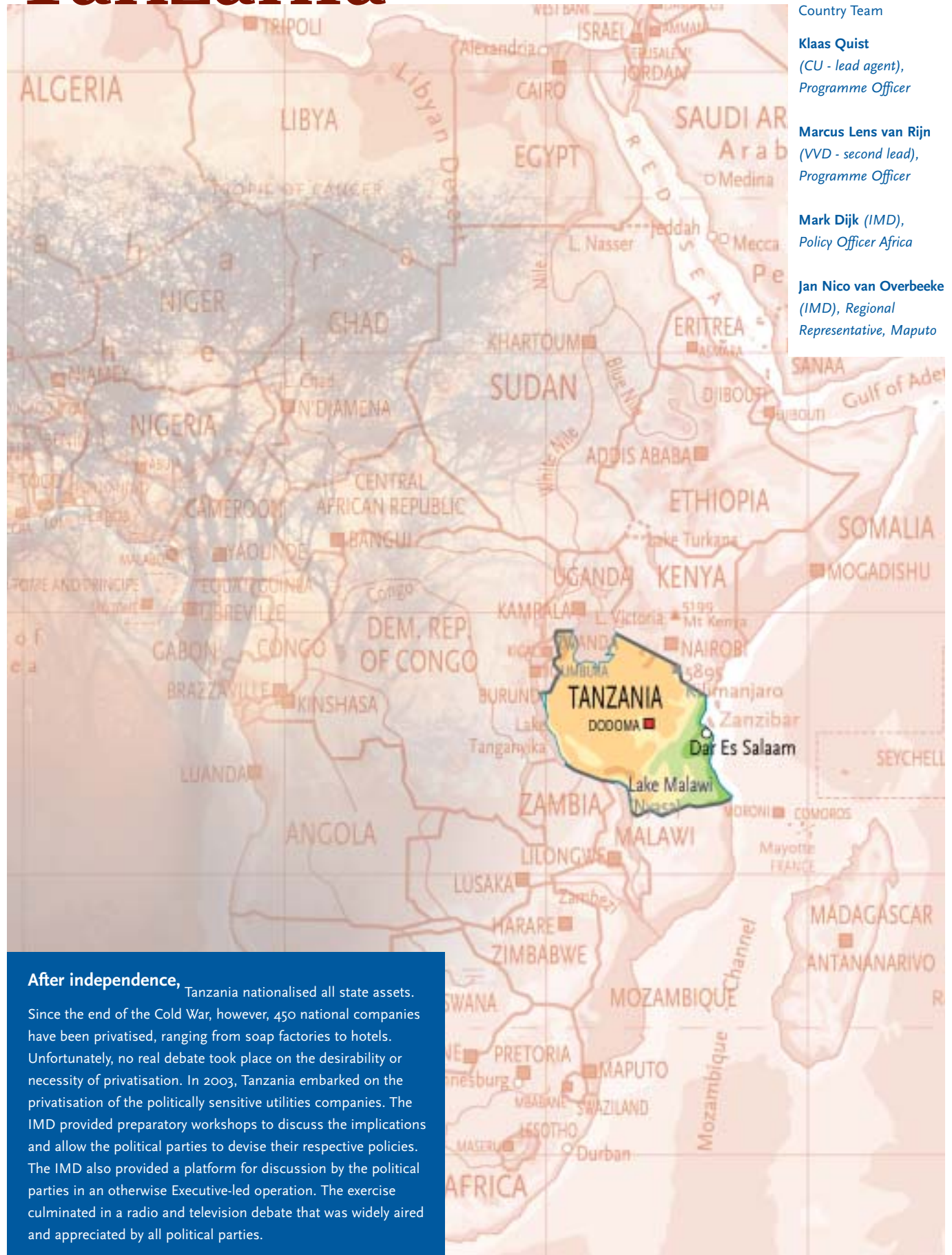
Project Activities



Time Indicator



Tanzania



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After independence, Tanzania nationalised all state assets. Since the end of the Cold War, however, 450 national companies have been privatised, ranging from soap factories to hotels. Unfortunately, no real debate took place on the desirability or necessity of privatisation. In 2003, Tanzania embarked on the privatisation of the politically sensitive utilities companies. The IMD provided preparatory workshops to discuss the implications and allow the political parties to devise their respective policies. The IMD also provided a platform for discussion by the political parties in an otherwise Executive-led operation. The exercise culminated in a radio and television debate that was widely aired and appreciated by all political parties.

Context

As a result of the important Muafaka, the political accord after the elections in 2000 between the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM – party in office) and the Civic United Front (CUF – main opposition party), by-elections were held in May. Those elections were of great importance for both the mainland and Zanzibar. The outcome of the elections was a ‘landslide’ victory for the CUF, as this party won the elections in eleven of the seventeen constituencies. The election results caused the NCCR-Mageuzi to lose its seat in the Union Parliament. These free and fair elections, according to the UN Development Programme, were a step in the right direction and an example for countries in the region.

Nine opposition parties started working together on a regular basis by forming an opposition alliance, UMOJA, which means ‘unity’. The CUF was publicly excluded from this group because it was still working in ‘partnership’ with the ruling party. The fact that the CUF, but also some other main opposition parties, would not participate, made this alliance weak and fairly insignificant. The Registrar of Political Parties announced that the law does not allow for coalitions in Tanzania.

A group of Zanzibar CCM veteran politicians formed a new political party called SAFINA. This sent shockwaves throughout the ruling party (the CCM) since they are not accustomed to mass defections.

During the last few months several parties have begun to make some changes. New leaders surfaced within the NCCR and there was also a change of leadership within Chadema.

Current situation

The IMD programme in Tanzania started in 2002, and the year 2003 was the first full year of the implementation phase. One of the objectives of the programme was to develop a strong and sound relationship between the partners and the IMD in order to build mutual trust. In subsequent phases a strategic plan per party would be devised.

All parties with representation in the National Parliament (Bunge) are involved in the bilateral programme. However, the opposition party NCCR was excluded because it could not regain its seat in the Bunge after the by-elections. The IMD engaged in a dialogue with the NCCR and the Registrar of Political Parties to formulate (new) criteria for including parties in the bilateral programme. The bilateral programme in Tanzania is based on a system of drawing rights. Half of the bilateral budget depends on the number of seats in the Bunge;

the other half is related to the percentage of votes in the last elections.

In addition to the bilateral programme, part of the programme involves cross-party activities. Activities within the cross-party programme aim at supporting the bilateral programme and enhancing the quality of all activities. Together with political parties, partners and other stakeholders, the programme will also try to facilitate the formulation of a long-term view of multiparty democracy and of a strategic plan to strengthen policy capacity, strategic capacity and organisational capacity.

Content objectives and activities

All parties in the bilateral programme have gained enormously from the programme in terms of party identity. Some of the parties have rejuvenated themselves and focused more attention on policies, strategy and vision.

All parties organized regional training seminars to strengthen the capacity of the local leadership. The seminars covered such topics as leadership and democratic governance, party ideologies and multiparty democracy in Tanzania. Many district leaders and local leaders were also trained in internal party democracy.

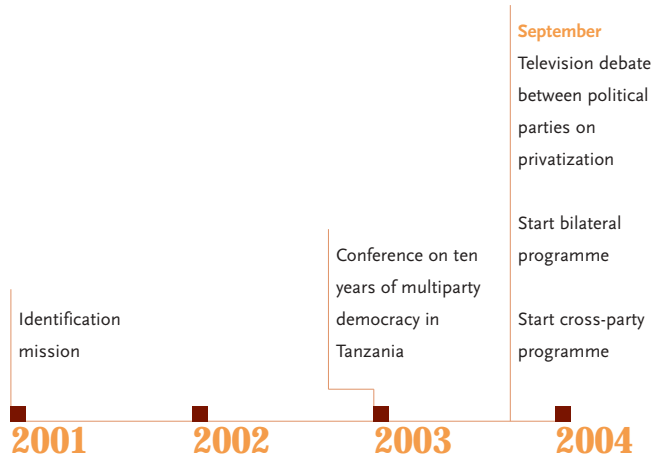
As the learning process in Tanzania has traditionally been somewhat passive, the IMD facilitated a seminar on training methodology in June. The seminar was designed to be highly interactive and participatory. The objective of this training seminar, attended by most parties involved in the bilateral programme, was to improve the impact of this programme.



Cross-party seminar on privatisation, Dar es Salaam, 3-4 September 2003

In preparation for the second televised interparty debate in Tanzania, a workshop was organized for political party leaders on the central theme, privatization, of the tv debate. Three international experts, including World Bank Executive Director Ad Melkert, Prof Adebayo Olukoshi, Secretary General of the Dakar, Senegal, based Council for the Development of Social Research and Dr Reg Rumney, Executive Director of the Business Map Foundation in South Africa, were present to introduce the discussion between the parties and to support the parties in developing their visions and

Time Indicator



Summary of programme activities

MAY

May - September

Capacity Building Project

Partner: Chama Cha Mapinduzi

Description: A series of workshops to train all the regional executive committees of CCM in Tanzania. These workshops were preceded by a training the trainers workshop and the development of a training manual.

positions. Moreover, professor A. Liviga of the University of Dar es Salaam provided assistance to each of the parties.

The panellists appearing in the 90 minutes live televised debate were also invited to attend a special media communication training seminar the day before the debate. The session, conducted by the Kenyan BBC journalist Mr John Warungu, covered such topics as the media interview, appearing on television and preparing and delivering your message.

The IMD hosted the second cross-party televised debate in September. Participants in the live debate included the Minister of Trade and Industry for the ruling party and the National Chairmen of the five parliamentary opposition parties. Party representatives were allocated four minutes each to outline their respective positions on privatisation.

In December a workshop was held on financial management. In Tanzania there is a need to improve the accountability of political parties by strengthening their capacity for financial management within the parties themselves. A culture of accountability needs to be nourished as well as the skills learned that are required to improve financial management systems.

Project objectives and activities

In 2003 many cross-party activities took place, such as training seminars for trainers, workshops and a second television debate. With the help of the Registrar of Political Parties of Tanzania, most parties were involved in cross-party activities. The involvement of the various parties in these activities contributed to improving relationships among them.

Programme support

The IMD was represented in Tanzania by the Field Support Office in Mozambique and by the IMD

consultant Natasha Groom. Our representatives maintained direct contacts with the partners about the proposals, monitored all activities and organised the cross-party activities.

In 2003 there were two working visits (March and September) to monitor the programme. In addition to these working visits, there was continual communication with the IMD via teleconferences and email.

External experts contributed to the different cross-party activities. Three experts attended the workshop on privatisation (Mr Melkert, Mr Olukoshi and Mr Rumney). Furthermore, Mr Van Geenen and the BBC journalist Mr Warungu at the TV debate conducted a session for trainers on training methodology.

Professor Liviga of the University of Dar es Salaam was asked to assess the quality of the bilateral activities. In this context, he attended one training session for each of the respective parties.

