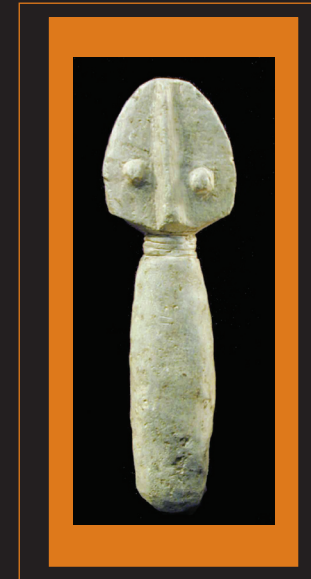


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POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME HANDBOOK



BY
KHABELE MATLOSA AND
VICTOR SHALE

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POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME HANDBOOK NO 18



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POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME HANDBOOK

Developed by Dr Khabele Matlosa and Victor Shale
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P O Box 740
Auckland Park
2006
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 482 5495
Fax: +27 11 482 6163
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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 EISA'S POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME

EISA provides technical support to political parties in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region between elections. This is informed by the principle that sustainable democracy is dependent upon, *inter alia*, well-functioning political parties. EISA addresses the following key areas relating to the effectiveness of political parties as principal agents of democratisation in the Southern African region:

- Gender representation in political parties;
- Internal organisational arrangements;
- Management and functioning of parties;
- Leadership qualities within political parties;
- Conflict and conflict management;
- Public outreach programmes; and
- Inter-party relations.

Through this programme, EISA aims to promote party development at strategic, organisational and structural levels by developing leadership through youth and women empowerment and by equipping party leaders with the skills to represent the interests of their constituents in an effective and democratic manner. This has been achieved through:

- Extensive research and publications in the thematic areas;
- Country dialogue workshops;
- Training and international conferences.

Workshop, conference and research reports produced under this programme are available for download from the EISA website (www.eisa.org.za/EISA/pp.htm).

BACKGROUND TO THE 'STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN THE SADC REGION' PROJECT

Over the past 12 months, EISA has implemented a capacity-building project under its programme on 'Strengthening political parties for sustainable democracy in the SADC region' in four countries, namely Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa and Swaziland, with financial support from the Embassy of Finland based in Pretoria, South Africa. This project focused on the following thematic areas:

- Gender representation;
- Internal organisational arrangements, management and functioning of parties;

- Leadership in parties;
- Conflict and conflict management;
- Inter-party relations.

PURPOSE/GOAL

The overarching purpose or goal of the project was to help strengthen political parties so that they can meaningfully play their role as effective actors for sustainable democratic consolidation and good governance, trusted by voters, representative and responsive to public needs and concerns, contributing to public debate, and equipped to support government and a constructive opposition, thus playing a role in ensuring transparency and accountability in the governance process.

OBJECTIVES/AIMS OF THE PROJECT

The specific objectives of the project are as follows:

- To conduct capacity-building programmes in a variety of areas, namely, gender representation, intra-party and inter-party democracy, outreach activities, conflict management and leadership;
- To share information on comparative experiences of political parties in the SADC region with regard to their functioning, their internal democracy mechanisms and organisational arrangements; and
- To promote dialogue amongst parties in order to generate regional and in-country debates on their status.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like first of all to thank leaders of the political parties in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zambia for having made themselves available and participated in the many phases of the EISA Political Parties Programme, including needs assessment, in-country policy dialogue workshops, and capacity building and training workshops. We appreciate wholeheartedly the support of our local partners, namely the civil society organisations and academic institutions that are always willing to contribute to our work in many ways. These are:

- 1) The Committee for Strengthening Democracy in Botswana
- 2) Emang Basadi (Botswana)
- 3) University of Botswana (UB)
- 4) Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (LCN)
- 5) Moruo Consulting (Lesotho)
- 6) Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) (Lesotho)
- 7) Development for Peace Education (DPE) (Lesotho)
- 8) Coordinating Assembly of Non-Governmental Organisations (CANGO)-
Swaziland

We extend our gratitude to the Embassy of Finland-Pretoria for the generous financial support which has made this publication possible. We acknowledge the contributions and general guidance of Mr Denis Kadima, EISA Executive Director, in this programme. Finally, we thank EISA staff members, particularly the Research Department, for their invaluable contributions to the programme.

AUTHORS

Dr Khabele Matlosa is a Senior Adviser, Research at EISA. He obtained his Master's Degree at the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom in 1987. Thereafter he completed a Post-Graduate Diploma in Conflict Resolution at the University of Uppsala in Sweden in 1988. He proceeded to graduate in 1995 with a PhD from the University of the Western Cape. He is a governance specialist and has researched and written widely on various governance topics such as electoral reforms, political parties, conflict management, election administration, election observation, and the monitoring of local government and political parties. He has observed elections in various SADC countries and played an instrumental role in terms of technical expertise for the Interim Political Authority, through the United Nations Development Programme, during Lesotho's electoral reform process between 1999 and 2002. Dr Matlosa was commissioned by the African Union (AU) in 2005-06 to develop the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which was adopted by the AU Summit in January 2007.

Victor Shale is a Researcher at EISA and a Doctoral candidate at the University of South Africa (UNISA). He holds an MPhil in Conflict Management from the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE), South Africa. He is responsible for EISA's Programme on Political Parties in the SADC region and in Sudan, aimed at building the capacity of political parties. He serves as a resource person for many organisations on political parties. Mr Shale is a conflict management expert whose specialities include negotiations, mediation and second-track diplomacy. He has trained political parties in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Zambia, South Africa, Swaziland and Sudan. He has also researched, co-edited books, written book chapters, conference and seminar papers, book reviews and accredited journal articles on democracy, including diplomacy, conflict management and local government.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HANDBOOK

This handbook is intended to provide information about political parties. It aims to enhance political parties' knowledge and skills on how to participate effectively in the democratisation process. This handbook therefore contains comprehensive and valuable information pertaining to political parties. While a lot of effort has been put into producing it, this handbook is only intended to be a tool from which training manuals and presentations could be developed. Thus, it does not purport to provide all possible information on political parties. The overall framework that informs the structure of the handbook is illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Framework of the Handbook

CHAPTER I: POLITICAL PARTIES	
Part I: Defining a Political Party	Part II: Functions of Political Parties
Part III: Party Typologies and Ideologies	Part IV: Party Systems
Part V: Decline of Political Parties	
CHAPTER II: LEADERSHIP	
Part I: Defining Leadership	Part II: Types of Leadership
Part III: Leadership Skills	Part IV: Leadership and Gender
CHAPTER III: PARTY ORGANISATION	
Part I: External Regulation of Political Parties	Part II: Internal Functioning and Governance
Part III: Policy Formulation/Development	Part IV: Party Structures
Part V: Party Funding	Part VI: Code of Conduct for Political Parties
Part VII: Primary elections and candidate nomination	
CHAPTER IV: PUBLIC OUTREACH	
Part I: Defining Public Outreach	Part II: Voter and Civic Education
Part III: Election Campaigns	Part IV: Party Manifestos
CHAPTER V: PARTY COALITIONS/ALLIANCES	
Part I: Defining Political Party Coalitions	Part II: Rationale for Political Party Coalitions
Part III: Types of Coalitions	Part IV: Challenges for Party Coalitions
CHAPTER VI: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT	
Part I: Defining Conflict	Part II: Sources of Intra-Party and Inter-Party Conflict
Part III: Factors Escalating Conflict	Part IV: Mediation
Part V: Negotiation	Part VI: Communication Skills

METHODOLOGY

EISA uses an interactive training methodology which encourages participants to express views on the challenges that they are faced with and exchange ideas with each other openly and in a candid manner. Central to this methodology is the recognition that the participants in the training workshops are experts and practitioners in politics. Thus, EISA recognises this reality while at the same time employing adult learning principles in its approach. Facilitators make presentations on the various topics and invite inputs – and not necessarily questions – from the participants themselves. Case studies and exercises are also used to get participants more involved.

OUTCOMES

It is expected that participants from political parties will have a clear understanding of the meaning of political parties, their roles, political systems and party systems. Most importantly, participants will understand organisational development and party structures. They will also understand coalitions and how they work. They will better understand the causes of intra- and inter-party conflicts and ways of managing these conflicts.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL PARTIES

I.1 PART I | DEFINING A POLITICAL PARTY

Political parties play a crucial role in democracy-building. Democracy is unthinkable without political parties. However, it is possible to have political parties in a country that does not qualify as a democracy. Thus, while democracy requires the existence of political parties, parties may exist in an undemocratic environment. Throughout the world, we can identify three types of democracy, namely, (a) electoral democracy (b) liberal democracy and (c) social or developmental democracy. It does not matter how narrow and shallow or wide and deep a democratic system could be; in all democratic settings, political parties must exist and function. Contemporary trends of party politics in Africa can be summed up as follows:

1. Under colonial rule, African politics was not marked by free multiparty competition for state power, as colonialism was an autocratic type of governance;
2. Political parties emerged late after the Second World War as part of the decolonisation process;
3. The multiparty system was adopted following political independence in the 1950s-60s;
4. Around the mid-1960s and early 1970s, political parties were outlawed, as authoritarian rule of civilian (one-party, one person, monarchical) or military varieties took centre-stage;
5. With the upsurge of democratisation on a global scale since the late 1980s and early 1990s, political parties have been mushrooming everywhere.

In various parts of the globe, notably Asia, Africa and Latin America, the demise of authoritarian regimes unleashed an upsurge in the re-emergence of political parties. In the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, 'one-party rule was replaced by the establishment of competitive party systems' (Andrew Heywood, 2002: 248). Yet, despite the mushrooming and upsurge of party politics, political parties are confronted by challenges, including declining public trust.

I.2 WHAT ARE POLITICAL PARTIES?

According to the **ACE Encyclopaedia**, a political party is defined as 'an organised group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions, that seek to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office' (<http://aceproject.org>).

According to the **Democracy Encyclopaedia**, 'political parties are groups or

organisations seeking to place candidates in office under a specific label. Parties are among the most important organisations in modern politics. In the contemporary world, they are nearly ubiquitous: only a small percentage of states do without them' (p.924).

Andrew Heywood – A political party is a group of people that is organised for the purpose of winning government power, by electoral or other means. Parties are often confused with interest groups or social movements (p.248). Political parties may seek political power through elections or revolutions (p.248).

Thus a political party, unlike an interest group, aims to capture state power and control the public policy-making process within the confines of the constitutional and legal framework of the given country. Four characteristics that distinguish parties from other groups (including interest groups and social movements) include the following:

- Parties aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties may nevertheless use elections more to gain a platform than to win power);
- Parties are organised bodies with a formal card-carrying membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements;
- Parties typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties, however, may have a single-issue focus, thus resembling interest groups); and
- To varying degrees, parties are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity (Andrew Heywood, p.248).

Despite their significance to the democratic process, political parties are a recent invention whose existence can be traced to the early nineteenth century. The modern party is traceable to political experiences of the 1800 presidential election in the United States. They are now a fact of life and exist in almost all the countries of the world, with very few exceptions. Only in a few countries with authoritarian rule (military rule, theocratic regimes, absolute monarchy) are political parties outlawed. It is worth noting that political parties can be either democratic or authoritarian. Thus, 'whether they are the great tools of democracy or sources of tyranny and repression, political parties are the vital link between the state and civil society, between the institutions of government and the groups and interests that operate within society' (Andrew Heywood, 2002:247).

I.3 PART II | FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the defining features of political parties are principally the capturing of government power and control of public policy-making, their impact on the political system is broader and more complex. Thus, various functions of political parties can be identified. Andrew Heywood isolates six main functions of parties in any democratic system (Andrew Heywood, p.252-255). These are:

- Representation;
- Elite formation and recruitment;
- Goal formulation;
- Interest articulation and aggregation;
- Socialisation and mobilisation;
- Organisation of government.

The primary roles of political parties are summed up in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Functions of Political Parties

	Interest articulation	Interest aggregation	Recruitment
Government	Implements policies	Sustains electoral support for government	Fills government positions
Opposition	Develops alternatives	Gains electoral support for change	Builds pool of competent people

I. REPRESENTATION

Representation refers to the capacity of political parties to respond to and articulate the views of both members and the voters. During elections, parties articulate and express the views of their members through their election manifestos which influence their campaign process. In government, political parties play the representation function by directing public policy-making in line with the interests of the electorate. In opposition, parties aim to act as watchdogs over the government policy-making and implementation process, ensuring that the interests of the electorate are fulfilled.

II. ELITE FORMATION AND RECRUITMENT

Parties are responsible for providing states with their political leaders. Heads of state and government are often leaders of political parties. Cabinet ministers, assistant ministers, and members of parliament are usually senior members of political parties. This trend emphasises the political leadership function of political parties. Democracy requires democrats. If political parties produce democratic leaders, a country stands a better chance of building its democratic governance. But if political parties produce autocratic leaders, a country's democratic governance is in peril.

III. GOAL FORMULATION

Political parties are channels through which societies set collective goals and ensure that such goals are carried out. Political parties play this role by setting their goals, which are translated into national goals once they capture government power. These goals, which were originally party-based, gain national character and attract more popular support. Thus, political parties are a major source of policy initiation. This means that

political parties need to strive to formulate coherent sets of policy options that provide the electorate with a reasonable choice among realistic and achievable goals. However, the tendency towards de-ideologised catch-all (broad church) parties and the fact that electoral campaigns increasingly stress personality and image over coherent policies and issues has generally reduced the impact of parties on policy formulation.

IV. INTEREST ARTICULATION AND AGGREGATION

In developing collective goals, political parties help to articulate and aggregate the various societal interests. Political parties make an effort to ensure that their policies resonate with views, opinions, interests, demands and fears of various social groups including business, labour, religious groups, racial groups, ethnic groups, the gender divide, class divide, people with disabilities, the youth, etc. The fact that political parties articulate the interests of varying societal groups compels them to aggregate these interests by drawing them together into a coherent political agenda that has a policy logic, in the process harmonising competing interests (e.g. business vs labour; peasants vs landlords; whites vs blacks; men vs women; abled vs disabled; Christian vs Muslim, etc).

V. SOCIALISATION AND MOBILISATION

Parties are critical agents for political education, socialisation and mobilisation. The issues that political parties choose to focus upon determine the national agenda. The attitude and values that political parties embrace and articulate become part of the larger political culture of a nation.

VI. ORGANISATION OF GOVERNMENT

Governance of modern complex societies requires organised political society in the form of political parties. Without parties, modern societies would be ungovernable. Without political parties, democratic governance is impossible. Without political parties society is susceptible to free rein by populists, anarchists or fascists. Political parties facilitate the formation of stable and legitimate governments with a degree of policy coherence. In theory, if a government is formed by one single party, prospects for stability and policy coherence are greater. Conversely, if government is formed through a coalition of political parties, prospects for stability and policy coherence are weaker. But practice suggests that one-party regimes can rupture and often do not necessarily lead to policy coherence. That is why factionalism even in one-party governments does occur (e.g. Lesotho, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2006). Evidence also abounds suggesting that in countries with a long pedigree of political party coalitions, political stability can be assured and policy coherence ensured (Mauritius since its independence in the 1960s to date). Political parties are supposed to facilitate cooperation between the two major organs of the state, namely, the executive and the legislature, irrespective of whether a country operates a parliamentary or presidential political system. Parties further provide a vital source of opposition and criticism, both inside and outside of government.

I.4 PART III | PARTY TYPOLOGIES AND IDEOLOGIES

I. PARTY TYPOLOGIES

Various classifications have been used to characterise political parties. These include the following:

1. **Cadre and mass parties.** The cadre party often boasts trained and professional party members, a high level of political commitment and doctrinal discipline and is very particular about ideological clarity, e.g. socialist parties. The mass party places more emphasis on broadening membership and constructing a wide electoral base, e.g. liberal and conservative parties such as the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party in Germany, Republicans and Democrats in the United States, Labour and Conservative in the United Kingdom. Mass parties focus more on recruitment, mobilisation and organisation than on ideology and political conviction. Modern-day mass parties also tend to be catch-all parties that are de-ideologised, emphasising leadership, unity and pragmatism. They downgrade the role of individual party members as power is centralised in the leadership. They often aim to build broad coalitions of support rather than relying on a particular social class or societal grouping.
2. **Representative and integrative parties.** Representative parties perceive themselves as election machines. They regard their primary goal as being to secure votes in elections. They therefore attempt to reflect, rather than form and shape, public opinion. Representative parties therefore always adopt the catch-all strategy. Pragmatism overrides principles. Market research overrides popular mobilisation. Integrative parties adopt pro-active rather than reactive political strategies. They mobilise, educate and inspire people rather than merely respond to their concerns. These are typically cadre parties that are ideologically disciplined, although in some instances mass parties may also exhibit mobilising tendencies. For instance, communist and socialist parties are integrative parties that tend to place ideological conviction above electoral success.
3. **Constitutional and revolutionary parties.** Constitutional parties acknowledge the rights and entitlements of other parties. They operate within a framework of rules and constraints. They acknowledge that there is a distinction between party and state, between the party in power (government) and state institutions (bureaucracy, judiciary, military, police, etc). While the party and government are politically partisan, state institutions enjoy formal independence and political neutrality. Constitutional parties also acknowledge and respect the rules and regulations of electoral competition. All mainstream parties in liberal democracies exhibit this constitutional character. Revolutionary parties are anti-system or unconstitutional parties, either of the left (communist parties) or the

right (fascist parties). Such parties aim to seize power and overthrow the existing constitutional structures, using tactics that range from outright insurrection and popular revolution to quasi-legalism. Often when such parties win state power, they prefer one-party systems banning all other existing parties. The distinction between party and state becomes blurred because the ruling party has in effect substituted itself for government, creating a fused 'party-state' apparatus.

4. **Left-wing and right-wing parties.** Another distinguishing feature of political parties is their ideological orientation, especially between those parties labelled as left-wing and those labeled right-wing. Those parties seen as part of 'the Left' are considered progressive, socialist and communist parties. They are characterised by a commitment to change, in the form of either social reform or wholesale economic transformation. These have traditionally drawn their support from the ranks of the poor and disadvantaged (such as the workers, peasants, etc). Those parties perceived as 'the Right' are considered conservative and fascist. They generally uphold the existing social order and resist change. Their support base is often among the business community and the middle classes. However, in modern politics the neat and clear-cut divide between the Left and the Right may be too simplistic or misleading, as many parties tend to adopt the catch-all approach and become broad churches in the sense that they tend to encompass their own 'left' and 'right' wings within their ranks. Such parties adopt the strategy of coalitions in the form of political 'fronts' or 'movements'. Electoral competition has the effect of blurring the ideological identities of parties.

