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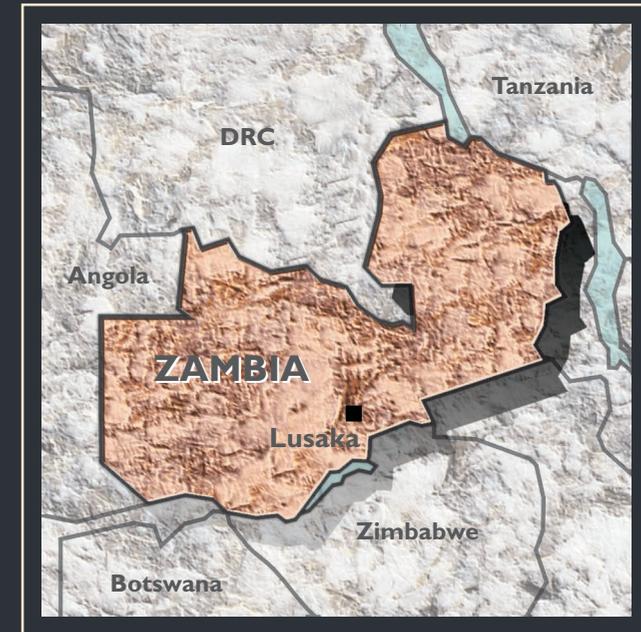
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POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN ZAMBIA



Jotham Momba

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POLITICAL PARTIES
AND THE QUEST FOR DEMOCRATIC
CONSOLIDATION IN ZAMBIA

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BY
JOTHAM MOMBA



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P O Box 740
Auckland Park
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South Africa
Tel: 27 11 482 5495
Fax: 27 11 482 6163
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www.eisa.org.za

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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all levels of Southern African society.



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JOTHAM C. MOMBA is an associate professor of Political Science and is currently head of the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Zambia. He has written a number of papers on issues of governance and democracy in Zambia. He holds a BA from the University of Zambia, and an MA and PhD from the University of Toronto. Prof. Momba has also taught at the University of Swaziland and as a Fulbright Scholar at Drew University in the United States.

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PREFACE

Multiparty democracy is becoming increasingly entrenched in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. A few SADC member states, including Botswana and Mauritius, boast long-enduring multiparty political systems implemented since their independence. Others have experienced a variety of mono-party systems (Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC], Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe), military dictatorship (Lesotho), apartheid rule (Namibia and South Africa) or no-party dynastic regimes (Swaziland).

Since the 1990s, most SADC countries (bar Angola, the DRC and Swaziland) have undergone a phenomenal transition towards multiparty politics. Crucial as this political transition is, its exact impact on democracy remains a moot point. In both the academic and policy discourses today, a number of questions still require answers. For example:

- Has the current political transition enhanced democratic governance?
- Has the transition deepened democratic culture and practice?
- Has the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions such as political parties?

EISA (formerly the Electoral Institute of Southern Africa) – under the theme ‘Consolidating democratic governance in the SADC region’ – is therefore undertaking a broad programme that attempts to answer these questions.

The first stage of the programme focused on political parties and attempted to answer whether the transition improved the effectiveness of democratic institutions, such as political parties. This component of the programme was undertaken jointly by EISA and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) between 2003 and 2004. It investigated the state of political parties in the democratisation process in the SADC region over the past decade. The main goal of the programme was to assess the role and effectiveness of political parties in the process of institutionalisation of democratic governance in each of the SADC countries. The specific objectives of the project were to:

- assess the general political and socio-economic context of each country and its possible impact on political parties;
- investigate the external regulatory and legislative environment in each country and its impact on the role and functions of political parties; and
- examine the internal functioning and structure of political parties and the impact of this on their institutional effectiveness.

There is no gainsaying that political parties play a critical role in the democratisation process. It is also incontrovertible that political parties are key to the institutionalisation and consolidation of democracy. Thus, sustainable democracy is dependent upon well-functioning and effective political parties.

Each *country context* suggests that vibrant and robust political parties are crucial actors in articulating and aggregating diverse interests, providing visionary political leadership, recruiting and presenting candidates, and developing competing political and policy programmes upon which the electorate base their choices during elections.

Democracy is unthinkable without political parties and, conversely, political parties cannot add value to a political system under conditions of authoritarianism. Parties everywhere have the potential to be effective and accountable, but they face enormous challenges. The political context and the legal environment in which they function, as well as their systems of internal organisation, management and operation, require attention and are often in need of reform.

Although little comparative research has been conducted, it is clear that the *external environment* – the regulatory, financial, political and electoral spheres in which political parties grow and function – influences parties' strategies and organisation. The external environment also has a fundamental impact on the capacity of parties to become more effective agents of democratisation.

The *internal functioning* of political parties determines how the social demands of different groups in society are represented in parliament. Candidates nominated for election are selected, supported and trained by their parties.

In addition, parties put candidates in touch with voters and hold them accountable. In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous peoples and youth – to have only limited access to the political realm.

To address these issues, EISA and IDEA developed three questionnaires on: the country context; the external regulations and environment; and the internal functioning and structure of political parties. Country studies were undertaken by experts commissioned by EISA and IDEA. One of the main outputs of this project is a series of research reports, and this report forms an integral part of the series.

We extend our profound gratitude to the Swedish International Development Agency in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Royal Danish Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa and the Embassy of Finland in Pretoria, South Africa for their generous financial support, without which this programme would not have been possible.

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Khabele Matlosa
Programme coordinator and series editor
EISA

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CCC	Committee for a Clean Campaign
CSO	Civil society organisation
ECZ	Electoral Commission of Zambia
EU	European Union
FDD	Foundation for Democracy and Development
Fodep	Forum for Democratic Process
Frelimo	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GDP	Gross domestic product
Idasa	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IMD	Institute for Multiparty Democracy
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAZ	Law Association of Zambia
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MP	Member of parliament
NEC	National Executive Committee
NMC	National Management Committee
NGOCC	Non-governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee
NPC	National Policy Committee
PUDD	Party for Unity, Democracy and Development
Swapo	South West People's Organisation
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UP	United Party
UPP	United Progressive Party
UPND	United Party for National Development
ZANC	Zambia African National Congress
Zanu-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZIMT	Zambia Independent Monitoring Team
ZRP	Zambia Republican Party

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study looks at the external regulations and environment under which Zambian political parties operate. It also examines their functioning and internal organisation. Data for the study was drawn from the internet, government documents, and from interviews with selected leaders of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), the United Party for National Development (UPND), the United National Independence Party (UNIP), and the Foundation for Democracy and Development (FDD).

The return to multiparty politics in 1990 resulted in the formation of many political parties and a resurgence of civil society activity, but only the MMD, UPND, UNIP and FDD are serious contenders for state power. Although elections have been generally free, there has been widespread feeling that elections in Zambia are, in the main, unfair.

The post-1990 National Assembly has 158 members plus the speaker of the House. Of these, 150 members are elected using the first-past-the-post electoral system, while the president appoints the remaining eight. With the growth of the political space, a number of civil society organisations have also been involved in promoting democratic governance and democratic culture by participating in election monitoring and as advocates for good governance during and between elections.

In terms of the external regulations and environment, there are a number of laws governing political parties. Among these are the Societies Act which governs the founding of all societies. Others include the Electoral Act, the Electoral Code of Conduct, and the Public Order Act. To ensure transparency in the electoral process the Electoral Act gives candidates the right to have polling agents at every polling station, as well as the right for candidates and political leaders to visit polling stations when voting is in progress, and to witness vote counting.

In the section on the internal functioning and structure of political parties, we look at the formation of the MMD, UPND, UNIP and the FDD. Areas that are dealt with in some detail include written party documents, remuneration to elected party officials and membership recruitment.

Significant variations between the parties were observed regarding the nomination of presidential, parliamentary and local government party candidates. And while all four political parties develop campaign strategies just before each election, there are variations in the procedures followed in the development of campaign strategies. Additionally, all political parties indicated that they did not provide any formal quotas for women and youths in the selection of their parliamentary or local government candidates.

Funding is critical for the meaningful participation of any political party in electoral politics. In almost all political parties under study, the candidates are not required to contribute any funds towards the campaign effort, while the disbursement of campaign funds varies from one party to another.

In all four political parties, all leadership positions are elective. As much as possible, some level of internal democracy exists in the election of political parties, with minor variations in the way the intra-party electoral process takes place from one political party to another.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of political parties in Zambia within the context of a wider regional programme on political parties and governance in Southern Africa. It seeks to establish the place of political parties in the Zambian political system. It also examines the extent to which the political environment in the country – external to individual political parties – and the functioning and internal organisation of political parties have affected their role in Zambia’s democratic consolidation process, given the centrality of political parties in that process.

In terms of external regulations and the environment under which political parties operate, the research looked at the nature of the legislation and regulations that govern political parties’ formation and operation. It also looked at some of the regulations and practices that either enhance or undermine the free and fair participation of political parties in the electoral process.

The research examined the extent to which the operation of state structures and the behaviour of state officials allow for the free operation of political parties and, in particular, the free and fair participation of parties in elections.

The examination of the internal functioning and structure of political parties focused on issues that are critical for well-functioning political parties which are needed to sustain a liberal democracy. The research therefore delved into internal party structures and the management of intra-party politics – important factors in determining the extent to which these political parties are adequately prepared to face the challenges of competitive elections.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data on the country context was collected from reports, mostly available on the internet. Data on the external regulations and environment was largely from government documents, which includes the various acts that impact on the functioning of political parties, and primary information from the officials in such institutions as the Registrar of Societies and the Zambia Electoral Commission.

Data for the internal functioning and structuring of political parties was collected through interviews with selected political party leaders. For this purpose leaders from four political parties were interviewed. These were:

- the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD);
- the principal opposition party in the National Assembly, the United Party for National Development (UPND);
- the second largest opposition party in the National Assembly, the United National Independence Party (UNIP); and
- the Foundation for Democracy and Development (FDD).

Officials interviewed in the MMD were the party's national secretary, the national chairman, the chairperson for elections, the chairperson for information and publicity, the chairperson for women affairs, and the administrative secretary. In the UPND, the two vice-presidents, the chairman for information and publicity, the deputy secretary-general, the party treasurer and the vice-chairperson for youths were interviewed. In UNIP, the party's vice-president, the secretary-general, the chairman for elections, the acting treasurer, and the chairperson for youth were interviewed. In the FDD, interviews were conducted with the vice-president, the national secretary, the chairperson for elections, the treasurer and the national chairman.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature consulted for the country context was largely from the internet, especially the latest data and information on Zambia. Some of the sources accessed were the Bank of Zambia;¹ Freedom House's annual report;² the Central Statistics Office;³ and the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) *Human Development Report*.⁴

Most of the literature used for the study on the external regulations and environment were government documents. Among these was the Zambian constitution which details the necessary qualifications of those eligible to contest parliamentary and presidential elections. Other pieces of legislation that impact on the operation of political parties are the Societies Act (Cap 119 of the Laws of Zambia) and the Public Order Act (Cap 19 of the Laws of Zambia).

