



EISA's 5th ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM

SETTING BENCHMARKS FOR ENHANCED POLITICAL PARTY PERFORMANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

*Protea Hotel Wanderers, Johannesburg, South Africa
23-24 November 2010*

TUESDAY 23 November 2010

08:00-08:45 Registration

SESSION 1 Welcome, Official Opening and Keynote Address

Chairperson *Mr Leshele Thoahlane, Chairperson of the EISA Board of Directors*

08:45-08:55 **Welcome Remarks** by the EISA Board Chairperson

08:55-09:25 **Keynote Address and Official Opening**

His Excellency Mr Jerry Rawlings, Former President of the Republic of Ghana

09:25-09:45 Group photo

SESSION 2 Political Parties and Democracy: Theory and Practice

Chairperson *Professor Tom Lodge, University of Limerick, Ireland and EISA Board Member*

09.45-10.25 **Is Democracy Without Political Parties Possible? Can Political Parties Exist in the Absence of Democracy?**

*Mr Mosibudi Mangena, Former South African Cabinet Minister
Professor Mwesiga Baregu, St. Augustine's Catholic University, Tanzania*

10:25-10.45 **Trends in Trust and Confidence in Political Parties Across the Continent: Afro Barometer Survey**

Professor E. Gyimah-Boadi, Ghana Centre for Democratic Development

10.45-11.30 **Discussion**

11:30-11:45 Tea break

SESSION 3 Internal Issues to Political Parties

Chairperson *Professor Jørgen Elklit, University of Aarhus, Denmark*

11:45-12:05 Political Parties formation in Africa: Selected Studies Focusing on Transition, Stability and Democratisation

Dr Martin Rupiya, The African Public Policy and Research Institute, South Africa

12:05-12:45 Case Study on Ruling Parties and the Use of State Resources

Dr Lucien Toulou, EISA Chad

Mr Zefanias Matsimbe, EISA Mozambique

12:45-13:05 Leadership, Politics, Policy and Ideology

Professor Mpho Molomo, University of Botswana

13:05-13:50 Discussion

13:50-14:50 Lunch

SESSION 4 Political Parties, Power and Processes

Chairperson *Professor Onalenna Selolwane, University of Botswana*

14:50-15:30 Party Systems and their Effects on Political Parties

Mr Kabasu Babu Kotulondi, EISA-Chad

Mr Roel von Meijenfeldt, Executive Director, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)

15:30-15:50 Political Parties and Traditional Institutions

Professor Pearl Sithole, University of Kwazulu Natal, South Africa

15:50-16:35 Discussion

19:00-21:00 COCKTAIL RECEPTION

Chairperson *Mr Yusuf Aboobaker, Mauritius Electoral Supervisory Commission and EISA Board Member*

Book Launch

Matlosa, K. G. Khadiagala and V. Shale (eds) 2010.

When Elephants Fight: Preventing and Resolving Election-related Conflicts in Africa. Johannesburg:

EISA



End of Day One

WEDNESDAY 24 November 2010

SESSION 4 Political Parties, Power and Processes (continued)

08:45-09:05 Political Parties and Electoral Processes

Mr Vincent Tobhi, Country Director, EISA-DRC

SESSION 5 Political Parties, Power and Processes (continued)

Chairperson *Mr. Felix Owuor Odhiambo, Country Director, EISA-Kenya*

09:05-10:05 Party Systems, Coalitions and Stability

Kenyan Political Parties: ODM, PNU

Zimbabwean Political Parties: MDC, ZANU-PF

10:05-10:50 Discussion

10:50-11:05 Tea break

SESSION 6 Party Financing

Chairperson *Ms Raenette Taljaard, University of Cape Town, South Africa*

11:05-11:25 Contemporary Issues in Political Party Funding and Sustainability

Professor Anthony Butler, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa

11:25-11:45 Effective Public Funding Regulatory Regimes

Ms Gèraldene Chaplog-Louw, Electoral Commission of South Africa

11:45-12:30 Discussion

12:30-14:00 Lunch

SESSION 7 Political Party Benchmarks

Chairperson *Dr Christiana Thorpe, Sierra Leone Electoral Commission and EISA Board member*