In the context of electoral contest, once-cherished principles are commonly discarded in search of votes and parliamentary seats. Pragmatism takes over, while ideology and political conviction take a back seat. This in part explains why former socialist parties of 'the Left' in many countries (Labour, under Tony Blair in the UK; Democrats under Bill Clinton in the US) are increasingly moving towards the Centre-Left in search of the so-called 'Third Way'. This strategy is being mimicked by the 'Leftist' African National Congress in South Africa today. Perhaps the blurring of the ideological distinctiveness of political parties is also a consequence of the shift away from old class polarities and the pre-eminence of new political issues such as the environment, animal rights, gay/lesbian rights, feminism and women's rights.

II. PARTY IDEOLOGIES

An ideology refers to a social philosophy or world view. It is a set of ideas and views espoused by the political party which defines its policy positions, programmes and election manifestos. The ideology of a party, as espoused in its policy positions, programmes and election manifestos, influences and inspires its political action. Political ideologies span a political spectrum from the 'Left' to the 'Right' as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Political Spectrum

LEFT	RIGHT
Liberty	Authority
Equality	Hierarchy
Fraternity	Order
Rights	Duties
Progress	Tradition
Reform	Reaction
Internationalism	Nationalism

Source: Andrew Heywood, 2002:252.

Conventional ideologies that political parties espouse from the LEFT to the RIGHT are as follows:

Table 4: Party Ideologies

Socialism	Liberalism	Conservatism	Fascism
Community	Individualism	Tradition	Authority
Fraternity	Freedom	Pragmatism	Power
Social equality	Reason	Human imperfection	Centralisation
Need	Equality	Organicism	Coercion
Social class	Toleration	Hierarchy	Intolerance
Common ownership	Consent	Authority	
	Constitutionalism	Property	

Source: Andrew Heywood, 2002: 252

I.5 PART IV | PARTY SYSTEMS

Political parties are important to democracy in terms of the functions that they perform, as outlined above. Besides their key functions, the significance of political parties to a democracy is also assessed in terms of their interrelationships between and amongst themselves. The interrelationship between and among parties plays a critical role in structuring the way political systems work. It is these complex interrelationships between and among political parties that constitute a party system. Party systems are networks – interparty relationships which determine the way parties operate within and outside parliament. There are three ways of defining a party system.

First, the most common way of distinguishing between various types of party systems is by reference to the number of parties competing for power in a given country. Thus, Duvenger (1954) proposed a three-pronged classification of parties (one-party,

two-party and multiparty systems). The number of parties in a given country gives a quantitative definition of a party system. Such a definition needs to be balanced with a qualitative definition.

Second, the qualitative definition probes the relative size of political parties as reflected in their electoral strength (votes won) and their legislative strength (parliamentary seats won). Thus, Sartori (1976) emphasises the point that the significance and relevance of a political party has to be established in relation to the formation of governments and in particular whether their size gives them the prospect of winning, or at least sharing, government power. In all political systems with a multiplicity of political parties, there are 'major' (often ruling) parties and 'minor' (often opposition) parties.

Third, the relevance and significance of parties to democracy is also measured by how political parties relate to each other. Is the party system marked by cooperation and consensus or by conflict and polarisation? This aspect of a party system is inextricably linked to the prevailing political culture in a country, ideological orientation of parties, political traditions and history. Thus, party systems may be characterised by cooperative relations between parties, leading to political stability (Mauritius). Conversely, a party system could be characterised by conflict, fragmentation and polarisation, leading to political instability (Malawi). The four major party systems in today's modern democracies are:

- One-party systems;
- Two-party systems;
- Dominant-party systems; and
- Multiparty systems.

I. ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

In a one-party system, only one party exists and enjoys a monopoly of power. Other parties are excluded from contestation for power either by political (*de facto*) or constitutional (*de jure*) means. In situations of a *de facto* one-party system, the ruling party dominates the political landscape and exercises hegemony over all the organs of the state without necessarily banning other political parties through a constitutional or legal provision. The examples of *de facto* one-party systems include Lesotho (1970-1986) and Zimbabwe (1986-2000).

In situations of a *de jure* one-party system, the ruling party dominates the political landscape and exercises hegemony over the organs of the state through a deliberate constitutional or legal provision banning the existence of other political parties. The examples of *de jure* one-party systems between the 1970s and late 1980s include Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and Angola.

In one-party systems, political pluralism does not exist. The ruling party becomes a permanent government. The party is fused into the state and the party is enmeshed into the state, hence the term 'one-party state'. Short of a military coup (e.g. Lesotho

1986), the monopolistic party can only be removed through a revolution. Checks and balances among the key organs of state (executive, judiciary and legislature) and accountability are compromised. There is no parliamentary opposition. In Africa, one-party systems have evolved largely around the personality cult of a charismatic leader (Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples Party, CPP; Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and the Chama cha Mapinduzi, CCM; Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and the United National Independence Party, UNIP).

II. TWO-PARTY SYSTEM (DUOPOLY)

In a two-party system or duopoly, two political parties dominate the political system as 'major' parties and both have a roughly equal prospect of winning state power. Conventionally, a two-party system can be identified by three criteria as follows:

- Although a number of 'minor' parties may exist, only two parties enjoy sufficient electoral and legislative strength to have a realistic prospect of winning state power;
- The larger party is able to rule alone (usually on the basis of legislative majority); the other provides the opposition;
- Power alternates between these parties; both are 'electable', the opposition serving as a 'government in the wings'.

The UK and the US are classical cases of a two-party system wherein two parties (Labour and Conservatives and Democrats and Republicans respectively) dominate the political systems and from time to time alternate positions as government and opposition. Other two-party systems exist in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Two-party systems have historically been a feature of majoritarian-plurality electoral systems. They have been associated with strong, accountable and responsive government. But two-party systems have also been criticised for encouraging adversarial politics, ideological polarisation and emphasis on conflict and confrontation rather than consensus, persuasion and compromise. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) region has no experience of a two-party system.

III. DOMINANT-PARTY SYSTEM

Although they may exhibit similar characteristics, one-party systems and dominant-party systems should not be considered as synonymous. A dominant-party system prevails where only one party exercises hegemony as the ruling party over a long period of time under conditions of fragmented, disjointed and enfeebled opposition parties. Unlike the one-party system, a dominant-party system is competitive in that a number of parties compete for power in regular elections even if the electoral contest is dominated by a single 'major' party. Such a party enjoys a prolonged control of state power; enjoys a monopoly of policy-making; and faces a weak opposition with slim prospects for capturing state power in the foreseeable future. Japan is often cited as a

classical case of a dominant-party system. Until it was dislodged from power in 1993, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan had been in power for 38 years. The LDP still enjoys political hegemony in Japan, although it increasingly has to rely on other parties to form a government.

The Congress Party of India enjoyed an uninterrupted 30-year monopoly of power after independence in 1947. In the SADC region, dominant-party systems are found in Botswana (the Botswana Democratic Party, BDP – 41 years); South Africa (the African National Congress, ANC – 14 years), Namibia (the South West African People's Party, Swapo Party – 19 years), Mozambique (the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Frelimo – 30 years), Angola (the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, MPLA – 30 years). One of the prominent features of the dominant-party system is the tendency for faction fighting and internal conflicts within the dominant party. A good example were the factional conflicts within the ANC ahead of the party's elective conference of December 2007 in the Limpopo province. The two dominant factions within the ANC marked the tension between the party's president (Thabo Mbeki) and its deputy president (Jacob Zuma). While the dominant-party system, in and of itself, does not negate democracy and political stability, it has been criticised on a number of grounds, including the following:

- A dominant-party system may erode the constitutional distinction between state and party in power;
- A dominant-party system may undermine the checks and balances and the effectiveness of parliament as a watchdog over the executive organ of the state;
- Prolonged control of state power could engender complacency, arrogance and corruption in the dominant ruling party (with scandals involving allegations of corruption);
- A dominant-party system is characterised by a weak and ineffective opposition whose criticism and protests are often ignored by the dominant party;
- The exercise of a 'semi-permanent' party of government in the form of a dominant party may corrode the democratic spirit by encouraging the electorate to fear change and to stick with the 'natural' party of government.

IV. MULTIPARTY SYSTEM

A multiparty system is marked by competition among more than two political parties. Under this system many parties exist with equal chances to become governing parties, either individually or through coalitions. Thus, in this situation, prospects for a one-party state or a dominant party emerging are bleak. The major defining features of a multiparty system are party coalitions within and outside parliament and coalition governments. For instance, in Germany's multiparty system, the two major parties,

namely, the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Union, have ruled the country through political coalitions which also involve smaller parties. Conventionally, coalition politics are associated with proportional representation (PR) and mixed electoral systems. The main strength of multiparty systems is that they create internal checks and balances within government and exhibit a bias in favour of debate, conciliation and compromise. The main criticism of the multiparty system relates to the pitfalls of formation, maintenance and sustenance of coalitions both inside and outside government. Coalition governments may be fractured and unstable (Italy with post-1945 governments having lasted on average only ten months). But the record of political party coalitions in Germany and Sweden has not been marked by fracture and instability. In the SADC region, the only country with a multiparty system is Mauritius. The tradition of party coalitions in Mauritius both inside and outside government have not generated political instability or threatened the country's liberal democracy.

1.6 PART V | DECLINE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are experiencing decline on a global scale. This problem takes various forms. Firstly, it manifests in the form of declining memberships and electoral support. Political parties are experiencing considerable problems mobilising members and their membership is generally on the decline. Political parties also face enormous challenges mobilising electoral support. This problem manifests itself in declining voter turn-out. Voter turn-out is lower in local government elections than in general (parliamentary and presidential) elections. Voter turn-out is worse in by-elections. This trend is an indictment of public perception of political parties, among other contributory factors.

Secondly, the decline of political parties expresses itself in the form of dwindling public trust in political parties. Afrobarometer surveys have shown that public trust in political parties is dissipating.

Table 5: Degree of Public Trust in Political Parties in Selected SADC Countries

		BOT	LES	MWI	MOZ	NAM	RSA	TAN	ZAM
The Ruling Parties	A lot/ A very great deal	43	55	45	64	59	32	66	31
	A little bit/ Not at all	55	40	52	28	40	60	33	66
Opposition Parties	A lot/ A very great deal	14	19	34	24	15	12	36	15
	A little bit/ Not at all	81	73	61	64	83	76	62	81

It is evident from the table above that opposition parties are suffering a severe crisis of public legitimacy / trust, compared to ruling parties.

Thirdly, there is currently evidence of the rise of social movements and organised social formations (civil society). These social movements and civil society formations are shifting the arena of political engagement beyond political parties. In the process, political parties have to justify their existence before the citizens who are increasingly becoming disenchanted with politics and political parties.

Fourthly, there is also evidence suggesting that many political parties, especially in developing democracies, only exist during elections. They disappear after elections, only to re-emerge come next elections. Given this trend, parties are seen purely as election machines with little role to play in-between elections.

Fifthly and finally, if there is one single area where political parties have been at their weakest, it is in relation to voter and civic education. Some parties do undertake voter education, but generally all parties hardly embark upon a sustained programme of civic education in-between elections.

How can the current decline of political parties be explained? One of the problems that parties face is their real or perceived oligarchic character. Parties are seen as bureaucratised political machines concerned only with contestation for state power with no sustained mobilisation and activism of their grass-roots members. The antipathy towards political parties is more pronounced among the youth. Corruption scandals of politicians have contributed in large measure to the antipathy towards political parties. Internal faction fighting and inter-party conflicts have created an image of political parties being too consumed by the scramble for power (party and state power) and less concerned about the welfare of the people (its members and society at large). Often political parties make promises during election campaigns through their manifestos and once in power fail to deliver on the promises made. This results in ordinary people's loss of political faith in parties, leading to their withdrawal from politics and voter apathy.

CHAPTER 2 LEADERSHIP

2.1 PART I | DEFINING LEADERSHIP

Leadership can be defined organisationally and narrowly as ‘the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organisations of which they are members’. Organisationally, leadership has a direct impact on the effectiveness of costs, revenue generation, service, satisfaction, earnings, market value, share price, social capital, motivation, engagement and sustainability.

2.2 PART II | TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

There are many types of leaders. Table 6 below presents characteristics of six leadership types.

Table 6: Leadership Types and Characteristics

	Visionary leadership	Coaching style	Affiliative leadership	Democratic leadership	Pace-setting leadership	Commanding leadership
Leadership attributes	Inspires. Believes in own vision. Empathetic. Explains why and how people’s efforts contribute to the dream	Listens, encourages and delegates	Promotes harmony. Boosts morale and solves conflicts	Good listener, team worker and collaborator	Strong edge to achieve. Low on empathy and collaboration, micro-managing	‘Do it because I say so.’ Threatening, tight control. Contaminates everyone’s mood and drives away talent
How style creates resonance	Moves people towards shared dream	Connects people’s dreams with organisation’s dreams	Creates harmony and connects people to each other	Appreciates people’s inputs and gets commitment through participation	Realises challenges and exciting goals	Decreases fear by giving clear direction in an emergency
When style appropriate	When change requires a new vision/ direction/ radical change	To help competent motivated members to improve performance	To heal rifts in a team and motivate during stressful times	To build support and consensus	To get high-quality results from motivated people/ employees	In a grave crisis. To start urgent organisational turnaround

Adapted from Coleman @ http://www.12manage.com/methods_goleman_leadership_styles.html

In sum, the table indicates the points below.

- Leaders establish vision and set direction.
- Leaders affirm and articulate values.
- Leaders have high standards and high expectations.
- Leaders are accountable.
- Leaders motivate.
- Leaders achieve unity.
- Leaders involve others in decision-making.
- Leaders serve as role models.
- Leaders listen and explain.
- Leaders represent the organisation.
- Leaders guide constituents and maintain their support.

2.3 PART III | LEADERSHIP SKILLS

The skills that a true leader should possess include the ability to:

- Debate, clarify, and enunciate values and beliefs;
- Fuel, inspire, and guard the shared vision;
- Communicate the strategic plan at all levels;
- Recognise the problems inherent in the planning process;
- Ask the big picture questions and ‘what if’;
- Encourage dreaming and thinking the unthinkable;
- Engage in goal setting;
- View problems as opportunities;
- Set priorities;
- Be a critical and creative thinker;
- Set the example (walk like you talk);
- Celebrate accomplishments.

A true leader should also possess certain personal qualities: passion, humour and empathy, strength of character, general maturity, patience, wisdom, common sense, trustworthiness, reliability, creativity and sensitivity.

2.4 PART IV | LEADERSHIP AND GENDER

I. DEFINING GENDER

Gender is a dynamic of human relations and it is concerned with the social differences and relations between men and women, which are learned and transformed. Although people are born female or male, they learn to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. They are taught what appropriate attitudes, roles and activities are for them

and how they should relate to each other and to other people. Therefore, gender is not about sex (being a male or female) but about the dynamics of socially constructed human relations (being a woman, man, boy or girl) that are shaped by a socialisation process through societal institutions (e.g family, cultural, religious, schools, military or state institutions). This learned behaviour (gender ideologies) is what makes up gender and determines gender roles. (Ibrahim Sahl 2007)

The internal functioning of political parties determines how the views and social demands of different groups are represented in parliament. In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed traditionally excluded groups, such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous and young people to have only limited access to the political realm. Despite representing a larger percentage of world population, women are less represented in leadership positions within parties and ultimately in parliaments. This is contrary to the universal declarations pertaining to gender equality.

II. GENDER EQUALITY IN THE SADC REGION

Gender equality remains a major challenge in the SADC region. Political systems of some countries are more inclusive and broadly representative than others, but even the countries that are doing relatively well in this regard still need to increase the number of women in political decision-making. Political parties, too, need to incorporate more women into their decision-making structures.

It is also important that as political parties strive towards gender parity, concern with numbers of women in positions of leadership and decision-making positions is balanced with concerns about the requisite power and authority given to women in these positions. In this way, gender parity will be able to address both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the empowerment of women. Put somewhat differently, it is pointless simply to increase the number of women in political leadership and decision-making positions if such women do not have the requisite authority and power to make an impact on governance.

Table 7: Gender Representation in SADC Parliaments

Country	% Women Lower House	% Women Upper House	% women both Houses	% Women Cabinet	% Women Local Government	Electoral System
Angola	15.0 %	-	15%	5.9%	1.2%	PR
Botswana	11.1 %	-	11.1%	25.0%	23.3%	FPTP
DRC	8.4%	2.5%	7.3%	16.7%	-	FPTP
Lesotho	11.7%	36.4%	17.0%	27.8%	58.0%	MMP
Madagascar	6.9%	11.1%	8.4%		-	FPTP

Malawi	13.6%	-	13.6%	12.5%	8.3%	FPTP
Mauritius	17.1%	-	17.1%	10.0%	6.4%	FPTP-Block
Mozambique	34.8%	-	34.8%	25.0%	-	PR
Namibia	26.9%	26.9%	26.9%	24.0%	41.8%	PR
South Africa	32.8%	33.3%	32.8%	43.3%	39.7%	FPTP
Swaziland	10.8%	30.0%	16.8%	18.8%	18.5%	FPTP
Tanzania	30.4%	-	30.4%	14.8%	34.2%	FPTP
Zambia	14.6%	-	14.6%	22.7%	7.1%	FPTP
Zimbabwe	16.7%	34.8%	22.2%	13.9%	9.5%	FPTP
Totals	19.5%	19.6%	19.5%	19.5%	29.7%	

Source: : Lowe-Morna et.al (Gender links 2007)

Box 1: Case study: Lesotho local government elections 2005

The Parliament of Lesotho amended the Local Government Act of 1997 to include one-third representation of women in local government structures after the 2005 elections. This was in line with an undertaking by SADC member states in 1997 to address gender inequality among public representatives and to ensure a minimum of 30 per cent representation of women in political leadership and decision-making by 2005.

The amendment included a clause that lays down that no fewer than one-third of seats in a council shall be reserved for women. The Local Government Elections Act of 1998, which outlines the procedures, rules and regulations for the local government elections; had also to be amended to accommodate the election of women.

Section 18(1A) of the Local Government Elections Amendment Act 2004 only provides that 'In accordance with the Local Government Act 1997, one-third of the reserved seats in each Council shall be from every third electoral division'.