Literature on the management of previous elections which may have impacted on Zambia's ratings by Freedom House, for example, are the 2001 election reports by the Carter Center Observation Mission,⁵ the European Union Election Observation Mission,⁶ and Coalition 2001.⁷

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Zambia is a landlocked country covering 752,614 km², situated in Southern Africa. Its capital city is Lusaka; other major cities include Kitwe and Ndola in the Copperbelt Province. According to the 2000 census the country's population is 9,885,591 but current estimates put the country's population at 10,462,436.⁸ Although Zambia has one of the largest urban populations in Africa, this has dropped due to the decline in the economy. The urban population, which was 40% of the total population in 1980, dropped to 38% in 1990 and to 36% in 2000.⁹ Most of the urban population is concentrated in Lusaka City and in the Copperbelt Province. Metropolitan Lusaka City alone has an estimated population of 1,773,300 people,¹⁰ or about 16.95% of the country's population.

Zambia is one of the least developed countries. Its main exports are copper, cobalt, lead and zinc. Its imports are crude oil, chemicals, machinery and foodstuffs. Zambia's main trading partners are South Africa, the United Kingdom, Zimbabwe and Saudi Arabia.¹¹ The country's GDP is US\$4,112 billion and its per capita income has been put at US\$400. According to a March 2004 economic survey by Barclays Bank Zambia Plc, real GDP growth in 2003 was 4.35%; the Bank of Zambia put the growth rate for the same year at 5.1%. Zambia's external debt at 12 December 2004 was US\$6.3 million, or 117% of the country's real GDP.¹² In 1999 the servicing of Zambia's debt constituted 46.6% of all the country's exports of goods and services.¹³

Poverty levels in Zambia are relatively high. According to the UNDP *Human Development Report*, 72.9% of Zambia's population live below the poverty datum line and about 63.7% of the population live on an income of US\$1 a day. The same UNDP report shows that the unequal distribution of income in the country is very high: Zambia's richest 10% have a shared income of 41.0% and the richest 20% have a shared income of 56.6%. The poorest 20% of Zambia's population have a shared income of 3.3%.¹⁴ Unemployment was estimated at 50% in 2003.¹⁵

Since 1990 there has been a decline in the contribution of several key sectors towards the total number of people in formal employment, with the

exception of the agricultural sector which has recorded high increases. According to the 2000 census, the percentage of those employed by the agricultural sector increased from 49.8% in 1990 to 71.6% in 2000. However, employment by the mining sector decreased from 3.4% in 1990 to 1.3% in 2000, employment by the manufacturing sector dropped from 5.1% to 2.8% over the same period, employment by the construction sector dropped from 1.9% to 1.3%, and by the finance sector from 2.1% to 1.0%.¹⁶

Zambia's literacy level is one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa, with the 2000 population census putting it at 67.2%. Of this figure, literacy among men is at 76.6% and among women at 58.3%. Other social indicators are, however, not as positive. According to the UNDP *Human Development Report*, life expectancy in Zambia is 32.5 years, and 70% of the population are not expected to live beyond 40 years. Some 36% of the population live without sustainable access to improved water sources, about 50% of the population is undernourished, and 28% of children at five years and below are underweight. Although there is relatively good access to medication, 2003 figures show that there are only seven physicians for every 100,000 people.¹⁷

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION

The return to multiparty politics following the constitutional amendment of 1990 that ended UNIP's monopoly of political power greatly liberalised the political system. Although the political liberalisation led to the formation of a large number of political parties, only a few political parties have contested elections and participated in parliament. There are at present 28 registered political parties in the country¹⁸ but only four can be said to be serious contenders for power, namely: the MMD, UPND, UNIP and FDD. In general the atmosphere for forming political parties is liberal and all that is required of any group of people who wish to form a political party is to meet the basic requirements of the Societies Act regarding the formation of a society.

In terms of the organisation of state institutions, Zambia has a republican form of government whereby the president is both the head of state and head of government. A unicameral legislative body, the National Assembly, performs the legislative functions. Although Zambia has some elements of both presidential and parliamentary systems, it is predominantly a presidential one, with the president enjoying an enormous amount of power in relation to the legislative body and the judiciary. He is directly elected and his tenure of office is not dependent on his party winning a majority in the National Assembly, as is the case with parliamentary systems.

Although the elections have been generally free, there has been widespread feeling that the elections in Zambia have been unfair. Evidence of this general perception is that the results of both the 1996 and 2001 presidential elections have been challenged. In 2001, the results of 39 parliamentary seats were challenged in court, most of them against the candidates of the ruling party.

Reports from the international observer groups and local monitoring groups on both the 1996 and 2001 elections raised serious concerns about the fairness of those elections. For example, in its *Second Interim Statement on the 2001 Zambian Elections*, the European Union (EU) Election Observer Mission reported that state resources were openly used in the MMD campaign, including government vehicles with GRZ number plates. The report also noted that the MMD used the sale of houses owned by local authorities for

political campaign purposes.¹⁹ Carter Center Observation Mission²⁰ expressed similar sentiments. The Christian Council of Zambia and the Non-governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee (NGOCC) made some reference to the abuse of state resources by the MMD for campaign purposes.²¹

Additionally, the state used the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, and the state-owned print media – the *Times of Zambia* (and *Sunday Times*) and the *Zambia Daily Mail* (and *Sunday Mail*) – to the MMD's electoral advantage at the expense of the opposition political parties. The use of state-owned media to the electoral advantage of the ruling party was also cited by the EU Election Observer Mission, the Forum for Democratic Process (Fodep) and another monitoring group, Coalition 2001,²² in their respective reports on the 2001 elections. There were also reports of the use of Zambia Intelligence Secret Service personnel to further the electoral activities of the ruling MMD.²³

During the 2001 elections the international observer groups and the local monitoring groups went to the extent of questioning the impartiality of the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ). For example, in its *Final Report*, the EU Observer Mission made a number of observations suggesting not only that the ECZ exhibited extreme incompetence, but that it may have played a part in manipulating the election results.²⁴

The political liberalisation that resulted from a return to multipartism greatly increased the role of civil society in Zambia's politics, and since 1990 civil society has played a significant part in the promotion of democratic governance in the country. A number of local civil society organisations (CSOs) have been involved in monitoring the elections. Among these are such organisations as Fodep, the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) and Coalition 2001.

A number of CSOs have also been involved in promoting democratic governance and culture between elections. One important organisation in this respect has been the Oasis Forum. This is a loose alliance of a number of church organisations, including the Zambia Episcopal Conference; CSOs, including the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ), NGOCC and Fodep; and the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), which is an umbrella

organisation for several unions in the country. The Oasis Forum is playing a pivotal role in democracy advocacy and was the opposition against attempts by the ruling MMD and former President Chiluba to amend the constitution to allow Chiluba to run for a third term of office.

The Oasis Forum is taking a leading role in advocating for the adoption of the new constitution through a Constituent Assembly and has differed with the MMD government, and particularly with the president, on a number of issues. Recently, President Levy Mwanawasa announced that the new constitution would not be ready before the next election, scheduled for 2006. In response, the Oasis Forum drew up an alternative roadmap to show that it was possible to have a new constitution before that date.

The labour movement in their own right, in the particular the ZCTU, has played a critical and influential role in Zambian politics, dating back to the days of nationalist struggle. A number of the political party leaders interviewed indicated that even though trade unions are not affiliated to their respective parties, political parties always take cognisance of the ZCTU's views when formulating their policies. Other CSOs, Fodep in particular, have been actively involved in the promotion of a democratic political culture.

As mentioned, there are currently 28 political parties registered in Zambia, although only a handful of these have been active participants in Zambian politics. Eleven political parties participated in the 2001 elections but only six parties managed to win parliamentary seats. These were the MMD, UPND, UNIP, FDD, the Heritage Party, the Patriotic Front and the Zambia Republican Party (ZRP). The MMD won both the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The post-2001 election period has seen the emergence of another political party, the Party for Unity, Democracy and Development (PUDD). While the other smaller parties seem to be in decline, the Patriotic Front, though in competition with the PUDD for the northern Zambia support base, has also established a strong presence of late.

EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

There are a number of external factors that influence the way in which political parties function, and which will determine whether political parties are able to play their proper role in the development of Zambia's democratic process. In this section we examine:

- the nature of the legislation that governs political parties;
- the manner and regulations governing the nomination of candidates by political parties;
- election campaigns and observation; and
- the electoral system and parliamentary representation by political parties.

LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

There are a number of laws governing political parties. The most important is the Societies Act (Cap 119 of the Laws of Zambia), which governs the founding of all societies, including political parties, and which determines the conditions for the continued existence and functioning of political parties.

In terms of the conditions for the establishment of political parties, the Societies Act provides that within 28 days of its formation or adoption, a society (read: political party) should make an application to the registrar of societies for registration. On registration, the registrar shall issue to such a society a certificate that will be *prima facie* evidence of registration. The society must have a headquarters in Zambia and at least one of its office bearers and members must reside in Zambia. In accordance with the provisions of article 9 of the Societies Act, registration can be denied if:

- it appears to the registrar of societies that the terms of the society's constitution are in any respect repugnant or inconsistent with provisions of any law in Zambia;
- the society does not comply with the provisions of the Societies Act;
- the name under which the society is registering is identical to another existing society or resembles another society and which

- is likely to deceive members of the public; and;
- if the society does not exist.

There are other pieces of legislation that affect the operations of political parties in Zambia.

- The Electoral Act governs the management and process of elections.
- The Electoral (Conduct) Regulations (Statutory Instrument No.179 of 1996) (The Code of Conduct) governs the conduct of political parties and other participants during election periods, and monitoring bodies in this regard are the ECZ and law enforcement agencies.
- The Public Order Act regulates the holding of public meetings and/or processions among other public political gatherings, and the enforcing bodies are the law enforcement agencies.

A specific code of conduct exists for the public media. This code regulates access of political parties to the media with a view to level the political playing field. Some media guidelines include the following:

- All electronic media shall provide a fair and balanced reporting of the activities of all registered political parties.
- All media shall report news in an accurate manner and shall not make abusive editorial comments, and all media personnel shall conduct interviews with fairness.
- All television and radio broadcasters shall allocate equal airtime to parties for their political broadcasts.

However, although the regulations provide for a penalty of either a fine of K300,000 or three months' imprisonment for contravening the provisions of the code of conduct, the ECZ and the police failed to enforce the provisions of the code during the 2001 general elections.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION

The requirements for political parties that wish to nominate candidates for presidential, parliamentary and local government elections are as follows:

Presidential elections

- The candidate must pay an election fee.
- The nomination should be supported by 200 registered voters in the country (article 34(5)(c) of the Zambian constitution).
- A statutory declaration of the candidate's assets and liabilities is required (article 34(5)(c) of the Zambian constitution).
- An oath of affirmation of the candidate's citizenship must be given.
- Both parents should be Zambian by birth. Under article 9(1)d of the Electoral Act, a presidential candidate makes an oath attesting to the fact his/her parents are Zambian by birth or descent.
- The candidate must be at least 35 years old (article 34(3) (c) of the Zambian constitution).
- A person under declaration of allegiance to another country does not qualify (article 65(1)(a) of the Zambian constitution).
- The candidate should resign any public office s/he may be holding (article 65(7)(c) of the Zambian constitution).
- The candidate must have 'domiciled' in Zambia for 20 years prior to nomination (article 34(3)(f) of the Zambian constitution).