14:00-14:30 Presentation of Draft Benchmarks

EISA Expert Reference Group

14:30-15:30 Discussion

SESSION 8 Official Closing

15:30-15:50 Vote of Thanks and Official Closing

Ms. Ilona Tip, Acting Executive Director, EISA

Organising Committee

Mr Ebrahim Fakir, Manager, Governance Institutions and Processes

Mr Victor Shale, Senior Programme Officer

Ms Maureen Moloi, Projects Coordinator and Symposium Coordinator

Ms Nirina Rajaonarivo, Programme Officer

Ms Nkgakong Mokonyane, Assistant Programme Administrator

Ms Dipti Bava, Assistant Accountant

Ms Zandile Bengu, Intern

Ms Zahira Seedat, Senior Personal Assistant

Ms Maxine Reitzes, Rapporteur

Ms Josefine Larsen, Assistant Rapporteur

ABOUT EISA

Since its inception in July 1996, EISA has established itself as a leading institution and influential player dealing with elections and democracy related issues in the African continent. The organisation's strategic objectives are:

- To enhance electoral processes to ensure their inclusiveness and legitimacy
- To promote effective citizen participation in democratic processes to strengthen institutional accountability and responsiveness
- To strengthen governance institutions to ensure effective, accessible and sustainable democratic processes
- To promote principles, values and practices that lead to a culture of democracy and human rights
- To create a culture of excellence that leads to consistently high quality products and services
- To position EISA as a leader that consistently influences policy and practice in the Democracy and Governance Sector.

EISA's vision is *an African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment*. This vision is executed through the organisational mission of *striving for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, a human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa*.

EISA's ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM

For the past four years, EISA has held an annual symposium, each of which focused upon a selected democracy and governance issue. The First Annual Symposium, in November 2006, examined the challenges of conflict, democracy and development in Africa. The Second, in October 2007, focused policy discussion around the prospects for sustainable democratic governance in Africa in an environment of dire socio economic conditions and entrenched poverty. The third, in October 2008, dealt with the challenges facing civil society engagement with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The Fourth Symposium focused upon the problem of persistent, violent election-related conflicts in Africa with a view to understanding their causes, magnitude and consequences for democratic governance.

The fifth symposium will develop benchmarks to support political parties in young and developing democracies, not simply by providing a normative wish list; but developing relevant and appropriate, pragmatic benchmarks as an opportunity to promote the long-term institutional development for political parties on the continent specifically and to enhance democratic systems of governance through political parties within well developed

H.E. Mr. Jerry Rawlings, Former President of the Republic of Ghana, will deliver a Keynote Address and officially open the Symposium.

ABOUT THE PRESENTERS

Dr Mosibudi Mangena

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Dr. Mosibudi Mangena is the former Minister of Science and Technology. He is also the immediate past President of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), He was elected a Member of Parliament in April, 1999, and appointed the Deputy Minister of Education in January 2001. In this portfolio he presided, *inter alia*, over the expansion of relations between the South African science and technology system with those of other countries across the globe, the commissioning and building of the South African micro-satellite, the SumbandilaSat, the support and funding of the development of the South African electric car, the Joule, by the Innovation Fund, which is an instrument of the Department of Science and Technology, the creation of the Technology Innovation Agency, the launch of the South African Research Chairs Initiative, the winning and launching of the African component of the International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, the development of the South African Ten Year Innovation Plan.

In December 1972, he was elected the first National Organiser of the Black People's Convention at its inaugural Congress. In 1973, he was detained under the notorious Section 6 of the Terrorism Act in Port Elizabeth. He was later charged, convicted and sent to Robben Island for five years. He was the first Black Consciousness activist to land on Robben Island. While on Robben Island and under banning orders, he completed a BSc and BSc Hons degrees with the University of South Africa. He now holds a Master of Science degree in Applied Mathematics. On his release in 1978, he was banned and restricted to Mahwelereng Township in the then Lebowa Homeland (now part of the Limpopo Province) for five years. In 1981 he went into exile, and joined the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA). He was first elected Chairperson of the Botswana Chapter of the movement, and in 1982, Chairperson of the Central Committee of the entire organization. He was also the founding commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army. In 1983, he moved his operational base to Zimbabwe, where he resided until he returned to South Africa in July 1994. Dr. Mangena is the author of four books, viz., *On Your Own* (1989); *A Quest for True Humanity* (1996); *A Twin World* (1996), and *My Grandmother is Permanent* (2004). He was the first patron of the Sowetan-Telkom Mathematics and Science Teacher of the Year Awards, and the founder Chairperson of the South African Literacy Initiative and Masifundesonke Reading Campaign. On 18 March 2008, the Vaal University of Technology conferred upon him an Honorary Doctorate (Doctoris Technologiae) in the field of Applied Sciences in recognition of his "service and invaluable contribution to the social upliftment of both our region and country." On 11 December 2009 the University of Stellenbosch conferred upon him an honorary Doctor of Science degree

Professor Mwesiga Baregu

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Prof. Mwesiga Baregu is a Professor of Politics and International Relations, School of Graduate Studies at St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT), Dar es Salaam. He is formerly a Professor of Politics & International Relations at the University of Dar es-Salaam, Tanzania. Baregu is a specialist in conflict analysis, regional integration & international political economy; currently directing research on protracted conflicts in the African Great Lakes region on the role of actors, interests and strategies in facilitating or obstructing peace in the region. His publications include: "From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's Evolving Security Challenges" (Lynne Rienner, 2003), and "Crisis in the DRC" (SAPES Books, 1999). He holds a PhD from Stanford University.