To legitimise the process, the IEC adopted a multi-stakeholder strategy to determine the electoral divisions to be reserved for women. Political parties were invited to take part in a random selection of the electoral divisions to be reserved.

Table 8: Lesotho Local Elections Electoral Divisions per District per Council

District councils	No of community councils	No of electoral divisions	No of reserved electoral divisions
Botha-Bothe	10	96	30
Leribe	18	178	54
Berea	10	104	30
Maseru	15	147	45
Mafeteng	12	116	36
Mohale's Hoek	14	140	42
Quthing	10	105	31
Qacha's Nek	11	103	33
Thaba-Tseka	13	127	39
Mokhotlong	15	156	45
Total	128	1 272	385

Source: Lesotho Independent Electoral Commission 2005

After the nomination exercise a man from the Litjotjela Community Council area sued the government, saying his constitutional right to participate in the elections as per s20 of the Constitution had been violated.

His case was also based on s18(3) of the Constitution, which states that no person shall be discriminated against because of race, sex, and so on. His legal team argued that women should be empowered but their empowerment should not be at the expense of other people's constitutional rights, such as the right to stand for election. The decision of the High Court was that the law seeks to empower women and that fact overrides the question of whether the manner in which women are empowered is constitutional or not. The man's claims were therefore dismissed without costs.

CHAPTER 3

PARTY ORGANISATION

3.1 PART I | EXTERNAL REGULATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties operate in line with the national constitutions of their respective countries as well as the legal framework including the electoral law. The combination of the constitutional and legal frameworks constitute the external regulatory landscape that greatly influences how parties undertake their work as agents of democratisation over and above their own constitutions and regulations.

I. REGISTRATION AND DEREGISTRATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Few countries do not require parties to be formally registered. In those countries where political parties are required to be formally registered, this is done either through the office of the registrar of political parties, as in Zambia and Tanzania (see annex 3) or through the election management body, as in South Africa, or through a Law Office under the Societies Act, as in Lesotho. In these countries where a formal registration process is required, it is not clear how or even if parties officially deregister, and more information about this is needed.

II. REGULATIONS GOVERNING THEIR INTERNAL FUNCTIONING

There are no external laws governing internal functioning and workings of political parties. Consequently, political parties are left to their own devices about how they are run internally. Internal management and the workings of parties are therefore conducted on the basis of their own constitutions, rules and regulations. In some instances, these are supplemented by codes of conduct/ethics governing the required behaviour of members.

III. NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

Candidate nominations are based on both external legislation (e.g. an electoral act) and internal party regulations. External regulations generally cover aspects such as candidates' age and citizenship requirements, while internal regulations govern the nomination procedure and processes, including membership status.

IV. ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Election campaigns are governed by different acts or regulations. In some countries, the electoral act covers campaigns; and this may or may not include an electoral code of conduct. In some countries, the electoral act is used concurrently with the electoral code of conduct in conducting election campaigns.

Campaigning often leads to conflict among parties, and the challenge is to manage

such election-related conflicts constructively. Some countries, such as South Africa, have elaborate institutional mechanisms (including party liaison committees, conflict management panels, an electoral court, a constitutional court, etc) for managing such conflicts. Others, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, still need to build and develop these institutional mechanisms on a sustainable basis.

V. ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL CONTESTS

SADC countries operate various types of electoral models, ranging from the single-member plurality and the single-member majoritarian system, to the mixed member proportional system and the party-list proportional system. The type of electoral model used has a significant impact on political parties. It affects the amount of parliamentary representation a party gains, and it also impacts on how parties function and on their effectiveness. Given that the electoral system affects parties and party systems, electoral reforms, by the same token, are bound to change the way parties contest elections.

VI. PARLIAMENT AND PARTY REPRESENTATION

SADC countries use either a unicameral or a bicameral type of legislature. However, irrespective of the nature of the legislative form, what seem to be the important issues are the nature of representation (how inclusive parliaments are) and the functioning of parties (how effective parties perform) in the legislatures.

The practice of a certain number of representatives being appointed (by the head of state or head of government) has raised concerns in many countries. While the practice is justified on grounds of broadening representation, especially of marginalised and disadvantaged groups, it is often manipulated by ruling parties to gain political mileage and an edge over opposition parties. Numerous questioning still surrounds the democratic nature of this practice. SADC countries need to investigate this issue and determine the extent to which the practice, as it stands, strengthens or weakens democracy.

VII. FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Funding is crucial for parties to play their rightful role as key agents of democracy. Membership subscriptions play an insignificant role as a source of funds. Therefore parties tend to rely on funding from elsewhere. In some instance, such funding comes from the party patron. In others, the state provides public funding for parties. In some, private sources provide funding. Few countries in the SADC region provide public funding for political parties. But even in these countries, party funding remains controversial, given that distribution formulas are contested. How fair is the distribution formula? Should this be done according to the percentage of representation? Should parties outside parliament be granted access to public funding? A more difficult aspect of political funding is that of private funding to parties, and how to regulate it. Many of these issues remain unresolved.

3.2 PART II | INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND GOVERNANCE

Internal functioning and governance of political parties are predicated on the constitutions, rules and regulations, programmes, manifestos and codes of conduct and ethics developed by parties with a view to imbue a particular culture that defines the institutional character of each party.

I. FOUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Perhaps because of comparable colonial backgrounds, the ways in which parties in the region were founded and how they developed follow similar paths. Thus it is possible to classify political parties in the SADC region into the following categories:

- Pre-independence parties (i.e. those that played a role in the decolonisation/liberation struggles);
- Post-independence parties (i.e. those that emerged after political independence in the 1960s);
- Democratic transition parties (i.e. parties which were created as part of the political transition of the late 1980s and early 1990s);
- Post-democratic transition parties (e.g., parties that have emerged since the democratisation wave of the 1990s).

II. LEADERSHIP SELECTION AND SUCCESSION

Leadership selection and succession remains a serious problem that political parties still have to deal with internally. The trend of a former president (having served the constitutionally determined term of office) stepping down as head of state of the country but retaining presidency of the ruling party has emerged as a new challenge in the SADC region. This was tried and failed in Zambia, but it has happened in Malawi and Namibia. There was speculation that it could have happened in Mozambique, but was foiled by some key leaders within the ruling Frelimo party. This formed part of the heated debate in South Africa in December 2007 as the current president, Thabo Mbeki, serving his last term of office as state president, made himself available for re-election as president of the ruling ANC. However, delegates to the party conference rejected Mbeki and chose ANC vice president Jacob Zuma for the top spot.

III. PRIMARY ELECTIONS

This issue ultimately turns on the issue of democracy within parties and the extent to which non-ranking party members can participate and have their voices heard in relation to the nomination of candidates to contest elections. It is common knowledge that the leadership tends to have greater influence over which candidates get elected. Where primary elections become acrimonious and trigger internal conflict, parties have tended to suffer from faction fighting which, in some instances, has led to splits

or the decision by some party leaders to contest elections as independent candidates against their own parties.

IV. CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION

Civic education is supposed to be undertaken by various stakeholders, including political parties. Yet political parties often consider this not to be their role, but that of the election management bodies and civil society organisations (CSOs). Civic education is supposed to educate citizens on democracy, human rights and governance. It is supposed to be an ongoing process during and in-between elections. It is distinct from voter education which is focused on educating citizens about their right to choose their leaders and how they are supposed to enjoy that right, which occurs primarily during election periods. Political parties in various countries do take part in undertaking voter education as part of canvassing political support and campaigning. It is politically costly for parties to fail to undertake civic and voter education.

V. POLITICAL PARTY COALITIONS AND ALLIANCES

This is a neglected area among political parties in terms of the way they are supposed to develop by working towards cooperation agreements and arrangements with other parties. Consequently, party coalitions/alliances have become a feature of politics in only a few SADC countries, including Mozambique, South Africa, Malawi, Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo and Mauritius. Coalition politics have failed in others SADC countries such as Botswana. In the rest of the SADC countries coalition politics are uncommon. Coalitions can serve to strengthen opposition, and with the predominance of the dominant-party system in the region, coalitions seemingly have something to offer. Parties should therefore look for ways in which they can work with one another, or ways in which elections can be jointly contested.

VI. PARTY RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

Yet another area of weakness is parties' relationships with civil society. Again, an exception to this is the ANC in South Africa, where the party has established an alliance with the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African National Civic Organisation. In some countries, such as Botswana and Mauritius, the weak link between parties and civil society is a manifestation of the weaknesses of civil society organisations (CSOs) themselves. But in many respects this phenomenon also highlights the weaknesses of opposition parties, especially in Botswana, given the dominance of the ruling BDP.

VII. GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality remains a major challenge in the SADC region. Political systems of some countries are more inclusive and broadly representative than others, but even the countries that are doing relatively well in this regard still need to increase the number

of women in political decision-making. Political parties, too, need to incorporate more women into their decision-making structures.

It is also important that as political parties strive towards gender parity, concern with the number of women in leadership and decision-making positions is balanced with concerns about the requisite power and authority given to women in these positions. In this way, gender parity will be able to address both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the empowerment of women. Put somewhat differently, it is pointless simply to increase the number of women in political leadership and decision-making positions if such women do not have the requisite authority and power to make an impact on governance. Therefore quantitative representation is not enough; there needs to be qualitative progress beyond sheer numbers.

VIII. MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

In terms of recruitment drives, 'there's a sense of laxity' within the parties, especially in between elections. In general, parties do not place enough emphasis on retaining existing members and recruiting new members. These activities need to be undertaken, given the trend of declining party membership and dwindling public trust in parties. Parties should not just simply rely on their reputation to attract new members. There's no deliberate concerted effort on the part of the parties to continuously mobilise membership and keep the party machine active during and in-between elections. Parties tend to be quite active during elections and after elections they (especially opposition) tend to hibernate and only re-surface during the next election. Parties also tend to lack reliable, up-to-date records of membership numbers (Matlosa 2005).

Parties need to examine ways to increase their membership base. For example, market research tools and opinion surveys could prove helpful in this regard, as they can give a party a better indication of political opinions. At the moment, not many parties use such tools. Again, South Africa is one exception to this; Mauritius is another.

IX. YOUTH REPRESENTATION

The arguments for increasing youth representation parallel those for increasing the number of women. Just as there is a failure in gender representation, parties fail to integrate the youth into the larger political direction of the parties. The point should be made that the youth constitute a huge portion of the population, and more effort should therefore be made to provide a space for the inclusion of this constituency in the political decision-making processes.

3.3 PART III | POLICY FORMULATION/DEVELOPMENT

Policy and programme development determine the extent of effectiveness of parties, especially when it comes to the mobilisation of a support base and the contestation for state power. In this regard, what is crucial is how parties develop their policy positions by way of programmes and manifestos. By and large, political parties experience difficulties developing policies and programmes. Parties hardly ever develop clear-cut ideological positions on a variety of issues. Consequently, political parties within each one of the SADC countries exhibit commonalities in ideological outlook and this situation presents the electorate with a restricted political menu from which to make their choice during elections. Although policy development is weak throughout all other parties, the ruling parties seem to be doing slightly better in this regard than the opposition parties, probably due to access to state resources.

When formulating a policy, a political party should ensure that all its members participate in the process. Ideally, policy issues should emanate from the grassroots level and go through the structures until they are made into a policy. Each political party then has to answer the following questions regarding its policy development process:

- To what extent are members able to contribute to the policy development process?
- Does the party hold public rallies to gather the opinions of the members?
- Do leaders meet and interact with members regularly?
- Does the party have a system which allows members to know where the policy development process is, and how they can make further contributions when it is underway?

Box 2: Examples of policy-making processes within political parties

PARTY A

In terms of policy development, the party has a policy forum which consists of experts from within and outside the party. This forum is chaired by the party's secretary for political education. The forum submits draft policy to the central committee for review and further refinement. After being reviewed, the draft policy is sent to the lower structures, namely, the cells, wards, constituency and regional committees of the party, for their inputs before being finalised.

PARTY B

The party's policy development is informed by reports that come from all parts of the country through the party structures, beginning with the sections which

are smallest units, comprising 50 members. The reports are assessed by the secretary general and the issues are submitted to the political bureau which is a body charged with implementing the decisions of the party. The political bureau sets up a committee to look at the specific issues and develop a draft policy. This draft policy is shared with party structures for their comments prior to being tabled before the Central Committee.

PARTY C

In terms of policy development, the party uses a consultative process between the leadership and the members. The issues are raised at the lowest level of the party by ordinary members. The national executive committee of the party then conceptualises the issues and develops a draft policy. This draft policy goes through sub-branches, branch committees and constituency committees, where intensive discussions are held. After this process the national executive committee makes a final draft, which is then presented before the national conference for decision-making

3.4 PART IV | PARTY STRUCTURES

The basic structure of parties in the SADC region is similar. The different levels of organisation in the hierarchy from the bottom up are: sub-branches – branches – districts – provinces – national level. The challenge is maintaining an effective communication channel linking up the various structures of the parties, especially when key policy decisions have to be made.

Political party structures exist at all levels, ranging from the village, area, district, region and national levels. Because parties recruit members for purposes of elections, almost all of these structures are aligned to electoral divisions or boundaries.

For instance, in South Africa there are municipal, provincial and national level structures. To use the ANC as an example, the party consists of the following organs:

- a. The national conference, which elects the national executive committee;
- b. The provincial conference, which elects the provincial executive committee;
- c. The regional conference, which elects the regional executive committee;
- d. The branch annual general meeting, which elects the branch executive committee;
- e. Branches may be grouped together in zones and may be subdivided into smaller units such as street committees, and zones may be grouped into sub-regions.

The ANC Women's and Youth Leagues have basic structures at all the levels mentioned above.

In **Botswana** most parties, although differing slightly from one party to another, have cells as the lowest structure of the party, followed by the ward, constituency, regional and national level.

The same system applies in **Lesotho**, where they have sub-branches, branches, constituencies and national level structures. Because of the migrant labour system, bigger parties (mainly the congress parties) have provincial structures in South Africa, which are very important structures and regarded as a strong voting block.

Ideally, political parties should have clearly defined vertical linkages between all structures. The reality, however, is that most parties do not have offices at lower level structures.

3.5 PART V | PARTY FUNDING

As key role players in multiparty democracy, political parties need to be viable so that there is strong competition for power and the shaping of a country's development trajectory.

High on the list of the fundamentals that the political parties need to be able to deliver on their mandate is sound financing, more than ever before both during elections and beyond the elections.

It is only through adequate funding that political parties can participate effectively in governance.

Financial resources enable opposition parties to become effective challengers to the ruling parties in their running of the country. Likewise, ruling parties need financing in order to be able to function in the communities so as to consolidate their positions with the electorate.

Also equally important is the need for financial resources for general day-to-day running of the party and for election campaigns, all of which are not cheap.

It is for this reason that multinational companies and, in some cases, local companies have to intervene to ameliorate the financial problems that face many parties. However, there is always a risk that the multinational companies could become the real power, controlling the state, and the political party only their proxy, therefore defeating the spirit of democracy.

Box 3 Case study: South African political party funding

What sort of political party funding is permitted in South Africa?

Both public (by the state) and private funding (from other sources) is allowed.

With respect to state funding, the Public Funding of Represented Political

Parties Act, 103 of 1997, governs the eligibility of parties and the allocations they receive from the Represented Political Parties' Fund.

Any political party may also obtain funds from its members and from other sources, such as business (both local and foreign) and civil society groupings. Financial contributions given to parties are known as **direct funding**, while contributions in kind (e.g. voluntary work or free office space, advertising, equipment or printing facilities) are known as **indirect funding**.

How does a party obtain public funding?

A political party is entitled to an allocation from the Represented Political Parties' Fund for any financial year that it is represented:

- in the National Assembly or
- in any provincial legislature or
- both in the National Assembly and in any provincial legislature.

In other words, no allocations are made from the Fund to political parties which are represented in municipal councils only (nor to those which have no public representatives at all).

For what purposes may a party use its allocation from the Represented Political Parties' Fund?

Section 5(1)(b) of the Act says that the allocation may be used 'for any purposes compatible with [the party's] functioning as a political party in a modern democracy', and that these include:

- The development of the political will of people (i.e. allowing you to choose);
- Bringing the party's influence to bear on the shaping of public opinion (i.e. providing you with a choice);
- Inspiring and furthering political education (i.e. keeping you up to date with what is available and who is offering what);
- Promoting active participation by individual citizens in political life (i.e. getting people involved);
- Exercising an influence on political trends;
- Ensuring continuous, vital links between the people and organs of state (i.e. developing the interface between citizens and public administration).

A party must account for the money allocated to it under these classifications: personnel expenditure, accommodation, travel expenses, arrangement of meetings and rallies, administration, and promotions and publications.

Are there any specific prohibitions on the uses to which a party may put its allocation from the Fund?

Yes: these are set out in section 5(3) of the Act.

A political party may not:

- Pay any direct or indirect remuneration or other benefit of any kind to any elected representative of the party or to any public servant at any level of government;
- Finance or contribute directly or indirectly to any matter, cause, event or occasion if it contravenes any code of ethics binding on members of parliament or any provincial legislature;
- Use the money directly or indirectly to start any business or acquire or maintain a right or financial interest in any business;
- Use the money directly or indirectly to acquire or maintain a right or financial interest in any immovable property, unless if solely for ordinary party-political purposes;
- Use the money for anything else that is incompatible with a political party's functioning in a modern democracy.

Does the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) have a role in all this?

Yes: in terms of section 4(1) of the Act, the chief electoral officer, acting in his/her official capacity, is responsible for the management and administration of the Fund, and is its accounting officer and CEO.

In effect, this means that the Fund is administered through the IEC, which keeps parties informed of the relevant rules and regulations.

The responsibilities of each political party receiving an allocation from the Fund include the following:

- The party must keep a separate account with a bank in the Republic, into which money allocated from the Fund must be deposited.
- The party must appoint an official within the party as accounting officer to take responsibility for the money received in this bank account and ensure that the party complies with the requirements of the Act.
- The accounting officer must keep separate books and records for this money in the manner prescribed.
- An income and expenditure statement, showing for what purposes the money has been applied, must be audited annually. The auditor is to express an opinion as to whether the allocation has been spent for purposes not authorised by the Act.
- The accounting officer must submit the financial statement and the auditor's report to the Commission annually.

What happens on the ground?