Parliamentary elections

- The candidate must pay an election fee.
- Nine registered voters should support the nomination in the constituency.
- The candidate must be at least 21 years old (article 6(b) of the Zambian constitution).
- The candidate should resign any public office s/he may be holding (article 65(7)(c) of the Zambian constitution).
- A person under declaration of allegiance to another country does not qualify (article 65(1)(a) of the Zambian constitution).

Local government

The requirements for nomination for local government elections are similar to those for parliamentary elections:

- The candidate must pay an election fee.
- The candidate must be a registered voter in the ward.
- Unlike election to the National Assembly, the Local Government

Act (Cap 287) does not prohibit public officials from contesting local government elections. According to the Local Government Act of 1991, an individual does not qualify for election to a local authority if s/he is an officer of the council, or if s/he has not paid the rate, charge or tax due to any other local authority.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

The right to observe the voting process and the counting of the votes by the candidates and participating political parties is critical in ensuring the existence of some transparency and in enhancing the legitimacy of the election outcome. Article 30(2) of the Electoral Act gives the candidates the right to have a polling agent at every polling station. The act also gives the candidate and his/her election agent the right to visit polling stations when the voting is in progress. With the written permission of director of elections, other party leaders can visit the polling stations when the voting is in progress. Articles 39(h) and 39(i) of the Electoral Act gives the candidate, his/her election agent and polling agent respectively the right to witness the counting of the votes. With the written permission of the director of elections, other party leaders can witness the counting. These rights have been granted to the candidates and political parties in full. The right to observe the voting and the counting of votes has been extended to local monitoring groups and international observer groups.

PARLIAMENT, THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PARTY REPRESENTATION

The Zambian National Assembly comprises 158 members plus the speaker of the House. Of these, 150 members of parliament (MPs) are elected using the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system, and the president appoints a further eight MPs. The MMD controls both the presidency and the National Assembly, having won the presidency and 68 seats in parliament in the 2001 elections.

However, due to defections from the opposition parties the MMD now has 76 MPs. The opposition party with the largest number of MPs is the UPND. It won 49 seats in the 2001 elections but now has only 43 MPs due to defections and losses in by-elections. The country's oldest party, UNIP, won 13 seats in the 2001 elections and the FDD 12 seats. The Heritage Party won four seats, but suffered two defections to the ruling party, and the Patriotic Front won

one seat during the 2001 elections and an additional one through a subsequent by-election, giving it its current two seats. The ZRP has one seat and there is one independent MP. There are 19 female MPs, representing only 12% of the total number of MPs (including those nominated by the president).

Zambia's legislature is unicameral. There is a House of Chiefs, but it has no legislative powers and is largely an advisory body in traditional governance matters.

Table: Representation of political parties in the National Assembly since 2001 elections

Party	% of votes won	No. of seats as of end Aug 2004*	No. of seats held by women
MMD	28.11	69 (76)	7
UPND	23.77	49 (43)	7
FDD	16.19	12	2
UNIP	10.60	13	2
Heritage Party	7.55	4 (2)	0
Patriotic Front	2.81	1 (2)	0
Zambia Republican Party	5.54	1	1
Independent	–	1	0
Appointed by the President	–	8	0
Total		158	19

* Number of elected MPs after elections; current numbers in brackets

Source: Elections Office, 2001 presidential and Parliamentary Elections; see also http://www.parliament.gov.zm_output.php

Both the president and the National Assembly are elected for a term of five years. The president is limited to only two five-year terms; however, before the 2001 elections there was an attempt by then President Fredrick Chiluba to engineer an amendment to the constitution to allow him to contest the presidency for a third term. The 'third-term' bid failed due to pressure from

CSOs, particularly the Oasis Forum, as well as pressure from opposition political parties and within Chiluba's own party.

Parliamentary elections are based on an FPTP system in single member constituencies. A 1995 constitutional amendment provided for the election of the republican president by a simple majority rather than the absolute majority that was previously required. This explains why in the 2001 presidential elections the MMD candidate, Levy Mwanawasa, won the presidential elections with a mere 28.69% of the total votes cast.

INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

In this section, a number of issues relating to the internal functioning and structure of political parties are examined. These are important in determining the extent to which political parties are able to face effectively the challenges of competitive elections. Also relevant here is the issue of internal democracy, particularly the way in which candidates are chosen to represent a party in presidential, parliamentary and local government elections, the recruitment of party leaders, and the extent of internal debate in party decision-making.

We therefore assess the extent to which political parties themselves are committed to democratic principles and practices. We also investigate the extent to which these parties exercise accountability and transparency in relation to their members, and to society at large, in such areas as the use of financial and material resources donated to the party and/or raised by party members, policy formulation and accountability for their actions to their members.

FOUNDING OF PARTIES

This sub-section examines the founding of the four major political parties – the MMD, UPND, UNIP and the FDD – with specific focus on the factors that motivated their formation and the parties' support bases, as seen by the party leaders interviewed for this study.

The ruling party, the MMD, was instituted at the Garden Hotel on 20 July 1990, and was officially registered at the Lusaka City Council on 4 January 1991. The MMD began as a social movement against the one-party system that existed at the time; its main objective was the re-introduction of multiparty democracy.

Some of its founding members argue that a major objective in forming the MMD was to counter what was perceived as the UNIP government's surrendering to the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) economic regime. This was in support of those who were against economic liberalisation. In terms of ideology, party leaders describe the MMD as social democratic in outlook.

The party with the second largest number of seats in the National Assembly, the UPND, was formed in Lusaka in 1998 and was registered on 2 December 1998. Its leaders say that the UPND is a pragmatic party governed by liberal democratic principles. It was formed because there was a vacuum in the political sphere, and therefore a need arose for a political party with ideas and policies that would move Zambia out of the general decline that the country had been experiencing. The idea of forming the party was also to bring in new people who had not been involved in politics before, as a viable alternative to what already existed.

The UPND's goal is to improve the welfare of marginalised groups in Zambia, such as the working class and peasants. Geographically, it drew most of its initial support from the Central, Lusaka, North-Western, Southern and Western provinces. Although it was indicated that the party has gained some support in the Eastern, Luapula and Northern provinces, it has lost some support from Central province. The UPND is supported by professional and economic groups such as academics, business groups, industrialists and farmers.

UNIP is Zambia's oldest political party. It was formed on 24 October 1958 to accelerate the fight for self-determination. In this respect UNIP was a vehicle for mass mobilisation of the African people in then Northern Rhodesia's fight for freedom. Originally called the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC), the party was banned by the colonial authorities and in 1959 was renamed the United National Independence Party. The leadership indicated that ideologically UNIP is to the left of social democracy. From the very beginning the party sought to represent the interests of the working class, peasants and progressive intellectuals. UNIP had the support of the trade union movement, African and Asian businessmen and white liberals. However, with the introduction of a multiparty system in 1990, UNIP lost the support of the trade union leadership. Prior to 1990 UNIP had suffered two major splits: the first breakaway faction in 1968 formed the United Party (UP); and the second in 1971 formed the United Progressive Party (UPP).

According to the FDD's current vice-president, the party was formed in 2001 'as an opposition to the MMD's attempt to mutilate the constitution and attempt a third term for the office of the president'. Its leaders also state that

the FDD was seen as an alternative to the MMD, as the only party that was going to spearhead democracy and development in the country, centred on the principles of decentralisation and individual development. The FDD has broad support, including from several CSOs and trade unions. Membership is broad, cutting across all strata of the Zambian population. However, financial difficulties have induced some member, including some leaders, to gravitate towards the ruling party.

INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

A striking feature of political parties in Zambia is that there is very little variation in their organisational structures, with all seeming to have borrowed heavily from UNIP's organisational arrangements. There are, however, minor variations in the structural arrangements of the four major political parties. The constitutions of the MMD and FDD provide for only two national bodies, the national executive committee (NEC) and the party convention in the case of the MMD; and the national policy committee (NPC) and party convention in the case of the FDD.

UNIP has an additional body, namely the national council, which performs the functions of the congress between congress sessions. UNIP's national council meets once every two years and is composed of all elected party officials from district level up to the central committee.

In addition to the national management committee (NMC), the UPND has an NEC comprising the party president, two vice-presidents, the secretary-general, the national chairman, the treasurer, the chairman for information and three other members of the NMC. The mandate of the NEC is derived from the NMC, and members of the national executive are also members of the NMC.

Common to all political parties is the principle that leadership positions are largely elective. The NECs are elected by a congress or conference that ordinarily meets every five years to elect the national leadership in the case of the MMD, UNIP and the UPND, and every three years in the case of the FDD.

The four political parties have structures at provincial and district levels,

and in all cases provincial assemblies elect the provincial executives. The differences tend to be with the organisation of structures at grassroots level. However, the only important variation is that the MMD does not have ward committees; branch committees report directly to the constituency committees. The other difference is that UNIP's lowest party structure is the section and not the branch, as is the case with the other political parties. In UNIP, 25 party members can form a section.

Besides the constitutions, all the political parties have several other written documents that contain organisational rules which guide their functioning and organisation. All the political parties indicated that they have disciplinary regulations and some guidelines that govern internal elections, and all produce manifestos each time general elections are about to take place.

With the exception of the MMD and UNIP, all other political parties do not pay their elected officials. In the case of the MMD, only the national secretary and the deputy national secretary are paid. In the case of UNIP, the party president, vice-president, national secretary, deputy national secretary, treasurer, the officials in charge of matters pertaining to youth, women, elections and security, together with the provincial chairmen and some district officials are on the party's payroll. There is a provision for the FDD to pay its national secretary and the deputy national secretary, but this is done only if funds are available. The UPND does not pay its elected party officials.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

All political parties produce policy documents, which for most political parties is more or less synonymous with the party manifesto. In the MMD, discussions to come up with a manifesto start just before a general election. The manifesto is prepared by an NEC sub-committee 'think tank' that comes up with a draft document which is finally approved by the NEC. Input for preparing a manifesto comes from surveys of members and survey/barometers issued by other organisations. Party leaders are responsible for policy decisions that are taken at the party convention, which is held every two-and-a-half years (i.e. including mid-term). Provincial conferences are also held. The only detraction is that when there is a full convention, elections rather than policy issues take centre stage.