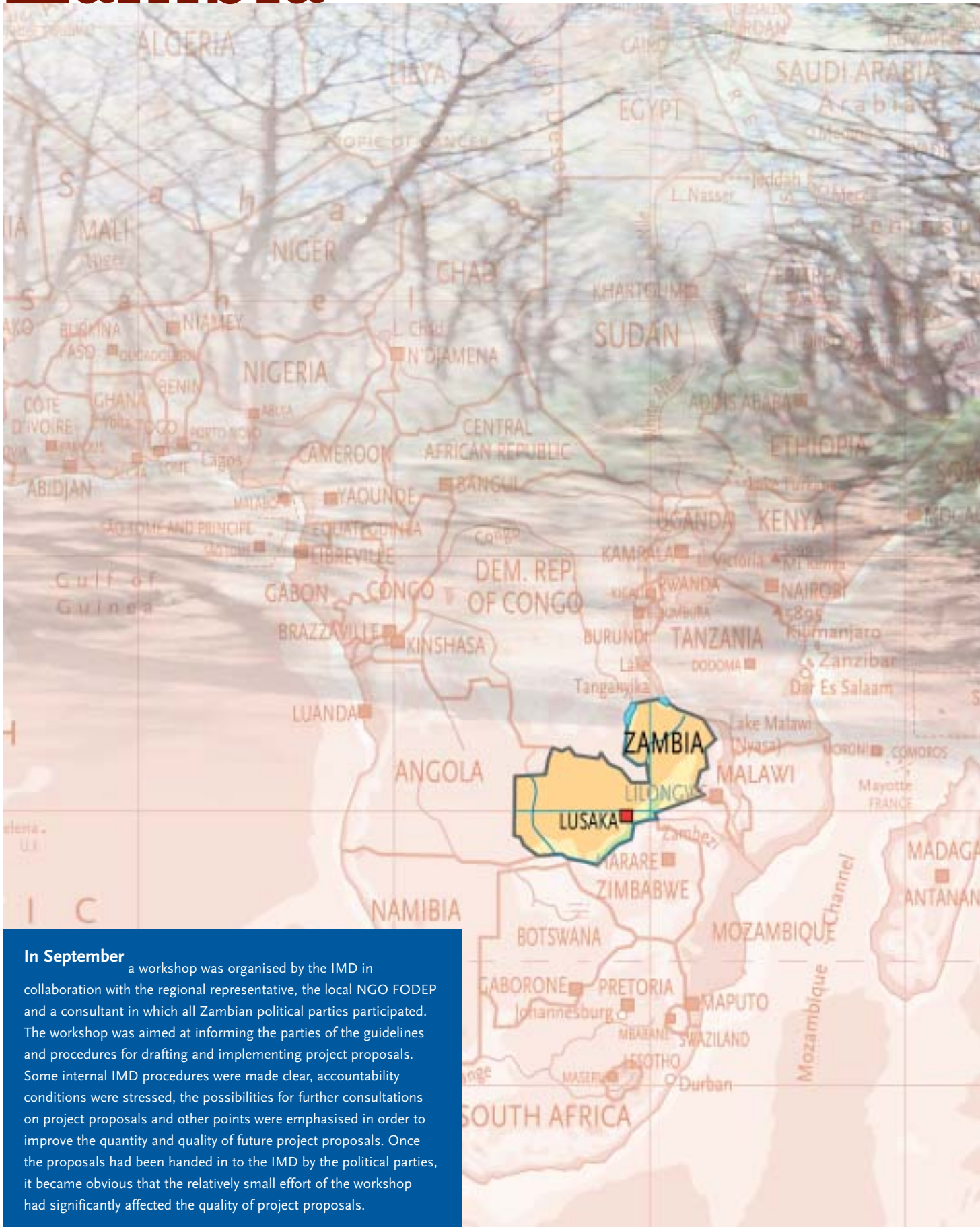
Lessons learned

Although the structure of the programmes should be improved, there is no doubt that the parties have benefited from the bilateral programme and the activities they themselves organized. Some empowerment has definitely been achieved. However, the bilateral activities should become a more integral part of a long-term strategic plan. In addition, the quality of the activities leaves much room for improvement. In particular, training methodologies could be more effective with the right follow-up. Capacity building with regard to policy formulation should become more prominent in the programme. Lastly, political parties in Tanzania can substantially improve the management of their relationships with the media. Discussions about developing seminars in this field were held towards the end of the year.

Summary of programme activities

<h3>JUNE</h3> <p>June 9 and 10</p> <p>Training methodology seminar</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> All parties, consultant</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A one-day seminar for CCM and a one-day seminar with all the other parliamentary parties on training methodology.</p>	<h3>AUGUST</h3> <p>August - November</p> <p>Human capacity building and training of political awareness</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Tanzania Labour Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> four seminars in various districts on issues such as civic education, democratic governance, party ideology and TLP rules of meetings.</p>	<h3>SEPTEMBER</h3> <p>September - December</p> <p>The national leadership and branch members training</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> United Democratic Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Two seminars at the top executive level and at the branch level about both the principles and methods of democratic governance and understanding the principles of the party.</p>
<p>September 3 - 27</p> <p>Privatization workshop, preparatory discussions and TV debate</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> CCM, Chadema, NCCR-Mageuzi, CUF, UDP, TLP, Dr. Liviga, Abdu Simba and others.</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A two-day workshop on privatisation, moderation of a policy formulation debate on privatisation within the parliamentary parties and a nationally broadcast televised debate on privatization.</p>	<h3>OCTOBER</h3> <p>October - December</p> <p>Capacity building project 2003</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> NCCR-Mageuzi</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Training 840 cadres in 29 constituencies in Tanzania. The four-day training sessions were mainly on electoral issues.</p>	<p>October 20 - November 27</p> <p>District leadership seminars and participative leadership review seminar</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Chama Cha Demokrasia Na Maendeleo</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Twelve district leadership seminars on party management, organisation and campaign strategy. A two-day participative review of how the party could improve its capacity to formulate policy.</p>
<h3>NOVEMBER</h3> <p>November 16 - December 31</p> <p>Full blown capacity building projects for the year 2003</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Tanzania Labour Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> three seminars in various districts on issues such as civic education, democratic governance, party ideology and TLP rules of meetings.</p>	<p>November 30 - December 31</p> <p>Training of polling agents and election managers</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Civic United Front</p> <p><i>Description:</i> a four-day seminar to train 40 trainers, followed by a total of seven training seminars. The objective was to educate 210 CUF members to function as polling agents, trainers and election managers.</p>	<h3>DECEMBER</h3> <p>December 10 - January 20, 2004</p> <p>Selecting political parties eligible for IMD funding</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Hon. Mr J.B. Tendwa, Registrar of political parties.</p> <p><i>Description:</i> The development of a coherent set of criteria for including political parties in the IMD programme in Tanzania.</p>
<p>December 16 - 18</p> <p>Seminar on financial management systems for political parties in Tanzania</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> CSIL/Haron & Co</p> <p><i>Description:</i> To support the parties by providing the appropriate follow-up on their financial audits. A second objective was to train financial party staff in financial management skills.</p>	<h3>JANUARY</h3> <p>January 8 - January 15, 2004</p> <p>Seminars for members of the executive committees of Moshi rural and Hai districts</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Chama Cha Mapinduzi</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Two three-day seminars for 221 district cadres.</p>	<h3>MARCH</h3> <p>March 14, 2004</p> <p>Training of newly elected members of the National Executive Council</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Chama Cha Demokrasia Na Maendeleo</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A one-day training session for the new national executive council members on Chadema ideology, party strategy and leadership.</p>

Zambia



In September

a workshop was organised by the IMD in collaboration with the regional representative, the local NGO FODEP and a consultant in which all Zambian political parties participated. The workshop was aimed at informing the parties of the guidelines and procedures for drafting and implementing project proposals. Some internal IMD procedures were made clear, accountability conditions were stressed, the possibilities for further consultations on project proposals and other points were emphasised in order to improve the quantity and quality of future project proposals. Once the proposals had been handed in to the IMD by the political parties, it became obvious that the relatively small effort of the workshop had significantly affected the quality of project proposals.



Country Team

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Mark Dijk (IMD),
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Meeting with
the Patriotic
Front, August
2003



Context

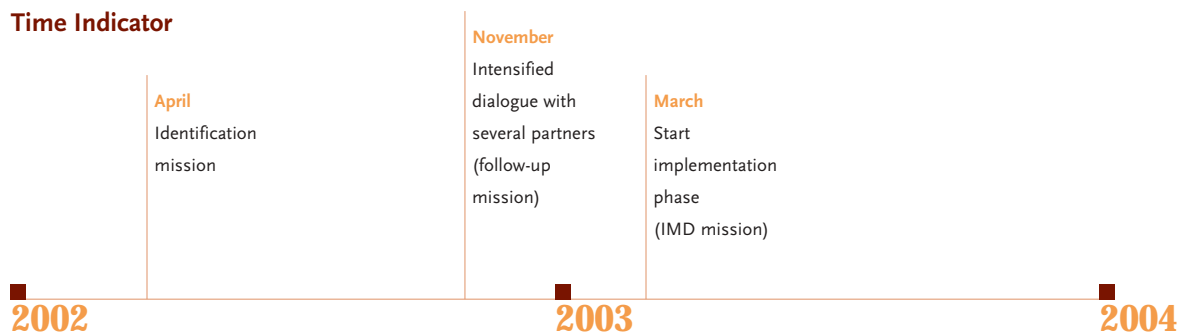
Throughout 2003, issues of corruption had a significant impact on Zambian political life. Not only was the current president Levy Mwanawasa accused of exploiting public resources for personal objectives, but he himself initiated a massive anti-corruption campaign that led to the prosecution of former president - and party member of Mwanawasa - Frederick Chiluba. This caused an internal division in the governing party Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). The MMD did, however, succeed in winning all but one by-election, regaining an absolute majority in parliament. It is an open question how the governing party will manage its renewed dominant position and whether Zambia will to some extent return to a one-party state rather than consolidating multiparty democracy. The various opposition parties have not yet succeeded in forming a coherent response to this challenge.

The most significant opposition to government policies this year came from an umbrella NGO, the Oasis Forum, which consists of three important axes: the three major churches, the Law Association and the majority of women's NGOs. Their main objective was to encourage constitutional reform in Zambia to improve democratic governance. In order to control the reform process, President Mwanawasa insisted on the creation of a Constitutional Review Committee, whereas the Oasis Forum has pleaded for the formation of a constituent assembly to keep the ownership of the process with the people of Zambia.

Current situation

At the end of 2002, the IMD Zambia programme was still in a process of dialogue with several institutions, political parties and donor organisations in order to analyse the various needs of the political parties. This resulted in an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of political parties in the first half of 2003. A report on the needs common to

Time Indicator



all parties and party-specific reports formed the basis on which subsequent project proposals were prepared. By the second half of 2003, the programme fully reached its implementation phase. A cross-party activity on communication was organised and each political party was allowed to design and execute specific activities. These activities were monitored and facilitated where appropriate by the IMD's local consultant.

Content objectives and activities

During the first half of 2003 an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of political parties in Zambia was conducted by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in co-operation with the local NGO Forum for a Democratic Process and with financial assistance from the IMD. After gaining more insight into the strengths and weaknesses of political parties, the IMD decided to use a system of drawing rights in order to enable political parties to formulate and implement projects aimed at strengthening aspects of their organisational structure. In addition, during a meeting with all the political parties in September 2003, the parties indicated their wish to give priority to improving basic skills. A cross-party workshop on communication was organised at the end of November. Another IMD supported activity was the annual conference for Women in Politics, organised in June 2003 by the National Women's Lobby Group.

Process objectives and activities

Because of the complex and personal character of Zambian politics, we did not convoke a formal multi-party advisory council in 2003. During an IMD cross-party workshop in October, however, inter-party dialogue was enhanced. In addition, a Zambian delegation attended the interregional conference 'The Quest for Democratic Governance' that was organized in South Africa by IDASA, the CPS and the IMD. The assessment by the FODEP and the NDI highlighted that Zambian political parties share a noteworthy number of common needs. These identified needs form a solid base for broadening future cooperation.

Programme support

As of the third quarter of 2003, a local consultant was assisting the IMD in organising and managing a number of programme activities and in conducting certain monitoring activities. Furthermore, several activities were organised in co-operation with our regional office in Mozambique. Finally, a Dutch expert, Mr Berend Jan van den Boomen, participated in a UNIP national workshop on strategic planning.

Lessons Learned

The continuity in the management of the IMD programme throughout 2003 resulted in an important increase in the political parties' confidence in the programme and in the reliability of the IMD as a partner.

Another important lesson was that we should restrict direct collaboration with NGO's to situations in which political parties indicate a well-defined and highly prioritised need. Initially, the IMD worked directly with the National Women's Lobby Group and was hoping to get a spill-over to the parties. But any collaboration should be reciprocal. In that way, the IMD could play a role in improving the somewhat tense relationship between civil society and various political parties in Zambia.