Political parties are not prohibited from fundraising privately. It follows therefore that political parties can accept funding from anybody they like irrespective of who the donor is and where such donor gets those funds.

This absence of legislation regulating party funding is looked at differently by many analysts, where some say it poses dangers for the country's democracy, while others say that it is the only conduit for political parties to address the overwhelming shortage of funds.

Given the high expenses that go with running a political party, membership subscriptions cannot sustain political parties.

It is understandable that under the circumstances where the majority of the electorate is faced with poverty as a result of their disadvantaged past and unemployment, membership subscriptions do not make a significant difference in the party's coffers.

Political parties in South Africa have often benefited from private sources of funding. Individual political parties get financial support from companies mainly in the run-up to elections to enable them to carry out their election campaigns.

Private funding therefore provides political parties in South Africa with resources necessary for them to traverse the country, getting in touch with the electorate.

Political party donations are exempted from the heavy hand of the taxman in South Africa so that the donors can be as generous as they want. The recipients are also exempted from paying tax and can have as many donors as possible without fear.

Many companies such as AngloGold, Standard Bank/Liberty, Cell C, MTN and Absa, to mention but a few, have come to the party prior to the elections by providing donations to political parties.

These companies have made it public knowledge that they have donated money to political parties. For instance, the giant cellular phone company MTN donated R6.2 million towards the 2004 elections and campaign costs of all political parties represented in parliament.

Interestingly, while MTN's donation distribution criteria was three-tiered along major, multiparty member and single-number parliamentary parties, the

company was reluctant to indicate how money would be divided among the major political parties. It is at this point that the issue of disclosure of party funding in the context of South Africa is discussed below.

Disclosure of Funding

One of the most topical issues in South Africa has been whether or not to disclose the private sources of funding for political parties.

Besides being an issue on the lips of many political commentators in South Africa, the issue of disclosure has been hotly contested in the court of law, courtesy of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), which challenged the major political parties to disclose their sources of funding. Idasa wanted the parties to make available information on their sources of funding for the large amounts (over R50 000) when requested by members of the public.

The argument was based on the understanding that funds and the sources of funding constitute part of the information about a political party. Put differently, the information about political party policies and their finances helps the electorate in making political choices.

Why disclose private sources of party funding?

Advocates for the disclosure of private sources of political party funding argue that if the sources are clandestine, political parties are vulnerable to manipulation by these sources and these could lead to corruption.

The IEC also shares the view that there is a potential for corruption in the absence of adequate funding from the state – hence South Africa’s decision to provide public funding to political parties.

Furthermore, the IEC believes that by availing funds to political parties, the political playing grounds become even.

In contesting disclosure of party funding sources, Idasa asserted that the electorate is not able to influence the political process through funding but donors are accorded the opportunity to influence the parties through funding.

Disclosure would therefore be useful in protecting the society from corruption.

On the other hand, political parties feel that disclosing their donors would embarrass the donors and eventually deter them from contributing.

3.6 PART VI | CODE OF CONDUCT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties operate within a framework governed by the constitution of a country and specific laws, rules and regulations. Parties are therefore expected to abide by these constitutional and regulatory mechanisms in undertaking their political mandates. One of the rules governing party operations, especially their participation in elections, is the code of conduct. A code of conduct aims to regulate how parties conduct themselves, ensuring a level playing field, avoiding political conflict (especially violent conflict) and ensuring that the electoral process is credible and its outcome legitimate and acceptable to all contestants. The code of conduct could be a voluntary agreement among political parties drawing mainly on the goodwill of the parties to abide by it. In other instances, a code of conduct may be part of the electoral law enforceable by the election management body). Voluntary codes of conduct are not binding. Legislated codes of conduct are binding.

Many SADC countries have codes of conduct which govern the conduct of parties and election candidates during elections.

3.7 PART VII | PRIMARY ELECTIONS AND CANDIDATE NOMINATION

I. DEFINING PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Primary elections are internal party processes that choose a political party's candidate(s) for the next general election by holding an internal election. Exactly how this is done depends on the legal framework, internal party rules, and informal practices. Primary elections are an example of a selection process with a high level of participation, meaning that ordinary members (or in some cases all voters in the electoral district) control the process.

Box 4: Arguments for primary elections (Ace Knowledge network)

‘Those who argue for primary elections tend to say that:

- Primary elections help the political party select the candidate who is most likely to win a general election by consulting a considerable number of those who are likely to vote for the party's candidates.
- Primary elections start the democratic process even before the general elections.
- Primary elections give the candidate(s) a clear mandate and legitimacy since the decision has been taken by party members in general and not only by the top leadership.

- Primary elections give a party, its candidate(s), and perhaps even its platform significant public visibility.
- Primary elections empower the ordinary members and engage them in party strategy and key decisions.
- Primary elections help members overrule unpopular but entrenched party elites’.

Box 5: Arguments against primary elections (Ace Knowledge network)

‘Those who argue against primary elections claim that:

- Primary elections do not produce the candidate(s) most likely to win the general election since only a small fraction of party members (usually hard-liners) tend to vote in the primary elections. Strategically, it might be better to choose candidate(s) who can also appeal to other parties’ members or supporters rather than only to the party’s own core members.
- Primary elections are very expensive and (unless organised and paid for by the public purse, which they are in some cases) take funds away from the general election campaign.
- Primary elections encourage internal party strife instead of fostering an environment of negotiation, consultation, and compromise at a time when efforts need to be focused on defeating external challengers, not internal ones.
- Primary elections take the decision away from the most experienced, the office holders, and party leadership. Instead, ordinary party members with little or no experience of running for or holding public office get to decide.
- Primary elections weaken the party structures by putting the focus on individual candidates rather than on the party manifesto or policies’.

Box 6: Legislated and non-legislated primary elections (Ace Knowledge network)

‘Legislated primary elections refer to cases where the country’s legal framework stipulates that political parties must choose their candidates by holding internal elections. In some cases, the laws or regulations (or, in other cases, the Constitution) merely state that parties must select their candidates democratically, while other countries have chosen to lay down the details of how primary elections must be held. Where this is the case, the law sometimes gives the Electoral Management Body (EMB) the responsibility to organise, monitor, and supervise the primary elections. Legislated primary elections are often membership based; otherwise, they can be open to all voters in the constituency (see Types of primary elections below)

Laws also differ on sanctions for non-compliance with the provisions requiring internal party elections. In some countries, the law does not stipulate any sanctions, while in others, having held primary elections is a prerequisite for registering a political party for election or for nominating candidates.

Political parties that hold primary elections even though it is not required by law are often guided by their own party constituencies or internal rules for candidate selection. Party system, electoral system, and party ideology tend to influence this decision, and even in the cases where legislation exists, it is not always possible to say if the law has determined the processes or if they simply reflect practice’.

Box 7: Types of primary elections (Ace Knowledge network)

‘There are three main types of primary elections: the congress (or convention/ caucus) election, the membership election, and the open voter election.

The congress election is a common internal party mechanism where the election takes place at a party meeting, often called a party congress, convention, or caucus. Some political parties allow all their members to attend and vote at the selection congress, while others restrict attendance to delegates from the sub-units of the party. The advantages of this system are that the congress allows the participants to discuss and reach compromises before a vote is held, the sub-units of the party can be given a clearer voice than in other systems, and, in general, the congress system strengthens the role of the party organisation vis-à-vis the individual candidates. Disadvantages include the often unrepresentative

participation, the risks of manipulation (such as not calling the meeting on time or closing deals behind closed doors), and the lack of division of power within the party. Voting in party congresses is also sometimes done by acclamation or other methods that do not allow for secrecy of the vote, which might inhibit the democratic process.

Membership elections are sometimes called “closed” primary elections given that they are open to all members of the party but closed to other voters. Membership elections are at times operated by the Electoral Management Body (EMB) but can also be organised internally by the party itself. Advantages of this system are that it is more open and transparent than the congress elections, empowers the ordinary members, and involves them more in the business of the party. It limits the dominance of the party elites but may in that process also take the decision away from those who are more experienced and might be in a better position to take a good decision. Another disadvantage might be that the decision is taken only by those who want to be publicly affiliated with a political party, and not by supporters or potential supporters who might help the party get a better indication of which candidate(s) would do well in a general election. In volatile or polarised political environments with high levels of political violence, voters may not want to publicly display their affiliation by turning out to vote in a membership election.

Open voter elections are primary elections where all registered voters in a constituency, even those who are members of other parties or of no party, can participate. This is not a very common method. EMBs tend to organise open voter elections since they require enrolling all those who could vote in a general election. The advantage of this system is that political parties do not need a formal and fully updated membership register, and voters do not have to declare their affiliation through membership. Open voter elections take one of the main functions away from the party: that of acting as gate-keepers and recruiters of candidates. Given that primary elections tend to inspire a lower voter turnout than general elections, there is also a significant risk that the result does not reflect the view of the majority of voters who will vote in the general election. Since supporters of other parties can also take an active part in the primary election, they may seek to ensure that the candidate with least possibilities of winning the general election would win the primary – and thereby take competition away from their preferred party’s candidate’.

Box 8: Factors influencing primary elections (Ace Knowledge network)

‘The electoral system and election law influence the conduct of primary elections, not only because requirements to hold primary elections are often included in election laws, but also because the electoral system in itself influences politics. In single-member constituencies, the regional and local branches of political parties would naturally tend to have greater influence, while the central party organisation would be more influential in systems with multiple-member districts. This tendency is, however, not clear-cut, and there are many cases that would contradict this. Electoral laws may also include legislated quotas that have an impact on the selection of candidates. Quota laws can reserve seats in the national legislature to ensure gender equality or to enhance the participation of under-represented groups such as national minorities. They may also stipulate the number of, for example, women on the parties’ candidate lists and in some cases even dictate the placement on the list.

The party system is heavily influenced by the electoral system but also by legal regulations such as the threshold to win seats in the national legislature, the political geography of the country, and other contextual issues. The number of political parties contesting an election, the number of parties likely to win seats in the legislature, and other issues can determine the need for coalition-building and other party strategies that can influence the selection process.

The political context and culture are major factors in deciding on primary elections. As has been mentioned above, polarisation and political violence can for example affect voters’ will to publicly display their affiliation. The level of trust in a society can set different needs for transparency and participation, and cleavages in the society can be reflected in internal party practices.

The political party culture, lastly, is another of the major factors influencing the process of candidate selection. If the party is membership based or not, if it is built on a strong ideology or on the leadership of an individual, and what its ideological values and traditions are ultimately decide if the party chooses to voluntarily select its candidates through internal elections’.

II. DEFINING CANDIDATE NOMINATIONS

The nomination of candidates (to gain ballot access) is the formal procedure by which political parties and/or individuals put candidates forward for election, and the acceptance of the EMB of that nomination. In list systems, parties put forward a list of candidates selected within the political party. In constituency systems, candidates are nominated individually (not as part of party lists). Depending on the country, they can be nominated either by a political party or by an individual.

Legal frameworks can place requirements on the composition of party lists. In some cases, there are requirements aimed at increasing the representativity of the list by, for example, asking or requiring the party to have a certain number of women (or members of other traditionally under-represented groups) on its list. In some cases, not only the number but the placement on the list is specified (ACE Encyclopaedia 2008).

Box 9: Regulation of nominations

Candidate nominations are based on both external legislation (e.g. the Electoral Act) and internal party regulations. External regulations generally cover aspects such as age and citizenship requirements of candidates, while internal regulations govern nomination procedure and processes, including membership status.

In Lesotho the law provides for two kinds of nominations namely, the constituency and the proportional representation (PR) nominations. The constituency nominations happen in the constituencies where in order for one to become a candidate, he/she has to be proposed by a member of the public. Such a proposal has to be seconded by another person. The proposed candidate has to give his/her consent in order for such a proposal to be valid. Again, if the proposed candidate belongs to a political party, then the party president or secretary general has to endorse such a candidature. On the day of nomination court, candidates are presented to the IEC by their supporters translated into local language as 'Ho emisoa Bakhethoa' and it is during this day that the candidates also pay their fees to the commission in accordance with the law. This has become a big event in the electoral process in Lesotho because during this day, party loyalists put on their colourful party colours, sing party songs and accompany their candidates to the constituency office to demonstrate their party strength.

The PR nominations happen within the parties where individual parties prepare lists for the 40 PR seats. The IEC usually stipulates time frame for the PR nominations and after receiving the lists, the IEC displays them at the national office for people to inspect.

Nomination of candidates for the general or local elections is a very important process which if not handled properly creates conflict within parties. Therefore there is a need to have a clear set of procedures in terms of who administers this process.

CHAPTER 4 PUBLIC OUTREACH

4.1 PART I | DEFINING PUBLIC OUTREACH

The agenda of political parties is to compete for control over state power and government so that they can direct a country's development process in the manner they see fit, based on their ideological orientations and policy frameworks as contained in their manifestos (Matlosa 2005). It is therefore imperative that political parties have a way of making their plans about development and how the country has to be governed known to the electorate. Thus public outreach refers to the strategies that the parties use to link up with the people, both members and non-members alike. Without a comprehensive public outreach strategy, a political party will not be well positioned to attract voters during the elections. Parties also need to maintain the links even beyond the elections by ensuring regular interaction with the people.

As political parties, we then need to ask:

- Does the party interact with the members?
- Does the party have offices at the provincial, district and local levels?
- Does the party hold public hearings in which citizens are invited to attend and speak?
- What is the level of access to information on the party?
- Does the party have a system which allows members and the general public to know more about the party, and who is responsible for disseminating the information about the party?

4.2. PART II | VOTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION

In ensuring that elections add value to a democracy, electoral and democracy education is required. Such education entails:

- Voter information;
- Voter education; and
- Civic education.

I. VOTER INFORMATION

Voter information programmes focus mainly upon awareness of the voters about the voting process, with a view to raising the consciousness of the electorate. Voter information focuses primarily upon the following aspects, among others:

- How to vote;
- Where to vote;
- When to vote;

- Requirements for voting;
- Who can vote;
- Who may not vote.

II. VOTER EDUCATION

Voter education is a step further from simple awareness for citizens. Its aim is not just to raise awareness, but to answer questions around how to vote and why it is important for the electorate to vote. It is therefore broader in its scope and coverage, compared to voter information. It covers all the three phases or stages of the electoral process, namely;

- Pre-election processes;
- Election day processes; and
- Post-election processes.

III. CIVIC EDUCATION

Civic/democracy education also transcends voter awareness and voter/electoral education. It is political education about elections, democracy and governance. The elections component of civic education will normally cover the same ground as in voter information and electoral education programmes. The democracy component will normally cover issues around how institutions (both government and non-state actors) operate in a democratic setting including government institutions, election management bodies, political parties, CSOs, democracy watchdog bodies such as a human rights commission, etc. The governance component will normally cover issues around state-society relations (relations between the government and the governed) in the running of national affairs including, among others, citizen participation, gender relations, the rule of law, economic management, corporate governance, social governance and corruption. Thus, while the election component focuses on electoral processes, democracy and governance components focus on processes that take place in between elections.

4.3 PART III | ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

I. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Election campaigning often leads to conflict among parties. The challenge is to manage such election-related conflicts constructively. Election campaigns are governed by different acts or regulations. In some countries, the Electoral Act covers campaigns and this may or may not include an electoral code of conduct.

In some countries, the Electoral Act is used concurrently with the electoral code of conduct in conducting election campaigns. The code of conduct could be a voluntary agreement among political parties. It draws mainly on the goodwill of the parties to

abide by it. The code may also be part of the electoral law enforceable by the election management body. The primary aim of a code of conduct is to regulate how parties conduct themselves by ensuring a free and fair democratic election that promotes political stability.

The specific objectives of a code of conduct include the following:

- Contributing to a peaceful election;
- Contributing to a level playing field during elections;
- Developing public confidence in the electoral process;
- Promoting a culture of political tolerance;
- Ensuring that the electoral process is credible and its outcome legitimate and acceptable to all contestants;
- Promoting constructive management of election-related disputes.

The code should specify who is bound by it. At the minimum, political parties and candidates are supposed to be bound by the code. But the code may also bind other players (e.g. the Tanzania Code) including the media, CSOs, the election management body, etc. If in the law, it should specify the expected ethical code to be adhered to by all those affected by its implementation. Equally important, the code specifies sanctions to be imposed on those who violate its provisions.

In South Africa, for instance, the parties commit:

- To publicly condemn violence and intimidation;
- Not to engage in violence or intimidation, or language or action which might lead to violence or intimidation;
- Not to allow weapons to be carried or displayed at political meetings, marches, demonstrations, voting stations, etc;
- Not to publish or repeat false, defamatory or inflammatory allegations about political opponents;
- To cooperate with other political parties to avoid scheduling political activities at the same times and places;
- Not to impede access to eligible voters by political opponents;
- Not to destroy, disfigure or remove other political parties' campaign materials;
- Not to plagiarise other political parties' symbols, colours or acronyms;
- Not to bribe eligible voters in respect of the election campaign or voting;
- Not to abuse positions of power, influence, or privilege in respect of the election campaign and voting.

II. TYPES OF CAMPAIGNS

a) Grassroots campaigns

This type uses recruited voters to become campaign volunteers, thus creating an activist, grassroots base of support. It enables direct voter contact, which brings a voter to a more cognitive level than in other campaign communications. The advantage here is that it allows a two-way communication where a voter is more engaged and can share his or her own views, thus becoming more invested in the campaign.

A rally is one of the traditional ways of campaigning that parties employ. It is a useful tool for parties to demonstrate electoral strength and it needs to be well planned to ensure good attendance. The time and place of the event is therefore crucial. Whatever event is being planned needs to take into account available financial, human and other resources.¹

The following points need to be taken into account when planning a rally:

- Who is the target audience and how does the rally reach the target audience? This will impact on the programme; for example, if specifically targeted at youth, the music, celebrities, etc should be those with whom the youth identify.
- What is the message that the candidate wants to convey?
- Where are my potential voters and how do I reach them? This will impact on the venue, time and date of the rally.
- What are the challenges and how do I meet them? (eg funding, etc)
- What are the security implications? Crowd control with sufficient marshals is crucial to avoid rioting, injury or violence.

b) Technology-based campaigns

This type of campaign uses phones, Internet, newspapers, radio and TV. It is a costly type of campaign compared to the grassroots but it saves time for political parties as it reaches many households at the same time.

c) Consultant-based campaigns

Modern electoral campaigns are run by private consultants. Their role is to assist parties with:

- Strategic planning;
- Preparing initiatives for the ballot;
- Message development;
- Radio and television advertising;

¹ Adapted from the EISA Manual on Capacity Building Programme for Women in Politics in Madagascar

- Targeted mail;
- Graphic and web design;
- Grassroots organising;
- Day-to-day campaign operations;
- Community outreach;
- Polling / surveys / focus groups;
- Opposition research;
- Budget planning.