In the case of the UPND, the preparation of a policy document starts with the NEC constituting a working group to write a policy document, the draft of which is presented to the NEC, which in turn presents it to the NMC for consideration and approval. The following are some sources from which policies are drawn:

- There is currently no link between the policy document and the party structures at provincial level and below; leaders at lower level are never consulted. MPs do, however, submit their constituents' general expectations, which are incorporated in the policy document.
- Interaction between UPND MPs and other opposition party MPs is also a source of ideas.
- Workshops that MPs and other party leaders attend and the resolutions taken at these workshops, which reflect citizens' expectations.
- Reports of the World Bank, IMF and other international organisations, as well as local institutions such as the Zambia Revenue Authority and the Bank of Zambia.
- The professional knowledge of members of the working groups, the party's research and input. Surveys among members, and surveys by organisations such as the Centre for Policy Studies and the Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa (Idasa).

UNIP has updated its manifesto. The process of policy formulation is as follows: a small task committee is formed to brainstorm on the issues to be discussed. The task committee takes its proposals to the party secretariat, which in turn prepares a document for consideration and adoption by the central committee. After it has been adopted by the central committee, it is sent to the national council for ratification and is then finally adopted by the party congress. The decision of the central committee is binding.

In the case of the FDD, a think-tank prepares a policy document which is presented to the NPC for discussion and approval. Since the 2001 elections, however, policy statements have been infrequent. A senior FDD leader stated that issues of accountability in policy matters hardly arise; there have been cases of leaders who have decided to do things that are not in line with the party position. For example, three MPs defied the party by accepting ministerial

positions in the MMD government. They have subsequently been expelled and their expulsion will be ratified by the party convention.

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

The four political parties undertake continuous membership drives. In the MMD, party organs at all levels of the party structure are involved in recruiting party members. All organs send membership returns and the party's National Secretary estimated the MMD's latest membership to be 2 million. The criteria used to be eligible to be a member of the MMD is that the applicant must ascribe to the aims of the party and must accept the rights and obligations of party membership as provided for in the constitution.

The UPND maintains a register of party members at each level of the party structure, but due to erratic membership it is not up to date. The party leadership has increased its membership (based on the number of cards sold) from about 300,000 members when it was formed in 1998 to about 2 million to date. Anybody is free to join the party, so long as s/he is a Zambian with no criminal record, and agrees to the provisions of the party constitution and manifesto. Party members in the UPND have voting rights at party meetings, the right to contest party positions, as well as to contest presidential, parliamentary and local government elections on behalf of the party. Member responsibilities include adhering to party statutes and assisting in the recruitment of new party members.

Membership of UNIP is open to all Zambians over the age of 16 years. They must agree with the philosophy, policies, objectives and aims of the party. Membership is open to individuals as well as organisations, such as trade unions. Among some of the rights that go with membership are the right to be elected to any party position and the right to contest state positions on behalf of the party. Party members also have some obligations, such as the recruitment of new members and fundraising for the party.

Like the UPND, the FDD has a register of members but this has not been updated. When interviewed, however, the national secretary indicated that the party would soon have a register for party leaders at all levels. Membership is open to any Zambian and to organisations that ascribe to the principles and objectives of the party. Organisations would have to be affiliated. Among

some of the rights that go with membership are the right to contest any party position, as well as to be delegates to their respective local party bodies. Executive committees at all levels have the power to institute disciplinary measures against their members, and if the disciplinary measure required is not within their area of competence they can make recommendations to appropriate higher bodies. The standing committee of the NPC hears disciplinary cases at national level, and the national secretary can initiate disciplinary action against an NPC member or an MP.

Most party leaders interviewed, except for those from the UPND, believed there had been a general decline in the membership of their respective political parties over the past ten years (or in the case of the FDD, since it was formed in 2001). For example the UNIP secretary-general indicated that the party's current membership stands at only 500,000, while the FDD's national secretary stated that although he was unsure of the current number of party members, there had been a drastic drop in party membership after the 2001 general elections, from about 3 million at the time the party was in formed four years ago.

The MMD leaders interviewed advanced a number of reasons for the party's declining membership figures. Among these were:

- splits in the party, including the 1992 split that led to the formation of the National Party, the 1996 split that led to the formation of the Zambia Democratic Congress, and splits that occurred over the third-term issue;
- the third-term issue itself;
- the huge job losses caused by the liberalisation of the economy, which had increased the level of poverty in the country; and
- members' uncertainty as to whether Mwanawasa would provide the kind of leadership expected, given that he was an outsider.

One leader believed, however, that MMD membership was increasing due to the party's better organisation and its ability to deliver on its promises.

UNIP leaders attributed the party's declining membership to the introduction of multiparty politics which, they said, led some UNIP members to leave the

party and join new political parties that tended to be more vibrant, and thus more attractive to some. The party suffers from conservatism and rigidity, and its tendency not to accept the culture of multiparty politics meant that it had been unable to attract new members. Additionally, new people are viewed as outsiders. As a result, some party leaders at ward or branch levels have been holding their positions since the party was formed.

One leader believed, however, that even though there had been a general membership decline after the formation of the new parties, UNIP's membership was on the rise as people have begun to realise that when in power, the party was able to deliver.

FDD leaders attributed the decline in the party's membership to the general feeling of despondency that existed after the elections, as well as the fact that high levels of unemployment and poverty in the country were prompting people to leave the FDD, which had no benefits of office, in search of greener pastures offered by the ruling party. Additionally, FDD NPC members had failed to visit members after the elections, as well as the fact that the results of the party elections held at the national convention had not been accepted; those that were not elected therefore 'slipped away'. Another reason given was that political parties in Zambia have no ideologies that bind their members together, although the core group of FDD members has remained with the party.

UPND leaders believed that the party's membership had increased since its formation in 1998 due to the following reasons:

- The high quality leadership provided by the UPND.
- The existence of incompetence by the government and disappointment at the lack of delivery by the ruling MMD.
- Most new members had crossed over from the MMD in the hope that the UPND could provide a more effective government.
- The party had attractive policies, particularly in the areas of economics, education and agriculture.
- The UPND's alignment with NGOs on matters of national importance was significant; for example, its alliance with the Oasis Forum concerning a number of contentious issues.

- The UPND is the only party that posed a serious challenge to the MMD.

A significant observation is that most political parties in the country seem not to have clear and well-articulated programmes for their members during and between elections. In most parties, the role of party members during off-election years is to recruit other people into the party. The exception is UNIP, which indicated that the party engages its members in a number of activities. According to UNIP's national secretary, members are involved in celebrating party events. For example, former party leaders, particularly freedom fighters, are invited to the party's anniversary celebrations. During Humanism Week, which is held a week before Independence Day, party members are involved in several humanitarian activities such as assisting in orphanages, hospitals and other community projects. UNIP has also initiated youth and women's days. These activities are often undertaken in collaboration with other organisations.

SELECTION OF PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES

In the MMD, a presidential candidate must be a senior party member. The process of nominating a presidential candidate for the party starts at the national party convention where eligible candidates together with their supporters file for nomination for party president. Whoever wins the party presidency will ordinarily be the national presidential candidate.

The NEC can, however, choose somebody else – as happened before the 2001 presidential elections when the party president could not qualify for presidential elections because he had already served the maximum two terms as republican president.

In terms of nominating party candidates for parliamentary elections, MMD regulations require that party members who wish to be considered as parliamentary party candidates should apply and are then interviewed by the constituency committee members. The constituency committee members pass on their recommendations to the district committee, which in turn passes on its own recommendations to the provincial executive committee. The provincial executive committee then passes its recommendations on to the NEC, which finally decides on the candidate for each constituency.

Regarding local government elections, candidates are interviewed by the constituency committee and approved by the district committee. Under certain circumstances higher committees may have to make the final decisions.

In the UPND, the party president is put forward as the candidate for the presidential elections. Any member of the party can be proposed as a candidate for election as party president, provided s/he has a valid membership card. In respect of parliamentary elections, party regulations require that all aspiring candidates should contest primary elections. The names of the people who win the primary elections are then presented to the national management committee for approval. An FPTP system is used to determine the winners in these primary elections. However, despite the provision for primary elections, the UPND used the interview process to pick parliamentary candidates for the 2001 elections.

In UNIP, the party president is eligible for nomination as the presidential candidate. S/he should be a paid-up member of the party and should have been a party member for at least five years. The central committee formally adopts the presidential candidate, whose candidature is ratified by the national council.

In the FDD, the party president is also the presidential candidate, and s/he must fulfil all the qualifications for republican presidency. The national provincial committee formally indorses the nomination. Regarding parliamentary candidates, the procedure is that the constituency officials, using whatever method is most appropriate, will recommend the names of candidates to the district committee, which will in turn make its recommendations to the provincial committee until it reaches the national policy committee. For local government elections, the ward committees, using whatever method is most appropriate, will recommend the names of candidates to the constituency committee, which will in turn make its recommendations to the district committee and then to the provincial committee until it reaches the national provincial committee. However, the forwarding of names for ward elections beyond the elections committee is a mere formality; the chairman of elections signs the papers that formally allow the proposed ward candidates to launch their nominations as party candidates.

DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY CAMPAIGNS

All four political parties indicated that they develop campaign strategies before each general election. In the MMD, the preparation of a campaign strategy starts with the NEC; the chairpersons with their committees develop policies. The committees' policies are summarised in order to review the overall strategy, and once a document has been drafted it is tabled before the NEC. Throughout this process all stakeholders within and outside the party are consulted. When developing a campaign strategy, the committee takes into account:

- the peculiarities of the various areas, including the nature of interests that are in the respective areas;
- the overall picture of the general elections, including the resources available to the party;
- the individual candidates; whether they are re-contesting or are new candidates. Some candidates may need more help with their campaigns than others;
- the availability of campaign materials; and
- the need to mobilise local people and form committees to spearhead the campaign.

In the UPND, a think-tank researches people's needs and expectations and prepares a draft manifesto based on these findings. This draft is sent to the NMC for approval. Thereafter, a committee under the chairmanship of the director for strategy and mobilisation works out a campaign strategy and the procedures to be used in selecting candidates, which is then submitted to the NMC for approval.

In UNIP, the central committee initiates the process of preparing a campaign strategy. Once the strategy document has been prepared it goes to grassroots organisations – principally branch, ward and constituency committees – for input. Finally, it goes back to the central committee for approval and adoption. A similar process is followed when preparing an election manifesto.

In the case of the FDD, preparation of a campaign strategy starts with branch officials who make proposals on strategy. These proposals are forwarded to the constituency, district and provincial committees until they reach national

level. The NPC can also initiate proposals that go down to the branches through the same process.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNAL ALLIANCE FORMATIONS

The MMD maintains relations with a number of political parties in and outside Africa. Among these are the Chinese Communist Party in China, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) in Zimbabwe, Chama Cha Mapanduzi (CCM) in Tanzania, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) in Mozambique, the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) in Namibia. These relationships are, however, largely at the level of public relations. The MMD has limited contact with international organisations. The party has no formal alliances with other Zambian political parties, although it has an informal alliance with UNIP in parliament.