A third important lesson learned in 2003 was the need to screen our contact persons. In November it became clear that the funds accorded to the ZRP were being sent to an illegal account and that a party official had withdrawn a certain amount without intending to finance the planned workshops on capacity building. The IMD contact persons within the ZRP, who had been appointed by the party president, appeared not to be important members of the party at all. After contacting other party members, we decided to freeze all contacts until the problems with regard to the IMD project had been resolved. It became very clear that the IMD needs both a variety of and a sound screening of party officials who function as contact persons.

Summary of programme activities

<p>APRIL</p> <p>15 April - 15 July</p> <p>Assessment of the political parties in Zambia</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> NDI (US) and Fodep (Zambia)</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A SWOT-analysis of the seven parliamentary parties in Zambia. This inquiry resulted in one general report and seven party-specific reports. These reports form the basis for a long-term programme.</p>	<p>JUNE</p> <p>June 21 and 22</p> <p>Women in politics conference</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Zambia National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG)</p> <p><i>Description:</i> During a two-day conference the NWLG, in co-operation with women candidates for political functions, developed a strategy to increase women's participation in the political process.</p>	<p>SEPTEMBER</p> <p>September 3</p> <p>Seminar on explaining procedures around submitting proposals</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> the IMD consultant in Zambia</p> <p><i>Description:</i> to prepare all the logistics and material for a half-day workshop on IMD proposal procedures.</p>
<p>OCTOBER</p> <p>October - December</p> <p>Supplementary funding for the Heritage Party's national leadership's consultative tours and party leaders' conference</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Heritage Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> The general objectives of this party tour were threefold:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> to inquire about the state of the party throughout the country; to discuss issues with party members and to hold a party leaders' conference. 	<p>October - December</p> <p>Capacity building and institutional strengthening</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> United Party for National Development</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Various workshops at a grassroots level to sensitise and train the party cadre. Furthermore, local leadership was formally elected at these workshops.</p>	<p>October 30 and 31</p> <p>Communication and Media training</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> IMD consultant in Zambia</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A two-day workshop with three participants of each of the seven parliamentary parties. Training sessions were given by the IMD consultant and two local resource persons.</p>
<p>NOVEMBER</p> <p>November</p> <p>Capacity building and institutional development</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Forum for Development and Democracy</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A five-day training programme produced 18 leading party members who know what party politics and organisation is all about and who are now capable of training others.</p>	<p>November - December</p> <p>Seminars on strengthening party organisation and membership expansion</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Patriotic Front</p> <p><i>Description:</i> organisation of three two-day workshops in the provinces of Luapula, Copperbelt and the Northern Province. The main objective was to acquaint the leadership of the districts in these provinces with the aims and objectives of the PF, the policies of the PF and the party organisation and structure.</p>	<p>November 10 - December 1</p> <p>Capacity Building</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> United National Independence Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> To accustom all key officials and candidates for local government elections to the new party constitution and restructuring of the party according to this new constitution. The UNIP organised three regional workshops and one national workshop.</p>
<p>November 21 and 22</p> <p>Technical Assistance for UNIP's national workshop</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> consultant Van den Boomen, UNIP</p> <p><i>Description:</i> A Dutch consultant from the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) moderated a two-day UNIP national workshop on strategic planning.</p>	<p>JANUARY</p> <p>January, 2004</p> <p>Capacity building seminars for party leaders nationwide</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Zambian Republican Party</p> <p><i>Description:</i> The ZRP will train 408 cadre members in 6 districts of the Province of Luapula on party structure, party constitution and management. They will use external resource persons and their own staff to implement these activities.</p>	<p>MMD pilot strategic planning and collective needs assessment</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Movement for multiparty Democracy</p> <p><i>Description:</i> a national workshop to inform high ranking party officials on recent developments within the party, establish new communication channels within the party and jointly develop strategies aimed at the strengthening the party structure.</p>

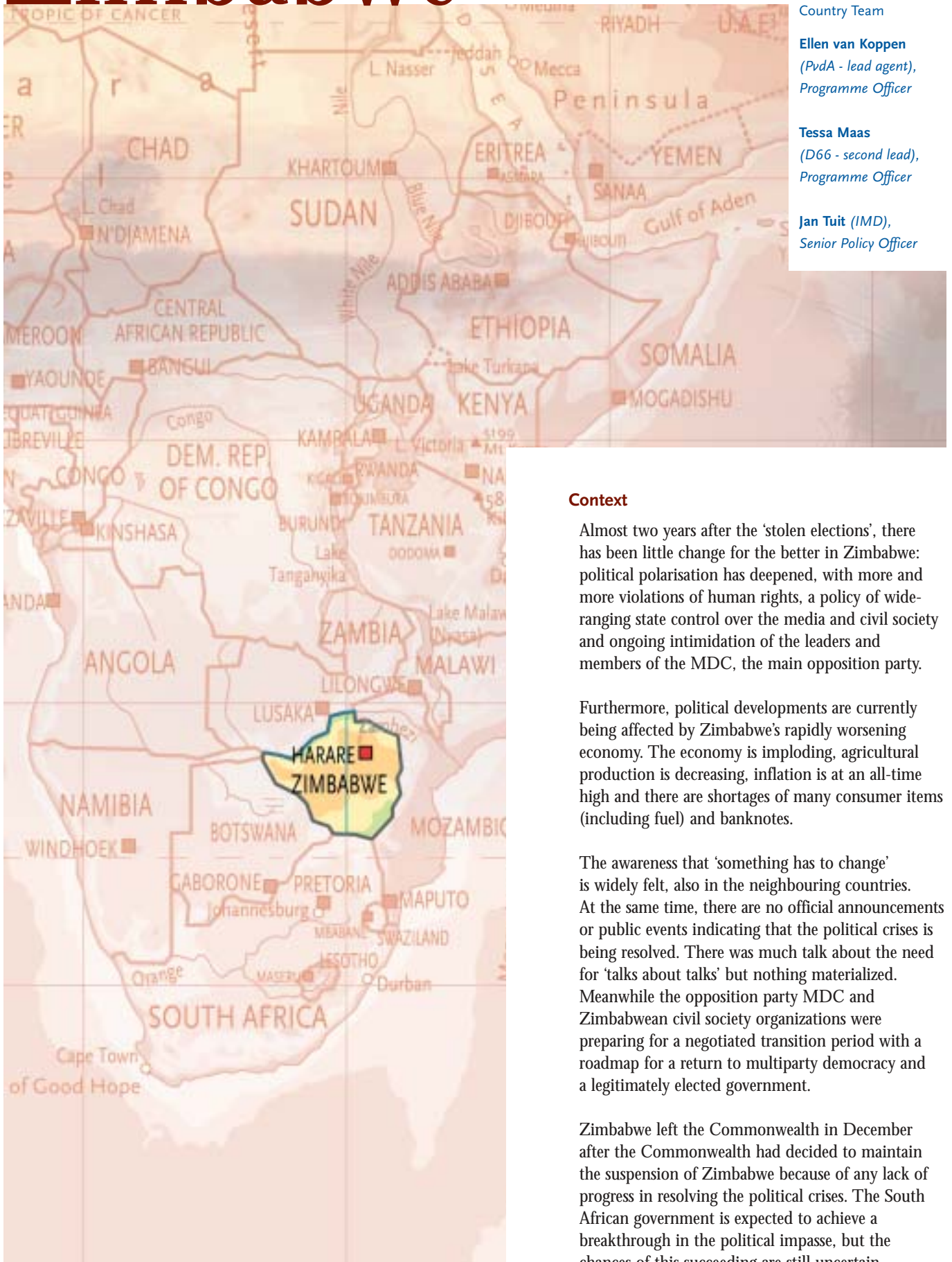
Zimbabwe

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Context

Almost two years after the 'stolen elections', there has been little change for the better in Zimbabwe: political polarisation has deepened, with more and more violations of human rights, a policy of wide-ranging state control over the media and civil society and ongoing intimidation of the leaders and members of the MDC, the main opposition party.

Furthermore, political developments are currently being affected by Zimbabwe's rapidly worsening economy. The economy is imploding, agricultural production is decreasing, inflation is at an all-time high and there are shortages of many consumer items (including fuel) and banknotes.

The awareness that 'something has to change' is widely felt, also in the neighbouring countries. At the same time, there are no official announcements or public events indicating that the political crises is being resolved. There was much talk about the need for 'talks about talks' but nothing materialized. Meanwhile the opposition party MDC and Zimbabwean civil society organizations were preparing for a negotiated transition period with a roadmap for a return to multiparty democracy and a legitimately elected government.

Zimbabwe left the Commonwealth in December after the Commonwealth had decided to maintain the suspension of Zimbabwe because of any lack of progress in resolving the political crises. The South African government is expected to achieve a breakthrough in the political impasse, but the chances of this succeeding are still uncertain.

Time Indicator



Current situation

The year 2003 was one of preparation, network building and research. In addition, the implementation phase of the programme started in 2003.

Content objectives and activities

The programme focuses on supporting democratic impulses directed at a non-violent solution for the political situation in Zimbabwe. This requires involving all of the political actors in Zimbabwe. The IMD is initiating and facilitating activities that contribute to a dialogue between all of the influential political stakeholders in and outside Zimbabwe. For that purpose, the IMD helped to arrange a conference for Zimbabwean activists and academics, organized in South Africa by a South African organisation that was willing to play a mediating role.

The IMD programme is also assisting in policy development on the most important national questions that Zimbabwe is currently facing, such as economic recovery, the land issue and constitutional reform. Based on the perspective that capacity building of policy development is of great importance for the future of Zimbabwe, a structure for conducting policy studies was developed and implemented in 2003. The first results were about to be finished at the end of 2003.

The IMD also supported activities that have resulted in the drafting of a process of transition and an agenda for this process. In addition, the IMD continues to investigate opportunities for opening

further channels of dialogue between the two main political adversaries. There is, furthermore, assistance for activities that support the South African government to mediate a breakthrough in the political impasse in Zimbabwe.

Process objectives and activities

The IMD has established a wide network of contacts with stakeholders in an early peaceful resolution of the Zimbabwean conflict. The programme has a flexible approach to be able to respond to opportunities that arise for furthering political dialogue and to prepare policies options that should arrest the socio-economic decline in Zimbabwe.

Programme support

The programme is supported by a number of Zimbabwean and South African partners and IMD's staff at headquarters and in the region.

Lessons learned

The political crises in Zimbabwe have made the opportunities for inclusive dialogues during the past year very difficult and challenging. One often only partially succeeds in this objective. However, there is no alternative to dialogue and creativity and flexibility will continue to be applied for achieving much needed inclusive dialogues.

It has been rewarding to work with dedicated Zimbabweans and South Africans in learning and in transmitting lessons about peaceful transitional solutions. Despite the continuing deepening of the crises, this dedication bodes well for a future Zimbabwe.

Bolivia



On 7 October 2003 a conference took place in La Paz, Bolivia, on electoral reform in Latin America. This event was organised by the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (FBDM) and the National Electoral Court. In his opening speech, the President of the FBDM, Guido Riveros, emphasised the need to make progress in consolidating democracy and the political party system and stated that this can only happen by modernising the parties. Among the participants of this event were the ex-president of Bolivia, Luis Ossio Sanjinés and the political scientists Jorge Lazarte and Gloria Ardaya.



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Context

Bolivia experienced a violent year, starting in February with an outburst of public rage aimed at government offices and headquarters of governing parties. This outburst was an expression of the weakness of the political party system and the lack of faith in the legitimacy the political elite and the government. The year came to an end with the so-called 'gas war' in October, which brought thousands to the streets to protest against a government that appeared not to care about the people. The army killed some 70 civilians during the protests and the violence only stopped after President Sanchez de Lozada had fled the country.

President Lozada could be replaced constitutionally by his Vice-President Carlos Mesa. The new President Mesa dissolved the government and chose a new government without formal party representatives. By the end of the year, President Mesa could count on popular support, but pending the resolution of popular grievances and the call for constitutional reform, the basis for his support remains fragile. Against a background of poverty and stagnation, and with ethnic and territorial conflicts looming, issues like the utilization of the gas reserves, the access to the sea, and land reform continue to be potentially highly explosive.