III. CAMPAIGN PLANS

Campaigns need proper planning in order to succeed, entailing details and deadlines. Planning is a useful tool which brings order to the campaign. Generally, a plan defines the what, when, who and how of the campaign. It divides tasks, integrates work, and provides a road map of the electoral process. As a result, it minimises uncertainty, saves time and money. It is important to note that a campaign plan may change during the electoral process

IV. STRATEGIC POSITIONING

Campaigners should know their strongholds (constituencies, districts, etc) and as such need to have a strategy which is mindful of whom it targets, and how it will approach the target. The main goals should be ‘reinforcement’, ‘persuasion’ and ‘conversion’. Reinforcement seeks to retain the base while persuasion seeks to win swing voters. Conversion seeks to win opposition voters.

V. CAMPAIGN THEMES

Parties should develop campaign themes. A theme should consist of what the voter wants, what the candidate / party offers and what the opponents bring. A good theme has the power to influence the voters’ choice. It acts as a link between voters’ concerns and the candidate’s / party’s approach. It should therefore be inclusive of diverse issues to appeal to more voters.

4.4 PART IV | PARTY MANIFESTOS²

I. PREPARING AND /IMPROVING YOUR MANIFESTO

Elections involve a competition for power. Candidates need to ensure that published material is of a standard that is at least equal to the material of other parties. Journalists and political analysts will critically examine and compare election manifestos. Their analysis will inform and shape public opinion, and the voting process.

² Adapted from the EISA Manual on Capacity Building Programme for Women in Politics in Madagascar 2007

II. HOW WILL PEOPLE ACCESS YOUR MANIFESTO?

You need to ensure that your party manifesto is made available to the media, to your constituents and to party members at all levels.

III. PLACES WHERE YOUR MANIFESTO SHOULD BE MADE AVAILABLE

- On the website – Ensure your election manifesto is easily accessible from your home page if your party has a site. During the election period, make a big heading or graphic on the home page that leads to your manifesto page.
- As part of a standard handout of party literature.
- Released to the media.
- Handed out in any information packs you provide to the media in the election period.
- Presented in an obvious place in your party offices during the election period.

IV. FEATURES OF A GOOD PARTY MANIFESTO

- Brief introduction (paragraph): This can be a message from the party leader;
- Strong headings (incorporate party slogans) followed by explanation;
- Easy to read;
- Clear and concise;
- Relevant;
- Making party concerns and political platform obvious to reader;
- Illustrated – Use photographs to highlight issues. If your printing budget is limited, use them on your website's manifesto page.

V. HINTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Consider the following as you prepare your manifesto:

- Identify the message you want to convey.
- Talk to your constituents:
 - Whom do you want to respond to the manifesto?
 - Who will read the manifesto?
- Use appropriate language.
- Incorporate issues that are relevant.
- How will people access your manifesto?
- How does your manifesto compare to other party manifestos in your country/region?

- Present a plan of action: What are your party's promises for a term of office?
- Are there specific issues you wish to address, such as gender equality?
- Keeping it brief without eliminating important content.
- Whom do you want to respond to the manifesto?
- Slogans in your manifesto should be repeated in other media like posters, in order to reinforce your political message.

CHAPTER 5

PARTY COALITIONS/ALLIANCES

5.1 PART I | DEFINING POLITICAL PARTY COALITIONS

- Political party coalitions are organised collective parties which are in pursuit of a common goal.
- Coalitions may be between two or more opposition parties or between a ruling party and a number of opposition parties.
- In forming coalitions, parties usually make a formal commitment (a memorandum of understanding, MOU) to pool their resources.
- In the MOU, the parties also agree on the type, structure and role of leaders.
- Furthermore, the parties can agree on the distribution of power once they have achieved their goal.

5.2 PART II | RATIONALE FOR POLITICAL PARTY COALITIONS

- Parties form coalitions to maximise their chances to achieve a desired goal or to survive certain threats.
- They form coalitions to exploit the electoral economies of scale.
- Some form coalitions in parliament to strengthen their voice.
- Coalitions are very important to the democracy-strengthening process; opposition coalitions provide an opportunity for an alternative leadership.
- In forming the coalition, the parties' choice of whom to partner with is usually influenced by ideology shared with the targeted party.
- A party is considered by the initiating party with the hope that collaboration will be beneficial.
- But even if the ideologies are different, a party sometimes just uses a simple criterion that picks parties which have the same interests and hold similar views and therefore the same position on certain policy issues.
- The other major factor is ethnicity, where some parties prefer certain ethnic groups.

5.3 PART III | TYPES OF COALITIONS

Different types of coalitions are determined by many factors, among which the electoral system ranks high. Coalitions form during two main periods, namely the pre-election and the post-election periods.

There are three preponderant types of coalitions: pre-election coalitions, majoritarian coalitions and conflict resolution coalitions.

The **pre-election coalition** consists of parties which come together to maximise

their electoral votes, often under competitive elections. These are often highly effective and sometimes gain majority

The **majoritarian coalitions** are often formed by a group of parties in parliament. The majoritarian aim is to form a government

Conflict resolution coalitions are mostly formed by former belligerents to address a particular conflict or potential conflict. Conflict resolution coalitions are ideal in post-conflict situations. They help to hold the fragile peace settlement in place until adequate political stability is achieved.

Coalition partners use various models to realise their goals. For instance, in the election pact model, political parties join hands for the purposes of winning elections only. Where the first-past-the-post electoral model is used, they could agree not to field candidates in the same constituency. An example is the National Rainbow Coalition, which consists of the National Alliance of Kenya and the Liberal Democratic Party-LDP (Rainbow).

Like other coalitions, the merger has weaknesses. More emphasis is placed on how the partners are going to share the benefits, and less on how they are going to make an impact on programmatic issues.

5.4 PART IV | CHALLENGES FOR PARTY COALITIONS

- It is a challenge for coalitions to use ideology as a major factor.
- The majority of coalitions are electoral pacts, thus short term.
- The challenge: Members often fail to agree on the kind of outcome they want from the coalition.
- Most coalitions still face the problem of agreeing on matters of policy, given the coalition members' divergent ideological backgrounds.
- One of the biggest challenges to coalitions is maintaining them.
- Internal conflicts prevent most coalitions from functioning properly.
- They lack mechanisms to manage tensions within the coalition. These could include a code of conduct and a dispute management strategy.
- The weakness is that coalition members concentrate on the goal and assume that there won't be problems.
- The parties do not usually have well documented lessons in terms of what makes or breaks alliances either locally or regionally to draw from.
- Most coalitions lack clearly defined goals and defined roles of individual member parties.
- Some coalitions do not have organisational structures.
- This problem mainly emanates from the individual parties' own lack of functioning organisational structures.
- Lack of internal democracy within parties has a rippling effect on the internal democracy of the coalition itself.

CHAPTER 6

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

6.1 PART I | DEFINING CONFLICT

Conflict is a natural and necessary part of our lives. Whether at home with our families or at work with colleagues, conflict affects our relationships. The paradox with conflict is that it is both the cause and the result of relationships and can tear them apart or bind them together. It is therefore important that we study and understand conflict. Rubin et al. (1994:5) define conflict as a perceived divergence of interests, or believes that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously. Conflict can manifest itself in many forms some of which may be violent and inflict pain and suffering to both parties in conflict and to other people who may not be directly involved, due to its spillover effect.

Conflict is inevitable and the challenge therefore is how we address it. It can be managed negatively through avoidance at one extreme and the use of threat or force at another. Alternatively, conflict can be managed positively through negotiation and joint problem solving. Good conflict management is both a science and art. We have all learned responses to confrontation, threats, anger and unfair treatment. Some of our learned responses are constructive, but others are not and can escalate the conflict. How we respond to confrontation depends on our previous experience in dealing with conflict and our confidence in dealing with it.

6.2 PART II | SOURCES OF INTRA-PARTY AND INTER-PARTY CONFLICT

Box 3: Causes of Conflict?

Data/information: involves lack of information and misinformation, as well as differing views on what data are relevant, the interpretation of that data and how one performs the assessment

Relationships: results from strong emotions, stereotypes, miscommunication and repetitive negative behaviour.

Values: arises over ideological differences and differing standards on evaluation of ideas or behaviours.

Structural: caused by unequal or unfair distributions of power and resources

Interest: involves actual or perceived competition over interests such as resources

I. INTRA-PARTY CONFLICT

The challenges that confront political parties in terms of entrenching intra-party democracy are many and varied. Matlosa (2007) quotes Camay and Gordon who argue that ‘political competition is also severely limited when internal democracy is constrained. Many African political parties – especially dominant ones – engage in internal “dissent management” leading to autocracy. They restrict voices within the party and discipline MPs and other members who disagree with leadership positions. They exercise strict control over the selection of party officials and candidates for public office’. In a nutshell the causes of intra-party conflict can be attributed to the following:

- Favouritism – promoting one’s kith and kin;
- Unequal sharing of resources (the leader’s constituency gets a lion’s share);
- Lack of regular meetings;
- Centralised authority – power concentrated at the top.

II. INTER-PARTY CONFLICT

Inter-party conflicts often occur around elections. Elections are a competition and therefore cause conflict. Parties compete for space for their campaign. A lack of clear rules and systems (including conflict management systems) escalates conflict to a destructive level. These rules have to do with:

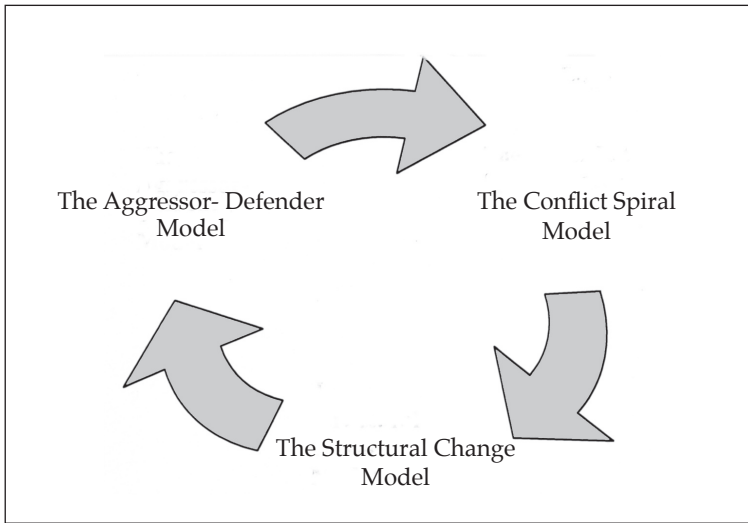
- Access to media;
- The ruling party’s use of state resources for campaigns;
- The parties’ use of ethnicity or other social factors as a divisive force;
- Character assassination;
- Constitutional changes (the ruling party’s changing of the national constitution without proper consultations and procedures to suit its goals, thus threatening democracy).

6.3 PART III | FACTORS ESCALATING CONFLICT

When efforts to contain conflict fail, the conflict tends to escalate into violence. This is also the case in election-related conflicts. The escalation process takes three main stages, as follows:

- Discussion stage (mutual respect and cooperation);
- Polarisation stage (distance and competition);
- Segregation stage (disrespect and defensive competition); and
- Destruction stage (total antagonism and violence).

Conflict escalation can also be explained by the following models:



Source: Pruitt and Rubin1986

I. THE AGGRESSOR-DEFENDER MODEL

In this model, one party is the aggressor while the other is the defender. The aggressor uses mild to heavier tactics against the defender until the aggressor gets what he wants or gives up. The aggressor is the party who realises an opportunity to change things to meet his interests and therefore initiates the offensive. The defender on the other hand is the party who resists this change. It should be indicated from the onset that being the defender does not imply that one is automatically the weaker of the two parties. The defender could be the stronger of the two parties and can be weaker as well under certain circumstances. In other words, the two parties in a conflict can shift positions from being the defender to being the aggressor, depending on the situation at hand.

For instance, during National Party rule in South Africa, many would argue that the National Party government was the aggressor. While this is undoubtedly true, using the argument that the aggressor is always the stronger and the defender is the perpetually the weaker party, we can point to the fact that in the early sixties, the African liberation movements, although described as defenders according to the model, became counter-aggressors particularly when they through their armed wings started underground operations. Negotiations between these groups with the government were fruitless as the government only made platitudinous statements regarding freedom that never translated into action. The last resort was the use of violence by the liberation movements.

II. THE CONFLICT SPIRAL MODEL

This is the model that demonstrates escalation as a result of the response and retaliation by the defender against the aggressor. This retaliation invites further action by the aggressor so that the whole circle is completed – and it may repeat itself again. As it repeats itself, the conflict does not continue at the same level. In the example of the conflict between the liberation movements and the apartheid government above, what happened was that as the conflict intensified, the government hunted the activists outside South Africa and killed many of them, together with local people, as well as destroying properties in Lesotho, Botswana and other neighbouring countries. In order to survive a ferocious reaction by the government, the liberation movements also intensified their activities, using more attacks as its form of defence. The conflict, therefore, moved to an even higher level.

III. THE STRUCTURAL CHANGE MODEL

The continuity of the spirals produces changes in the political and socio-economic spheres of the parties involved in conflict. This makes it difficult for the conflict to be managed because both sides become even more determined to continue, particularly when they have incurred loss of lives and property. The structural change model explains the effects of the protracted conflict emanating from the conflict spirals and escalations, as explained in the previous models above. Under this model, people's and groups' perceptions change, and hostile and competitive goals develop within these communities. The aim becomes to punish, discredit, defeat and destroy the other party. The negative perceptions discourage conflict settlement and promote its escalation. Once escalation happens, the process repeats itself, as has been said earlier, and the structural changes also persist. This then has a direct effect on human relationships.

6.4 PART IV | MEDIATION

Mediation refers to a process through which a third party provides procedural assistance to help individuals or groups in conflict to resolve their differences. It is a voluntary process and its successes are linked to the vesting of decision-making authority in the parties involved in the conflict. The mediator structures the process in a way which creates a safe environment for the parties to discuss the conflict and find solutions which will meet their interests.

I. MEDIATION PROCESS

There are a number of steps to be followed for a successful mediation. These are set out below.

- The stage is prepared.
- The parties to the conflict are convened.
- Mediation is opened. This includes welcome, an introduction of the parties and seating.

- The mediator's role is explained (the facilitation of the process and the mediator's neutrality).
- The process is described and its confidentiality ensured.
- An agreement is set on the ground rules which provide behavioural guidelines for the participants.
- The mediator checks that parties understand the process.
- The belligerents' comfort (tea breaks, bathrooms, etc) is ensured.
- An agreement on the mediation may be signed – this is not always required.
- Parties are then, in turn, given an opportunity to present their understanding of the conflict. No interruptions may be allowed; only the mediator may reframe, to ensure that the parties' concerns are properly understood.
- Parties are allowed to talk to each other under the mediator's facilitation. If necessary, the mediator may request a break so as to consult with individual parties. Care should be taken to balance the times and leave no room for suspicion that one side or the other is being favoured.
- The mediator ensures that all issues are properly heard and suggests an agenda to address them. There follows brainstorming of options for meeting the concerns of parties.
- In a reality check, options are evaluated. An agreement is reached; sometimes the mediator will need to have it written.
- The agreement is clarified and reviewed, with agreement on the next steps and, if necessary, future mediation.
- The mediation is closed with thanks and a guarantee of confidentiality.

II. QUALITIES OF A GOOD MEDIATOR

- Respected and trusted by the parties (not anxious for recognition);
- Impartial: Able to focus on process, put aside own opinions on outcome;
- Strong 'people skills', active listener, patient, empathic, strong on non-violent communication but able to confront and be directive on process, comfortable with parties' high emotions;
- Imaginative in helping parties to solve problems;
- Expert in mediation process, not necessarily on the issues in dispute (unless complex technical or legal issues are in dispute, or court approval is needed).

6.5 PART V | NEGOTIATION

Negotiation is a process between parties that is directed at reaching some form of agreement that will hold and that is based on common interests for the purpose of

resolving conflict. This process is achieved through establishing common ground and creating alternatives. It is also an exchange of information through communication.

I. PREREQUISITES FOR NEGOTIATION

In order for negotiation to take place there first of all has to be conflict. This can be latent or manifest conflict on any scale. The level of negotiation varies from one conflict situation to another. For example, when a husband and wife talk about where they are going to spend their next holiday, there is conflict already because there is a clash of interests.

The negotiations between the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and the Israeli government (although not always maintained) are held in an attempt to put an end to the seeming nature of the intractable political conflict between the two of them. Each party in negotiations has direct or indirect needs that they want to satisfy. There is a direct causal link between conflict and negotiation because it is after the former has happened that the latter takes place, probably initiated by one of the parties or because both parties believe the time is ripe for talks.

Frustration of a party's needs invites counter-frustration of needs by the receiving party. In order to thwart this vicious circle, negotiation should always be used to counter-balance the effects that the conflict brings and maximise the meeting of their interests. There are alternative approaches that are designed to establish contact between representatives of parties in conflict. It is important to consider a suitable approach for a particular negotiation in the pre-negotiation stage.

One of these approaches is 'walk in the woods'³. This approach allows parties to explore issues without binding them to an agreement. All parties are at liberty to accept or reject options that are made available to them. In everyday life the majority of people perform well when they are not under pressure. In the 'walk in the woods' approach, therefore, people make genuine and meaningful contributions without having to worry about things not working out. They also do not worry about carrying the blame for such a failure.

Another dimension that is not far from 'walk in the woods' is pre-negotiation. This is negotiation before negotiation because it involves a lot of informal interaction before negotiation. The importance of pre-negotiation is that it reduces disagreements, enables parties to sort out their own motives for negotiation in the given context and prepares parties physically and psychologically for negotiation. Here parties move from their positions to mutual understanding and multilateral solutions.

II. THE NEGOTIATORS AND THEIR ROLE

In many conflicts involving groups, a negotiator is someone who has been mandated by the group to represent it in negotiation. In other cases people become negotiators because no one else could represent them. This is mostly the case with small-scale

³ Azar 1990

conflicts. For instance, a person who wants to buy furniture at a reduced price from a furniture shop normally has to negotiate for himself, not through a third party. Negotiators in any negotiation are human beings who have their own weaknesses and strengths. Individuals who represent their groups in a negotiation carry the ideals, values and beliefs of their group in dealing with others. They often have to suppress their personal beliefs and conscience and air those of their groups. In this way they are not able to negotiate according to the objective merits of the conflict.