The UPND is a member of Liberal International. It also has close links and contacts with the Liberal Democrats of United Kingdom, who provide the party with financial and material support. The UPND has some regular contact with Germany's Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung as well as with the Netherlands-based Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD). The UPND has no formal alliances with any political party in the country, however it does have some loose understanding with other opposition political parties that, as much as possible, there should be only one opposition candidate wherever there is a by-election. The UPND has informal relations with several CSOs.

UNIP has always been a member of Socialist International. It also claimed to have relations with almost the same political parties as the MMD, namely: Frelimo in Mozambique, Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe, the CCM in Tanzania, the MPLA in Angola, the ANC in South Africa and Swapo in Namibia. These relationships have taken the form of policy support and public relations. The party has regular contact with the IMD and the Westminster Foundation. It has no formal alliance with any other political party in Zambia.

The FDD does not have any links with any international network of political parties, neither does it have any relations with any sister political party

outside Zambia. It has, however, been in regular contact with the IMD which has provided financial assistance to the party.

WOMEN AND YOUTH PARTICIPATION

All political parties indicated that they did not provide any quotas for women or youth candidates for parliamentary or local government elections. There are no special programmes to enhance women and youth participation in either intra-party leadership elections or to enhance their chances of being adopted as party candidates in parliamentary and local government elections. The MMD has taken no special measures to ensure that the chances of female and young parliamentary candidates are improved. However, MMD female candidates, like their counterparts in other political parties, have benefited from the work of the Zambia Women's Lobby Group.

The situation in the UPND is more or less the same regarding the nomination of women as parliamentary or local government election candidates. The UPND ensures, however, that at least 30% of the members of its national management committee are women. There is provision in the electoral regulations which requires that at least 30% of party positions must be occupied by members of either sex. This is not, however, part of the party's regulations regarding the adoption of parliamentary candidates. The most that the UPND has done is to encourage young people and women to seek endorsement as party candidates. Similarly, UNIP is committed to 30% women's representation within its party structure, but that is not provided for in the party constitution.

All the parties reported that some form of assistance is given to their women's wings for undertaking activities specific to women's organisations. In the MMD, the women's wing is given money to execute its programmes. The money is not, however, allocated as an annual budget and funds must be requested to undertake activities. Members can present their budgets for specific activities to the NEC, which will approve such budgets either in full or in part. The UPND has no special funding for women and youths, and these wings do not have their own sources of income and budget. Financial assistance to UNIP's women's wing depends on the kind of programme undertaken. The wing does, however, have its own budget; women source some of their money from the Dora Tamane School, which is run by the

Committee for Women's Affairs. Some of this money is used to assist UNIP female candidates in parliamentary and local government elections. Despite this source of income, UNIP's women's wing depends heavily on party support. In the FDD, women's and youth wings raise their own money and have their own budgets, which are supplementary to that of the party in general.

PARTY FUNDING

Party funding is critical for the meaningful participation of a political party in electoral politics. Party treasurers or officials responsible for funding in the four parties studied were asked a series of questions related to party funds, including the sources of funding and accountability. Three of the parties indicated that their parliamentary candidates are not required to contribute any funds towards the campaign effort.

In the case of the MMD, individuals have to pay K100,000 after being chosen as parliamentary candidates. In the UPND, there is no formal requirement to contribute any funds towards the campaign; however, party members seeking to be nominated as party parliamentary candidates are asked how much money they can contribute towards the campaign. Although UNIP does not require its candidates to contribute funds towards the party's campaign effort, individual candidates who can are encouraged to raise money to use in their individual campaigns. In the FDD, however, parliamentary and local government candidates are expected to raise their own funds, although this is not a condition for endorsement as a party candidate.

Although all four parties indicated that the leadership at lower levels make some effort to raise funds for campaign purpose there is, however, very little expectation of funds being raised by the structures at provincial level and below. In the MMD, local party committees are expected to account for the donations that they may raise. As for the UPND, members and sympathisers in some provinces have been very active in fundraising. The lower level structures in UNIP are also encouraged to undertake fundraising activities as long as they have the capacity.

Generally, therefore, rather than depending on aspiring candidates and the local party structures to raise campaign funds, it is in fact the responsibility

of the national leaders to raise the campaign funds required for both presidential and parliamentary campaigns. In the 2001 elections, the UPND raised approximately US\$100,000 from external sources and K50 million from internal sources for campaign purposes. This was raised largely from donors within and outside the country. It was likely, however, that more money was raised as some donors prefer to remain anonymous, while others gave money directly to candidates or contributed in kind. UPND MPs are expected to contribute K200,000 a month to the party's coffers, with the party raising more than K109 million in 2003 from this source. Another source of funding comes from the NMC members who are each expected to contribute about K50,000 a month.

During the 2001 general elections, UNIP raised K1 billion for campaign purposes, coming mostly from the sale of one of its companies – the party owns one farm, two businesses, one school and several buildings throughout the country. The major sources of funding for party activities and elections are therefore from fundraising, business ventures and rental from its properties. UNIP is involved in selling maize and fish in Lusaka Province, and the party also forms cooperatives.

The disbursement of campaign funds varies from one party to another. The MMD disbursement procedure provides that the Office of the Chairman for Elections, in consultation with the president and the treasurer, determine how much is required for a campaign. For each parliamentary seat, there is a manager who is a member of the NEC and who receives the campaign funds. The constituency campaign team, under the leadership of the manager, will then decide on how best to distribute the funds to the wards in a constituency. The candidate works with the constituency campaign team and is given just a small amount of the allocated funds to use towards some essential expenses.

In the UPND, the NEC decides how much to distribute to each constituency and is not obliged to make uniform allocations. Instead, allocations to each constituency are based on the needs, locality and strategic significance of each constituency. The reasoning behind this approach is that some constituencies may need more campaign funds in order to win. Additionally, some candidates may have their own resources while others may have very little or nothing. The specific amount that is allocated to each constituency is

only decided when the needs of every constituency have been assessed. In addition to funding, the UPND distributes campaign material such as posters and stickers, as well as food for field campaign workers.

In UNIP, funding for parliamentary candidates goes to the provincial leaders, who distribute it to the districts, which in turn distribute to the constituencies. The candidates, together with the party leaders and campaign manager, decide on how the money will be used; however, in principle the money is distributed evenly. For the 2001 elections, each candidate received K3 million.

As for the FDD, campaign funds to constituencies are distributed equally, but the allocation depends on the availability of funds.

In terms of accounting for the use of campaign funds, the party leaders indicated that financial reports were always produced. UNIP's treasurer said that reports on the use of campaign funds were submitted at party congresses and were also compiled after each election, to be used when the party carried out a 'post-mortem'. UNIP candidates are also required to account for how they spent the money given to them. In the UPND, financial reports are prepared quarterly, at the joint meeting of NMCs and MPs. In the MMD, once an election campaign is over the campaign manager must submit a report to the NEC on how much money was raised and how it was used. FDD candidates are not required to make any returns to the party.

INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY

The criteria used to establish the nature and extent of intra-party democracy is the way in which elections for leadership positions in a party are managed, and the extent to which party leaders at all levels participate and influence the decision-making process.

As already indicated, the constitutions of the four political parties provide that all leadership positions are elective. To this extent then, some degree of internal democracy exists in the election of leaders in these political parties. There are, however, variations in the way internal elections are conducted. In the MMD, all nominations, including that of the president, are done at the party convention and each candidate is supposed to be supported by the number of delegates decided by the chairman of an independent electoral

commission of the party. Once the nomination period is over a secret ballot is taken, and any aggrieved candidate can appeal to the chairman of the electoral commission.

In the UPND, each aspiring candidate must get some endorsement from provincial conferences in order to be formally nominated to the respective positions: the president requires endorsement from at least five provinces; the vice-presidents from four; the chairpersons from three; and the deputy chairpersons from two. After being successfully nominated, a secret ballot is taken at the party congress to elect national management committee members.

In UNIP, an independent party electoral commission conducts and supervises the elections, guided by the party's electoral regulations. Party members who wish to contest party positions apply to the electoral commission, which will in turn scrutinise the applications to ascertain if the applicants qualify. Applicants who qualify will then launch their nominations.

Regarding the level of participation by party leaders at all levels and ordinary party members in policy matters, there was a general feeling among all leaders across the four political parties that their respective NECs have great influence in initiating, debating, and finally deciding on policy changes. There was also recognition of the formal powers of the general conferences/ congresses to exercise absolute veto power, as well as scepticism concerning the actual exercise of these formal powers.

The general view was that while some debate on policy changes takes place at party congresses, very little change in policy positions proposed by the respective NECs occurs. Some interviewees believed that most of the policy changes brought to these general conferences would have been debated by other party structures to which party delegates are members. Some of those interviewed said that, in reality, conference delegates were more interested in the elections than in policy issues. Only those in the MMD and UNIP believe that congress delegates had any influence in initiating policy changes.

UNIP and MMD leaders believed that their party presidents exercised great influence in initiating policy changes, while UPND and FDD leaders believed

that their respective presidents exercise only a fair amount of influence in initiating policy changes. There was, however, a general view among all the leaders interviewed that their respective party presidents exercise only a fair amount of influence in finally deciding policy changes. It was also clear that the party presidents do not exercise an overbearing influence in the selection of party parliamentary candidates. Almost all respondents in the four political parties indicated that closeness to the party president is not a greater factor in influencing individuals' chances of being adopted as parliamentary candidates. Only four out of the 22 leaders interviewed were of the view that this was an important factor: two from UNIP, and one each from the UPND and MMD.

There was also a general view that the auxiliary groups and party organs at provincial level and below exercise some influence in the party policy-making process. Except for the leadership from the UPND, the general view among the other political parties was that their auxiliary groups exercised much influence in initiating policy changes. However, there was also general agreement among the leaders of all four political parties that a great deal of participation in debating policy changes by auxiliary groups existed, and that these groups exercised considerable influence in deciding on final policy changes. In contrast to the general position regarding auxiliary groups, the general view was that party organs at lower levels of the respective political parties did not have much influence in initiating and debating policy changes or in influencing final policy changes.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the Zambian experiences.

- ❑ It seems that the level of freedom of association and freedom to form political parties is very high. There are no legal or administrative inhibitions to freedom of association; however, the way the Public Order Act has been operationalised has greatly disadvantaged the opposition political parties. It is apparent that a number of critical state institutions, such as the public media and at times the police service, have acted to the disadvantage of opposition political parties in Zambia. Consequently, serious concerns regarding the existence of a fair electoral process in the country still exist. Mechanisms should be worked out to ensure that the police, the public media and other government institutions maintain some degree of neutrality during the election period, since the current atmosphere presents an unfavourable environment for an effective multiparty system in the country. The Public Order Act, which the police mostly use against the political opposition, needs radical revision to bring it in line with a democratic political dispensation that the country's political leadership claim to aspire to.
- ❑ There is a general decline in the membership of most political parties, which has probably also affected the UPND, despite assertions by the party's leadership to the contrary. One suggestion is that political parties must try to engage their members in several activities in between elections, along the lines attempted by UNIP.
- ❑ The ideological differences among political parties to justify the existence of so many parties are conspicuously blurred. The lack of significant differences in terms of policies due to similar ideologies and general outlooks raises questions about the meaningfulness of alternative choices presented to voters at election time.
- ❑ The accountability of party funds, particularly by party candidates and campaign committees, is rather weak, even for those political parties which claimed that some financial reports are made on the use of such

funds. It is possibly because of this that almost all the respondents could not give clear answers as to how campaign funds were specifically utilised. However, even given the nature of campaign funding, some efforts could be made to have strong accountability of funds by parliamentary candidates and campaign teams in order to assure those who donate funds for election campaigns that their money is properly used.