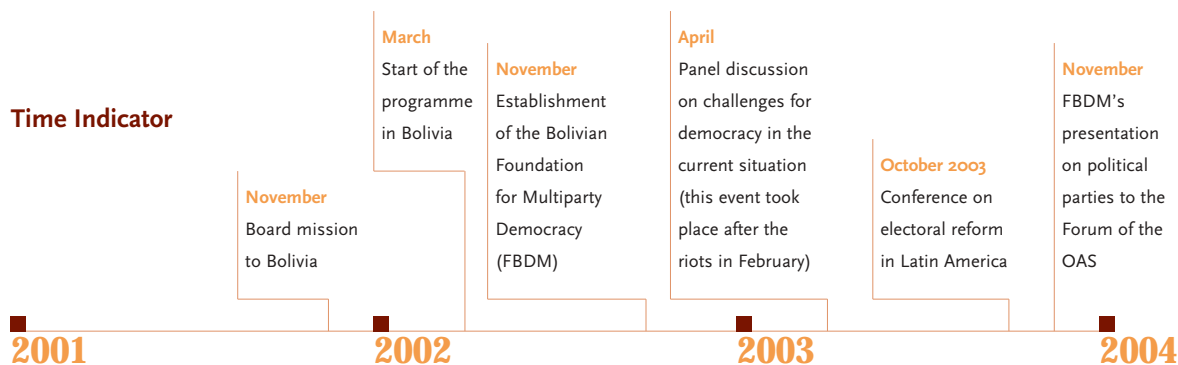
The new president has not dissolved parliament (new elections are scheduled for 2007), so he will need to find support from both the old and the new parties. In the beginning he may benefit from the fear that openly opposing him will further endanger a delicate social peace. The major question that Bolivian politics faces is whether or not the political parties are willing and able to use the current peaceful period to engage in meaningful political and constitutional reforms that will restore the relationship between politics and Bolivian people and that will address the real problems that Bolivia encounters.

Current situation

December 2002 saw the establishment of the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria (FBDM). The FBDM is composed of a board of members and a board

Panel discussion on 'Challenges for democracy in the current situation', organised by the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria





of directors, the latter being responsible for the day-to-day activities; it is headed by a president who is assisted by a director (manager). The board of members consists of 20 members from the different political parties, academics, journalists and civil society organisations. The board serves as a platform for discussion and co-operation among the various participants.

Together with the IMD the FBDM started a programme at the beginning of 2003 that involves a wide range of activities, varying from research on relevant political issues, debates between parties, training sessions for political cadre, debates on multiparty democracy and internal party workshops. Each activity is aimed at strengthening the political party system and enhancing the dialogue between political parties and civil society. Although the FBDM was able to work effectively throughout most of the year, the many impacts of the political crises were felt by both the stakeholders and the 'customers' of this Foundation. The coming year will be a crucial one both for the Foundation and for Bolivians in general. The FBDM is in a unique position to facilitate the needed reform process.

Content Objectives and activities

The key objectives of the FBDM in 2003 remained strengthening and institutionalising the political parties and strengthening democracy in general. No single organisation can meet these objectives on its own. It is essential to involve every stakeholder and all participants and to realise these objectives through autonomous processes from within.

The specific objectives of the FBDM were:

- Developing and stimulating activities in the areas of political training and institutional capacity building;
- Developing and stimulating public debate and reflection on topics related to the development of democracy and a democratic society;
- Supporting the processes of internal democratisation within political parties.

Process objectives and activities

The FBDM is an independent and autonomous initiative of a group of politicians, entrepreneurs, academics and journalists and is responsible for all of its activities in Bolivia. The IMD monitors the implementation of the

FBDM's projects and supports specific activities of the Foundation if requested.

In 2003 the IMD undertook two missions to Bolivia. The first mission (July) indicated that the political situation was fairly volatile, but that the FBDM could still develop its activities without much delay. The second mission in November 2003 took place after the dramatic upheavals in October. The situation in the country was still grim and there was fear of renewed escalation. Will President Mesa be challenged by Felipe Quispe (MIP), or will he be facing opposition from the traditional parties like MNR and MIR? Will the candidates of the MAS (Morales) or the ADN (Quiroga) make important changes in the political landscape? As late as November, everything was still open-ended.

The year 2004 will also be an important one because Bolivia will face the referendum on gas exports and local elections will be held. The members of FBDM and the already growing segment of civil society involved in the debates are also discussing which roles to play and which stands to take. Will it be best to address the needs of the parties or the needs of the country, or are both interlinked? This discussion will be reflected in the activities planned for 2004.

Programme support

The support for the programme is provided by an external consultant with longstanding expertise on Bolivia, Mr Cor van Beuningen.

Lessons learned

The major lesson learned in the year 2003 was that the FBDM was capable of withstanding the social upheavals and political turmoil of February and October. It continued its function as a discussion platform at a time when the political system was hardly functioning and when there was strong antagonism between the systemic parties on the one hand and the non-systemic parties on the other. This stresses the FBDM's important role in political dialogue and constructive co-operation on the road towards a functioning and delivering multiparty democracy. However, the partisan representation within the board of the FBDM, which is an advantage from the perspective of ownership, makes IMD's programme at the same time vulnerable to political instability that can result in internal disputes within the FBDM itself.

Summary of programme activities

APRIL

Panel discussion on challenges for democracy in the current situation

Organised by: the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria

Summary: During this panel discussion seventy leaders from political parties, MPs and journalists came together to analyse and discuss the political situation in the country and reflect on the possibilities of improving communication between governing parties and opposition parties and between political parties and civil society.

MAY

Forum on the role of the parliament in the political decision-making process

Organised by: Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria, National Women Political Forum, Union of Women Parliamentarians

Summary: Consensus between political parties should always include women as they represent an important sector of the population. The relations between government, political parties and Parliament should be revised in order to have a functioning democratic system

SEPTEMBER

Training the trainers programme focusing on the political system in Bolivia and the concept of democracy

Organised by: Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria, National Electoral Court. *Summary:* Party cadres of various political parties were trained by the Andean University Simón Bolívar in the concepts, history and legislation of politics, political parties and democracy. The distinguished Dr. Jorge Lánzaro was one of the experts invited.

Radio and television debate on state, society and political parties

Organised by: Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria
Summary: Participants in this debate were the executive director of the FBDM, the MP Jorge Alvarado (MAS), and the president of the National Association of Journalists and a member of the organisation for small enterprises.

OCTOBER

Conference on electoral reform in Latin America

Organised by: the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria. *Summary:* Several MPs, members of the Electoral Court and journalists attended the conference to discuss electoral reform in Bolivia and other South American countries. During the conference, Dr. Daniel Zovatto from the International IDEA presented his book 'Politics matter', which was commented upon by the participants. Both events received extensive press coverage.

Study on Bolivian political parties

Organised by: After a comparative contest, the Fundación Boliviana para la Democracia Multipartidaria chose the Centro Interdisciplinario Boliviano de Estudios en Comunicación (CIBEC) to carry out the study. *Summary:* An extensive analysis of all political parties was carried by CIBEC at the request of the FBDM. This analysis will provide the political parties with relevant information on their strengths and weaknesses and allow them to assess their internal functioning. This assessment is expected to lead to more proposals and concrete input from the parties to the Foundation. The study will be finalised and published at the beginning of 2004.

Technical Assistance for UNIP's national workshop

Partners: consultant Van den Boomen, UNIP
Description: A Dutch consultant from the Dutch labour Party (PvdA) has moderated a two days national workshop of UNIP on strategic planning.

NOVEMBER

Forum of political parties

Organised by: OAS. *Summary:* The FBDM participated in the annual Forum of the OAS of political parties in the Americas. Despite their different ideological and partisan backgrounds, the members of the Board of the Foundation jointly presented a paper that outlined the political situation in Bolivia. This presentation, so soon after the crisis in Bolivia that forced the president to leave the country, was highly appreciated by the other participants. Several international organisations showed their interest in co-operating with the FBDM.

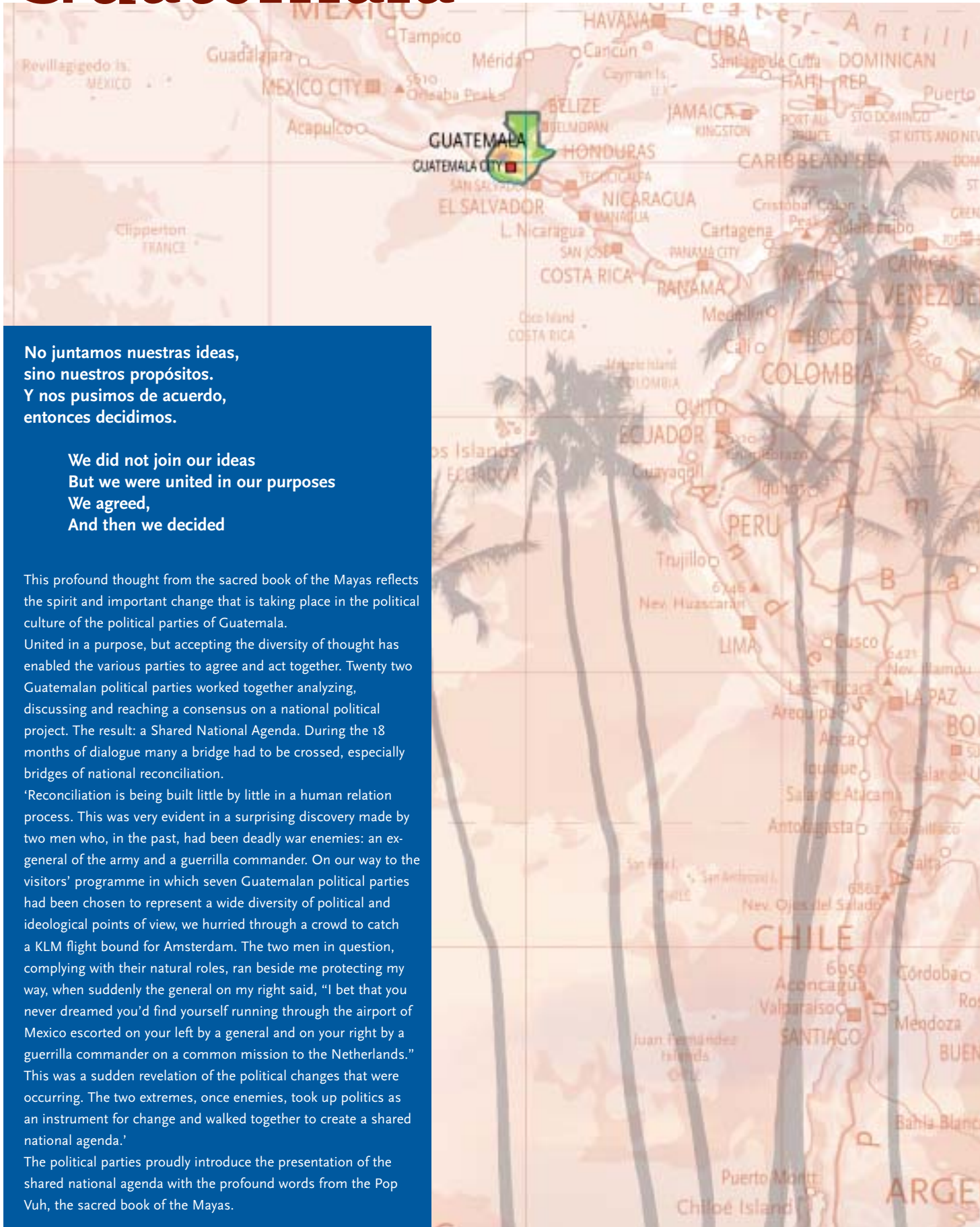
Throughout the year

Various publications

Publications resulting from the activities or requested by the FBDM

Summary: The publications and booklets include 'Ethics and political parties in parliament' and 'Challenges for democracy' and have contributed to a more informed and substantiated discussion on national politics.

Guatemala



**No juntamos nuestras ideas,
sino nuestros propósitos.
Y nos pusimos de acuerdo,
entonces decidimos.**

**We did not join our ideas
But we were united in our purposes
We agreed,
And then we decided**

This profound thought from the sacred book of the Mayas reflects the spirit and important change that is taking place in the political culture of the political parties of Guatemala.