III. NEGOTIATION PROCESS AS A CONFLICT RESOLUTION TOOL

Negotiation is one of many effective ways of dealing with conflict. The conflict that precedes negotiation would be a clash of interests that may be mild and not necessarily violent. Negotiation offers the belligerent parties the opportunity to communicate openly and express their feelings. In the negotiation process each negotiator decides what to offer, what to reject and how much concession to make. It is an enormous task for each individual negotiator to make these decisions and the process therefore consumes a lot of time. Negotiators avoid moving quickly because it can be extremely dangerous to them as it involves yielding to the other side. Many negotiators therefore drag their feet and use delaying tactics such as threats to pull out of negotiations in order to increase the risk that no agreement will be reached.

There could be parties that are not necessarily primary to the conflict but have influence in the process of negotiation. Additional parties may be openly supporting one of the parties in conflict, or they may be supporting them secretly. In the event of coalitions being formed openly, the membership number of a coalition poses a threat to individual members when they want to take a different position from that of the coalition.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF NEGOTIATION PROCESS

It is important to look at the limitations of negotiation as a tool for resolving conflict. The process is not entirely flawless. It often falls short of benefiting both parties, as sometimes one loses and the other wins. It can even be worse when both parties lose. As a result of the inherent flaws in this process, some negotiations are started and then broken off without clear achievements. It is common for negotiations to end without an agreement. Any one of the belligerent parties may decide unilaterally to quit if they feel that they are not happy with the offers made to them.

Some negotiations have not been able to produce agreements even if others have gone into history as success stories. The negotiations between the South African government and the ANC prior to 1994 and the negotiations in Sierra Leone after the civil war count as among the successful ones.

The tendency of some parties to pull out of negotiations may not only be an exercise of power. It may also depend on the personalities of the individual negotiators. Some negotiators may be wrong or inappropriate for certain kinds of negotiations. Other negotiators go into negotiations to fulfil their individual needs – needs that are not

part of the conflict *per se*. They fail to pursue the needs of their constituencies. When their needs are frustrated, such negotiators are quick to grab the opportunity to derail the negotiation process. The self-centeredness and lack of loyalty of such negotiators compel them to create sensational stories and deceive people. In reality, negotiations usually suffer a setback because on many occasions people believe in these kinds of negotiators. Their mischievous behaviour makes them different from those negotiators who carry the values, ideals and beliefs of their groups along.

6.6 PART VI | COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Activities of political parties cannot be successful unless communication in such an organisation is maintained to assure information flow in both the horizontal and vertical directions within an organisational structure. The members of a party need to have certain skills to ensure smooth and effective communication.

I. NON-VIOLENT COMMUNICATION⁴

In communication, parties need to be objective, compassionate and empathic. An interactive model for effective communication addresses four important sets of issues:

- **What we observe:** Change expressions that confuse observation with evaluation, or that over-generalise failures, to emphasise what was actually observed. For example, replace 'all men are pigs' with 'the man who lives next door cheats on his wife'. Another example: replace 'you are a thief' with 'I notice that five of my goats are in your field and I don't know how they got there'.
- **What we feel:** Rather than pointing fingers at others or criticising their behaviour, focus on and share your own experiences. Replace 'you' statements with 'I' statements. Express how you experience the behaviour impacting you rather than criticising the person or behaviour itself. For example, replace 'you are wrong' with 'I feel that I am right'. Another example: replace 'you don't care for me' with 'when I don't hear from you for a week I feel uncared for'.
- **What we value:** How we perceive and react to others depends on what is important to us: i.e, on our needs and cultural and personal values. Different people and cultures place different values on the same acts or expressions, so it may help to make our own assumptions or values clear.

⁴ Adapted from the University of Maryland and National University of Lesotho 'Partners in Conflict Project' 2003

For example, replace 'you always yell at me when we disagree' with 'it's hard for me to discuss things when you yell, because I assume you are angry with me and don't want to hear what I have to say'. Another example: replace 'you are arrogant' with 'I avoid responding to your queries because I think you assume I will give the wrong answer'.

- **What we are requesting:** Saying specifically what it is that we are asking for as a positive action is usually more effective than making negative or general demands. For example, replace 'stop attacking me' with 'I would like you to tell me what it is that I have been doing that you don't like'. Another example: replace 'get out of the way' with 'if you would back up just a few inches, I can get by'.

II. LISTENING TECHNIQUES

a) Paying attention

- Face the person who is talking.
- Notice the speaker's body language; does it match what he/she is saying?
- Listen in a place that is free of distractions, so that you can give undivided attention.
- Don't do anything else while you are listening.

b) Eliciting

- Make use of 'encouragers' such as 'can you say more about that?' or 'really?'
- Use a tone of voice that conveys interest.
- Ask open questions to elicit more information.
- Avoid overwhelming the speaker with too many questions; give the speaker a chance to say what needs to be said.
- Avoid giving advice, or describing when something similar happened to you.

c) Reflecting

- Occasionally paraphrase the speaker's main ideas, if appropriate.
- Occasionally reflect the speaker's feelings, if appropriate.
- Check to make sure your understanding is accurate by saying 'it sounds like what you mean is... Is that so?' Or 'are you saying that you are feeling...'

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ANNEX I

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF KENYA – (NAK)

AND

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY – LDP (RAINBOW)

22ND OCTOBER 2002

We, leaders and representatives of the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) and the Liberal Democratic Party – LDP (Rainbow):

Recognising that a unified front from the opposition is the key to winning the next general election and therefore saving Kenya from total economic, social, cultural and political collapse;

Recognising the need to promote national reconciliation and reconstruction and the need to work together towards bringing about meaningful political and economic changes in the country;

Sharing a common vision for a prosperous and well managed Nation;

Committed to placing the interests of the Kenyan people above all personal and political considerations;

Noting that a democratic and legitimate government is one based on popular support and founded on the basis of participatory democracy;

Convinced that there is urgent need to complete the on-going comprehensive people driven constitutional review process which reflects the interests and aspirations of Kenyans;

Having engaged in and completed full and frank deliberations;

Hereby do pledge through this memorandum of understanding to bind ourselves to the principles set herein and to attain the objectives contained hereto as follows:

OBJECTIVES OF THIS MEMORANDUM

1. To establish a coalition between the National Alliance Party of Kenya and the Liberal Democratic Party – LDP (Rainbow) to be known as “National Rainbow Coalition” (NARC) for the purpose of winning the next general election.

2. To form a government of National Unity.
3. To adopt a common slogan, symbol and campaign strategy for the next General elections.
4. To formulate a post-elections action plan.
5. To design and implement a programme for the economic, social, cultural and political recovery of Kenya.
6. To develop mutual trust and respect between contracting parties’
7. To commit the leadership of the contracting parties to an undertaking that they will be bound by the electoral pacts, nominations, sharing of power and the programme of recovery.
8. To commit the leadership and members of the contracting parties to desist from issuing any statements or engaging in any activities that may disrupt or otherwise undermine the National Rainbow Coalition.
9. To commit the leadership and members of the contracting parties to unity and mobilisation of support for the National Rainbow Coalition.
10. To commit the National Rainbow Coalition to the democratic principles of openness, tolerance, dialogue conciliation, and consensus building in the implementation of this memorandum of understanding.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THIS MEMORANDUM:

1. That the name of the political party created by this agreement is the “National Rainbow Coalition”. Its’ acronym shall be NARC.
2. That both parties, the National Alliance Party of Kenya and the Liberal Party of Kenya – LDP (Rainbow) enter into this agreement as two equal partners.
3. That the equality of partnership shall be reflected in the power-sharing arrangement in the Cabinet of the NARC Government.
4. That the summit of the cabinet of the NARC government shall be equitably distributed between members of the two contracting parties on the basis of a formula agreed upon by the contracting parties.
5. That the composition of the summit of the NARC cabinet shall be a transitional arrangement to facilitate a government of National Unity in the spirit of the New Constitution.

6. That the National Rainbow Coalition adopt a symbol derived from the symbols of the contracting parties.
7. That the National Rainbow Coalition shall adopt a formal set of nomination procedures that will apply to all candidates. Both contracting parties shall have representation in all the relevant structures for the nomination process.
8. That the National Rainbow Coalition shall present one presidential candidate during the next general elections.
9. That the National Rainbow Coalition shall present one parliamentary candidate in every Constituency, and one civic candidate in each of the local authority wards, to run in the next General election against other candidates for the same positions.
10. That the National Rainbow Coalition shall have a common manifesto that shall reflect the common policy positions and government structures of the contracting parties.
11. That the National Rainbow Coalition commits itself to the adoption and entrenchment of the new Kenyan Constitution and the new constitutional order provided therein within six months of winning the next general election.

SIGNED ON THIS DAY, TUESDAY 22ND DAY OF OCTOBER 2002.

TITUS MBATHI
CHAIRPERSON
NATIONAL ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA
(NAK)

DENIS KODHE
CHAIRPERSON
LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC
PARTY LDP – (RAINBOW)

SIGNED ON THIS DAY, TUESDAY 22ND DAY OF OCTOBER 2002

Hon. MWAI KIBAKI MP.

Hon. RAILA AMOLLO ODINGA MP.

Hon. M. KIJANA WAMALWA MP.

Hon. S. KALONZO MUSYOKA MP.

Hon. CHARITY KALUKI NGILU MP.

Hon. GEORGE SAITOTI MP.

Hon. KIPRUTO ARAP KIRWA MP.

Hon. MOODY AWORI MP

PRINCIPLES & REPRESENTATIVES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE PARTY
OF KENYA (NAK)

PRINCIPLES & REPRESENTATIVES
LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY
(RAINBOW)

ANNEX 2

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION (NARC)

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ARTICLE 1: ESTABLISHMENT

- a) There is hereby established a political party known as the NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION (NARC) (hereinafter referred to as "the Party" or "NARC") registered as a political party under the Societies Act (Cap. 108) Laws of Kenya.
- b) The party is founded on the principles of democracy, unity, justice, freedom and equality.
- c) The Leadership of the party shall be based on the equality of all persons and on the highest personal integrity. All leaders of the party and leaders of the member parties and organisations shall support and uphold the Code of Conduct for members and Pledge of Commitment which form part of this constitution.

ARTICLE 2: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- a) To establish a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation of the people of the Republic of Kenya within the framework of a pluralistic democracy and good governance, and founded on the principles of justice, liberty, equality, transparency, accountability, and respect for the rule of law.
- b) To pursue and promote basic human rights, that is to say, civic and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, the right to sustainable development, protection of the environment and the right to peace and security. The party will pay special attention to the right of life and human dignity, fundamental rights and freedoms, gender equality, freedoms of press, worship, liberty and security of the person and property and the right of workers and minorities.
- c) To pursue and promote economic, social and political development for the benefit of the people of Kenya.
- d) To nominate party candidates in respect of the presidential, parliamentary and civic elections.
- e) To promote and establish a fair and just leadership in the governance of the country, devoid of corruption, despotism, tribalism, and all forms of discrimination.
- f) To establish a Government of National Unity consisting of President, two Vice-Presidents, Prime Minister, two Deputy Prime Ministers and such number of Ministers and Deputy Ministers as shall be resolved upon by the NARC Council.

ARTICLE 3: MEMBERSHIP

- a) Subject to the approval of the NARC Council, any political party or organisation which accepts and adheres to objectives, policies and programs of NARC is signatory to Memoranda of Understanding of the National Alliance of Kenya and the National Rainbow Coalition dated 22nd October 2002 or such further memoranda as may be negotiated and executed between the Council and other organisations is eligible for membership.
- b) Each successful corporate applicant shall, on enrolment, pay an admission fee of Kshs 100,000,00 or the party may determine such sum of fee as from time to time.

- c) Upon payment of the prescribed fee, a member shall be issued with a membership certificate.
- d) The council shall at the appropriate time phase out corporate membership and replace it with individual membership.

ARTICLE 4: TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP

- a) A member shall cease to be a member if: -
 - i. By a resolution passed by its own party's or organisation's highest decision-making body is delivered to the NARC Council by its National leader who is recognised as such by the NARC Council.
 - ii. If in the opinion of NARC Council, the member has accepted or promoted through its leadership, activities of political parties or organisations whose aims and objectives are contrary to those of NARC.
- b) A member who ceases to be a member shall not be entitled to a refund of any subscription.

ARTICLE 5: ORGANS OF THE PARTY

- a) NARC shall have the following organs: -
 - i. NARC Council
 - ii. NARC Coordinating Committee
 - iii. NARC Parliamentary Group
 - iv. NARC Elections Board
 - v. Any other organ established by the NARC Council.
- b) Each organ of NARC shall have a chairperson and deputy chairperson elected by members of that organ.
- c) The Rules and Regulations of NARC organs shall be made by NARC Coordinating Committee and approved by NARC Council.
- d) As far as possible NARC shall ensure that at least one-third (1/3) of the members of all its organs shall be from each gender.

ARTICLE 6: OFFICIALS

- a) The party shall have the following officials: -
 - i. Chairperson
 - ii. Deputy Chairperson
 - iii. Secretary
 - iv. Deputy Secretary
 - v. Treasurer
 - vi. Deputy Treasurer
 - vii. Organising Secretary
 - viii. Deputy Organising Secretary
 - ix. Women Co-ordinator
 - x. Youth Co-ordinator

- b) NARC officials shall be appointed by the NARC Council from among individuals of high integrity who shall not be officials of NARC members and who are not candidates for presidential, parliamentary or civic elections. A NARC office holder shall not hold office in any other party or member organisation.

- c) There shall be established a secretariat to be headed by an Executive Director appointed by NARC Council and answerable to it through the NARC Coordinating committee.

ARTICLE 7: DUTIES OF THE OFFICIALS

NARC officials shall perform such duties and functions as NARC Council may assign them from time to time.

ARTICLE 8: NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION – (NARC) COUNCIL

- a) There shall be a NARC Council which shall consist of the following: -
 - i. Ten (10) party officials
 - ii. Leaders of the founding member political parties and organisations
 - iii. Four representatives from each founding members political party and organisation
 - iv. Members of NARC Coordinating Committee and all its founding sub-committees
 - v. Leader or Representative of any subsequent member political party or organisation.

- b) The NARC Council shall be the highest authority of the party and shall determine the party's policies. It shall have the following specific powers, duties and obligations: -
- i. To review, formulate and or approve all policies of the party.
 - ii. To nominate the party's candidate for presidential election.
 - iii. To consider, modify and ratify the constitution rules and regulations of the party.
 - iv. To receive, examine and approve the audited accounts of the party.
 - v. To appoint auditors and fix their remuneration.
 - vi. To consider any such other items as may be referred to it by the NARC Coordinating committee.
 - vii. To approve the party manifesto.
 - viii. To appoint the ten (10) party officials.
 - ix. To appoint other committees as it deems necessary from time to time or specialised tasks and to determine their terms of reference.
 - x. To receive reports and recommendations from the various committees and individuals.
 - xi. To approve NARC's Elections Board Nominations for parliament and civic candidates.
 - xii. To make or cause to be made rules or regulations for prescribing anything which requires to be prescribed under this constitution and generally for the better carrying out of the provisions of this Constitution and matters incidental thereto.
 - xiii. To ensure strict adherence to the party's constitution, policies and programs by the leaders and members of NARC.
- c) The NARC Council may convene a convention whose participants shall be officials of member parties and organisations.

ARTICLE 9: THE NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION – NARC COORDINATING COMMITTEE

- a) There shall be NARC Coordinating Committee which shall consist of no more than fifteen (15) members appointed by the NARC Council with at least one representative from each of the founding members political parties and organisations and the chairs of the founding sub-committees established under article ten (10).
- b) The NARC Coordinating Committee shall have the followin functions: –

- i. To act as the executive body of the NARC Council.
- ii. To supervise the administration machinery of the party and take such measures as it deems necessary to enforce the decisions and program of the party.
- iii. To appoint the Executive Director and full time members of the secretariat.
- iv. To approve the terms and conditions of service of the staff employed by the party.
- v. To set the agenda for the NARC Council.

ARTICLE 10: NARC SUB COMMITTEES

- a) The NARC Council may establish such sub-committee as it may deem necessary and without prejudice to the foregoing the following shall be the founding sub-committees.
 - i. The Strategy and Policy Committee (SC)
 - ii. The Economics Committee (EC)
 - iii. The Legal Affairs Committee (EC)
 - iv. The Resources and Mobilization Committee (RMC)
 - v. The Communications Committee (CC)

The membership of each sub-committee shall not exceed nine (9) and shall be appointed by the NARC Council on the recommendation of the Co-ordinating Committee.

- b) The sub-committees will consist of people who possess relevant knowledge and skills in the areas in which they are called to serve.
- c) The NARC Coordinating Committee with approval of the Council shall determine the terms of reference for such sub-committees.
- d) The sub-committees shall have power to consult experts.

ARTICLE 11: NARC ELECTIONS BOARD

- a) The party shall establish an Elections Board comprising of respected and knowledgeable persons of integrity.
- b) The Board shall, consist of Eighteen (18) members, including a Chairperson, a deputy Chairperson, who shall be appointed by the Council, and Sixteen (16) other members who shall be appointed from amongst members themselves.

- c) The Chairperson and Secretary of the party shall be ex-officio members of the Elections Board.
- d) There shall be a Director of Elections and a Deputy Director of Elections appointed by NARC Coordinating Committee with the approval of the NARC Council who shall service the Board and manage the Boards Secretariat.
- e) Board members shall be persons who are:
 - i. Citizens of Kenya over the age of eighteen years.
 - ii. Not holders of any office in NARC.
- f) The Board shall implement the NARC Nominations and Election Rules.
- g) The Board shall organise and supervise party nominations for Presidential, Parliamentary and Civic candidates in liaison with the NARC Coordinating Committee and NARC Council.
- h) The Board shall establish Constituency Nomination Panels in each constituency in consultation with NARC member political parties participating in the nomination exercise in each constituency.
- i) Members of the Board shall serve for a term of four years and shall be eligible for re-appointment for one more term.