- The funding of political parties seems to be rather weak and greatly disadvantages the opposition political parties who have no access to state resources. There should perhaps be consideration regarding some form of state funding for political parties. The criteria which could be used to determine which party should qualify for state funding could be the number of parliamentary and local government seats that each party won in the previous general election.

NOTES

- 1 <<http://www.boz.zm/Zambian%20Statistics/zstatistics013.php>>
- 2 <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/2004/countryratings/Zambia.htm>>
- 3 <<http://www.boz.zm/Zambian%20Statistics/zstatistics013.php>>
- 4 <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/pdf/back.pdf>>
- 5 <<http://www.cartercenter.org/documents/298.dpf>>
- 6 *Final Statement on the 2001 Zambian Elections*, <<http://www.eueu-zambia.org>>.
- 7 Coalition 2001, *The Tripartite Elections Preliminary Report*, February 2002.
- 8 <<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0108165.html>>.
- 9 Central Statistical Office and Central Board of Health, op cit.
- 10 <<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0108165.html>>
- 11 <<http://www.netherlandsembassy.org.zm/en/trade.html>>
- 12 <<http://www.boz.zm/Economics/Zambian%20Statistics/zstats013.php>>
- 13 <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/pdf/back.pdf>>
- 14 <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/pdf/back.pdf>>
- 15 <<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0108165.html>>
- 16 Republic of Zambia, Central Statistical Office: Zambia 2000 Census of Population and Housing, *Zambia Analytical Report* Vol. 10, Lusaka, 2003 p 86.
- 17 <<http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/2001/en/pdf/back.pdf>>
- 18 *Source, Registrar of Societies*
- 19 <<http://www.eueu.Zambia.org>>, p 2.
- 20 <<http://www.cartercenter.org/documents/298.dpf>>
- 21 Press statement by the Christian Council of Zambia, op cit.
- 22 Coalition 2001, op cit.
- 23 Press statement by the Christian Council of Zambia, op cit.
- 24 <http://www.eueu-zambia.org> , pp 2, 4.

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APPENDICES
RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE ON
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME

APPENDIX 1: COUNTRY CONTEXT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is the country's record of holding free and fair general elections?
2. What is the record of freedom of association as regards forming political parties?
3. What is the country's score on the Freedom House index for free and democratic countries? And thinking about changes over the past five years and reasons for the changes, please comment on the Freedom House score?
4. How free are parties to present candidates in national elections?
5. How, if at all, are political parties restricted in carrying out political or electoral activities?
6. What, if any, specific rules or code of conduct exist for the ruling party or ruling coalition? Provide copies.
7. What parties and independent candidates are represented in the national parliament (both chambers if applicable) according to the following model? (use Election Results Archive as one source) – % of votes; No. of seats in lower chamber; No. of seats in upper chamber; No. of seats held by women in lower chamber; No. of seats held by women in upper chamber
8. What, if any, reference do the policy documents of the ruling party/coalition and the biggest opposition party/coalition in parliament make to specific International Conventions on Human Rights? Provide examples of formulations where applicable.
9. What other significant – in size or otherwise important – political parties or political groups exist that are not represented in the national parliament? Indicate why they are significant (size, regional, exiled, influential diasporas, historical, non-parliamentary influence, armed, repressed group, etc.) and measurable national/regional strength (percentage of votes, opinion survey results etc.).
10. What is the total number of registered parties (if applicable)?

BASIC MEDIA STRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

11. Briefly describe the media environment, including: whether political parties have equitable access to major media outlets; difference between paid and free media coverage for parties; access during an election campaign period and during normal times. Distinguish any differences between publicly and privately owned media.
12. What are the most important sources from which people say they access political information? Note source. If survey/poll data is available, if not – skip question.
Television; Radio; Newspaper; The Internet; Friends; Other (please specify)
13. What is the level of literacy of the general population? Note source.
14. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of the population which:
Read daily newspapers (combined readership); Read other news print media at least weekly (readership); Have mobile/cellular telephones; Use the Internet?
15. If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of households which have access to:
Television; Radio; landline telephones?

16. **Apart from the constitution and direct party laws, are there any legal instruments or other circumstances that strongly impact the existence or functioning of political parties?**
17. **Which, if any, are the politically influential groups seeking to influence or maintain power through other means than electoral politics?** (Mechanism used/ Intended influence/ Intended outcome)
Business groups; Ethnic groups; Media; Military; Other non-governmental organisations (specify); Organised crime syndicates; Religious; Unions; Other (specify)
18. **Are there mechanisms for public participation in government decision-making other than elections?**
Parliamentary public hearings; Referenda; User committees; Other (please specify)
19. **Attempt a country nutshell description, a few paragraphs long, as an easy-read entry. Format:**
 - a. Population, capital, head(s) of state/ government, term limit for president (if presidential system), are all seats in the national legislature elected or are some appointed – if so by whom, attempts to extend/ remove term limits, constitutional arrangements, balance of power between branches of government (executive – legislature – judiciary), type of electoral system, and (if appropriate) if inherited from colonial power.
 - b. Democracy since 19xx (and other recent years of great importance, like independence, system change, armed conflict, etc.). Last/ next elections with (maximum) x years mandate. Restrictions on political parties (if any). Degree of respect for human rights (civil and political rights but also economic, social and cultural rights) and rule of law. Freedom House Index. TI Corruption Index, UNDP Human Development Index.
 - c. Governing party/ coalition and leading opposition, degree of dominance/ stability of political landscape. Important forces not standing in elections but shaping politics (business sectors, unions, religious, military, criminal, etc.). Any social or regional upheavals with political consequences. Relevant international/ regional relations and membership, level of trust in political parties and government institutions (use survey data and barometer data where available).
 - d. Economic and social level of development (\$ GNP/ capita, trade as % of GNP, Human Development Index, Income GINI Index, % of population in largest city (name if not capital)/ urban areas, rural:urban ratio.

APPENDIX 2: EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

1. **What legal provisions govern political parties and/or individual candidates for election?**
(Full Name/ Year/ Year of last amendment, if any/ Main monitoring body)
Specify full name, year and year of last amendment. Provide copies of all relevant legislation. (Legal provisions might include, but are not necessarily restricted to, the ones mentioned below.)
Constitution; Political party law/Act that governs political parties; Electoral law/Code; Legislation governing Non-Governmental Organizations/societies; Legislation governing the access to media; Government decrees; Regulations with the force of law; Regulations without the force of law; Other laws or regulations that are important to how political parties and/or candidates operate (including financing, tax exemptions etc); Not applicable
2. **How, if at all, are political parties defined in current legislation?**
3. **Which, if any, legal provisions govern the conditions for the founding of new political parties or coalitions?** Please provide copies.
4. **What are the requirements to register a political party at the national level?** (As an association, not in order to contest an election) check all which apply.
Establishment of (regional or local) party branches (specify); Monetary fee (specify in local currency); Registration with court (specify, including level of court); Signatures (specify); Other (specify); No specific registration requirements; Registration possible but not required
5. **Which body (authority) decides on the registration of a political party?**
6. **What, if anything, can cause the de-registration of a political party?** (Check all that apply and specify the body or person who has the authority to deregister a political party.)
Anti-democratic policy; Bankruptcy or insolvency; Breach of Code of Conduct; Breach of Electoral law; Failure to meet gender quotas; Hate Speech; Inciteful activities; Non-payment of registration fee; Other (please write in and code '9'); Not applicable
7. **What body/bodies are responsible for the administration, enforcement and sanctions of the legislation on political parties?** Please note all different bodies and, if possible, provide contact details. (Note: It is possible that different bodies will be responsible for different aspects of enforcing laws and regulations.)
Electoral Management Body; Regulatory body specially; Created for this purpose (specify); Government department(s) (specify); Normal courts/judicial system; Auditor; Other (please specify); Not applicable
8. **Which sanctions, if any, have been applied to political parties in the last 10 years?** Provide two or three detailed examples.
9. **What legal rights and restrictions, if any, apply to political parties in relation to accessing media (include electronic and print)?** Provide details for both public and private media.
10. **In the absence of legal regulation, what if any, agreements between parties – or rules applied by the media – are upheld?** Provide details for both public and private media.

INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

11. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern the internal functioning of political parties?**
Provide copies.

12. **Which legal provisions, if any, govern how a political party s/elects candidates for local, regional, national elections or presidential elections?** Describe the provisions and specify the required role of party members, local branches, etc.
13. **Which public body, if any, has the authority to be involved in the process of internal party s/election of candidates?** Specify the role of the public body.
14. **Which non-governmental organizations, if any, have a role in political primaries or congresses during candidate s/election?** Provide name/s and describe the role of the NGO(s).
15. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates on party lists?** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
16. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of male or female candidates?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
17. **What legal provisions, if any, require political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities?)** Describe what the requirement is, what level it is on, the possible sanctions and provide the reference and copies.
18. **What legal provisions, if any, exist to encourage or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number (or percentage) of persons from other groups as candidates (e.g. ethnic or religious or linguistic minorities, persons with disabilities)?** Describe the incentives, what level they are on and provide the reference and copies.
19. **What other legal provisions, if any, govern any other aspect of internal party functioning?** Describe and provide the reference and copies.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

20. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for political parties which wish to contest elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
21. **What are the requirements, if different from above, for political parties which wish to nominate candidates or lists of candidates for elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Check all that apply, and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
22. **What, if any, special requirements exist for the registration of new political parties to contest an election?**
23. **What are the legal qualifications to become a candidate in elections?** (Presidential Elections/ Chamber 1/ Chamber 2/ Regional/ Local)
Please specify all that apply and note differences for chamber(s) of the legislature, president, regional and local elections.
Age; Bankruptcy or Insolvency; Citizenship; Citizenship of parents; Civil status; Country of birth;

Criminal record; Current criminal incarceration; Detention; Holding of government office; Holding of military office; Holding of other public offices or employment in public services (police etc); Language requirement; Membership of a political party; Mental health problems; Minimum level of education; Multiple citizenship; Nationality/ethnic group; Naturalization; Offences against electoral law; Physical health problems; Registration on voters' roll; Religion; Residence in constituency/ electoral district; Residence in country; Unpaid debt; Other; Not applicable