United in a purpose, but accepting the diversity of thought has enabled the various parties to agree and act together. Twenty two Guatemalan political parties worked together analyzing, discussing and reaching a consensus on a national political project. The result: a Shared National Agenda. During the 18 months of dialogue many a bridge had to be crossed, especially bridges of national reconciliation.

'Reconciliation is being built little by little in a human relation process. This was very evident in a surprising discovery made by two men who, in the past, had been deadly war enemies: an ex-general of the army and a guerrilla commander. On our way to the visitors' programme in which seven Guatemalan political parties had been chosen to represent a wide diversity of political and ideological points of view, we hurried through a crowd to catch a KLM flight bound for Amsterdam. The two men in question, complying with their natural roles, ran beside me protecting my way, when suddenly the general on my right said, "I bet that you never dreamed you'd find yourself running through the airport of Mexico escorted on your left by a general and on your right by a guerrilla commander on a common mission to the Netherlands." This was a sudden revelation of the political changes that were occurring. The two extremes, once enemies, took up politics as an instrument for change and walked together to create a shared national agenda.'

The political parties proudly introduce the presentation of the shared national agenda with the profound words from the Pop Vuh, the sacred book of the Mayas.



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Context

The political situation in Guatemala was dominated in 2003 by preparations for parliamentary, presidential and local elections, which all took place in November and December 2003. This was the second combined election after the signing of the peace agreement that ended the civil war in Guatemala in 1996.

Oscar Berger of GANA was elected president after defeating the former dictator Rios Montt in the first round of elections in November and Alvaro Colom of the UNE in the run-off on December 27. As a result of the elections in November 2003, the Congress (with national and district representation) now has three large parties: the GANA (34.46% of the votes), the FRG (26.48%) and the UNE (19.22%). GANA is a young coalition of three parties (Partido Patriota, Movimiento Reformador, Partido Solidaridad Nacional) with the coalition leader Oscar Berger (the former mayor of Guatemala City and a former presidential candidate for PAN). At the local level, the FRG succeeded in getting most of their candidates elected mayor: in 110 of the 311 counties. The Comités Civicos head 24 of the 311 counties.

The campaigns and the election days themselves were conducted fairly well and were free from excessive violence. The political tension at the start of the campaign period resulted from protests organised to put pressure on the judiciary to accept ex-dictator Rios Montt as a presidential candidate.

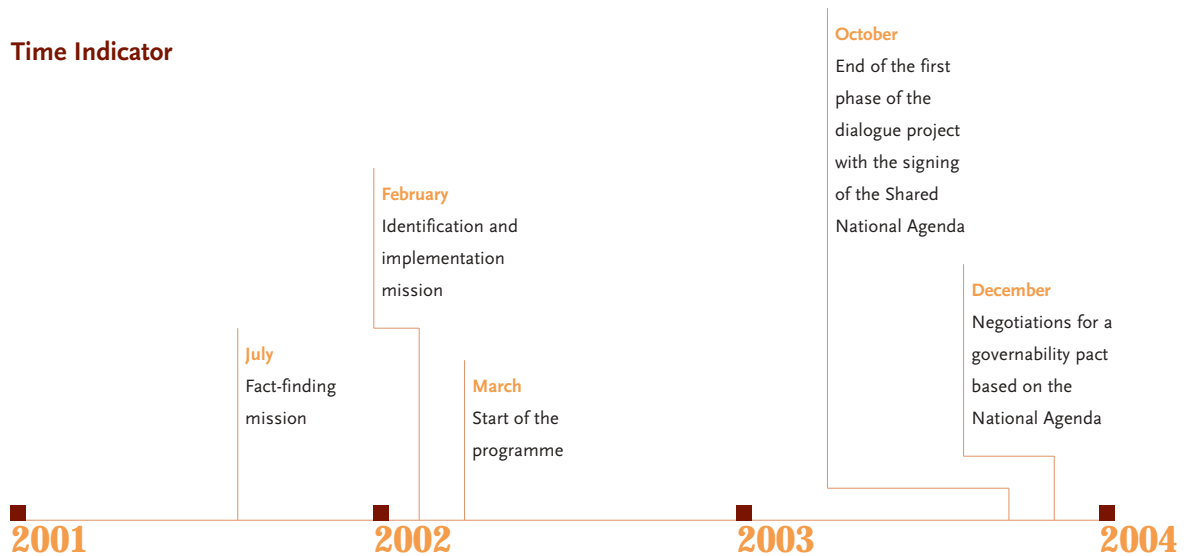
Current situation

The core activity of IMD's cooperation is the IMD/UNDP joint programme on strengthening political parties through dialogue, resulting in a Shared National Agenda for Guatemala. The signing of this Shared National Agenda by all of the parties on October 13th 2003 successfully completed the

Signing of the National Agenda ceremony



Time Indicator



first phase of the project. The second phase - implementing this agenda - will continue in 2004.

To help integrate women and indigenous peoples in the political parties and to strengthen political parties and Comités Cívicos at the local and regional levels, several other projects were initiated and implemented. Partnerships with and an exchange of experiences between the parties in Guatemala and in the Netherlands were fostered.

During the summer of 2003, an external evaluation was conducted. This evaluation highlighted the very positive results obtained in the IMD/UNDP interparty dialogue programme. It also showed that the IMD had played a positive role in facilitating the partnerships with and co-operation among the most important donor-organisations on the subject of furthering democratisation in Guatemala. The evaluation team advised the IMD to build on the results of the dialogue project and to further improve the Guatemalan programme by increasing the coherence between and strategic focus of the different projects.

Content objectives and activities

The objectives of the programme are (1) to strengthen the political parties in their role as intermediary between the population and the government and (2) to support greater representation of women and indigenous peoples in the political parties.

The IMD co-organised two activities with women's organisations aimed to change the roles that women play in politics. The first activity was a national conference in Guatemala City that was highly appreciated as the wives of several presidential candidates and female parliamentarian candidates

from different parties were among the participants. The other was a broad regional initiative in which female representatives from several political parties were trained in the ins and outs of politics.

As a follow-up to the meeting organised between the national parties in the dialogue group (the IMD/UNDP project) and the indigenous populations, the IMD supported several regional meetings and a national workshop to develop a national strategic agenda for the political participation of indigenous peoples. The high level of participation (22 of the 23 indigenous peoples were represented) shows the need for these kinds of gatherings.

To strengthen democratisation at the regional and local levels, the IMD also supported sessions to train local and regional representatives of the national parties in the new decentralisation laws. Together with the OAS and the University of Landívar, a joint project for the Comités Cívicos was developed. The purpose of the project was to train the newly established Comités Cívicos and newly elected mayors on consolidating both their political organisations and the administration of the county.

As 2003 was an election year, the programme also supported some projects to increase voter participation in the elections and to ensure an informed political choice.

Process objectives and activities

Although the IMD/UNDP project contributed to the capacity building of the parties with regard to policy development, it explicitly focused on enhancing the capacity for dialogue. During the past 18 months, an intensive programme was implemented with representatives (mostly board

members) of the 22 registered parties. In over 40 meetings, the participants discussed issues of national interest and benefited from the inputs from a wide range of national and international experts. The objective of the project was to develop a national plan for the country, which resulted in the Shared National Agenda for Guatemala that was officially signed in October.

The Agenda received much national media attention and signified an important step in building trust and consensus among the parties about addressing the major challenges in consolidating peace and furthering democratization in Guatemala. The emphasis in the programme has now shifted towards facilitating the implementation of the Agenda which has subsequently been accepted as the Governability Pact following the elections at the end of 2003. The preparations for the implementation phase benefited from advice provided by Mr Bert Koenders (Dutch Labour MP and Spokesperson on Foreign Affairs) and the Peruvian expert on national dialogue, Mr Rafael Roncagliolo.

Two international seminars to share experiences were organised in Guatemala in which representatives from European and Latin American parties participated. One seminar focused on ideology development, and the other on the effects of the political system on political parties and on building partisan alliances. The programme arranged for three women party representatives to participate in the parliamentary network of the World Bank and the IMD enabled Guatemalan political parties to be represented at the meeting of the Inter-American Forum of Political Parties.

Programme support

Partnerships have been developed and sustained. The IMD - called the Instituto Holandés - has become a respected and well-known partner in Guatemala. The IMD has especially invested in co-operating with the UNDP and the OAS to establish a professional relationship of trust in a joint venture. We have succeeded in this, as is shown by the fact that the IMD/UNDP and the OAS programmes mutually support each other. This is especially relevant in the case of the Shared National Agenda (IMD/UNDP) signed by the parties' Secretaries-General of the Permanent Forum of Political Parties (OAS). Relationships were also established with the FES, KAS, GTZ, UNESCO, MINUGUA, the Pastoral Social and the different universities and political research institutions, such as ASIES.

The exchange of experiences between the political parties in Guatemala and political parties in

neighbouring countries, the Netherlands and Europe was of great importance in 2003. In January 2003, seven political parties from Guatemala took part in the visitors' programme that the IMD had organised to experience the electoral process in the Netherlands. This highly appreciated event contributed to strengthening the links with political parties in the Netherlands and other IMD programme countries.

An Advisory Board, composed of experts on political parties and politics in Guatemala, was established in 2002 to give advice on and guidance in the UNDP/IMD project. They met regularly and gave invaluable strategic advice at politically sensitive moments.

As ownership is very important for the success and sustainability of the programme, the IMD worked together with local experts and organisations in all of the activities. Important local experts and organizations were the Universities of Landivar and San Carlos and local NGOs, such as the women's and the indigenous peoples organisations, the Pastoral Social and Ceprodesa.

The IMD office in Guatemala City has played a crucial role in implementing the programme in Guatemala. The representative and her small staff have intensive contacts with the political parties and with other partners in developing the activities.

Lessons learned

The decision to co-operate with the UNDP in the dialogue project has proven to be very valuable for obtaining the positive results that the programme has generated. The role of the UNDP's Resident Representative in obtaining UNDP's institutional clearance for their first participation in a national dialogue process with political parties is highly commendable.

The political parties in Guatemala regularly stress that the exchange of experience with the political parties in the Netherlands is of great importance to them. Meetings with experts from Dutch and other European parties generate a great deal of attention from the political parties in Guatemala and are an important added value of the IMD.

The management of a complex network of relationships and the need to respond timely and appropriately to the cultural and political sensitivities of Guatemala, has made the presence of a local representative essential for obtaining the results of the programme.

Summary of programme activities

<p>MAY</p> <p>May 2002 - April 2004</p> <p>1.a Strengthening political parties through electoral programme development</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> UNDP</p> <p><i>Description:</i> This two-year programme promotes dialogue between parties and strengthens a pluralistic system of political parties. In 2003 political parties developed the Shared National Agenda, closely following the Peace Accords and focusing on the necessary political agenda for development for all in Guatemala.</p>	<p>1.b Conference for the political parties in the UNDP/IMD project</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Bert Koenders</p>	<p>1.c Conference for the political parties in the UNDP/IMD project</p> <p><i>Partners:</i> IDEA/Rafael Roncagliolo</p>
<p>Formation and training of political parties on decentralisation laws, councils for urban and rural development and the municipal code</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Minugua</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Training programme on new legislation for political parties and organisations.</p>	<p>APRIL</p> <p>April 2003</p> <p>International seminar 'Ideologies and the Political Party Program in the Twenty-first Century'</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> five political parties</p> <p><i>Description:</i> International seminar on ideology.</p>	<p>April 2003</p> <p>International Seminar 'Political Party System: Constituting Factors and Contemporary Challenges, the Best Practices in Europe and Latin America'.</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> OAS (50% of the budget)</p> <p><i>Description:</i> International seminar that focused on the effects of the law on political parties, electoral verification and financing systems and partisan alliances.</p>
	<p>MAY</p> <p>May 2003</p> <p>Seminars Indigenous Peoples</p> <p>National Assembly of Indigenous Peoples on the Political Participation of the indigenous population in Political Parties and Comités Civicos</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> EPUM</p> <p><i>Description:</i> National gathering of the Indigenous Peoples of Guatemala (23) to discuss the political involvement and participation of the indigenous population and formulate recommendations.</p>	
<p>Construction of a National Agenda for the political participation of Indigenous Peoples</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> Delegates of ENPI</p> <p>Regional workshops to analyse the same issues that were discussed at the national level. The regional proposals were integrated into the national outcome, resulting in a National Agenda with specific strategies for the local political participation of Indigenous Peoples. In 2004 the Agenda will be presented to the Forum of Political Parties.</p>	<p>JANUARY</p>	<p>Capacity building for the political participation of women within their political parties</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> ASODIM</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Training course for women of different political parties, resulting in a long-term permanent political multiparty platform in Alta Verapaz.</p>

OCTOBER

October 2003

Best Practices national meeting on the political role of women

Partners: Convergencia Civica de Mujeres and MOLOJ (Mayan political women's organisation)
Description: Forum to enhance the role and status that women will have while practicing politics.