ARTICLE 12: PROVISIONS FOR THE NOMINATION OF PARTY CANDIDATES

a) Presidential Candidate

The NARC Presidential Candidate shall be proposed from a political party which a fully paid up member of NARC.

The NARC Council shall nominate the NARC Presidential candidate.

1. The NARC Presidential candidate of NARC shall pay a non refundable nomination fee of Kshs. 200,000/=
2. The NARC Presidential candidate shall meet all the requirements for Presidential Elections under the Constitution of Kenya and the Presidential and National Assembly Act Cap 7 Laws of Kenya.

b) Parliamentary Candidates

FUNCTIONS OF SPECIFIC ORGANS

- NGC** It is the National Legislative Arm of the Party. It should be convened/ meet during crisis, for disciplinary actions, and for Emergency National Conventions to act on behalf of the National Annual Delegates Convention. The NGC should meet at least once a year.
- NDC** The supreme organ of the Party that meets once every two (2) years to ratify constitutional amendments, Party manifesto, for general elections, receive and adopt financial reports of the Party and appoint the Party auditors, etc.
- SECRETARIAT** The Executing Arm of the Party that ensures that the party office operates on a day to day basis, carries out the Party business at all times under the Director General and the Deputy Director General in consultation with the National Party officials (NEC)
- NEC** This is the Executive Arm of the Party that meets often (quarterly) to give direction to the Party's Secretariat in order to be able to achieve Party objectives and disseminate Party policies.

ANNEX 3**TANZANIA POLITICAL PARTIES ACT [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]**

CHAPTER 258

THE POLITICAL PARTIES ACT

[PRINCIPAL LEGISLATION]

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

Section Title

1. Short title.
2. Application
3. Interpretation.
4. Appointment of Registrar.
5. Appointment of assistant registrars and other officers.
6. Protection of officers.
7. Duty of political parties to register.
8. Registration.
9. Conditions for provisional registration.
10. Conditions for full registration.
11. Rights and privileges of, and meetings of, political parties.
12. Prohibition of the revival of formers parties, and establishment of branches, etc.
13. Funds and other resources of a party.
14. Submission of accounts and declaration of property.
15. Party to maintain bank account.
16. Grand of, and party qualification for, subvention.
17. When, how and amount of subvention to be granted.
18. Application of, and accounting for, subvention.
19. Power of Registrar to cancel registration.
20. Decision of the Registrar to be final.
21. Parties to appoint trustees.
22. Regulations.
23. [Amendment of R.L. Cap. 337]

**CHAPTER 258
THE POLITICAL PARTIES ACT**

An Act to provide for terms, conditions and the procedure for the registration of political parties and for related matters.

[1st July, 1992]
[s. 1]

Acts Nos.
5 of 1992
10 of 1994
32 of 1994
18 of 1995
11 of 1996
9 of 2002
6 of 2006

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. This Act may be cited as the Political Parties Act. | Short title |
| 2. This Act shall apply to Tanzania Zanzibar as well as to Mainland Tanzania. | Application |
| 3. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires—
“Minister” means the Minister for the time being responsible for matters relating to political parties;
“party” means a political party;
“political party” means any organised group formed for the purpose of forming a government or a local government authority within the United Republic through elections or for putting up or supporting candidates to such election;
“Registrar” means the Registrar of Political Parties appointed under section 4 and includes a deputy and an assistant registrar. | Interpretation
Act no. 10
Of 1994
Sch. |
| 4. --- (1) There shall be a Registrar of Political Parties in the office of the Prime Minister or in such other office as the President may determine who shall be appointed by the President. | Appointment
of Registrar |
| (2) There shall be a Deputy Registrar who shall be appointed by the President. | |
| (3) The Registrar shall be responsible for the registration of political parties in accordance with the provisions of this Act and shall perform any other function conferred by this Act. | |
| (4) In the performance of his functions under this Act the Registrar shall from time to time consult the Minister. | |

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

- | | |
|--|---|
| Appointment of assistant registrars and other officers | 5. The Minister may appoint assistant registrars and such other officers in such numbers as may from time to time be required to carry out the purpose of this Act. |
| Protection of officers | 6. No suit shall lie against the Registrar, Assistant Registrar or other officer appointed under this Act for anything done or omitted to be done in good faith and without negligence in the performance or any function under this Act. |
| Duty of political parties to parties to register | <p>7. ---(1) Subject to subsection (2) of this section, every political party formed in any part of the United Republic, shall apply to the Registrar in the prescribed manner to be registered as a political party.</p> <p>(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (1) of this section Chama cha Mapinduzi, also known by the acronym CCM, which was, immediately before this Act, the sole political party for the whole of the United Republic shall, on the coming into effect of this Act, and without further requirement, be deemed to have been fully registered as a political party and shall be issued with a certificate of registration in accordance with this Act.</p> <p>(3) No organization shall operate or function as a political party unless it has first been registered in accordance with the provisions of this Act.</p> |
| Registration | <p>8. -(1) Every political party other than the political party registrable pursuant to subsection (2) of section 7, shall apply and be registered in two stages, after fulfilling all the conditions prescribed for each stage.</p> <p>(2) Every political party shall first, be provisionally registered and issued with a certificate of provisional registration upon fulfilling the conditions prescribed in section 9.</p> <p>(3) Every political party which has been provisionally registered and which in addition to the conditions prescribed in section 9 has fulfilled the conditions prescribed in section 10 shall, not later than one hundred and eight days from the date of provisional registration, apply to the Registrar for full registration.</p> <p>(4) The provisional registration of every party shall lapse and every provisional registration certificate shall cease to be of any effect at the expiry of one hundred and eight days from the date of such provisional registration.</p> <p>(5) The Registrar shall register and issue a certificate of provisional registration or, as the case may be, a certificate of full registration to every party which fulfils all the conditions for such registration.</p> |

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

9. —(1) No political party shall qualify for provisional registration unless—
- a) the founding members have applied for registration of the party in the prescribed manner;
 - b) the application has been accompanied with a copy of the constitution of the proposed party;
 - c) its membership is voluntary and open to all the citizens of the United Republic without discrimination on account of gender, religious belief, race, tribe, ethnic origin, profession or occupation.

Conditions
for
provisional
registration

(2) Without prejudice to subsection (1) of this section no political party shall qualify for provisional registration if by its constitution or policy---

- a) aims to advocate or further the interests of –
 - (i) any religious belief or group;
 - (ii) any tribal, ethnic or racial group; or
 - (iii) only a specific area within any part of the United Republic;
- b) it advocates the breaking up of the union constituting the United Republic;
- c) it accepts or advocates the use of force or violence as a means of attaining its political objectives;
- d) it advocates or aims to carry on its political activities exclusively in one part of the United Republic; or
- e) it does not allow periodic and democratic election of its leadership.

10. —(1) No political party shall be qualified to be fully registered unless—
- a) it has first been provisionally registered;
 - b) it has obtained not less than two hundred members who are qualified to be registered as voters for the purpose of parliamentary elections from each of at least ten Regions of the United Republic out of which at least two Regions are in Tanzania Zanzibar being one Region each from Zanzibar and Pemba;
 - c) it has submitted the names of the national leadership of the party and such leadership draws its members from both Tanzania Zanzibar and Mainland Tanzania; and
 - d) it has submitted to the Registrar the location of its head office.

Conditions
for full
registration

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

within the United Republic and a postal address to which notices and other communications may be sent.

Rights and privileges of, and meetings of, political parties Acts Nos. 1 of 1993, 32 of 1994 Sch.

Cap. 322

11. —(1) Every party which has been provisionally or fully registered shall be entitled—
- a) to hold and address public meetings in any area in the United Republic after giving notification to the police officer in-charge of the area concerned for purposes of publicizing itself and soliciting for membership;
 - b) to the protection and assistance of the security agencies for the purposes of facilitating peaceful and orderly meetings: provided that provisional registration shall not entitle any party to put up a candidate or to campaign for any candidates in any parliamentary or presidential election or in a local authority election.
- (2) Notwithstanding any other written law to the contrary sections 43, 44, 45 and 46 of the Police Force and Auxiliary Services Act shall apply and have effect as to all meetings to be held on any part of the United Republic by any political party whether provisionally or fully registered.
- (3) Every party which has been fully registered shall be entitled to put up candidates and to campaign for any candidates in any parliamentary or presidential election or in a local government authority election.
- (4) When a political party is desirous of holding a meeting or procession in any open public place in any area it shall, not less than forty eight hours before the meeting, submit a written notification of its impending to the police officer in charge of the area in which the meeting is to take place is situated.
- (5) The written notification referred to in subsection (4) shall specify—
- a) the name of the political party submitting the notification;
 - b) the place in and time at which the meeting is to take place;
 - c) the agenda or purpose in general of the meeting;
 - d) such other particulars as the Minister may from time to time by notice published in the Gazette specify.
- (6) Where a political party submits a notification in accordance with subsection (4) it may proceed to hold the meeting in question as schedule unless and until it receives an order from the police officer in charge of the area directing that the meeting be not held as notified.
- (7) A police officer to whom a notification is submitted pursuant to subsection (4) shall not give a stop order under subsection (6) in relation to the notification unless he is satisfied that –

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

- a) a previous notification has been submitted by another political party or other persons for holding a meeting or other function or procession in the same place at the same time as is intended by the notifier;
- b) the meeting or procession is intended to execute, or to be used for, an unlawful purpose; the meeting is likely or intended to cause a breach of the peace or to prejudice the public safety in the area;
- c) the political party or group of persons giving the notification is not a registered political party or body of persons or the persons submitting the notification is not appropriately identified as an authorised representative of the political party concerned.

(8) A stop order given under subsection (6) shall be in writing and in such form as is able to easily disclose the reasons for its issuance and state whether or not the political party concerned may hold the meeting at the venue at another time or date convenient to it in the same area.

12. —(1) No party formed or existing in any part the United Republic prior to the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar or prior to 5th February, 1977, shall be revived nor shall the name or acronym of such party be used by any political party to be registered under this Act.

Prohibition of the revival of former parties; and establishment of branches, etc.

(2) Subject to subsection (3) no person shall establish, form or allow to be established or formed any branch, unit, youth or women organization or other organ of any political party in any working place, school or other place of learning.

(3) for the purposes of this section places of residence for employees provided by the employer shall not be regarded as places of work.

(4) Any person who contravenes the provisions of subsection (2) of this section commits an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding forty thousand shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and imprisonment and the court shall order the closure or disbanding of the branch, unit, youth organization or other organ of the party relating to the offence.

13.—(1) The funds and other resources of political parties which have been fully registered shall derive from-

- (a) membership fees;

Funds and other resources of a party

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

- (b) voluntary contributions;
- (c) the proceeds of any investment, project or undertaking in which the party has an interest;
- (d) subvention from the Government;
- (e) donations, bequests and grants from any other source.

(2) Every party shall disclose to the Registrar information relating to any funds or other resources obtained by the party—

- a) from sources outside the United Republic, whether obtained directly or through sources within the United Republic;
- b) from foreign organizations stationed within the United Republic; or
- c) from any person resident in the United Republic who is not a citizen of the United Republic.

(3) Any official of any party or other person liable to disclose information to the Registrar on behalf of any party relating to the funds or other resources of the party who fails to disclose such information or gives false information in relation to such funds or resources obtained by a party from sources outside the United Republic, commits an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine equal to the amount of the value of the resources not disclosed or in relation to which false information was given or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twelve months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

Submission of accounts and declaration of property

14. -(1) Every political party which has been fully registered shall—

- a) maintain proper accounts of the funds and property of the party;
- b) submit to the Registrar –

Cap. 286

- i) an annual statement of the accounts of the party audited by an auditor registered as an authorised auditor under the Accounts and Auditors (Registration) Act and the auditor's report on those accounts;
- ii) an annual declaration of all the property owned by the party.

(2) The Registrar, after inspecting any accounts or report submitted pursuant to this section may, for the benefit of the members or the public, publish any matter relation to the funds, resources or property of any party or the use of such funds, resources or property.

(3) The Registrar shall publish in the official Gazette, an annual report on the audited accounts of every party.

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

- 15-(1) Every political party which has been fully registered shall, through its trustees, maintain a bank account of the party in which all the money received by the party in accordance with section 13, shall be deposited.
- Party to maintain bank account
Act NO. 18 of 1995 Sch.
- (2) Any subvention from the Government which is payable to any political party under this Act shall not be paid to any political party which does not maintain a bank account in accordance with this section.
- 16-(1) The Government shall, subject to section 17 of this Act, disburse up to not more than two per centum of the annual recurrent budget, less the amount payable in defraying the national debt, in the grant of subventions to political parties in pursuance of the provisions of the Act.
- Grant of and party qualification for, subvention
Acts Nos. 18 of 1995 Sch; 11 of 1996 s. 2
- (2) The Government shall, in addition to the subvention referred to in subsection (1), grant an annual subvention to every qualifying party in relation to its local government authority activities which shall be such an amount as the Minister may determine, and which shall be computed on the basis of the number of the members of a party who are members of a district or urban council.
- (3) No party shall qualify for the grant to it of a subvention in accordance with this Act unless—
- a) it is a party which is fully registered under this Act;
 - b) it has, in the immediately preceding general or local government election, had any of its candidates elected to be a Member of Parliament or member or a local government authority.
- 17-(1) Subventions granted under this Act shall be disbursed to a qualifying party once in every financial year and in such installments as the Minister may, considering the prevailing economic and financial conditions, determine.
- When, how and amount of subvention to be granted
Acts Nos. 18 of 1995 Sch; 11 of 1996 s. 2;9 of 2002 Sch.
- (2) The fund disbursable pursuant to section 16(1) as subvention to qualifying parties shall be disbursed as follows—
- a) fifty per centum of the funds shall be disbursed amongst qualifying parties on basis of the ratio between the number of parliamentary constituencies in the United Republic;
 - b) the other fifty per centum of the funds shall be disbursed amongst qualifying parties each of which won not less than five per centum of all the valid votes cast in all constituencies in the United Republic, and shall be disbursed amongst those parties on the basis of the ratio between the total number of valid votes cast for the parliamentary candidates of a party

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

and the total number of all the valid votes cast in the parliamentary election for all the qualifying parties.

(3) For purposes of subsection (2) a Parliamentary candidate declared by Electoral Commission as having been elected unopposed in the constituency, shall be deemed to have been elected by fifty one percent of the total number of the registered voters in the respective constituency.

Application of,
And accounting
for, subvention
Acts Nos. 18 of
1995 Sch.; 11 of
1996 s. 2

18. -(1) Subventions granted to a party may be spent only on

- (a) the parliamentary activities of a party;
- (b) the civil activities of a party;
- (c) any lawful activity relating to an election in which a party nominates a candidate;
- (d) any other necessary or reasonable requirement of a party.

(2) Subventions granted to a political party shall be accounted for to the Registrar, separately from the accounting for other funds of the party.

(3) Any party which fails or neglects to account for subventions in accordance with this Act, shall forfeit the right to any subsequent subvention due to the party in accordance with this Act.

(4) Where the Registrar is for any reasonable cause, dissatisfied with any account of subventions submitted by any party, so much of the subvention which has not been accounted for or has not been accounted for satisfactorily, shall be deducted from any subsequent subvention due to the party.

Cap. 16

(5) If by reason of failure to submit an account or for any other reason, the Registrar has reason to suspect that any offence under the Penal Code may have been committed in relation to the money which has not been committed in relation to the money which has not been accounted for, he may make a report to a police station, and the officer in charge of that police station shall cause the matter to be investigated.

Power of
Registration to
cancel
registration

19-(1) Subject to subsection (2) the Registrar may cancel the registration of any political party which has contravened any of the provisions of this Act or which has otherwise ceases to qualify for registration under this Act.

(2) The Registrar shall not cancel the registration of any party unless—

- a) he has, in writing, informed the party concerned of the contravention or the loss of qualification and of the intention to cancel the registration;
- b) he has received or failed to receive, within the period Prescribed by him, any representations from the party concerned;

The Political Parties Act [CAP 258 R.E. 2002]

- (c) he has submitted to the Minister the intention to cancel the registration of the party together with any representations made by the party and the Minister has agreed to such cancellation.

20--(1) The decision of the Registrar on the registration of the cancellation of the registration of any party shall be final and shall not be the subject of appeal in any court.

Decision of the Registrar to be final

(2) Nothing in subsection (1) shall be construed to preclude judicial review of the decision of the Registrar.

21. —Every political party which has obtained a certificate of full registration shall appoint a board of trustees to manage the properties and any business or investment of the party.

Parties to appoint trustees

(2) Every board of trustees shall be duly incorporate under the Trustees Incorporation Act and every party shall, not later than sixty days from the date of full registration, submit to the Registrar—

Cap. 318

- a) the names and addresses of the members of the board of trustees; and
- b) a copy of the certificate of incorporation.

22. – (1) The Minister may make regulations for the purpose of carrying out or giving effect to any provision of this Act.

Regulations Act No. 11 Of 1996

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of their power conferred by subsection (1), the Minister may make regulations--

- (a) prescribing the manner of registration of political parties under this Act
- (b) regulating or restricting the use or the changes of names of political parties;
- (c) prescribing the forms which may be used for carrying out the provisions of this Act;
- (d) for securing the submission to the Registrar of accounts relating to their assets and liabilities, income and expenditure of political parties;
- (e) prescribing the fees in respect of anything to be done under this Act;
- (f) securing the submission to the Registrar of annual or other periodical returns relating to the constitution, objects and membership of political parties.
- (g) prescribing the manner in which subventions granted to a party may be accounted for;
- (h) in consultation with political parties prescribing ethical conduct of political parties
- (i) prescribing anything which is required or is necessary or desirable that it be prescribed for the better giving effect to this Act

Amendment of R.L Cap. 337

23. [Amends the societies Act]

ANNEX 4**POLITICAL PARTIES (REGISTRATION) REGULATIONS, 1992**

GOVERNMENT NOTICE No. 111 OF 1992

published on 19th June, 1992

THE POLITICAL PARTIES (REGISTRATION) REGULATIONS, 1992

(Under Section 22)

Arrangement of Regulations

Regulation Subject

1. Title
2. Interpretation
3. Application for provisional registration of a political party.
4. Application for full registration of a political party.
5. Notice of change of office-bearers.
6. Notice of change of location of head office or postal address.
7. Application to change name, constitution or rules of party, or to become branch or affiliate.
8. Notice of change of name of party, to become branch or affiliate.
9. Register of particulars or political parties.
10. Notification of cancellation of registration of a political party.
11. Record of funds and other resources received by a party.
12. Annual accounts.
13. Returns and reports.
14. Notices, etc, to be signed by two office-bearers.
15. Notices by Registrar sent by registered post.
16. Offences and penalties.