24. **In which elections, if any, can candidates not affiliated with a political party (independent) stand for election?** Check all that apply.
Presidential; To chamber 1 of the national legislature; To chamber 2 of the national legislature; To regional councils; To local councils
25. **What, if any, are the registration requirements for independent candidates who wish to stand for election?** (Presidential Elections / Chamber 1 / Chamber 2 / Regional / Local)
Check all that apply and specify amounts, numbers and percentages where applicable.
Deposit; Minimum number of candidates; Minimum number % of votes in previous election; Regional presence; Signatures; Others; No specific requirement for registration; Registration possible but not required
26. **If a candidate withdraws her/his candidacy or dies before election day, but after registration, can the party substitute with a new candidate?**
Yes, explain (include whether replacement candidate must be of the same sex and how late in the process a candidate can be replaced)/No/Not applicable/Other
27. **Can a party remove a nominated and registered candidate without her/his consent?**
Yes/No
28. **Can a political party remove or replace an elected representative?**
Yes (explain circumstances)/ No
29. **Is it possible for a member of parliament to leave the party with which s/he was elected and join another party or become an independent MP (floor-crossing)? If so, what becomes of the mandate/seat?** (Yes/ No / Not applicable)
Possible to remain an MP – the mandate/seat remains with the individual until the next election/Not possible to remain an MP: the individual is replaced by a member of his/her former party (please specify how, including the replacement MP must be of the same sex); a bi-election is held for the seat; the member of parliament leaves the legislature and the mandate/seat remains vacant; Other (explain)
30. **How, if at all, are vacant mandate(s)/seats filled in between general elections?**
Replacement by candidates on the party list (describe and provide reference); Other (describe and provide reference); None

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

31. **What, if any, additional rules of good conduct does the ruling party or coalition have to sign or adhere to? Is the ruling party required to observe rules of good conduct regarding incumbency?** Explain contents and possible sanctions. Provide copy.
32. **What, if any, rights do political parties have in relation to the Electoral Management Body?**
Representation in the Electoral Management Body; Right to participate in meetings; Advisory capacity; Right to observe the proceedings of the EMB; Other (please specify)
33. **What, if any, rights do political parties have with regard to the activities in the polling station?**
Describe, including if they form part of the polling station staff and / or if they are allowed to observe / witness the voting.

34. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of vote counting?** Describe, including if they form part of vote counting staff and/or are allowed to observe/witness the counting.
35. **What rights, if any, do political parties have in the process of tabulation of votes and the collation of results?** Describe, including if they form part of the tabulation staff/committee, and/or if they are allowed to observe/witness the tabulation.
36. **What, if any, is the official campaign period?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
37. **What, if any, is the official period of campaign silence before election day?** Specify number of days/weeks and describe what is permitted or restricted during that time.
38. **What political party activities, if any, are prohibited during election day?**

APPENDIX 3: INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONNAIRE

FOUNDING OF PARTY

1. When and where (date and place(s)) was the party first founded?
2. When, if applicable, was the party first officially registered as a party?
3. What, if any, subsequent changes or party splits have taken place?
4. What was the original name of the party? If this name differs from the party's current name, what were the circumstances of any changes in name?
5. How, in a few key words, does your party describes itself (right, left, pragmatic, conservative, liberal, socialist, green, religious, nationalist, social group, ethnic group etc.)?
6. Why was the party founded?
7. How was the party founded? Describe.
8. Which constituency or socio-economic group does/did the party's founders claim(ed) to represent?
9. What was the initial participation or support of additional organisations to the party (i.e. ethnic, religious, military, business, civic groups, trade unions)?
10. Which, if any, of the above has changed since the party was founded?

INTERNAL STRUCTURE/ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

11. What, if any, written organisational rules exist to guide the functioning and organization of the party? Provide copies.
Constitution; Operational guidelines; Party Rulebook; Statutes; Other (please write in); No formal rules exist
12. What is the name of the *national executive* body in the party?
 - a. Are there written rules and procedures for the regular s/election of members of this body? If yes provide copies. If no describe.
 - b. By whom are they elected or appointed? (Elected/ Appointed)
The party leaders; The parliamentary party (ie the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - c. If elected, how? Describe procedure.
 - d. Are there formal internal party quotas for women on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - e. Are there formal internal party quotas for youth, ethnic minorities or any other group on this body? If yes describe how applied, including number or proportion.
 - f. Are the members in this body paid by the party?
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)

13. **Is there a written mandate (duties) for the national executive body above and/or distribution of power/tasks within the party leadership?**
Yes (provide copies); No, but informal practices (describe); No mandate
14. **What is the name of the next highest permanent body in this party?**
- a. **By whom are they elected or appointed?**
The national executive body described above; The party leader(s); The members of parliament/parliamentary caucus; Regional or state party branches; Local party branches; Delegates to a party congress; All or some party members; Auxiliary party groups; Affiliated party organizations; Other (please write in)
 - b. **If elected, how? Describe procedure.**
 - c. **Are the members in this body paid by the party?**
All paid; Some paid (explain); Unpaid (Voluntary)
15. **What is the name of the most local branches in this party?**
- a. **What is the normal geographic or other area of operation of the most local branch?**
 - b. **How is it formed and by whom is its leadership elected? Describe.**
16. **How often, if at all, does the party have a national conference/convention/congress?**
Less often than once a year; Once a year; Twice a year; More than twice a year; Never (go to Q20)
17. **Who attends the national party conference/convention, check all that apply?**
The party leader(s); The parliamentary party (i.e. the group/caucus of the party's members of the national legislature); Regional party delegates; Local party delegates; All or some party members; Auxiliary groups (youth wing, women's wing etc); Affiliated party organizations (trade unions, employers' federations etc); Other (please write in)
18. **Are decisions by the national party conference/convention/congress ...**
Binding on the party executive; Advisory to the party executive; Other (please write in)?
19. **Is this body the highest decision-making body of the political party?**
Yes/No (specify which body is).
20. **What, if any, written rules govern the s/election of the party president? Describe type of system used and provide copies of rules.**
21. **What, if any, formal process exists to monitor and regulate the ethical behaviour of political party officials? If board of ethics, explain structure, mandate and examples of activities and/or decisions. Board of Ethics; Other formal process (specify); No formal processes, but informal norms and practices (specify); No process**
22. **Provide a description of the structure of sub-national/regional/ local party units, women's wings/ associations, youth branches and other party groups.**
How many branches; In all of the country; Autonomous; To whom do they report; How are leaders chosen; Main functions

Internal structure/election of leadership – additional comments

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

23. **How does the party decide on its policy programme document, if it has one? Describe the process and provide copy of document.**

24. **Which of the following opinion-related resources, if any, does the party have access to?** (Party has access / Check if party pays for resource) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources.
25. **To what extent does the party use any of the following opinion-related resources when developing policy?** (Uses a large extent/ Uses a fair amount/ Does not use very much/ Does not use at all/ Don't know) Check all that apply.
Resources specific to the party: Surveys among members, Opinion polling (not restricted to members); Public domain resources: Public domain polling results, Surveys/barometers issued by other organisations; Other resources
26. **How, if at all, can the party leadership be held accountable for not following party policy decisions?** Describe the process, including to whom it is accountable and possible sanctions.

Policy development – additional comments

MEMBERSHIP

27. **Is there a national membership register?** If yes provide details of how it is maintained and what the role of local / regional branches is for maintaining their own registers.
28. **How much, if anything, does the party charge as membership fee?** If fixed amount please specify – per year – in local currency?
A fixed amount; Amount dependent on member's position in the party (EXPLAIN); Amount dependent on party branch (explain); Other (specify); Voluntary contribution; No membership fee
29. **How many members does the party have?** (No. of individual party members/ No. or % of women party members) Provide year and source of figures and indicate if real figures or estimates.
Earliest available estimate; Latest available estimate; Year of maximum members
30. **How much has the party membership increased or declined over the past ten years, in percentage and total numbers?** If ten-year figures do not exist, describe the general trends in membership, if possible with other figures.
31. **What, if any, criteria/requirements exist to be eligible for membership?** Describe, including the body / person who decides on admission as a member.
32. **What, if any, formal rights come with membership?**
Discounts with merchants; Voting rights at party meetings; Other (please specify).
33. **What, if any, responsibilities come with membership?**
Adherence to party statutes; Unpaid work; Other (please specify).
34. **What process, if any, exists to discipline members who breach party rules?** Describe the process and identify who takes the final decision.
35. **How often, if at all, does the party communicate with its members?** (From National Party / From Regional branches/ From local branches)
Electronic Newsletter; Paper Newsletter; Party Paper; Meetings; Public website; Membership restricted website; Other (write in)
36. **How often, if at all, do members communicate with the party?** (To National Party / To Regional branches/ To local branches)
Individual postal correspondence; Individual email correspondence; Petitions; Meetings; Other (please specify)

37. **Which, if any, formal and written guidelines provide party members with an opportunity to express their opinions on party matters?**
Guidelines (provide copies); No formal guidelines, although informal practices exist (describe including recent examples); No guidelines or practices
38. **To whom does the party provide training?** Check all that apply and describe type of training and at what level.
Campaign volunteers; Candidates; Elected members; General members; Party officials; Other (please write in); No training provided
39. **How, if at all, does the party seek to recruit members between elections?**
40. **What efforts, if any, are made to engage activists/members in party activities between elections?** Describe and provide examples.

Membership – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CANDIDATES

41. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to become s/elected as a presidential candidate?** Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
42. **What is the process for s/election of party candidates for presidential elections?** Describe the process, including who can propose and vote.

S/election of other candidates for election

43. **What are the eligibility requirements established by the party rules to be selected as a party candidate for elections other than presidential?** (Chamber 1 of national legislature/ Chamber 2 of national legislature/ Regional council/ assembly/ Local council/ assembly)
 Check all that apply and specify each requirement.
Age; Belonging to a certain ethnic group; Certain position in the party; Coming from a certain geographical area; Membership in the party; Qualifications; Signatures; Other (please write in)
44. **What are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 1 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
45. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to chamber 2 of the national legislature are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved.
46. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to regional councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.
47. **What, if different from above, are the party rules for the process by which candidates to local councils/assemblies are recruited and then s/elected to stand for election?**
 Describe, including how candidates put their names forward, who/ which party bodies are involved, and if the national party can decide on sub-national lists.