October 2003

Training activities Pastoral Social

Partners: Pastoral Social and five Political Parties.
Description: Workshops on political concepts were given to community leaders of the indigenous population of 800 villages in Alta Verapaz.

DECEMBER

December 2003

Project 'Conscious Vote'

Partners: FES-CAS-GTZ-OAS-Unesco-Minugua-IDEA
Description: Eight organisations, integrated into the 'Grupo Voto Consciente', joined in a project (initiated by the FES and the OAS) to promote well-informed and articulate public participation.

December 2003 on to 2004

Support for the Democratic Governability Pact

Partners: UNDP and all the political parties in parliament.
The project started in 2003 but will continue in 2004. A series of meetings have been organized to lay the foundations for developing a Democratic Governability Pact with political parties and organisations representing society.

Research and capacity building for the new mayors and council members of the Comités Civico's

Partners: OAS/Landivar University
Training and support for the representatives of the Comités Civicos, both the mayors and the council members, during the period before and after the elections.

December 2003 - February 2004

Seminar on the new Regime of Local Government

Partner: OAS/Ceprodesa
Description: Developing the capacity of the new mayor, the municipal council and their backbone political organisations in starting and initiating the new regime of local government.

Monitoring IMD-projects in Guatemala

Partner: ASIES
Description: Monitoring of the IMD-programme in Guatemala by ASIES.

Database of organisation that work in Guatemalan political party strengthening

Description: Collecting information about national and international organisations that work with Guatemalan political party development and implementing a database for a website using the information obtained in the first stage.

Regional and International network projects

Partner: OAS and the World Bank

Participation in the Foro Interamericano de Partidos Politicos

Guatemalan political parties participate once a year in a forum for political parties of the American Continent. The NIMD, together with the OAS, give financial and technical support to delegations of party representatives participating on issues of political party development, sharing best practices of the region.

Gender and political participation-Parliamentary Network on the World Bank-Participation of three female Guatemalan members of parliament from three different parties to initiate an exchange of practices regarding the political exercise for the development strategies 'Millennium Goals'. The objective of the project is to empower women in the Guatemalan political parties, especially those women in Congress, by providing them with the experience of sharing best practices around the world. The IMD gave technical support and a small financial contribution.

Seminar Unionistas

Partner: Unionistas
A two-day seminar on the profiles of the various candidates and their democratic voting.

Surinam



Country Team

Ellen van Koppen
(PvdA - Lead agent),
Programme Officer

Tessa Maas
(D66 - second lead),
Programme Officer

Heleen Schrooyen
(IMD), Policy Officer
Latin-America

Context

Surinam is a country with less than half a million inhabitants, consisting of various ethnic groups. The democratic system in Surinam is a parliamentary one based on a proportional district system. This has almost always been the case, with an interruption from 1980-1987 when Surinam had a military government. In 1987 the constitution was revised and elements of a presidential system were introduced. Presidential and Assembly elections will be held in 2005.

Political parties play and have played a central role on the political stage. There are several parties with a long experience in governing. The already large number of parties is further increasing. Since none of the parties have ever won the elections with an absolute majority, there have always been coalition governments.

Although several parties have claimed that they want to broaden their base, most political parties in Surinam rely on one of the specific population groups for electoral support and are therefore tempted to stress the interests of a specific group. This makes it more difficult to establish consensus about national priorities that serve the common interests.

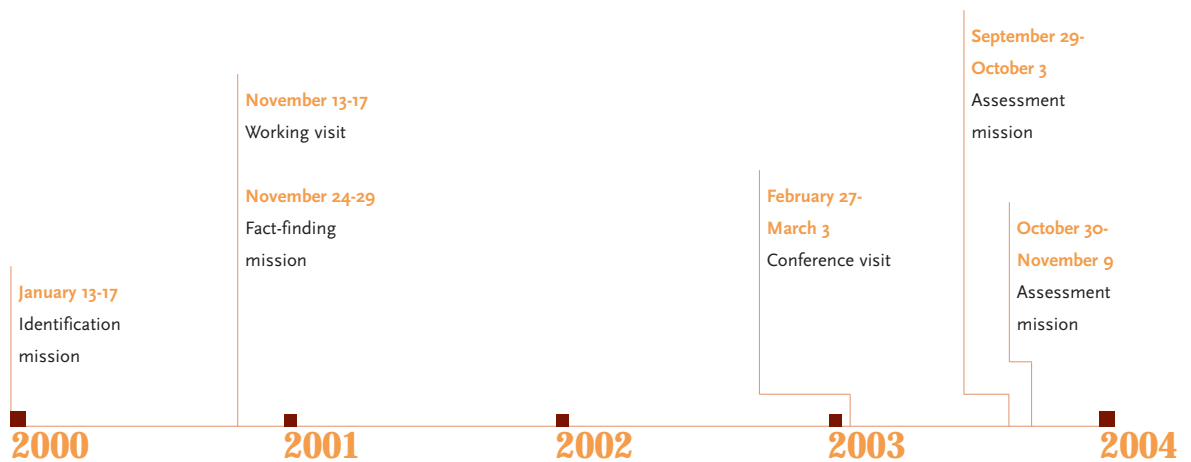
Current situation

In 2002, after consulting with political parties and other actors, the IMD defined the goal of its programme in Surinam as one of providing cross-party support for policy development within the parties. In that same year we also identified a partner in Surinam: the multidisciplinary work group, called the Democracy Group of the Anton de Kom University (ADEK) of Surinam. This group had already designed a five-year programme including research, study and conferences, called 'Democracy, Elites and Society in the Caribbean'.

First meeting of
the Democracy
Group at the
Anton de Kom
University



Time Indicator



Because their ideas were well-matched with ours, a partnership appeared to be a natural course of events.

This partnership programme was implemented in 2003. The Democracy Group organised the first conference from 28 February to 1 March 2003 and the second conference last December.

Content objectives and activities

The conference 'Policy development by political parties' was held in Paramaribo in February - March. Although invited, the governing parties were not represented at this conference. Nevertheless, the conference itself unfolded successfully with a substantial discussion. Topics of discussion included several developments related to policy making: the development of policy itself, the structures and bodies of the parties involved, possible obstacles to policy development and the outcome of this process at the national level.

Prior to this conference, two interesting studies were completed. One study was a qualitative and quantitative assessment of the policy development of political parties in Surinam; the second study was a survey of opinions on what people considered to be the most important national issues. The parties not only contributed to the discussions but they also introduced several policy issues. The political parties acknowledged the need for policy development and were enthusiastic about input from the University.

One of the outcomes of the conference was the recommendation to enhance the capacity of policy building within parties. Concrete and result-oriented activities should strengthen political parties in their policy building processes and enlarge their

capacities to identify, formulate and monitor national policies.

In December 2003 a second conference 'Political development and political systems in Surinam and the region' was organised as follow-up to the first conference. The discussion was on electoral systems and presidential versus parliamentary systems - issues of interest mentioned at the conference in February-March. This time, following further consultations between the different stakeholders involved, all political parties participated and the evaluation of the conference was positive.

Two representatives of the Democracy Group visited Guatemala to gain information and learn lessons about the interparty dialogue programme that is supported by IMD/UNDP in that country. Two representatives also visited the IMD workshop 'Operationalising institutional development criteria for political parties' in The Hague.

Process objectives and activities

The Democracy Group of ADEK remains our principal partner in the programme development. The cooperation has meanwhile been extended to the UNDP with reference to the positive experiences in the joint programme in Guatemala. UNDP has a sub-office in Surinam that falls under the regional UNDP office in Trinidad and Tobago. The UNDP programme in Surinam supports several governmental programmes, including on good governance. With their office on the ground it is expected that the UNDP involvement can provide the needed technical backup and facility services for the future programme developments.

In December 2003 the preparations for the co-operation with the UNDP started. This is a

Summary of programme activities

FEBRUARY

February - March

Conference of the University of Surinam with the political parties

Partner: Democracy Unit of the ADEK

APRIL

April

Visit of the representatives of the Democracy Group of ADEK to Guatemala

DECEMBER

December 2003 - 15 June 2004

Preparation project UNDP 'Strengthening democracy through policy development' by political parties

Partners: UNDP and Democracy Unit ADEK

cross-party project to gather and disseminate the research and academic input as needed for policy development by the political parties. During the first part of 2004 two further workshops will be organized by the Democracy Group of the University of Surinam in cooperation with UNDP/IMD following which an evaluation of the progress and commitment by the participating political parties will determine the future programme developments.

A working relationship with the OAS and the NDI has also been established. The representative of the NDI in Guyana participated in the February conference and made a presentation.

Programme Support

The IMD arranged a staff visit in November 2002 and again in October 2003.

The IMD director and programme officer for Surinam participated in the conference in February-March, for which the NDI representative in Guyana was invited and a Member of Parliament from Trinidad and Tobago.

Visit by IMD President Mr. J. van Kemenade in November 2003. He was invited by the University for their 30th Anniversary Celebration. He was also a guest speaker at the workshop on politics and media in Paramaribo.

The IMD contacted the editor Mark Payne of the IADB publication 'Democracies in Development' to deliver an introductory speech at the conference in December.

Lessons learned

Co-operation with the University's Democracy Group and with UNDP has been successful

and meaningful for advancing the programme objectives.

It is important to develop creative initiatives that broaden the scope of the programme in Surinam and will guarantee the local ownership of the activities undertaken.

Indonesia



Banten, a newly created province

situated between the provinces of West Java and Jakarta, is a densely populated region with levels of poverty and underdevelopment that are high even by Indonesian standards. The IMD delegation met with several political parties, academics and NGO activists. The last meeting was with the kiai, the traditional Muslim leaders linked to the organisations of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. Setting up a programme without the consent of these three gentlemen would be a mission impossible. Fortunately, they repeatedly stressed their commitment to the democratisation process. They emphasised, however, the importance of the ownership of this process and the outcome: an Indonesian (as opposed to a Western) democracy, with social justice as a core value.



Country Team

Ellen van Moorsel
*(CDA - Lead Agent),
 International Secretary
 CDA*

Karim Beroud
*(Groen Links -
 Second Lead),
 Programme Officer*

Will Derks (IMD),
*Policy Officer
 Asia/Indonesia*

Context

Five years ago the regime of President Soeharto (Orde Baru) collapsed, paving the way for the 'Reformasi'. This Reformasi brought freedom of speech and association, decentralisation of government and the outlines of a new constitution. At the same time, however, corruption spread, the economy deteriorated, and regional and communal conflicts erupted once again. Meanwhile, the influence of the military on politics increased. Due to these negative influences, Indonesians are losing faith in the Reformasi, whereas 'Demokrasi' remains to be a still-unrooted concept in Indonesian society.