FIRST SCHEDULE

Forms

SECOND SCHEDULE

Fees

THIRD SCHEDULE

Register of Particulars of Political Parties.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

G.N. No. 111
of 1992

THE POLITICAL PARTIES (REGISTRATION) REGULATIONS, 1992

Title	1. These Regulations may be cited as the Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992, shall come into operation on the first day of July 1992 and shall apply throughout the United Republic.
Interpretation Act No. 5 of 1992	2. In these Regulations, unless the context otherwise requires- “Act” means the political Parties Act, 1992; “Assistant Registrar” means Assistant Registrar appointed under section 5 of the Act; “political party” means a political party provisionally or fully registered under the Act; “register” means the register or particulars of political parties kept by the Registrar for registering political parties; “Registrar” means the Registrar of Political Parties appointed under section 4 of the Act and includes the Deputy Registrar and an Assistant Registrar.
Application for provisional registration of a political party	3. -(1) Any person applying for the provisional registration of a party shall submit to the Registrar an application in duplicate in Form PP.1 set out in the First Schedule with two copies of the constitution and rules of the party, and two founding members of the party shall subscribe a declaration in support of the application if Form PP.2 set out in the First Schedule. (2) The Registrar, on receipt of an application made under paragraph (1) of this Regulation, shall scrutinize it and shall, within thirty days of receipt of a valid application, issue a certificate of provisional registration on payment of the fees specified in the Second Schedule if he is satisfied that the prescribed conditions for registration have been fulfilled. (3) The certificate of provisional registration of a political party shall be in Form PP.3 set out in the First Schedule.
Application for full registration of a political party	4. -(1) Any person applying for full registration of a party shall submit to the Registrar an application in duplicate in of Form PP.4 set out in the First Schedule, and two officebearers of the party shall subscribe a declaration in support of the application in Form PP.5 set out in the First Schedule. (2) The Registrar, on receipt of an application made under paragraph (1) of this Regulation, shall scrutinize it and may issue a certificate of full registration on payment of the fees specified in the Second Schedule if he is satisfied that the conditions prescribed for registration have been fulfilled. (3) The certificate of full registration of a party shall be in Form PP.6 set out in the First Schedule.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

- Notice of change of office-bearers
- 5-(1) Where an office –bearer of a registered party ceases to hold office or a person is appointed to be an office-bearer of a registered party, the party shall, within fourteen days, send notice thereof to the Registrar.
- (2) A notice sent under the provisions of paragraph (1) of this Regulation shall be in duplicate in Form PP.7 set out in the First Schedule.
- Notice of change of location of head office or postal address.
- 6-(1) Where a registered party changes the location of its head office or changes its postal address it shall, within fourteen days, send notice thereof to the Registrar.
- (2) A notice under the provisions of paragraph (1) of this Regulation shall be in duplicate in Form PP.8 or Form PP.9, as the case may be, set out in the First Schedule.
- Application to change name of party, to become branch or affiliate
- 7-(1) A registered party shall apply for the prior written approval of the Registrar if it intends –
- a) To change its name; or
 - b) To become a branch or an affiliate of an organization or group of a political nature established outside the United Republic.
- (2) Where a registered party amends any of the provisions of its constitution or any of its rules it shall, within fourteen days, send notice thereof to the Registrar.
- (3) Any registered party that desires to obtain approval under paragraph (1) of this Regulation shall send to the Registrar an application in duplicate in Form PP.10 set out in the First Schedule; and the Registrar shall notify, in writing, the party of this decision on the application.
- (4) A notice of any change in any of the provisions of the constitution or rules of a party shall, within fourteen days, be made in duplicate in Form PP.11 set out in the First Schedule.
- (5) The Registrar shall refuse an application by a registered party to change its name where the proposed name–
- a) is identical to that of any other existing registered party; or
 - b) so nearly resembles the name of another existing registered party as, in the opinion of the Registrar, is likely to deceive, mislead or confuse the public or the members of either party; or
 - c) is in the opinion of the Registrar, undesirable; or
 - d) is prohibited under section 12 (1) of the Act or under any other written law.
- (6) Subject to paragraph (7), the Registrar may, in his discretion, refuse an application by a registered party to become a branch or an affiliate of an organization or group of a political nature established outside the United Republic.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

- (7) The Registrar shall, prior to refusing an application, notify his intention and reasons to the party concerned and shall give it an opportunity to submit reasons, if any, why the application should not be refused.
- Notice of change of name of party, to become branch or affiliate
8. Every registered party which –
- a) Changes its name; or
 - b) Becomes a branch of, or affiliate to, or connected with, any organization or group established outside the United Republic, shall within fourteen days from the date of such change of name or of becoming a branch or an affiliate or being so connected, send to the Registrar notice thereof in duplicate in Form PP.13 set out in the First Schedule.
- Register of particulars of political parties.
- 9-(1) The Registrar shall maintain a register for recording information furnished to him in compliance with the Act and these Regulations.
- (2) Where the name of a registered party is changed, the Registrar shall issue a fresh certificate of registration upon the original certificate being surrendered to him unless its absence is accounted for to his satisfaction.
- (3) Where an application is made for full registration of a party, the applicants shall surrender the certificate of provisional registration to the Registrar unless they account for its absence to his satisfaction.
- (4) The register prescribed under this Regulation shall be in the form set out in the Third Schedule.
10. Where under section 19 of the Act the Registrar cancels the registration of a party, he shall give notification of the cancellation to the party in Form PP.15 set out in the First Schedule.
- Notification of cancellation of registration of a political party.
- *11-(1) Every fully registered party which receives money from any source whatsoever within or outside the United Republic, whether by way of fees, contributions, interest or return on any investment, subvention or donation, shall keep one or more books of account in which shall be entered details of all moneys received and payments made by the party.
- Record of funds and other resources received by party.
- (2) Every fully registered party shall disclose to the Registrar any funds or other resources obtained by the party from sources outside the United Republic in Form PP.16 set out in the First Schedule.
- Annual accounts
- 12-(1) Every party which is fully registered shall submit to the Registrar, not later than six months after the end of financial year, a copy of an audited statement of accounts and the auditors report on those accounts.
- (2) The accounts referred to in paragraph (1) of this Regulation shall be accompanied by a statement in duplicate in Form PP.17 set in the First Schedule.
- * Note: see also S.13 of the Political Parties Act, 1992.**

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

- Returns and reports 13-(1) The Registrar may at any time require a party to submit to him a return or report relating to the constitution, objects, office-bearers or membership as well as the finances of the party.
- (2) Every office-bearer and every person managing or assisting in the management of a party shall forthwith comply with any requirement made by the Registrar under paragraph (1) of this Regulation.
- Notices to be signed by office-bearers 14. Every notice, application, statement or other document required under the Act or these Regulations to be furnished or sent to the Registrar shall be signed by at least two office-bearers of the party concerned.
- Notices by Registrar sent by registered post 15. Any notice which the Registrar is required under the Regulations to give to any party shall be deemed to have been given to the party if sent by registered post addressed to the party at its postal address.
- Offences and penalties. 16. In the event of a breach by a party of the provisions of Regulation 6,7,8,11,12 or 13, every office-bearer of the party concerned shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding thirty thousand shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to both such fine and imprisonment.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FIRST SCHEDULE

FORMS

FORM PP.1

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

APPLICATION FOR PROVISIONAL REGISTRTRION OF A POLITICAL PARTY (Regulation 3)

Application is here by made for provisional registration of.....
(Name of political party) (Hereinafter called "the party") under the Political Parties
Act, 1992.

1. The principal office of the party is situated at

2. The postal address of the party is.....

3. We annex hereto marked "A" two true copies of the constitution and rules or by-laws of the party.

4. We annex hereto marked "B" a declaration in Form PP.2 in support of this application

Dated thisday of 19

Names and signatures of two Founding members: -

- (1)(Name)
..... (Signature)
- (2)(Name)
..... (Signature)

NOTE: The attention of applicants is drawn to the need to complete and submit form PP.2 to indicate their compliance with section 9 or the Political Parties Act, 1992.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.2

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF AN APPLICATION FOR
PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF A POLITICAL PARTY
(Regulation 3)**

We, the founding members, whose signatures are subscribed hereto, do hereby solemnly declare as follows: –

- 1. That the constitution or policy of our party –
 - a) Does not advocate or further the interests of –
 - (i) any religious belief or group; or
 - (ii) any tribal, ethnic or racial group or gender; or
 - (iii) only a particular area within an party of he United.
 - b) does not advocate the breaking up the Union constituting the United Republic;
 - c) does not accept or advocate the use of force or violence as a means of attaining its political objectives.
 - d) does not advocate or aim to carry on its political objectives exclusively in one part of the United Republic.

- 2. That the party will allow period and democratic elections of its leadership as provided in the constitution submitted with the application for provisional registration.

This declaration is made to the best of our knowledge, information and belief.

Made this day of 20

(1)(Name)
.....(Signature)

(2)(Name)
.....(Signature)

In the presence of:

Name:

Address:

Qualification:.....

Signature.....

Notary Public/Commissioner for Oaths

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.3

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**CERTIFICATE OF PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION
OF A POLITICAL PARTY
(Regulation 3)**

I hereby certify that

Has this day been provisionally registered as a political party under the Political Parties Act, 1992

Dated thisday of 19.....

This certificate is valid for one hundred and eight days

From the date of issue.

.....
REGISRAR OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.4

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**APPLICATION FOR FULL REGISTRATION
OF A POLITICAL PARTY
(Regulation 4)**

Application is hereby made for full registration of.....
.....

(Name of the party) as a political party under the Political Parties Act, 1992.

1. The political party has been provisionally registered under Certificate of Provisional Registration No. Which is annexed hereto, marked "A".
2. The party has fulfilled all the conditions as regards:
 - a) The minimum number of registered members in both parts of the United Republic; and
 - b) The nomination and disposition of the party leadership, as stated in our declaration in Form PP.5 which is annexed hereto, marked "B".
 - c) We annex hereto, marked "C", two true copies of the revised constitution and rules of the party (Where applicable).

Dated this day of..... 20.....

Names and signatures of two Applicants

(1)(Name)
 (Signature)

(2)(Name)
 (Signature)

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.5

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF AN APPLICATION FOR FULL REGISTRATION OF A POLITICAL PARTY (Regulation 4)

..... (Name of the political party)

We, the applicants whose signatures are subscribed hereto do hereby solemnly declare as follows: -

1. The political party in respect of which we seek full registration has been provisionally registered and the provisional registration is subsisting.
2. The party has obtained not less than two hundred registered members who are qualified to be registered as voters for purpose of Parliamentary elections from each of at least ten Regions of the United Republic out of which at least two Regions are in Tanzania Zanzibar, being one Region each in Zanzibar and Pemba, as indicated in Part 1 of this form.
3. The names of the national leaders of the party from both parts of the United Republic are indicated in Part II of this Form.

Further, we undertake that the party-

- a) Shall appoint a board of trustees to manage the properties and any business or investment of the party and shall, not later than sixty days from the date of full registration, submit to the Registrar the names and addresses of the trustees as well as a copy of the certificate of incorporation issued under the Trustees Incorporation Ordinance; and
- b) Shall submit every year an audited statement of accounts of the party, the auditors report on those accounts, as well as an annual declaration of all the property owned by the party.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.5

**PART I. NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF THE PARTY
ACCORDING TO REGIONS**

A. MAINLAND TANZANIA:

Name of Region	Number of Members	Name of Region	Number of Members
1)	11) .....	.....
2)	12) .....	.....
3)	13) .....	.....
4)	14) .....	.....
5)	15) .....	.....
6)	16) .....	.....
7)	17) .....	.....
8)	18) .....	.....
9)	19) .....	.....
10)	20) .....	.....
.....	21) .....	.....

B. TANZANIA ZANZIBAR:

Name of Region	Number of Members
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP. 5

PART II. PARTICULARS OF NATIONAL LEADERS OF THE PARTY

Name	Address	Designation	Position Held	Date of Appointment/ Election	Place of origin*
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

* State whether Mainland Tanzania or Tanzania Zanzibar

This declaration is made to the best of our knowledge, information and belief.

Made this..... day of..... 20.....

Names and signatures of two (1)(Name)

Founding members(Signature)

(2)(Name)

.....(Signature)

In the presence of:

Name:

Address:.....

Qualification

Signature.....

Notary Public/Commissioner for Oaths.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP. 5

PART III. PARTY MEMBERSHIP VERIFICATION*

Name of region.....

Name of Member:

Age:

Sex:

Occupation.....

Profession.....

Tribe/Ethnic group.....

Religion.....

Residence (State District, town, village)

Postal Address

Cell/Kitongoji/Ward or other Local Leader.....

Party Membership Card Noissued (date)..... at..... (place)

Name of father or guardian.....

* Note: These particulars must be given in respect of at least 200 party members per Region in at least ten Regions of the United Republic out of which at least two Regions are in Tanzania Zanzibar, being one Region each in Zanzibar and Pemba

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.6

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**CERTIFICATE OF FULL, REGISTRATION
OF A POLITICAL PARTY
(Regulation 4)**

I hereby certify that

Has this day been fully registered as a political party under the Political Parties Act, 1992.

Dated this day of..... 19.....

.....
REGISTRAR OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.7

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF OFFICE – BEARERS
OF A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Regulation 5)

Name of political party

.....

1. The following persons have ceased to be office-bearers of the party:

Full name	Designation	Date of Vacating Office
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. The following persons have been appointed /elected office-bearers of the party

Full Name	Designation	Date of appointment/ election to office
.....
.....
.....
.....

Dated this day of 20.....

Name	Designation	Signature
(1).....
(2).....

NOTE: "Office-bearer", in relation to a party, means any person who is the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary or treasurer of that party, or who is a member of the governing or executive body thereof or who holds in the party any office or position similar to any of those offices.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.8

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF LOCATION OF HEAD
OFFICE OF A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Regulation 6)

Notice is hereby given that the location of the head office of the political party known
as.....was on the day of
20.....

Changed from
to

Dated this day of..... 20

Full Name	Designation	Signature
(1).....
(2).....

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.9

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF POSTAL ADDRESS
OF A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Regulation 6)

Notice is hereby given that the postal address of the political party known
as..... was on the..... day of
20.....

Changed from
to

Dated thisday of 20

Full Name Designation Signature

(1).....

(2).....

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.10

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL TO CHANGE THE NAME OF
A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Regulation 7).

Application is hereby made for approval to change the name of the political party known as

.....
.....

to

The reason why this change is desired is

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Dated this day of 20

Full Name Designation Signature

(1).....

(2).....

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP. 11

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF CONSTITUTION OR RULES OF
A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Regulation 7)

Notice is hereby given that the political party known as

.....
.....
.....

has changed its constitution/ rules in the following respects, that is to say:

.....
.....
.....

Dated thisday of 20.....

Full Name Designation Signature

(1).....

(2).....

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.12

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**NOTICE OF INTENTION TO CANCEL THE REGISTRATION
OF A POLITICAL PARTY**
(Omitted, in view of Regulation 10 and Form PP.15)

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.13

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations 1992
**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF NAME OF PARTY
TO BECOME BRANCH OR AFFILIATE**
(Regulation 8)

Notice is hereby given that the political party formerly known as has changed its name to

.....
.....
.....

Dated thisday of 20

Full Name Designation Signature

(1).....

(2).....

Note – The written approval of the Registrar is required before a registered political party changes its name. Application for approval should be made in Form PP.10

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.14

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**NOTICE OF CHANGE OF OBJECTS OF A
POLITICAL PARTY**

[Omitted, in view of Regulation 7 and Form PP.11]

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.16

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992
**DISCLOSURE OF FUNDS AND OTHER RESOURCES OBTAINED BY A
POLITICAL
PARTY FROM WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE UNITED REPUBLIC***
(Regulation 11)

We, the undersigned office-bearers, hereby declare as follows:

The political party known as.....

which is fully registered under Certificate No.

has received from within or outside the United Republic the following funds or other resources:

Date of Receipt	Currency and amount	Other resources and value	Benefactor's Name and Address
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Dated thisday of 20

Name	Designation	Signature
(1).....
(2).....

* Note: See also section 13 of the Political Parties Act, 1992.

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

FORM PP.17

The Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**RETURN OF ANNUAL ACCOUNTS OF A POLITICAL
PARTY FOR THE YEAR ENDED20.....
(Regulation 12)**

We, the undersigned, being authorised office-bearers of the political party known as
.....

do hereby submit herewith a copy of the audited statement of accounts for the year
stated above and the auditors' report on those accounts.

Dated this day of 20

Name	Designation	Signature
(1).....
(2).....

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

SECOND SCHEDULE FEES

Item	Matter	Rate
1.	On application for provisional registration.....	25,000.00
2.	On application for full registration.....	50,000.00
3.	On application for a copy of any certificate Or filed document or for a certified extract from the register	5,000.00

Political Parties (Registration) Regulations, 1992

**THIRD SCHEDULE
REGISTER OR PARTICULARS OF POLITICAL PARTIES
(Regulation 9)**

FOLIO No.

- A. Name of Political Party File No
- B. Postal Address of Party.....
- C. Location of Head Office of Party
- D. Particulars of Provisional Registration.

Date of receipt of application for provisional registration	Date when application refused	Certificate Serial No. (Form PP.3)	Date of issue

- E. Particulars of Full Registration of Political Party:

Certificate of full registration serial No..... (Form PP . 6)	Date of issue	Date of cancellation	

- F. Change of name of Political Party:

- i) New name.....
- ii) Date of change of name

- G. Change of constitution / Rules (date).....

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 and practices and to 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 was formerly the secretariat of the Electoral Commissions Forum (ECF) composed of electoral commissions in the SADC region and established in 1998. EISA is currently the secretariat of the SADC Election Support Network (ESN) comprising election-related civil society organisations established in 1997.

VISION

An African continent where democratic governance, human rights and citizen participation are upheld in a peaceful environment

MISSION

EISA strives for excellence in the promotion of credible elections, participatory democracy, human rights culture, and the strengthening of governance institutions for the consolidation of democracy in Africa

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 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 sector

CORE ACTIVITIES

- Research
- Policy Dialogue
- Publications and Documentation
- Capacity Building
- Election Observation
- Technical Assistance
- Balloting