48. **What electoral system, if any, is used within the party to select its candidates?** Describe and identify which type of system is used, including possible differences between levels.
Plurality/majority; Proportional; Other (please write in); Not applicable – no election of candidates
49. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination will be women?**
Quota – explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; No quota; Previously – please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency, women only shortlists; Other, including informal practices (please describe)
50. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that women are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
51. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain percentage of candidates for nomination will be young people?**
Quota (please explain year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
52. **What, if any other, special measures have been adopted by the party to ensure that young people are nominated in elections?**
Training for aspiring candidates; Financial incentives; Other (please specify); No other measures
53. **What, if any, is the quota voluntarily (not required by law) adopted by the party that a certain number or percentage of candidates for nomination be from any other group (not mentioned above)?**
Quota (please explain which groups, year introduced, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); No quota; Previously (please explain year introduced and rescinded, percentage, placement on list or in constituency); Other, including informal practices (please specify)
54. **What, if any, are the limits on the number of times a candidate can hold an elected office on behalf of the political party?** Please specify in number of terms and years.
55. **If there are reserved seats for women, national minorities or other groups in the legislature, how are candidates selected by the party to fill them?**
A list of candidates is compiled (explain); Appointed (if so, by whom); Other (please specify); Not applicable

Electoral activities – candidates – additional comments

ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CAMPAIGNS

56. **Does the party produce election manifestos for election campaigns?**
Yes (provide copy)/ No
57. **What is the process of development of party election manifestos?**
58. **What is the process of development of campaign strategy/operational plan?**
Yes (provide examples from recent campaigns)/ No
59. **Are candidates (at all levels) expected to campaign on behalf of the party?** Specify what is expected of the candidates.
Yes, only on behalf of the party/ Yes, in addition to personal campaign/ No, only personal campaign
60. **What presidential elections or elections to the national legislature, if any, has your party boycotted over the last 10-year period?**
Specify what national election, year and the reasons for boycott/ No

61. **Has your party recognised, as legitimate, the officially declared winners of presidential elections or elections to the national legislature during the last 10 year period?**
Yes/No specify which winners (presidential or party) and the reason for not recognising them as legitimate
62. **What if any, non-partisan voter education or other civic training activities has the party undertaken during the last five years?**

Electoral activities – campaigns – additional comments

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE PARTY

International contacts

63. **Which, if any, Party Internationals or other international network of parties is the party affiliated with? (specify)**
Party international. (The Christian Democrat-People's Parties International, The International Democrat Union, The Liberal International, The Socialist International or other); Regional party organisation; Other (including non-partisan international organisations); No international affiliation
64. **Which, if any, sister parties from other countries does the party have contact with?**
65. **What is the nature of the relationship, if any, with sister parties from other countries (eg policy support, campaign support, training, public relations, funding)?**
66. **What regular contacts, if any, does the party have with international organisations or party foundations?**

National contacts

67. **What, if any, formal alliances/cooperation does the party have with other political parties in the country? (Eg common election platform)**
Yes – specify/ No, but informal – specify/No
68. **What, if any, formal relationships does the party have with the Election Management Body?**
Represented as voting members of the EMB; Official observers on the EMB; Other formal relationship; Informal relationship; No relationship
69. **What, if any, formal relations does the party have with national civil society organizations? (Name of organization/ Type of relationship/ Key issues)**
Describe the relationships including name of organization, type of cooperation, funding relationships etc.
Business interests; Corporations – specify; Trade Unions – specify; NGOs, movements, civil society organisations – specify; Religious groups – specify; Other – specify
70. **What, if any, media outlets are owned by the party or party leadership, nationally or locally?**

External relations of the party – additional comments

FUNDING

71. **What, if any, are the spending limits for s/election contests or primaries established by the political party or in legal provisions? Please specify whether party rules or law and give amount in local currency.**
72. **What amount of funding, if any, are party candidates required to bring to the party in order to secure their candidacy? Specify amount in local currency.**

73. **How is funding for campaign purposes distributed within the party?** Describe the distribution and who takes the decisions.
74. **What amount of funding, if any, do candidates receive from the party for their personal election campaigns once they are nominated?** Specify amount in local currency.
75. **What amount of campaign funds, if any, are individual candidates expected to raise for the campaign?** Please provide details.
- a. Are the candidates expected to raise a specified amount?
 - b. How are those funds dispersed?
76. **Do local and regional branches raise funds for their own campaign activities?**
77. **What was the total income of the political party in the last election and non-election year respectively?** Specify in local currency.
78. **How much funding, if any, does the party provide to the women's wing, youth wing, etc and do they have their own sources of income and budgets?** Specify in local currency.
79. **Which are the party's main sources of income (amount and percentage)** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income) Specify in local currency.
Public funding from the state; Membership fees; Income from fundraising activities and events; Individual donations; Trade union donations; Donations from associations (list principal donors); Other (please specify)
80. **What, if any, strategies and methods for fundraising are used by the party?**
81. **What, if any, assets are held by the party (ie. businesses, buildings, etc)?** Specify which ones and if they generate income.
82. **Which are the main expenditures of the party?** (In last non- election year/ Amount as % of total party income/ In the last election year/ Amount as % of total party income)
Specify in local currency.
Publicity/propaganda; Salaries; Transportation; Public opinion research (polling/ policy development); National and regional meetings/ congresses; Voter education; Election campaign; Other (please specify)
83. **How, if at all, are regular financial reports of the party (and/or individual candidates) made public?**
84. **How, if at all, are campaign finance reports of the party (and individual candidates) made public?**

Funding – additional comments

QUESTIONS FOR ALL INTERVIEWEES

85. **What are the most important reasons for change (or lack of changes) in membership, in your opinion?** Please refer to Q30 on membership.
86. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in initiating policy changes or development?** (Great deal of influence/ Fair amount of influence/ Not very much influence/ No influence at all/ Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)

87. **How much, in your opinion, do the following bodies participate in debating major policy changes?** (Great deal of participation / Fair amount of participation / Not very much participation / No participation at all / Don't know) Please check that all apply.
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
88. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Cabinet ministers (if ruling party); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other ((please specify)

S/election of candidate

89. **How much influence, in your opinion, do the following bodies have in finally deciding major policy changes?** (Absolute approval or veto power / Great deal of influence / Fair amount of influence / Not very much influence / No influence at all / Don't know)
Affiliated external organisations (trade unions etc); All party members; Auxiliary internal party organisations (women, youth etc); Delegates to party congress; Local party; National executive; Parliamentary party caucus/club; Party Leader; Party members; Regional party; Significant party donors; Other (please specify)
90. **To what extent do the following factors, in your opinion, affect positively the chances of candidates to get s/elected by the party?** (Very important / Fairly important / Not very important / Not at all important / Don't know)
Ability at public speaking; Closeness to party leader or senior party officials; Commitment to the campaign; Educational qualifications; Experience of holding party office; Local/regional connections with the community; Name recognition; Personal wealth; Business experience; Trade union experience; Many years of membership; Other (please specify)

Additional comments

ABOUT EISA



EISA is a not-for-profit and non-partisan non-governmental organisation which was established in 1996. Its core business is to provide technical assistance for capacity building of relevant government departments, electoral management bodies, political parties and civil society organisations operating in the democracy and governance field throughout the SADC region and beyond. Inspired by the various positive developments towards democratic governance in Africa as a whole and the SADC region in particular since the early 1990s, EISA aims to advance democratic values, practices and enhance the credibility of electoral processes. The ultimate goal is to assist countries in Africa and the SADC region to nurture and consolidate democratic governance. SADC countries have received enormous technical assistance and advice from EISA in building solid institutional foundations for democracy. This includes electoral system reforms; election monitoring and observation; constructive conflict management; strengthening of parliament and other democratic institutions; strengthening of political parties; capacity building for civil society organisations; deepening democratic local governance; and enhancing the institutional capacity of the election management bodies. EISA is currently the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is also the secretariat of the SADC Election Support Network (ESN) comprising election-related civil society organisations established in 1997.

VISION

Realisation of effective and sustainable democratic governance in Southern Africa and beyond.

MISSION

To strengthen electoral processes, democratic governance, human rights and democratic values through research, capacity building, advocacy and other strategically targeted interventions.

VALUES AND PRINCIPLES

Key values and principles of governance that EISA believes in include:

- Regular free and fair elections
- Promoting democratic values
- Respect for fundamental human rights
- Due process of law / rule of law
- Constructive management of conflict
- Political tolerance
- Inclusive multiparty democracy
- Popular participation
- Transparency
- Gender equality
- Accountability
- Promoting electoral norms and standards

OBJECTIVES

- To nurture and consolidate democratic governance
- To build institutional capacity of regional and local actors through research, education, training, information and technical advice
- To ensure representation and participation of minorities in the governance process
- To strive for gender equality in the governance process
- To strengthen civil society organisations in the interest of sustainable democratic practice, and
- To build collaborative partnerships with relevant stakeholders in the governance process.

CORE ACTIVITIES

- Research
- Conferences, seminars and workshops
- Publishing
- Conducting elections and ballots

- Technical advice
- Capacity building
- Election observation
- Election evaluation
- Networking
- Voter / civic education
- Conflict management
- Educator and learner resource packs

PROGRAMMES

EISA's core business revolves around three main programmes namely: Conflict Management, Democracy and Electoral Education; Electoral and Political Processes; and Balloting and Electoral Services.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL EDUCATION

This programme comprises various projects including voter education, democracy and human rights education; electoral observation; electoral staff training; electoral conflict management; capacity building; course design and citizen participation.

ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES

This programme addresses areas such as technical assistance for electoral commissions, civil society organisations and political parties; coordination of election observation and monitoring missions; working towards the establishment of electoral norms and standards for the SADC region and providing technical support to both the SADC-ECF and the SADC-ESN.

BALLOTING AND ELECTORAL SERVICES

The programme enhances the credibility and legitimacy of organisational elections by providing independent and impartial electoral administration, management and consultancy services. The key activities include managing elections for political parties, trade unions, pension funds, medical aid societies, etc.

EISA'S SPECIAL PROJECTS INCLUDE:

- Rule of Law, which examines issues related to justice and human rights;
- Local Government, which aims to promote community participation in governance; and
- Political Parties, which aims to promote party development at strategic, organisational and structural levels through youth empowerment, leadership development and development of party coalitions.

EISA'S SUPPORT SERVICES INCLUDE:

- Research
- Publications
- Library
- Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

EISA PRODUCTS

- Books
- CD-ROMS
- Conference proceedings
- Election handbooks
- Occasional papers
- Election observer reports
- Research reports
- Country profiles
- Election updates
- Newsletters
- Voter education manuals
- Journal of African Elections
- Election database

ABOUT IDEA



The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) was set up in 1995 as intergovernmental body located at the interface between researchers, practitioners and the donor community to promote dialogue, analyses and networking for the purpose of strengthening democratic processes and institutions. IDEA's current programmes cover three thematic areas: Electoral Processes, Democracy and Conflict Management, and Political Participation. IDEA's work in the area of electoral processes is the most developed and entails, among other things, the production of global knowledge and tools which cover issues such as electoral systems, representation and participation, and election administration. In 1997 IDEA produced a handbook on electoral systems which has been widely circulated and discussed and which informed electoral system reform processes in several countries. Recently, IDEA published the New IDEA Handbook on Electoral Design, adding material on the political context of electoral systems and the process of electoral system change to the explanation of different electoral systems and their effects contained in the original book.

This year (2005), IDEA is celebrating its 10th anniversary both at its Head quarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

IDEA has an African Office based in South Africa:

International IDEA Africa
Beeld Park Building
1166 Schoeman Street
Hatfield, 0001
Pretoria
South Africa

Postal Address:
Suite 55, Private Bag X1
Menlo Park, 0102 Pretoria
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 342 6988
Fax: +27 12 342 6989

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