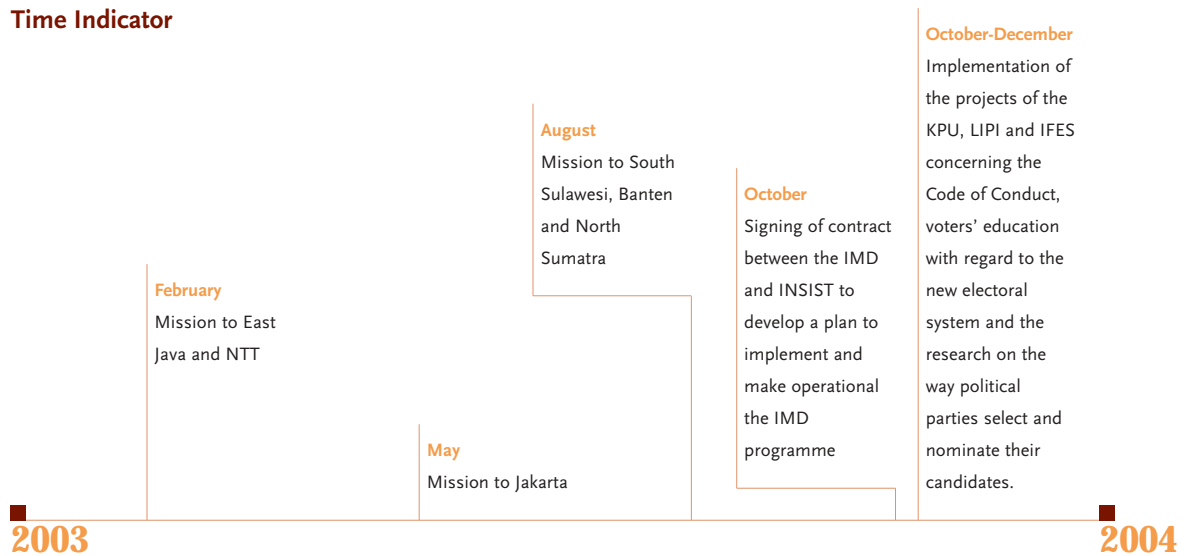
In 2003 the political parties started to prepare for the elections of 2004. In the coming year parliamentary elections will be held in April, followed by presidential elections in July. The ruling party of President Megawati, PDI-P, proclaimed itself to be the sole guardian of national integrity. The government's harsh position during the Aceh crisis was illustrative in this respect. During the year, the struggle for leadership of the country and government control deepened. The most important differences were expressed in the field of secular policies (nationalism) versus Islam and between elitism and populism.

During 2003 new electoral laws were adopted, creating a totally renewed electoral system. Although the Indonesian Electoral Council (KPU) has done and is doing its utmost to regulate and register all the political parties (hundreds of parties wished to be registered, but only 24 have passed registration) and although much attention is being paid to voters' education, it is feared that insufficient understanding of the new laws may cause irregularities and confusion during the upcoming elections. The question whether Reformasi paved the way for the Demokrasi remains relevant.

IMD's Roel von Meijenfeldt and INSIST's Donatus Marut sign a contract for elaborating the framework for the Sekolah Demokrasi.



Time Indicator



Current Situation

In the first half of 2003 consultations with the Indonesian counterparts proceeded, while the IMD programme picked up momentum in the second half of the year. In the year 2003, three missions were undertaken. The first mission aimed at identifying stakeholders and partners for the core programme - the 'Sekolah Demokrasi' - in the provinces of East Java and NTT (Nusa Tenggara Timur, a group of islands to the southeast of Bali and to the west of Timor). The second mission's objective was to consult with several national and international experts on adapting the concept of the Sekolah Demokrasi to fit into a programme framework. The last mission focused on the provinces of Sulawesi Selatan, Banten and Sumatra Utara, all of them considered interested to embark on a democratisation cooperation programme.

Content objectives and activities

After consulting the counterparts in Indonesia, the IMD has chosen to direct its efforts to reducing the existing polarisation within the party system, improving understanding of internal party democracy and building bridges between the political parties, government and civil society. Those objectives will be pursued in the implementation phase of the core programme (the preparation phase took place in 2003) and with support for a number of additional projects in close collaboration with Indonesian and international counterparts working in the field of political education.

The preparatory phase of the core programme concerning the Academy for Democracy - 'Sekolah Demokrasi' - was successfully implemented. At the end of 2003 the IMD signed a contract with the Indonesian ngo INSIST (Institute for Social

Transformations). Both parties agreed that INSIST would develop a plan to implement and make operational the core concepts that had emerged from the substantial consultations.

Because Indonesia is preparing for elections in 2004, the IMD decided to support a few cross-party activities in addition to the development of the core programme. This support involved activities initiated by the KPU, the Indonesian Electoral Commission. The first activity focused on facilitating a Code of Conduct for the election and campaigning activities of the political parties. This project was carried forward by IFES (International Foundation for Election Systems) and, at the end of 2003, the first phase (drafting the Code) had been completed. At the beginning of 2004, the next phases will be implemented (dissemination of the Code at local levels and the 'sosialisasi' of the Code).

The second project involved research on the political parties' selection and nomination of candidates for the national parliament, the provinces and the districts. This research, executed by LIPI (the Indonesian Academy of Sciences), will be completed by March 2004.

Finally, IFES was also responsible for drafting, producing and disseminating a leaflet to explain the new electoral system that the Indonesian voters will have to understand when casting their ballots. One million copies will be distributed in early 2004 within the five provinces that were selected for the future cooperation programme.

Process objectives and activities

As a result of the outcome of the consultative process the focus of the programme will initially be directed towards a multi-party and multi-sectoral approach.

Summary of programme activities

<p>AUGUST</p> <p>August 2003 - March 2004</p> <p>The nomination and selection process of legislative candidates</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> LIPI</p> <p><i>Description:</i> LIPI will conduct a thorough research on the way in which Indonesian political parties in the five identified regions in Indonesia nominate and select their legislative candidates. The results of this research will eventually be published in book form.</p>	<p>OCTOBER</p> <p>October 2003 - March 2004</p> <p>The preparation of a three year operational plan and budget for the establishment and sustainability of the Sekolah Demokrasi in the five identified regions in Indonesia</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> INSIST. <i>Description:</i> The project's projected outcomes are an operational plan that will take into account the mission and objectives of the Sekolah Demokrasi, its functions, methods and institutional setting as well as its target groups. Furthermore it will include a clear organizational and educational concept, a transparent business plan and a detailed time table.</p>	
	<p>NOVEMBER</p> <p>November 2003 - March 2004</p> <p>Code of Conduct for Indonesian political parties</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> IFES.</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Drafting, printing and distribution, as well as socialization of a Code of Conduct for Indonesian political parties.</p>	<p>November 2003 - March 2004</p> <p>Voters' Education</p> <p><i>Partner:</i> IFES</p> <p><i>Description:</i> Drafting, printing and distribution, as well as socialization of a brochure that will guide voters through the election year 2004.</p>

This approach enables the IMD to make full use of local institutions and of the democratization initiatives within Indonesia itself. The potential capacity, already identified in 2003 within the selected regions, is necessary if the Sekolah concept is to develop into a genuine Indonesian democracy training institute at both the national and local levels. The commitment of the political parties, government agencies and civil society is vital in developing this programme in which each partner has a clear mandate and well-defined responsibilities.

Programme support

The technical programme support during 2003 was provided by the independent consultant Mr Benny Subianto. The IMD country team co-operated closely with him and was able to monitor the process on the basis of Mr Subianto's monthly reports. The IMD consultant prepared the IMD missions, three of which were undertaken in 2003.

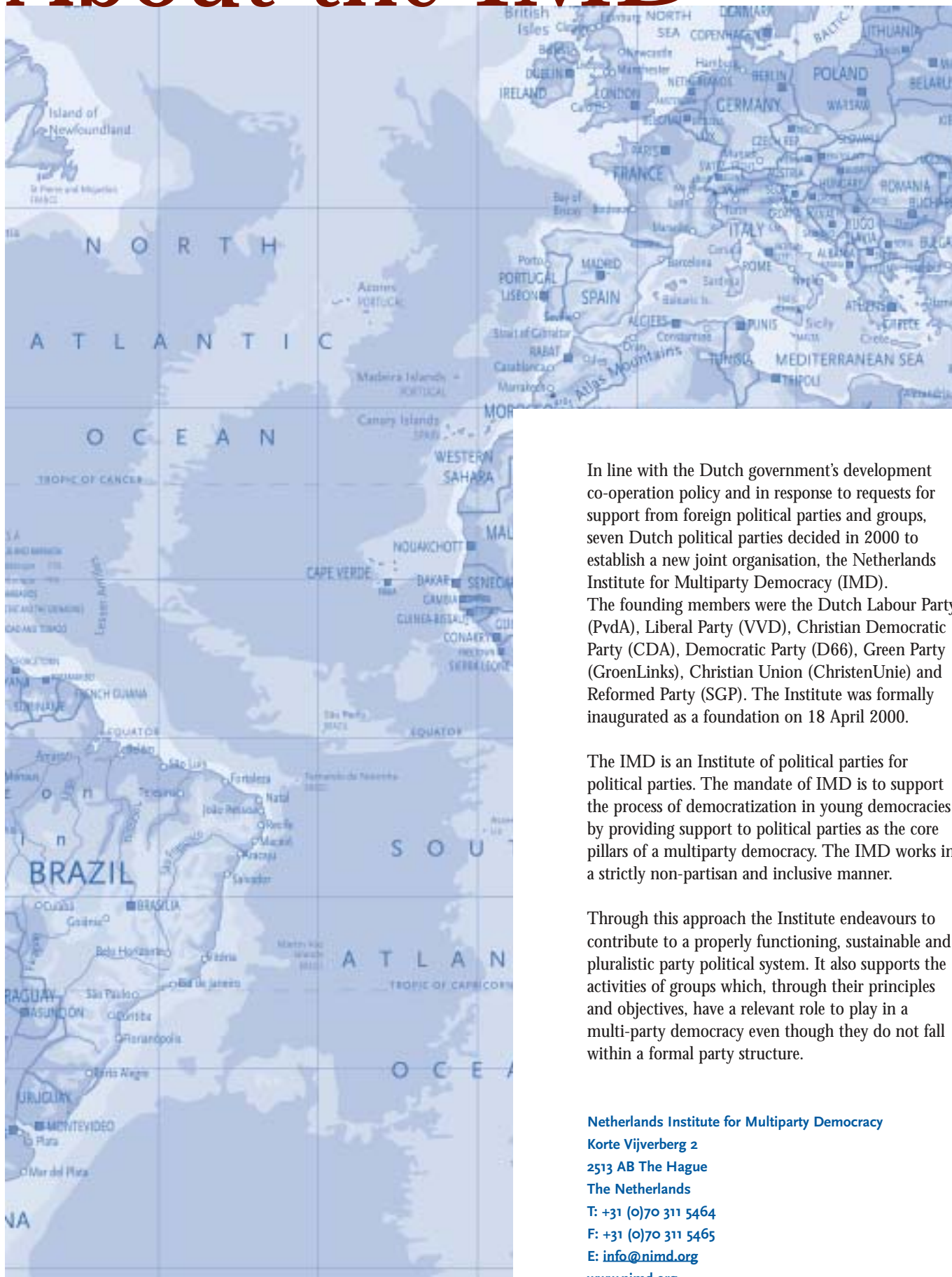
An elaborate network of national and international agencies working in the field of democracy support and political education were consulted and regularly briefed about the cooperation programme. These included the KPU, Partnership for Governance

Programme, UNDP, the German Foundations, NDI, Asia and FORD Foundation, the TIFA Foundation, International IDEA, IFES and the Netherlands embassy. IMD is indebted to the positive support and guidance these agencies continue to provide.

Lessons learned

The IMD has learned the lesson that each organisation involved in international co-operation experiences that initiatives must be rooted within the society itself so that people recognise their problems and find their own solutions, thus creating a sustainable democratic reform. Indonesia is often referred to as a continent in itself, one of the largest democracies in the world, the largest Muslim nation in the world, a continent filled with controversies, possibilities and challenges. We have encountered persons and organisations deeply rooted in their own society, but also individuals who have lost touch and no longer feel responsible. Manoeuvring between the two, trying to set a course in which commitment is felt and the need for democratic self-expression is recognised, remains a tremendous and attractive challenge.