E. Gyimah-Boadi

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E. Gyimah-Boadi is Executive Director of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development, an independent policy research and think tank and advocacy group for democracy, good governance and economic opportunity in Ghana and Africa based in Accra; Executive Director, Afrobarometer (a survey research project tracking public opinion on political, economic and social developments in African countries); and Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. His publications include "Another Step for Ghana" *Journal of Democracy* vol. 20, no.2 (April 2009); "Political Parties and Party Politics" in Baffour Agyeman-Duah ed., *Ghana: Governance in the Fourth*

Republic (Accra: CDD-Ghana, 2008), pp. 126-154; “Civil Society and Governance” in Baffour Agyeman-Duah ed., *ibid.* pp. 215-234; “Political Parties, Elections and Patronage: Random Thoughts on Neo-Patrimonialism and African Democratization” in Matthias Basedau, Gero Erdmann and Andreas Mehler eds., *Votes, Money and Violence: Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Sweden, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2007) pp. 21-33; “Ghana and South Africa, Assessing the Quality of Democracy” (with Robert Mattes) in Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino eds., *Assessing the Quality of Democracy* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa* (with Mike Bratton and Robert Mattes) Cambridge University Press (2005); and *Democratic Reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, (2004).

Associate Professor Martin R. Rupiya

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Dr Martin Revayi Rupiya is the Executive Director of The African Public Policy & Research Institute (APPRI), established in July 2010 and based in Pretoria, South Africa. Prior to this, Rupiya was the National Security Advisor & Principal Director, International Relations in the Office of the Prime Minister, Zimbabwe, positions held since the day of inauguration, 11 February 2009. Rupiya had joined the Inclusive Government from his portfolio as Director of Research, Africa at the Centre for Security Sector Management (CSSM), Cranfield University, United Kingdom. Between July 2002 and February 2008, he lectured at the Universities of Zimbabwe, Witwatersrand and Rhodes, in South Africa. His special area of study is defence and security organisations, Africa’s Peace and Security as well as Africa’s International Relations. In the intervening period, in 2003, took up the post of Senior Researcher and MilAIDS Programme Manager at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS). Rupiya has undertaken various United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) consultancies, as Team Leader and recently received an invitation to become part of the African Peer Review panel. Selected latest publications include:

- 2010. *City Press* (Johannesburg, SA), 01 August, *The Coming of Age of Al-Shabaab: A Critical Assessment of the African Security Architecture and International Terrorism: Somalia after 20 Years?*
- 2010. Chapter, “The Global Arms Trade: Challenges for Africa?” in Ed. Andrew T.H. Tan et al, *The Global Arms Trade: A Handbook* (Routledge International Handbooks, 2010), pp. 178-90.

Dr Lucien Toulou

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Lucien Toulou is currently EISA Country Director in Chad where he coordinates the implementation of a project aimed at building the capacity of civil society organisations in the area of election observation and in the field of voter and civic education. He also oversees EISA's activities in support to political party development in the country. Before moving to Chad, he served at EISA headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa, as Researcher, then Programme Officer. Previously, he worked as Electoral Advisor with the United Nations Operation in Cote d’Ivoire and taught political science at the Catholic University of Central Africa, Yaoundé, Cameroon. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of Bordeaux IV, France; and is the author of a number of articles and book chapters on issues related to elections and democratic governance in Africa.

Mr Zefanias Matsimbe

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Mr. Zefanias Matsimbe is EISA Senior Programme Officer at the Maputo Field Office. He also collaborates with the Department of Political Science and Public Administration in teaching at Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, where he occupied the position of Head of Department. He is a fully accredited BRIDGE (Building Resources in Democracy, Governance and Elections) trainer and has worked for IDS (Institute of Development Studies) at the University of Sussex, UK, as researcher. He holds a Bachelors Degree in Social Sciences, Honours in Public Administration, both at Eduardo Mondlane University and MPhil in Land and Agrarian Studies from University of the Western Cape, South Africa and he has been accepted as a PhD Student at the Department of Political Science, University of Pretoria, South Africa. His areas of interest include: party funding and electoral campaign finance, political parties and party coalitions and party identification and voting behaviour.

Professor Mpho Molomo
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Professor Mpho G. Molomo is a Professor in the Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Botswana. He is also a Director of the Centre for Strategic Studies, which strives to enhance democratic control and oversight of the security sector. Molomo's primary research interests are the land question and democratization. He nevertheless has varied research interests and has published extensively, on democracy and electoral systems, party systems, security sector governance and reform, and the ethnic question in Botswana.

Mr Kabasu Babu Katulondi
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Kabasu Babu Katulondi is former Secretary General of RCD (liberation movement) and RCD political party (2003-2008) in DRC. He graduated in the 'Institut Supérieur de Commerce' of Kinshasa (trade and finance) and the University of Lubumbashi (Political Science and Administration). His MA in political science is in progress at the University of Johannesburg. A writer and novelist, he has written several essays, among them: 'Crise et Renaissance Politique au Congo: Exploration à la Lumière de l'Expérience sud-africaine', and 'Bâtir une Nouvelle Cité au Congo: l'Impératif de la RAAM'. His novel: 'Kinshasa: La Dernière Explosion n'aura pas Lieu' - is published by l'Harmattan, Paris; and he recently authored a text: 'Joseph Kabila et la Reconstruction Réinventrice du Congo: Défis et Prospective' also published by l'Harmattan, Paris. Currently, Kabasu Babu Katulondi is managing EISA's Political Party Capacity Building Project in Chad.

Roel von Meijenfeldt
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Roel von Meijenfeldt is Chairperson of the Board of Directors of the European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) and Executive Director of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). He is a member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy (WMD) and the Steering Committee of the NGO network of the Community of Democracies (CoD). Previously he was Programme Director at the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (Int IDEA) in Stockholm and worked in Brussels as the Secretary General of the Standing Committee of NGOs which implemented the EU Programme for the eradication of apartheid and transition to democracy in South Africa. He is a political scientist by training and his work on assessing democratic reform opportunities and facilitating inclusive national dialogues for democratic reforms has included countries on all continents.

Professor Mpilo Pearl Sithole
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Prof. Mpilo Pearl Sithole is an Associate Professor at the School of Social Work and Community Development at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Having studied in various local (KwaZulu-Natal) schools, she proceeded to the University of Durban Westville (RSA) and the University of Cambridge (UK) for her tertiary education. She is an anthropologist by training. In addition to teaching at University she does research on local government, traditional leadership and knowledge systems. She has written on a range of issues and her most recent book is entitled, *Unequal Peers: The Politics of Discourse Management in the Social Sciences*. Prof Sithole has been involved in various research and development projects involving spatial planning, indigenous knowledge systems, and gender and development.

Mr Vincent Tobhi
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Mr. Vincent Tobhi is the EISA country office Director in the DRC. He previously worked at the Ministry of Interior, Department of Elections and Administration of Local Councils in Cote d'Ivoire where he was responsible for voter registration and supervision of elections. Vincent was also an advisor to the Electoral Commission and served as a consultant to various international bodies on electoral matters and international donor's development and aid strategies related to elections. He has been involved in several initiatives on the continent, developing networks of civil actors and their

capacity to engage in electoral observation and elections monitoring. More recently he is involved in supporting the electoral authority in the DRC with projects focussing on the orientation and induction of electoral staff, setting up Party Liaison Committees, designing public outreach programmes, training, deploying and supervising mediators countrywide across the DRC in partnership with the electoral commission, resolving electoral disputes and convening seminars and conferences on relevant democracy, governance, conflict resolution and election related topics, in the DRC. He is also currently engaged in Doctoral studies at the University of Abidjan

Professor Anthony Butler

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Professor Butler is Professor of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is the author of *Contemporary South Africa*, 2nd edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) *Cyril Ramaphosa* (Jacan, 2007 and James Currey, 2008), *Democracy and Apartheid* (Mcmillan, 1998) and *Transformative Politics: The future of Socialism in Western Europe* (Mcmillan, 1995). He has previously been Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Director of the Politics and Administration programme at Birkbeck College, University London, and Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town. He writes a weekly column for Johannesburg's Business Day Newspaper and has a BA in Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) from Oxford University and a PhD in Social and Political Sciences from Cambridge.

Ms Gèraldene Chaplog-Louw

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Geraldine Chaplog-Louw is the current Chief Audit Executive at the Electoral Commission of South Africa (IEC). She has held various portfolios in the past, including responsibility for Political Party Funding since its inception in 1998. She holds a BA in Political Science, an LLB and is also a certified General Accountant with the South African Institute of Chartered Accountants in South Africa. She is currently completing a Masters in International Trade Law and is currently registered for a postgraduate diploma in Forensic Investigative Accounting.