About the IMD



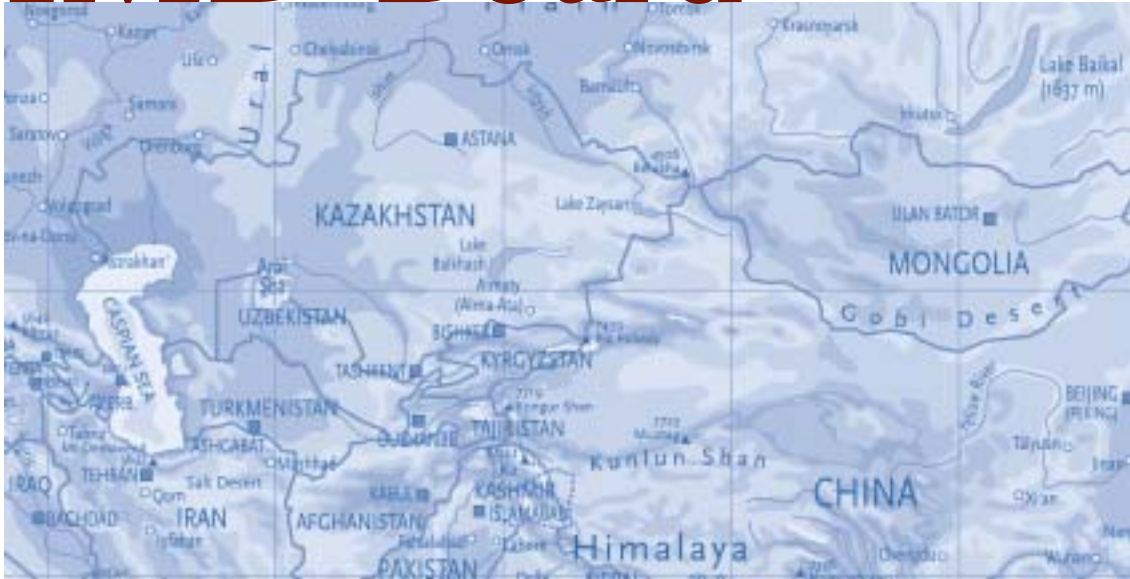
In line with the Dutch government's development co-operation policy and in response to requests for support from foreign political parties and groups, seven Dutch political parties decided in 2000 to establish a new joint organisation, the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD). The founding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

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

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

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IMD Board



J.A. van Kemenade

President

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

C.S.L. Janse (SGP)

Member

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

J.J.A.M van Gennip (CDA)

Vice-president

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

R. van der Meer (VVD)

Member

Mr Van der Meer is a member of the VVD party. He is a business unit director safety & logistic solutions Siemens Nederland NV and board member of the Liberal International group in the Netherlands.

M.C.J. Groothuizen (D66)

Deputy Vice-president

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

A.P. Pinto Scholtbach (PvdA)

Member

Mr Pinto Scholtbach is member of the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA. He is a political scientist by training and has been working as a journalist, was co-ordinator of the Foreign Affairs committee of the PvdA in parliament, and was until December 2003 International Secretary and Vice-chair of the Labour Party (PvdA).

W. Haitsma (ChristenUnie)

Treasurer

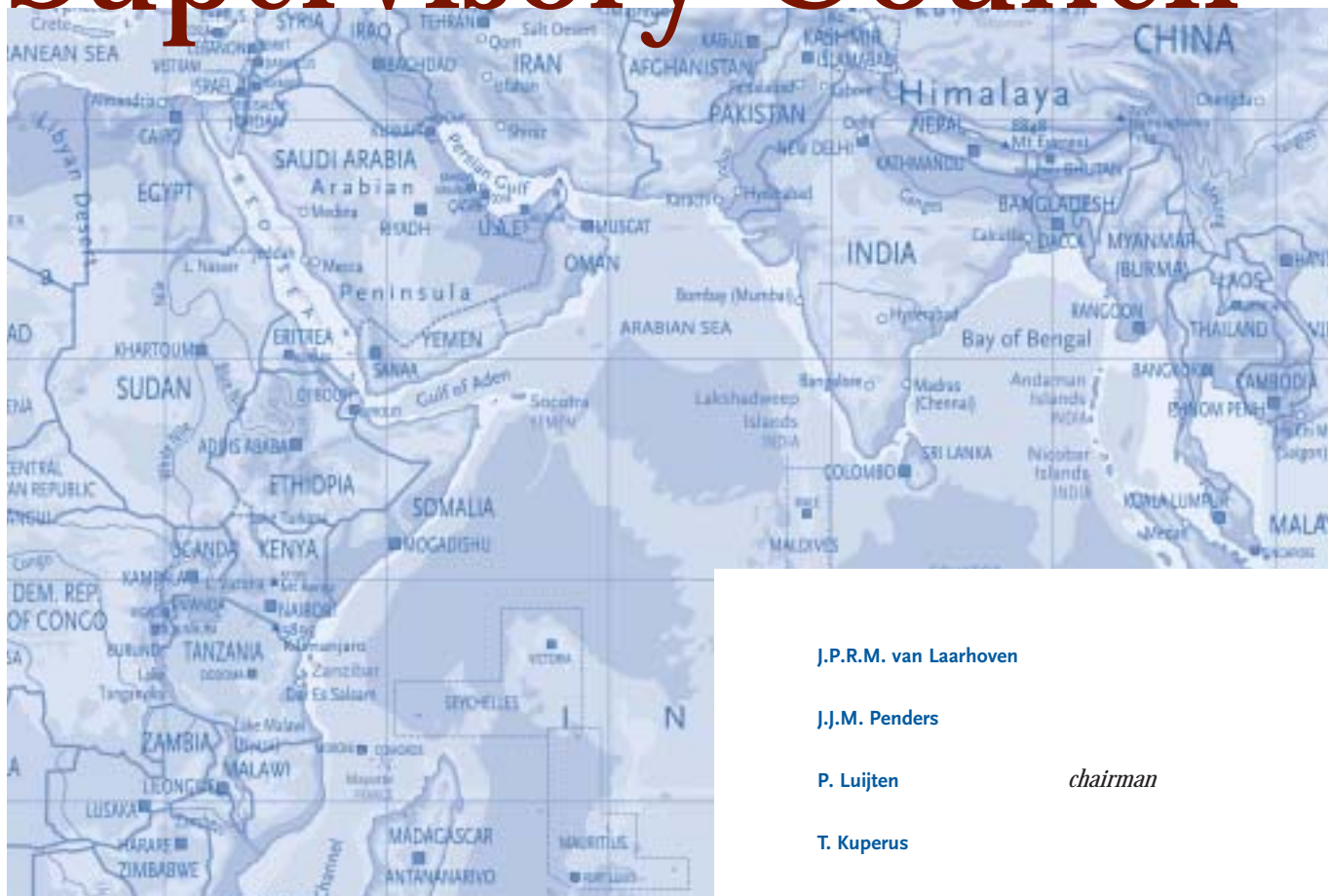
Member of the Christian Union party. Mr Haitsma is a business and mediation consultant and was previously an entrepreneur in the construction sector.

S. Pormes (GroenLinks)

Member

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

Supervisory Council



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J.J.M. Penders

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A.G. Koenders

B. Stolte-van Empelen *member of presidium*

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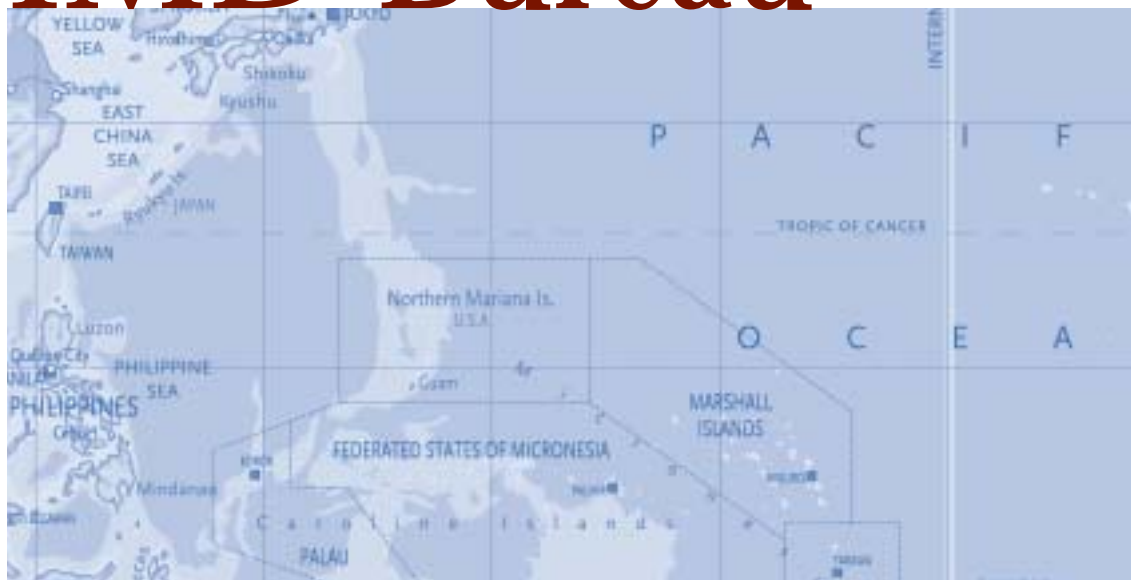
G. Geijtenbeek

A. Bloed

J. Dankers *member of presidium*

J. Bos

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H.R. von Meijenfeldt

Executive Director

J. Tuit

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VVD

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CDA

D. Dinkhuijsen

CDA

M. van Vliet

CDA

K. de Vries

SGP

Field Representatives

D. Cruz

IMD Guatemala

J.N. van Overbeeke

IMD Mozambique

Financial Services

A. Mijnsbergen

Fiadlon

F. Boersema

Fiadlon

Annex 1

Statement of revenue and expenditure

	Budget 2004 €	Draft actual 2003 €	Actual 2002 €	Actual 2001 €
Revenue				
Support Ministry of Foreign Affairs: programme	7,653,500	5,072,048	2,249,117	474,017
Support Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Conference 'Network Democracy'	-	-	16,953	260,987
Interest	PM	45,799	7,479	5,870
<i>Total revenue</i>	7,653,500	5,117,847	2,273,549	740,874
Expenditure				
Country programmes				
- Mozambique	530,000	405,181	-	-
- Tanzania	450,000	255,532	382,676	-
- Zimbabwe	450,000	409,350	103,058	-
- Zambia	394,000	204,322	-	-
- Malawi	299,000	220,256	-	-
- Ghana	600,000	427,951	6,698	-
- Mali	156,000	30,903	7,889	-
- Guatemala	550,000	475,437	342,873	-
- Bolivia	300,000	201,291	290,003	-
- Surinam	200,000	72,155	-	-
- Indonesia	650,000	160,443	5,089	-
- South Africa	250,000	153,750	-	-
- Kenya	255,000	-	-	-
<i>Total country programmes</i>	5,084,000	3,016,571	1,138,286	-
Technical assistance				
Representation / Monitoring	300,000	152,879	89,349	-
- Representation / Monitoring Southern Africa	250,000	225,389	16,778	-
- Representation / Monitoring Guatemala	146,000	178,965	81,805	-
- Representation / Monitoring Indonesia	170,000	54,682	-	-
- Monitoring Ghana	17,000	11,764	-	-
- Monitoring Bolivia	20,000	11,167	-	-
- Monitoring Mali	10,000	-	-	-
- Monitoring Surinam	17,000	-	-	-
- Monitoring Kenya	20,000	-	-	-
<i>Total representation / monitoring</i>	650,000	481,967	98,583	-
Support Netherlands political parties	325,000	300,088	214,002	221,081
Identification	25,000	150,810	193,375	116,787
Evaluation	75,000	66,213	-	-
Management	994,500	735,721	436,551	117,507
Special purposes	200,000	213,598	103,403	285,499
<i>Total expenditure</i>	7,653,500	5,117,847	2,273,549	740,874
<i>Result</i>	-	-	-	-



NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY

