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## PARTIES AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE



Eduardo J. Siteo,  
Zefanias Matsimbe  
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IN MOZAMBIQUE



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BY  
EDUARDO J. SITOE, ZEFANIAS MATSIMBE  
AND AMILCAR F. PEREIRA



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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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## PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *internal functioning* of political parties determines how the social demands of different groups in society are represented in parliament. Candidates nominated for election are selected, supported and trained by their parties. In addition, parties put candidates in touch with voters and hold them

accountable. In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed traditionally excluded groups – such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous peoples and youth – to have only limited access to the political realm.

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

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

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Thanks are also due to the party leaders who were interviewed and gave generously of their time. Last but not least, we would like to thank Eduardo Siteo, Zefanias Matsimbe and Amilcar Pereira for their insightful contribution to this programme.

*Khabele Matlosa*  
*Project coordinator and series editor*  
*EISA*

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**LIST OF ACRONYMS**

AP	Patriotic Alliance
APD	Alliance for Democracy
AU	African Union
DHD	Association for Human Rights and Development
FAP	Patriotic Action Front
Frelimo	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> - Mozambique Liberation Front
Fumo	United Front of Mozambique
GDP	Gross domestic product
GNP	Gross national product
HDI	Human Development Index
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Ipade	Institute for Peace and Democracy
JPC	<i>Juntos pela Cidade</i>
LDH	Mozambican Human Rights League
Manu	Mozambique African National Union
Monamo	Mozambican Nationalist Movement
MP	Member of parliament
Naturma	Natives and Residents of Manhica
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
Ocina	Nacala Citizens' Group
Pademo	Democratic Party of Mozambique
Palmo	Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique
Panade	National Democratic Party
Panamo	National Party of Mozambique
PCN	National Convention Party
Panaoc	National Workers' and Peasants' Party
PDD	Party for Peace, Democracy and Development
Pimo	Independent (alias Islamic) Party of Mozambique
PPLM	Progressive Liberal Party of Mozambique
PPPM	Mozambican People's Progress Party
PR	Proportional representation
PT	<i>Partido Trabalhista</i> - Labour Party
PVD	The Green Party
Renamo	<i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> - Mozambican National Resistance
Renamo-UE	<i>Renamo-União Eleitoral</i>
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SOL	Social Liberal and Democratic Party
UD	<i>União Democrática</i> - Democratic Union
Udenamo	National Democratic Union of Mozambique
UMO	Mozambican Union
UN	United Nations
Unamo	Mozambique National Union
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Thanks mainly to a handful of internationally funded and managed multi-billion US dollar capital projects, Mozambique has quickly emerged from its invidious position as one of the world's poorest countries. For a time it enjoyed gross domestic product growth rates above 14% a year and although – mainly due to international factors beyond its control – these rates have now dropped to closer to 7%, Mozambique's economy is still the fastest-growing in the sub-region.

The growth has not been universally beneficial, however. By their nature, the international projects referred to have not come close to absorbing the country's large pool of surplus labour, so that the wide gap between the haves and the have-nots is hardly closing.

Mozambique's independence from Portugal in 1975 was followed by a bloody 16-year civil war waged between Frelimo (which emerged from a militant freedom movement to become the party in power) and the Renamo resistance movement (which was supported first by the then Rhodesia and subsequently by the South African apartheid government, who were both intent on keeping Mozambique as some sort of vassal state).

Since the war ended with an agreement signed by the warring parties in Rome in the early 1990s, Frelimo has won all the multiparty presidential, parliamentary and local elections held so far, to remain the party in government. While struggling to overcome its early history, Renamo has remained the principal opposition party. Renamo – despairing of threatening Frelimo's hold on power despite its own continuing good runner-up performances – has resorted to mixed, and sometimes extraparliamentary, strategies, including electoral pacts with most of the smaller parties, and boycotting elections. Recent events indicate, however, that Frelimo is not necessarily invincible. Signs have included:

- some recent successes for Renamo in local elections;
- Renamo's success in recruiting young academics and intellectuals, and quickly promoting them through the ranks;

- Renamo's substantially changed image following its ability to attract a wide range of constituencies opposed to Frelimo; and
- Renamo's improving performance in presidential elections.

Although gaps in the research on parties exist because some spokesmen seemed less knowledgeable than expected, the authors believe that the present research will make an important contribution to the debate on the role of parties in the consolidation of the democratic process in Mozambique.

In an encouraging development for gender equality, the ruling Frelimo party has increased its quota for women candidates at all levels from 30% to 40% of the total.

Prospects for greater democratisation – both within the three parties surveyed and in the country as a whole – remain unclear but largely unpromising. To touch on a single point, Frelimo continues to control the state apparatus both politically and economically.

The country's existing political system puts considerable emphasis on strong and effective government in order to achieve both stable government and external investment. Although this system is thought to have the potential for opening the space for democratic accountability, it could also lead to the further fragmentation of Mozambican society.

On balance, therefore, the authors believe that the prospects for democratic consolidation in Mozambique remain 'fragile and problematical'.



## INTRODUCTION

This case study is part of a general research programme on political parties in Southern Africa launched as a joint initiative by EISA and IDEA. It is a study which has very few precedents in Mozambique, although Iraê Baptista carried out somewhat similar research following the first general election in October 1994.<sup>1</sup> Compared with Baptista's research, however, the current study is more comprehensive in that it deals with the external legal and political environment affecting the parties, as well as their internal structure and functioning.

The present study has highlighted a number of critical shortcomings in the institutionalisation of parties in Mozambique. It is thus an important contribution to the debate on the role of parties in the consolidation of the democratic process in Mozambique. It is our expectation that parties discussed in this study will have the chance to compare their characteristics with those of other parties and possibly discover the issues that each party is neglecting in its own operation and functioning. In general, *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Frelimo) seems to have a clear policy on gender compared to other political parties in the country. And, in its turn, *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Renamo) seems particularly skilful at engineering electoral coalitions. As this research shows, it is also the case that the existing legal basis governing political parties in Mozambique seems limited, dispersed and not systematised.

The research uncovered the fact that the inauguration of multiparty democracy in Mozambique was the prime condition for the ending of hostilities between Frelimo and Renamo and for the establishment of a pluralist political order. However, multiparty democracy did not guarantee national political cohesion. One of the major problems is perhaps the sort of democracy being implemented in the country, which is basically 'adversarial' and close to the model of 'competitive elitism'. As the previous reflections here indicate that, given the history of political violence which prevailed in the country until 1992 when the Rome agreement was reached between Frelimo and Renamo, it would be interesting to investigate the circumstances that would lead to a system change. This is because the existing system places

a heavy stress on strong and effective government both to guarantee stable politics and for external investment. Additionally, the system is said to have the potential for creating democratic accountability. Nevertheless, this system might well lead to a further fragmentation of Mozambican society, thus endangering the fragile nature of the unity prevailing among different parts and groups in the country – with the examples of Montepuez and Mocimboa da Praia proving the point.

In a nutshell, however, and since a successful democratisation process has to do with electoral competition between or among institutionalised political parties, it can be argued that this process has indeed been set in motion in Mozambique – although still with mixed signals, as the preceding description shows. ‘Mixed signals’ because there is evidence of growing distrust between Frelimo and Renamo, and also because of Renamo’s preference for power-sharing mechanisms outside the framework of electoral politics. This preference of Renamo’s probably arises from its reading of its realistic prospects for gaining political power through the electoral process. Indeed, Renamo increasingly regards these prospects as poor, given Frelimo’s control of the state apparatus both politically and economically. On the other hand, Renamo’s performance in the municipalities, where it won some local councils in 2003, might reverse this trend.

The prospects for democratic consolidation in the country remain fragile and problematical. This is particularly so due to the prevailing essentially two-party system, with the requirement for a 5% parliamentary threshold virtually sidelining all other political forces.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research was undertaken in a twofold framework:

- Comprehensive desk research was systematically pursued with a view to collecting the rather dispersed and often non-systematised legal documents governing political parties in the country. This desk research also encompassed the collection of secondary literature dealing with the socio-economics and politics of contemporary Mozambique.

- We then conducted a series of interviews with party officials from the ruling party Frelimo, the main opposition party Renamo, and the tiny Independent (alias Islamic) Party (Pimo). (*See the list of key informants.*) Interviewing these party officials was a tremendous task given the fact that during the second half of the year (June-December 2004) all these parties were involved in campaigning for the country's third general election, which was held on 1 and 2 December 2004. No one was eager to offer information; some potential respondents thought of us as 'spies' from other parties trying to extract information about their political strategies in order to present those parties with an unfair advantage.

It was interesting to note that officials from Pimo were more easily approachable than those from Frelimo and Renamo, whose officials were not eager to offer information. In fact, Pimo officials seemed to view this exercise as an opportunity to gain a certain boost in terms of publicity. Many Frelimo and Renamo officials seemed less knowledgeable about certain key elements of their respective parties – and indeed all of these persons declined to offer interviews – than their positions in their parties would have suggested. This is indeed an area which future research should illuminate. We are therefore very indebted to the few members of Frelimo and Renamo who provided vital information for this research.

Despite these reservations, we believe that our research was sufficiently comprehensive for it to make a valuable contribution to the debate on the role of parties in the consolidation of the democratic process in Mozambique. Fortunately, those party officials who allowed themselves to be interviewed provided information that was critical for our research.

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ANALYSIS

After the restoration of peace in the country in 1992, Mozambique has experienced one of the highest average annual growth rates in the sub-Saharan African region. However, given the exceptionally poor state of the economy at the start of this period, this should come as no surprise. Agricultural output, which benefited from increased security and a return to the farms, drove the country's annual growth rate to an average of 8% from 1993 to 1997, while privatised manufacturing has also made an increasing contribution. The gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate was around 1.3% in 1995, but it rose to 6.6% 1996 and 14.1% 1997 – although, as will be seen below, it has recently fallen to half this high level.

A substantial contribution to the country's sound economic performance also resulted from the growing interest in Mozambique of foreign investors, who have been largely responsible for four billion-dollar (United States – US) projects, namely the:

- US\$1.3 billion Mozal aluminium smelter, financed by Gencor / Billiton, the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) of South Africa, Mitsubishi of Japan, and the Mozambique government;
- US\$1.6 billion Maputo Iron and Steel Project;
- US\$1.4 billion Maputo Development Corridor Project; and
- more recent Sasol projects which together are also in the billion-dollar range.

The problems with this pattern of economic growth are twofold:

- While responsible for the country's positive macro-economic upturn, this massive influx of foreign capital barely impacts the rural agricultural sector that must support the basic livelihood for more than 65% of the total population.
- The amount of employment generated by these mega projects is still well below the country's requirements, and does not even absorb the surplus labour of the urban areas.

It is, however, interesting to observe that although the implementation of the structural adjustment programme has yet to bring substantial benefits to the human development of Mozambicans, there is a strong perception that these structural adjustment policies have been successful. Multilateral financial institutions – and the donor community at large – have praised Mozambique for being able to maintain both political stability and, at the same time, a vigorous economy.

Lately, however, the country's growth rate has fallen – with recent figures including 7.4% in 2002 and 7.1% in 2003 – mainly, according to the Bank of Mozambique, due to the international economic and financial environment in the wake of the Iraq war and, closer to home, the continuing crisis in neighbouring Zimbabwe.

In 2002, Mozambique's per capita gross national product (GNP) was estimated at US\$210. In the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP's) *Human Development Report* of the same year, Mozambique's Human Development Index (HDI) was recorded as 0.354.

The same report estimates that the urban-rural split of Mozambique's current population of some 18.5 million is 35-65 – which represents a much higher urbanisation than the 8.7% registered in 1975 – the year Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal. In 2000, the city of Maputo – the country's capital and largest city – had a population of 1,018,938, or 5.9% of the total population in that year. Today, only five years later, this city has an estimated population of some two million, or about 11% of Mozambique's total population. The city of Maputo is followed in terms of size and importance by the port cities of Beira, in Sofala province in Central Mozambique, and Nacala, in the northern province of Nampula.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION

The head of state and government is President Armando Emílio Guebuza and the prime minister is Ms Luisa Diogo, who also served in the last term of the former president, Joaquim Chissano. Diogo is the first woman in Mozambique to have occupied such a high position.

President Chissano became president in 1986, during the one-party regime after the death of the first Mozambique president, Samora Machel. In the succeeding multiparty period, Chissano was re-elected president in October 1994 and in December 1999. According to the November 1990 constitution – which was replaced in January 2005 by the country's third constitution – President Chissano could have ran in the 2004 general election. However, he stepped down voluntarily and was replaced by the current Frelimo president and general secretary, Armando Guebuza. This peaceful transition of power both within the Frelimo ranks and in the top position of the state is generally regarded in the country – by political commentators and Frelimo officials – as a sign of political maturity and of the country's acceptance of democratic norms and values.

All seats in parliament are filled by elected members of parliament (MPs), who serve for a period of five years. MPs cannot be removed during their parliamentary term of office, even if they abandon their parties. The electoral system is based on proportional representation (PR) with closed party lists and the country's 11 provinces as constituencies. Parties need a minimum of 5% of the votes in a constituency to gain representation in parliament. In the Mozambique presidential regime there is a separation of powers between the executive (which is the presidency), the legislature (which is parliament), and the judiciary. This contrasts with the way the country was ruled during the one-party regime that prevailed from 1975 to 1990, and also represents a break from the earlier colonial rule by the fascist Portuguese governments of António Salazar and Marcelo Caetano.

The key landmarks of Mozambique's democratisation process began in November 1990 with the adoption of a new multiparty constitution, and continued in October 1992 with the signing of the Rome peace agreement

that ended 16 years of war between the Frelimo government and Renamo guerrillas. These steps were followed by the first multiparty general election in October 1994 and the first local (municipal) election in June 1998.

Despite these positive democratisation trends, there is still a certain degree of human rights abuse documented in a series of authoritative chapters included in the UNDP 2000 report titled *Democratic Governance in Mozambique*. Some of these human rights abuses are also referred to in reports of the US State Department and two Mozambican human rights associations – the Association for Human Rights and Development (DHD) and the Mozambican Human Rights League (LDH).

Frelimo has been the party in power since independence in 1975, and it has also achieved majorities in the subsequent multiparty general elections, beginning in 1994. Frelimo's candidate was elected president of the country in the 1994, 1999 and 2004 general elections. Renamo, after having waged war against the existing government for 16 years, became after the 1992 Rome peace agreement the second most important political player in the country, forming the main opposition in the subsequent parliaments. Other important non-party political players are the Catholic Church, the Christian Council of Mozambique – which represents the main Protestant churches in the country – and the Muslim community.

#### **WHAT DEMOCRACY?**

When the Rome peace treaty was signed in 1992 between the Frelimo government and the then guerrilla movement Renamo – after 16 years of war, during which there was bloodshed and destruction on a massive scale – few political analysts would have predicted that within a decade no bullets would be fired in the country. This is in large measure because Frelimo and Renamo are not ordinary political parties. They are political parties bred by the country's armed struggle. Although they were always adversaries, and despite the historical antagonism between them and the mutual distrust prevailing in their forced cohabitation, they have so far contested relatively peaceful general elections, despite Renamo's early challenge to the 1999 results.

Nevertheless, there were both political and economic signs of fragility from the time of the inauguration of the first multiparty parliament. It became

clear that Frelimo was determined to play the same sort of politics as it had when it was the party in control of both the state and the government. And Renamo, for its part, reverted to the position of radical distrust.<sup>2</sup> It then became a question of how long this sort of concealed violent politics would last.

Most Mozambicans would say that they would prefer a sort of 'participatory' democracy, and they would probably also reject the idea of an 'adversarial' party system in favour of a 'consensus'-oriented model. The history of political violence in the country and the desire to see the new political order as an engine of development would probably be behind these preferences.

This is not, however, the kind of democracy that exists at present in Mozambique. A quick glance at the prevailing models of democracy<sup>3</sup> suggests that the key features of the political system in Mozambique resemble the 'competitive elitist' model – although minus the existence of a well-trained and independent bureaucracy. The two key conditions that allow the smooth functioning of this model – the emergence of skilled experts and managers, and a fragmented pattern of social and political conflict – are not met in Mozambique.

On the other hand, such conditions as would allow for the introduction of 'protective' or 'participatory' models of democracy – that is, 'the development of a politically autonomous civil society' and 'an open information system to ensure informed decisions' – are also at present definitely absent in Mozambique.

These assertions mean that the political system in Mozambique lacks the basic conditions to establish any of the models of democracy as understood by David Held – even though, in its key features, the Mozambican 'model in action' resembles the 'competitive elitism' model. This is so despite the fact that most Mozambicans, if asked, would express their preference for the principles behind the 'protective' or the 'participatory' models. The greatest problem with the political system in Mozambique is, however, the sort of party system in place.<sup>4</sup> Clearly the 'majoritarian' model applies in Mozambique even though the basic condition for the smooth functioning of this type of system – that is, that the people and the politicians must be 'fundamentally at one' – is missing.

It is perhaps because there are important political and historical divisions between the major political parties in the country that most people, if asked, would probably identify themselves closely with the virtues of a 'consensus' model of democracy. The fact is, however, that the kind of democracy in action in the country is effectively 'majoritarian' ('adversarial' in nature in a winner-takes-all concept) and anchored in the logic of 'competitive elitism'. Interestingly, very few – if any – political commentators or politicians in the country would openly defend the virtues of this system, even though it is the one they all live with.

### **WHAT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES?**

When Frelimo was constituted in June 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, as a result of the unification of three nationalist movements (Manu, Udenamo and Unami) created by Mozambican emigrants in neighbouring countries, an internal conflict arose in its leadership. This conflict was between the former leadership of the nationalist movements on the one hand, and the new leadership of Frelimo on the other. The differences lay in the fact that those who had formed nationalist movements in exile had been able to develop political actions inside the colonial system without the use of violent means, while the majority of the new Frelimo leaders had been exposed to a fascist and police system that allowed no room for political expression.

Owing to the constant refusal of the Salazar regime to enter into political dialogue with Frelimo, and particularly after the Portuguese troops had massacred Mozambican nationalists at a peaceful rally in Mueda, war was seen as the only means to achieve political independence. This led first of all to the withdrawal from Frelimo of the leadership of the former nationalist movements and later, towards the end of the 1960s, to the radicalisation of the Frelimo leadership.

At the time, the leadership of Frelimo established a political agenda which started from the liberation struggle and comprised two main phases: the national democratic revolution and the popular democratic revolution. The first phase was to end with the 'abolition of colonial rule, the destruction of the feudal and fascist systems, and the extension of democratic freedom to the whole country'. The second phase was to be characterised by the 'establishment of the material and ideological basis of a socialist system'.

This political agenda – largely influenced by the Marxist-Leninist factions within the leadership of Frelimo – meant that, in practical terms, all those who did not share the political ideas and values associated with a socialist state could not be accommodated in the movement. Soon afterwards, a number of members abandoned the movement, while others were sent to ‘re-education camps’. The path then was open for Frelimo to establish itself as a unified political group that could accept no opposition to its political agenda. It therefore came as no surprise that, shortly after independence, Frelimo indeed established a one-party socialist state. The violent opposition to Frelimo that has since characterised the political situation – most of it from its own dissidents – can also be understood within the same context.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, when it came to power and the state of Mozambique was constituted, Frelimo found it virtually impossible to free the country from the economic domination of South Africa. This was despite the political freedom it had won from Portuguese colonial domination after ten years of guerrilla war. The country’s colonial economy was based mainly on the provision of transit harbour and rail services and large quantities of mine labour to South Africa, as well as on an agreement on gold signed by Portugal and South Africa in 1928.

Two possibilities for South Africa at the time were to continue a similar relationship with the new Mozambique or to use its powerful position to obstruct the new country’s economic independence. For its part, Mozambique had to choose between compliance with South Africa’s political and economic interests and the consequences of an overt confrontation with the apartheid regime. Given the obvious conflict between apartheid South Africa’s then minority rule and its regional power agenda, on one hand, and the revolutionary programme of Frelimo on the other, South Africa opted for the course of destabilisation and confrontation.<sup>6</sup>

The MNR (Mozambican National Resistance) – later to become Renamo after its Portuguese initials – became the instrument for South African sabotage against Mozambique shortly after inheriting the movement from the then Rhodesia.<sup>7</sup> However, the dynamics of the MNR cannot be understood exclusively in the context of its complicity with the terror agenda of the apartheid regime. MNR was a peculiar mixture, including the consequences

of the violent process of decolonisation, Frelimo dissidents, a forum for political ideas and values other than those expressed in the state's socialist doctrines and, equally, a platform for all sorts of anti-government views.

The political history of Mozambique has still to decide whether the MNR was primarily a terrorist movement at the service of the Rhodesian and then South African aggressors, or an expression of political mobilisation against the state, or both. It should be noted that this was a state that after independence had failed to deliver the goods expected of it. The thesis that, particularly in the 1980s, the MNR had support from sectors of a rural population dissatisfied with the state also needs to be considered.<sup>8</sup>

The fact is that the enormous cost of the war, the failure of Moscow to back Frelimo's revolutionary programme, and the inadequacy of the socialist experiment all contributed to a crisis of political legitimacy for the Mozambican state. This situation prevailed until 1992, when political negotiations were held between the Frelimo government and Renamo that ended with the signing of the Rome general peace agreement in October of that year.

In the next two years, Mozambique would experience both armies demobilising under the supervision of the United Nations (UN) in a highly scrutinised transition in a country in which weapons could be found in almost every home. This was a reminder of the policy of 'communal defence' against 'the enemy' – where 'the enemy' could refer to the apartheid commandos or to anyone whose political outlook was different from Frelimo's own ideology.

Mozambique was nevertheless reborn when the Cold War ended, the apartheid regime in South Africa was abolished, and when the first general multiparty election was held in October 1994. This was because various external factors – most notably the Cold War and apartheid South Africa's aggression – that had in the past contributed to the destabilisation of the Mozambican state, were no longer present.

#### **WHAT DEMOCRATISATION?**

In a purely formal sense, and since a successful democratisation has to do with electoral competition between or among institutionalised political

parties, it can be argued that this process has indeed been set in motion in Mozambique. There are, however, still ‘mixed signals’ that include:

- evidence of growing distrust between Frelimo and Renamo; and
- Renamo’s preference for power-sharing mechanisms outside the framework of electoral politics.

It is, however, precisely this circumstance that obliges analysts to revisit Mazula’s early thesis on the nature of the democratisation process in Mozambique. Indeed, Mazula argued immediately after the holding of the first multiparty general election that the will necessary for a political compromise would require the protagonists to evolve from being extremely and radically mistrustful of each other, to a state of basic trust.<sup>9</sup>

A decade after the 1992 Rome peace agreement, Mazula maintained that the prevalence of peace in the country was explained in very different terms by Frelimo and Renamo, the ex-belligerents. Thus while Frelimo believes that it is the spirit of tolerance that leads to the acceptance of the other, Renamo explains that peace has been due to the practice of not responding to the provocation of the ruling party.<sup>10</sup> This means that what should have characterised the post-electoral period, after 1994 – namely ‘the construction of the Mozambican democracy towards the full establishment of the rule of law’<sup>11</sup> – has yet to be realised.

Bernhard Weimer also argues in this regard that the scenario of real democratic settlement and democratic culture has been neglected, thus allowing the space for the scenario of ‘co-optation’. This, according to Weimer, is characterised by centralisation and a concentration of power.<sup>12</sup>

It seems therefore that although the advent of multiparty democracy in Mozambique was the prime condition for the ending of hostilities between Frelimo and Renamo, as well as for the inauguration of a pluralist political order, it did not guarantee national unity. Perhaps one of the major problems relates to the sort of democracy being implemented in the country, which is basically ‘adversarial’ and close to the model of ‘competitive elitism’.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, given the history of political violence that prevailed in the country until 1992, when the Rome agreement was reached between Frelimo

and Renamo, it would be interesting to investigate the circumstances that would lead to a system change.

Owing to its emphasis on strong and effective government, the existing system seems to have guaranteed both stable politics and external investment – while it can still, potentially, allow space for democratic accountability. But this system could also lead to a further fragmentation of Mozambican society, thus endangering the fragile nature of the unity prevailing among different sections in the country.

## CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

There are currently 42 registered political parties in Mozambique. The first to be registered – on 19 August 1991 – was Frelimo, which had ruled the country for 28 years. Renamo, the former rebel movement, was registered on 22 August 1994, the year of the first multiparty general election, when 16 other parties were also registered. In the 1994 election, two electoral coalitions were formed:

- the Patriotic Alliance (AP), comprising two parties – Mozambican Nationalist Movement (Monamo) and the Patriotic Action Front (FAP); and
- the *União Democrática* – Democratic Union (UD) coalition, comprising three parties advocating a federalist system of government – Liberal and Democratic Party of Mozambique (Palmo), National Democratic Party (Panade) and National Party of Mozambique (Panamo).

While Monamo was formed around veteran politician and lawyer Dr Maximo Dias, FAP was a youth party created by former graduates of the Eduardo Mondlane University.

Parties in the UD coalition shared the fact that their leaderships were drawn from former Frelimo leaders who reportedly left Frelimo because they were not promoted in the party's hierarchy.

Only one political party, the Progressive Liberal Party of Mozambique (PPLM), failed to participate in the 1994 election. This was due to irregularities in its official documentation.

The 1994 general election was contested by 12 parties and two coalitions, while the presidential election was contested by 12 candidates, including the leaders of the main political parties, Joaquim Chissano of Frelimo and Afonso Dhlakama of Renamo.

Before the general election of 1999 eight more parties were formed. In relation to the country's record of freedom of association for the formation of political parties, three provisions have been critical:

One was the 1990 constitution, whose Article 77 states that:

- all citizens shall have the freedom to form and participate in political parties; and
- party membership shall be voluntary, and shall derive from the freedom of citizens to associate on the basis of holding the same political ideas.

The second was Law 7 of 23 January 1991, which established the freedom to create political parties. Finally, Protocol II of the Rome general peace agreement of 4 October 1992 established 'criteria and modalities for the formation and recognition of political parties'.

The country's score on the Freedom House index is 3 for political rights and 4 for civil liberties (3,4), and this score has been the same for the past five years.

The local (municipal) elections of June 1998 and November 2003 reflected shortcomings in political rights, while the incidents in Montepuez in 2000 and Mocimboa da Praia in 2005 pointed perhaps to a different score for civil liberties. In the first of these incidents, some 100 detainees died in a police prison cell in the northern province of Cabo-Delgado. In the second, violent confrontations arose between the supporters of both parties after the election, and left behind a trail of death, bloodshed and destruction of some social fabric. The incidents show that the focus of violence between the parties has not yet been completely erased.

Frelimo's manifesto refers to four international documents relating to human rights:

- the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- the UN Charter;
- the Organisation of African Unity-African Union (OAU-AU) Charter; and

- the principles of the countries making up the Non-Aligned Movement.

In the 1999 general election, the small party which did best was the Workers' Party (*Partido Trabalhista*), which won 2.69% of the votes nationally. Next was Palmo, with 2.47% of the national vote, followed by the Social Liberal and Democratic Party (SOL) with 2.02%. In terms of current public opinion, however, the most influential of the small parties, and the one which might make a possible electoral impact, is the Party for Peace, Democracy and Development (PDD) founded in August 2003 by Raul Domingos – a former deputy leader of Renamo (although this position was not formalised by the party) – plus Pimo.

Parties and candidates have, according to the existing laws (see below), equal access to public media during election times, and it is the obligation of the public media sector to insert material in their publications from all political parties, coalitions and candidates contesting any given election. There are complaints of how in practice the public media fulfils this obligation, and these are sometimes not totally unfounded. Private media are not required by law to provide equitable access to parties. Paid media coverage for parties is only permitted for private media and not for the public sector – and specifically during election times.

#### **DEVELOPMENT OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM**

This section provides an outline of the development of Mozambique's party system after three general elections and two local elections between October 1994 and December 2004. It is clear that the country oscillates between a dominant-party system<sup>14</sup> and a distinct bipartisan system.<sup>15</sup>

Heywood describes the dominant party model as a system where '... a number of parties compete for power in regular and popular elections, but is dominated by a single major party that consequently enjoys prolonged periods in power'.<sup>16</sup> And Jupp characterises the distinct bipartisan paradigm as a system where the two major parties '... have a clear, pyramidal structure and discipline, have continuing programmatic differences in the eyes of their members ... and typically have substantial differences between the social composition of their elites'.<sup>17</sup>

As indicated above, Frelimo has been the party in power both before and after the introduction of multiparty politics in November 1990. Nevertheless, Renamo has gained a substantial share of seats in all general elections and its candidate for the presidency significantly closed the gap with the incumbent Frelimo leader before the third general election in 2004.

#### **THE 1994 ELECTION AND ITS AFTERMATH**

In the PR system based on closed party lists with the constituencies comprising the 11 provinces of the country, Frelimo and Renamo together won 82% of the valid votes in the 1994 election – 44% for Frelimo and 38% for Renamo. The UD coalition was the only other competitor to exceed the threshold of 5% of the total vote and thus gain representation in the first multiparty parliament.

Since the other competing parties failed to reach the threshold of 5%, their share of the votes was later distributed among the winning parties, thus giving 51% to Frelimo, 44% to Renamo, and 5% to the UD. Consequently, in terms of the share of MPs, Frelimo was allocated 129 seats, Renamo 112 and the UD 9, in a parliament of 250.

Following the 1994 general elections there was an important development in relation to the country's political parties. Early in 1995, the parties without parliamentary seats formed a broad coalition, which they called the Extra-Parliamentary Forum. This was to be a loose coalition whose leadership was to rotate every six months between the contracting parties. Padimbe Khamati, president of the PPPM and first leader of the forum, declared publicly that the move was designed to correct the parties' inability to reach agreement before the 1994 election. This was indeed widely known since a UN trust fund available to all contesting political parties in 1994 (about US\$50,000 for each political party and individual presidential contestant) effectively dissuaded parties from forming alliances.

One of the forum's objectives was to provide a space for consultation and debate on major issues confronting the country outside the two main parliamentary parties – the former wartime adversaries, Frelimo and Renamo. Another objective was to provide a backbone for a viable future alternative to the two war-originated parties.

Struggles over the use of funds provided by donors (notably the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation), as well as criticism of the leadership on the grounds of mismanagement and lack of seriousness, prevented the forum from going ahead.

Of even more importance was the culture of 'electoralism' prevailing among the political parties. This is manifested, in particular, by the fact that the parties tend to appear on the political scene when elections are in sight, while they simply hibernate during the intervals between one election and the next.

### **RENAMO'S BOYCOTT OF THE 1998 LOCAL ELECTIONS**

In the first half of 1998 Renamo was able to achieve a remarkable strategic alliance with 15 other political parties in the run-up to the first municipal or local elections in 1998. It is interesting to note that in the 1994 parliamentary election, Renamo tried unsuccessfully to assemble around itself the then so-called emerging parties. This time, however, it was successful, even though, in this case, the coalition was campaigning against the elections on the basis of allegations of irregularities in the electoral process and of the alleged partisanship of the institutions tasked with administering and supervising the elections.

The success of the boycott was indicated by the fact that while Frelimo won all 33 of the self-governing municipalities, the election turnout was a devastating 15%. As a result, Frelimo lists won all the municipal assemblies, with 100% of the total valid votes in the 27 municipalities where they had no opposition. In those places where there were contesting lists of mainly independent groups of citizens, the results of these groups were relatively significant. In the city of Beira the *Grupo Reflexão e Mudança* obtained almost 40% of the votes, while in the city of Maputo the *Juntos pela Cidade* (JPC) achieved almost 26%. In Manhiça and Nacala-Porto, the Naturma and Ocina parties polled, respectively, more than 39% and more than 25% of the votes. The significance of these results was strengthened by the fact that all these groupings were assembled only a few weeks before the elections, with very little organisational or financial resources.

Shortly after the 1998 local elections, the first strategic Renamo-led alliance was broken down and replaced by the newly formed Mozambican Union

(Umo). Umo comprised eight political parties led by one of the most popular and charismatic opposition leaders in the country, Wehia Ripua, who was president of Pademo and a war veteran who had come third after Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama in the 1994 presidential election.

After the appearance of Umo, another electoral coalition named the Alliance for Democracy (APD) was publicly announced. Three political parties constituted the APD, namely the National Movement of Mozambique (Monamo), the National Convention Party (PCN) and the United Front of Mozambique (Fumo). These political parties, although they had little support on the ground, had in common the fact that they were led by respected personalities in the country, particularly Dr Domingos Arouca of Fumo and Dr Máximo Dias of Monamo, who were among the top lawyers in Mozambique. A young engineer, Lutero Simango, who was president of the PCN, was the son of the late Uria Simango, who had been the vice-president to Eduardo Mondlane when Frelimo was first constituted in Tanzania in June 1962. Currently, the PCN has been merged with Renamo and both Lutero and his younger brother Deviz Simango – the mayor of the city of Beira – are among the key young leaders of this party.

#### **RUN-UP TO THE SECOND GENERAL MULTIPARTY ELECTION IN 1999**

By June 1999, the political arena in Mozambique presented the following picture:

- There were two major political parties: Frelimo in government and Renamo as the main opposition.
- There was the UD coalition, which by then was reduced to two parties following the defection of Palmo.
- There were the two other electoral coalitions: Umo and the APD.
- There were, finally, a number of small political parties that had not joined any of these coalitions, notably the Labour Party (PT), the PPLM and Pimo.

To the public it appeared, then, that these would be the principal contenders in the 1999 general election. However, and somewhat surprisingly, in July 1999 Renamo succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with 10 extra-parliamentary parties. The significance of this move was Renamo's ability

to co-opt political parties from other already established electoral coalitions. These included the three parties of the APD, namely Monamo, Fumo and the PCN, and five of the members of the Umo coalition that had been seen as a strong contestant of this election in its own right. All these 10 political parties agreed to support Afonso Dhlakama as their own presidential candidate and to use the symbols and the flag of Renamo in their campaigning.

In exchange, Renamo agreed to include some of the leaders of these parties in its lists for the parliamentary election. What seems to be clear is that the move was mainly a marketing exercise for Renamo, and one that was addressed particularly by the international community. Obviously, the alliance was also aimed at avoiding a division of votes in the presidential election by voters not in favour of Frelimo. On the other hand, the move reflected the fact that Mozambique's parties other than Frelimo and Renamo had not yet succeeded in building an organisational structure that covered a significant proportion of the country. Instead, these parties remained largely based on their leadership and in the environs of the city of Maputo.

In the 1999 election, the combined share of Frelimo and Renamo grew to 88%, with Frelimo gaining 49% of the valid vote and Renamo 39%. As no other party or coalition reached the threshold of 5%, the MPs represented only these two parties – i.e. 133 from Frelimo and 117 from Renamo. The Renamo MPs include some 20 who were leaders of the 10 small parties which had joined the Renamo-led electoral coalition.

The 1999 election was also significant for the respective positioning of the presidential candidates, both between them and between their respective parties. Indeed, it was possible to argue that by 1999 Afonso Dhlakama's electoral appeal had grown significantly against a recognisably formidable opponent. Furthermore, although Joaquim Chissano won more votes than his party in the first two general elections, and although Afonso Dhlakama only managed to achieve the same in the 1999 election, the Renamo leader's result was far more significant.

Indeed, in the 1999 election Dhlakama received more than half-a-million more votes than his electoral coalition – which was considerably more than the 300,000 more votes that Joaquim Chissano had won compared with his party.

In the first week of February 2004, Dhlakama declared in the local media that Armando Guebuza, then Frelimo's general secretary and its presidential candidate for the 2004 election, needed another 15 years to reach political maturity. This somewhat pretentious statement can be taken as merely an indication that pre-election campaigning had already begun. Perhaps, Dhlakama was merely displaying one of Renamo's political tactics; namely that of crystallising the idea of an early victory in order, if the result were adverse, to declare the election results fraudulent. But, it might also have been the result of Dhlakama's genuine assessment of his electoral fortunes as being brighter now that Joaquim Chissano was not contesting the election.

### **CRYSTALLISATION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AFTER THE 2003**

#### **LOCAL ELECTIONS**

In the run-up to the second local or municipal elections held in November 2003, Renamo had first decided to break the electoral alliance with the smaller parties. This decision could be attributed to internal pressures from some sectors of Renamo, which were dissatisfied with the presence of MPs not belonging to the party. The real contribution of some of these MPs to the electoral battle had perhaps been questionable.

In response, the minor parties formed an electoral coalition of their own, excluding Renamo, and agreed to present single lists of candidates in all municipalities. Renamo was then forced to reconsider its position given the obvious electoral damage that this coalition represented, particularly because these parties tend to be favoured by a pool of electors closer to Renamo, or at least dissatisfied with the government of Frelimo. All but Unamo then agreed to bring *Renamo-União Eleitoral* (Renamo-UE) back to life.

In this second municipal election, Frelimo was able to retain control of 28 municipalities, with the most significant result being its victory in municipalities such as Milange and Mocuba (in Zambézia province), where Renamo had won in the previous 1994 and 1999 general elections. Renamo won four municipalities including the cities of Beira and Nacala-Porto. Deviz Simango, younger brother to Lutero Simango, also won the position of mayor in the city of Beira. Frelimo and Renamo shared the vote in Marromeu, where the elected mayor came from Renamo and Frelimo had the majority in the municipal assembly.

The significance of these results was twofold: firstly, because this was the first time in Mozambique's history that an elected body was not occupied by Frelimo; and, secondly, because the results increased Renamo's participation in the country's institutions, adding municipal councils to its representation in parliament, the army and the electoral bodies. Apart from increasing Renamo's sphere of patronage, the control of municipalities gave this party valuable experience of government in the conditions and context of Mozambique.

Renamo's participation in the municipal elections deprived small parties (such as the PT and Unamo) and independent groups of citizens (notably JPC and the Nacala Citizens' Group – Ocina) of votes they had previously expected. Even Ipade, a civic organisation set up by Raul Domingos, a former leader of Renamo's parliamentary opposition and Renamo's leading negotiator of the Rome peace process, could not match the expectation created with its participation in these elections.

#### **IS FRELIMO BECOMING AN INCREASINGLY DOMINANT PARTY?**

There were five particularly relevant consequences of the country's third general election of December 2004. These were:

- Former president Joaquim Chissano did not run for the presidency. This resulted in the first peaceful transfer of power within the ruling party. The move was described by commentators within and outside the country as a sign of democratic maturity.
- A key development in the ranks of Renamo was the unexpected increase in the number of youth leaders with no military background. They were drawn mainly from the academic world. These young leaders were given prominence in Renamo's electoral list and were seen alongside Afonso Dhlakama at many of the party's more important functions.
- There was a considerable increase in the numbers of Mozambicans who did not vote. Indeed, the abstention level was an enormous 64%, far higher than the 13% in 1994 or the 30% in 1999. This abstention level reflected the legitimacy of the existing political

institutions as well as the poor performance of the country's political parties and the electoral administrative bodies. It might also have been an indication of the dissatisfaction of the electorate towards the status quo or of the fact that people were more concerned with their everyday survival than with an electoral competition.

- There was, at the same time, a considerable increase in Frelimo's representation in parliament, from 133 MPs in 1999 to 160 in 2004 – with the Renamo opposition losing 27 seats, from 117 in 1999 to only 90 five years later. Some commentators suggested that this trend is an indication either that Renamo is becoming increasingly fragile or that Frelimo is slowly becoming the dominant party in the country. A more cautious reading might suggest that the results were more a consequence of the degree of abstention that occurred and less a reduction in the electorate's support for Renamo. Frelimo may have been more successful in getting its captive electorate to vote, thus creating the impression that Renamo's electoral base was in decline. A plausible explanation for this is given by the fact that Armando Guebuza, the current president of the country and the general secretary of Frelimo, was, as the former political commissioner of the party, well versed in both propaganda and electoral mobilisation. His rise to the top of his party in succession to Joaquim Chissano may indeed have given the party an added mobilisation edge.
- Although Raul Domingos's newly created PDD – whose immediate paternity was the Ipade civic organisation – had for a while created the expectation that it would seriously challenge Frelimo's and Renamo's predominance on the electoral front, it failed to secure even the 5% threshold that would have given it a representation in parliament – thus again leaving Mozambican politics as a two-party contest.

Indeed, although Frelimo's increasing share of the electoral vote tended to present a picture of an increasingly dominant party, it would be more correct to say that the prevailing system continued its two-party character. It is also

true that changes in party loyalties tend to be rare, with both Frelimo and Renamo substantially maintaining the allegiance of their voters. As a result, the share of votes – if not deliberately manufactured by the unprofessional manoeuvres of the electoral administrative bodies – seems to be closely associated with the changing abstention levels in various elections. The bipolarity of the country's politics has been strengthened, with the two parties' share of the valid vote growing from 82% in 1994, to 88% in 1999 and to 92% in 2004.

#### **WHICH ARE THE MINOR PARTIES?**

Viewed independently of their occasional alliances, the country's small political parties can be grouped into three main categories:

- Parties formed by personalities not directly associated with the liberation struggle and not supporting Frelimo ideology at the time of independence in 1975. These include Monamo and Fumo. Their leaders were both black and coloured, and came from the country's emerging middle class. What these individuals fought for was achieved with the adoption of the 1990 multiparty constitution and the subsequent move towards the establishment of a market-driven economy.
- Parties formed by individuals who deserted Frelimo between the 1960s and the 1980s for various reasons, including their being marginalised or progressing too slowly in the hierarchy. These include the PPPM, SOL, Pademo, Palmo and Panade. These parties initially tended to fight for a more equitable distribution of the national wealth, perhaps through some form of federal dispensation. The PDD and Unamo are so far the only parties whose leadership deserted from Renamo.
- Parties formed by political entrepreneurs in pursuit of individual fortunes or an increase in personal prestige. The Green Party (PVD), the PT, the National Workers' and Peasants' Party (Panaoc) and Pimo fall into this category.

#### **DYNAMICS OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TWO MAIN PARTIES**

The political landscape in Mozambique is undoubtedly dominated by

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Frelimo and Renamo, both of which have military backgrounds. They are the only parties in Mozambique with clear organisational structures and with a coverage of all districts in the country.

While Frelimo was the movement that waged the war of liberation against the Portuguese colonial forces, Renamo fought against the Frelimo government for 16 years, first with the support of the former Rhodesia of Ian Smith, and later with the support of the apartheid regime of South Africa. The main appeal of Frelimo is therefore linked to the ideal of nationalism, while Renamo's appeal is associated more with a rejection of Frelimo's power base. Frelimo regards itself as 'the freedom fighter' and portrays Renamo as 'the agent of the enemy', while Renamo consider itself 'the representative of people's values and interests' and calls Frelimo 'the communist agent'. Since Frelimo has so far successfully appropriated the language and territory of neo-liberalism – and has also restored a degree of authority to the traditional chiefs – Renamo has been left with only a vague ideological base from which to structure its opposition to Frelimo. The struggle, to be sure, is centred on the issue of power, including its social and economic dimensions. To some extent, and judging from their electoral fortunes, the parties appear to represent some sort of urban-rural, or centre-periphery, divide.

While it is relatively easy to explain Frelimo's voting strength in the elections contested so far – the reasons include its historical legitimacy and its control of the state apparatus – an assessment of Renamo's appeal requires a much closer examination. A plausible hypothesis is that Renamo was able to mobilise the sectors of the country's society that were against the prevailing status quo. Those sectors – concentrated mainly in rural areas and among the urban poor – felt excluded from the social and economic benefits of the Frelimo-controlled state. Michel Cahen, a French writer who followed the Renamo campaign closely during the first general election, later described Renamo as a party of the *descamisados* (the underprivileged).

The voting pattern remained stable in the first two general elections, with Frelimo winning in the south, Renamo in the centre-north, and both parties closely disputing the far north. The third general election, however, yielded a few deviations from this pattern.

## EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

### **LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES**

Mozambique's 1990 constitution and its electoral law (as contained in Law 7/2004 of 17 June) govern political parties generally. Their access to public media is governed by the electoral law as well as by the press law (as contained in Law 18/1991 of 10 August). The press law also governs political parties' access to private media.

### **REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS**

Articles 30-34 of the 1990 constitution and article 3 of the Political Parties' Law (Law 7/1991 of 23 January) define the general principles for the internal functioning of political parties. The provisions established in the Rome peace accord and the electoral law provide other political and legal provisions to this framework.

The rules and the code of conduct for the ruling party (or, more precisely, for holders of public office) are established by Law 6/2004 of 17 June – which is also known as the anti-corruption law – and Law 4/1999 of 26 September – which specifies the rights and obligations of cabinet ministers and other senior state officials.

### **REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES**

Political parties are registered by the Ministry of Justice. Their MP candidates may include persons who are not members of their parties. Parties' candidates for the presidency – as well as independent candidates – must be backed by 10,000 signatures nationally in order to be validated by the country's Constitutional Council. Neither the laws governing political parties nor the electoral law restrict parties' electoral activities – except that they must observe the country's constitution.

Presidential candidates are required to be over 35 years of age, to have no criminal record, to be Mozambican citizens by birth and to hold no other citizenship. While the 1990 constitution also required the parents of presidential candidates to be Mozambican citizens by birth, this is not a requirement of the current constitution.

Candidates for MPs and local government bodies need only to be over 18 years of age and to be Mozambican citizens by birth. Judges, magistrates and government finance officers may not stand for election.

### **ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION**

Parties contesting elections have the right to designate an observer and a deputy observer at each polling station to oversee the vote-counting process. Through their representation on electoral management bodies – the Technical Electoral Administration Secretariat and the National Electoral Commission – parties represented in parliament have in addition a direct participation in the electoral management process.

The electoral law specifies a period of 45 days during which parties have access to public areas and public media for their political propaganda. The definition of public areas excludes schools, hospitals, military barracks and religious centres. During this period and until the publication of the final results, all opinion polls relating to candidates and parties are forbidden, while political propaganda has to end 48 hours before elections, when an official period of campaign silence comes into effect.

An important aspect of the country's electoral observation law is that electoral administrative officials must submit the consolidated results from each polling station – immediately after closing the counting – to party delegates, the media and observer missions. The same requirement applies to the consolidations at both provincial and national levels. These rules are intended to ensure the transparency and credibility of the electoral process, which also gives access to the process by national and international observer missions.

### **ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PARTY POLITICAL CONTESTS**

The electoral system is based on PR, with closed party lists and the country's 11 provinces as constituencies. Parties need a minimum of 5% of the votes in a constituency to gain representation in parliament. At present, this results in the domination of parliament by two parties. The country's president is elected by a simple majority in a single national ballot, with a provision for a second ballot if no candidate achieves more than 50% of the vote in the first round.

**PARLIAMENT AND PARTY REPRESENTATION**

Parliament is at present dominated by two parties, Frelimo and Renamo, which, in the first election in 1994 between them gained 82% of the valid vote – 44% for Frelimo and 38% for Renamo. The UD coalition was the only other competitor to exceed the threshold of 5% of the total vote and thus gain representation in the first multiparty parliament. Since the other contesting parties failed to reach the threshold of 5%, their share of the votes was later distributed among the winning parties, thus giving 51% to Frelimo, 44% to Renamo, and 5% to the UD. Consequently, in terms of the share of MPs, Frelimo was allocated 129 seats, Renamo 112 and the UD 9, in a parliament of 250 seats.

In the second general election in 1999, only Frelimo and Renamo exceeded the 5% threshold, with Frelimo gaining 133 seats and Renamo 117.

In the third general election in December 2004, Frelimo increased the number of its seats from 133 to 160, while the number of Renamo MPs declined from 117 to 90 – again with no other party achieving the 5% threshold.

As earlier indicated, Renamo allied itself with 10 small parties for the 1999 and 2004 parliamentary elections in a coalition that has remained virtually unchanged. As a result of this strategy, the Renamo-UE coalition included some 20 MPs who are the leading figures in what, on their own, are tiny political parties.

## INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

### **FOUNDING OF PARTIES**

#### *Frelimo*

Frelimo was founded as a political liberation movement on 25 June 1962 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, as a result of the unification of three former movements – Unamo, Udenamo and Manu. Frelimo became a political party in February 1977, when it adopted a socialist outlook with a Marxist-Leninist ideology. After the introduction of multipartyism in 1990, Frelimo changed to a social-democratic outlook. It was formally registered as a party on 19 August 1991.

#### *Renamo*

Renamo was first constituted in June 1976 as a resistance movement with the support of the Rhodesian forces against the prevailing political ideology in Mozambique. After Zanu-PF came to power in Zimbabwe in 1980, Renamo's backing was provided by the security apparatus of the apartheid regime in South Africa. From 1989 to 1992, Renamo underwent a major internal transformation from a guerrilla movement to a political movement that was able to negotiate with the Frelimo government to bring peace to the country. Following these negotiations, Renamo became a formalised political party and was registered as such on 22 August 1994. Renamo has a centre-right ideology. It has consistently drawn its major support from the rural areas.

#### *Pimo*

This independent (alias Islamic) party was formed in March 1992 and registered in June of the same year. Although it generally presents itself as a centre party without religious connotations, most people accept that the image it has through its president and its Muslim following in the north of the country is that of an Islamic party. In one of Pimo's manifestos, its linkage to the Islamic doctrine was made plain.

### **INTERNAL STRUCTURE AND ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP**

#### *Frelimo*

This party functions through four structures: the congress, the central

committee, the political commission and the general secretariat. The congress is the highest body in the party and it elects the leaders of the other bodies. The political commission, in practice, functions as the central committee when this body is not in operation. The general secretariat is the executive organ of the party and it is led by the general secretary, who is answerable to the central committee, the political commission, the congress and the party's president.

### *Renamo*

This party also functions through four structures: the congress, the national council, the party's presidency and the political commission. The congress is the highest body in the party, followed by the national council, which elects the party's president. The president nominates the members of the political commission, who are confirmed by the national council. The political commission is the executive organ of the party and it is led by the president, who is answerable to the national council and to the congress.

### *Pimo*

This party, too, functions through four structures: the congress, the national council, the political commission and the national executive secretariat. The congress is the highest body in the party and elects the leaders of the other bodies. The national executive secretariat is the executive organ of the party and it is led by the general secretary, who is answerable to the national council, the political commission, the congress and the party's president.

## **POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

### *Frelimo*

The four bodies comprising the internal structure of the party, plus its provincial bodies, develop the party's policies, which are confirmed by the congress. As Frelimo has been the party in power in Mozambique since independence in June 1975, its policy development has been heavily influenced by the country's cabinet.

### *Renamo*

The four bodies comprising the internal structure of the party, plus its provincial bodies, also develop the party's policies, which, similarly are confirmed by the congress. The party's president has a considerable influence in the decision-making and policy-making structures of the party.

*Pimo*

The four bodies comprising the internal structure of the party, plus its provincial bodies, similarly develop the party's policies, which are, again, confirmed by the congress.

**MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT***Frelimo*

This party has more than a million members, and this number increases considerably during electoral periods, when the party launches campaigns to increase its membership. Each territorial unit is tasked with recruiting members on an ongoing basis and with finding ways of retaining members.

*Renamo*

This party is not yet able to indicate the size of its membership. The firm figures it has relate only to its members in parliament and in local councils and its representatives in various official institutions in the country, including the army, the National Electoral Commission and the Constitutional Council. Renamo has been relatively successful recently in recruiting young intellectuals and academics, some of whom have already been promoted to very senior positions in the party. In this area, Renamo seems to have been able to offer better opportunities than Frelimo. Membership recruitment is decentralised to the territorial units spread around the country.

*Pimo*

This party claims to know its membership strength but is unwilling to say more than that the number is significant. As with Frelimo and Renamo, Pimo's territorial units are tasked with recruiting and retaining members on an ongoing basis.

**SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR PRIMARY ELECTIONS***Frelimo*

Primary elections are held first at the provincial branch level, with the process continuing in the central committee and the congress, which decides on the party's candidate for the presidency. This candidate has to meet three requirements: he or she has to be 35 years of age or older, to hold a relevant position within the party and to gain sufficient signatures of members to indicate his or her popularity within the party.

### *Renamo*

In the selection process for candidates for the presidency, the first requirement is that they should be party members. They then need to fulfil the constitutional requirements relating to age, nationality and so on. The body responsible for screening the candidates is the congress, which also chooses the party's final candidate for this position.

### *Pimo*

Primary elections occur in two phases, with the pre-selection undertaken by the national political commission and the final selection conducted by the national council. To be confirmed as the party's presidential candidate, a person must be over the age of 35 years, must be a member of the party and must have reasonable academic qualifications.

## **NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES AND PARTY CAMPAIGNS**

### *Frelimo*

For nomination as candidates for MP and other positions, the requirements remain the same as those for the selection of presidential candidates, except for the age qualification, which is 18 years. The selection begins at the district branches and continues in the provincial committees and the political commission, which may add up to 10% of the names to the provincial lists.

Frelimo had quotas of 20%, 35% and 10% for youth, women and ex-combatants respectively for all its lists, but in 2004 the women's quota was increased to 40%. Inclusion in the various lists is limited to members who have been involved in the party's political campaigns, who have a certain level of formal education and who have held leading positions in the party. Further recommendations include links with local communities, experience of civic movements and recognition within the party. The ability to speak in public is a considerable advantage.

### *Renamo*

Apart from the requirements of the constitution and the electoral law, Renamo candidates for MPs must present themselves to provincial branches of the party and be selected to a provincial list. There is a similar procedure for local elections, with candidates additionally having to present their résumés to the party's political commission.

### *Pimo*

Apart from the lower age requirement, the selection process for other positions is similar to that described for presidential candidates. For MP candidates, however, Pimo allows a certain number of non-party members to be included in its lists, although the final decisions rest with the national political commission and the national council. Other requirements for nomination to Pimo lists include an ability to speak in public, links with local communities and recognition within the party. If a prospective candidate has held an important position within the party, his or her chances of being nominated will be significantly higher.

### **PARTY OUTREACH PROGRAMMES**

#### *All three parties*

Active members selected or nominated for various positions are generally given specific training and orientation. The parties undertake civic and voter education only during electoral periods. Pimo's training programmes are mostly directed towards women.

### **EXTERNAL RELATIONS**

#### *Frelimo*

Frelimo is a member of the Social Democracy network alongside the British Labour Party and European socialist parties. It also has strong links with Southern African parties that arose from former liberation movements, including the ANC in South Africa, Swapo in Namibia, the MPLA in Angola and Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe.

#### *Renamo*

Renamo is affiliated to the International Christian Democratic group of parties, specifically its Africa branch. As a party of the centre-right, it finds itself in the same ideological grouping as the Social Democratic Party of Portugal and the Popular Party of Spain. Renamo enjoys a special relationship with the Republican Institute of the US and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of Germany.

#### *Pimo*

Pimo presents itself as a party that strives to link morality to the development of democratic practices, and as such it has no links or affiliations to any

group of political parties either within or outside the country. However, it enjoys regular contacts with a number of foreign organisations for the purpose of training and financing, particularly the Republican Institute of the US and Awepa.

#### **GENDER EQUALITY**

##### *Frelimo*

In the selection and nomination of candidates for MPs and councillors, 40% of places are reserved for women.

##### *Renamo*

This party does not have an established policy on gender.

##### *Pimo*

This party organises training and orientation programmes for women whom it considers as potential candidates for selection or nomination, in order to boost their chances of being selected or nominated to such positions.

#### **PARTY FUNDING**

##### *Frelimo*

This party's four major sources of funding are fees paid by its members, contributions by companies linked to or run or created by the party, state subsidies allocated according to parties' parliamentary representation, and direct state funding via the National Electoral Commission during electoral periods. Contributions of external parties with whom Frelimo has close links also occur during electoral periods.

##### *Renamo*

This party's funding sources are the same as those of Frelimo's except that Renamo's links to commercial companies within the country are minimal.

##### *Pimo*

This party is also entitled to direct state funding via the National Electoral Commission during electoral periods. Its other funding comes from contributions from businessmen and party sympathisers.

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**DEMOCRACY WITHIN PARTIES*****Frelimo***

As already indicated, Frelimo makes extensive use of elections at all levels of the party. Even though the political commission has the prerogative of nominating an additional 10% of names to those submitted by the provincial branches of the party, the development of the party's internal democracy has been strengthened in the past ten or so years compared with the situation at the time of the first multiparty elections in 1994.

***Renamo***

In 1999 and 2004, Renamo contested the parliamentary elections in alliance with 10 minor parties. By agreement, Renamo gave these parties places in its provincial lists that – based on Renamo's performance in the previous election – would guarantee them representation in parliament. On the same basis, Renamo's president also had the right to allocate up to 30 members to places in its provincial lists that would guarantee their election to parliament.

***Pimo***

The party uses elections during primary elections and in nominating candidates in much the same way as does Frelimo.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During this research, we identified a number of critical shortcomings in the institutionalisation of parties in Mozambique. Some potential Frelimo and Renamo respondents seemed less knowledgeable about certain key elements of their parties than their positions in their parties would suggest, and they were accordingly not prepared to offer recorded interviews. Although the period in which the research was undertaken made it difficult for us to approach some officials from these parties, some also declined to be interviewed because they were not sure that they could speak on behalf of their parties. Future research may be required to fill some of the gaps.

We believe, however, that the present research has been sufficiently comprehensive to make an important contribution to the debate on the role of parties in the consolidation of the democratic process in Mozambique. Fortunately, the party officials who did offer interviews provided important information for our research.

We expect that the parties covered by this study will compare their data with those of other parties and possibly discover issues that various parties are neglecting in their own operation and functioning. Frelimo's gender policy seems clearer than those of the other two parties, while Renamo seems particularly skilful at engineering electoral coalitions.

The existing legal basis governing political parties in Mozambique seems limited, dispersed and not systematised.

It was interesting that officials from the tiny Pimo party were more approachable than officials from Frelimo and Renamo, who were generally not eager to offer information, sometimes regarding us as 'spies' from other parties trying to extract information about their political strategies in order to provide an unfair advantage to those parties.

In terms of substance, the research uncovered the fact that the inauguration of multiparty democracy in Mozambique was the prime condition for the ending of hostilities between Frelimo and Renamo and for the establishment

of a pluralist political order. However, multiparty democracy did not guarantee national political cohesion. One of the reasons may be the sort of democracy being implemented, which is basically adversarial and close to the model of competitive elitism. Given the history of political violence that prevailed until the Rome agreement between Frelimo and Renamo in 1992, it would be interesting to investigate the circumstances that might lead to a system change. The existing system puts considerably emphasis on strong and effective government in order to achieve both stable government and external investment. Although the existing system is thought to have the potential for opening the space for democratic accountability, it could also lead to the further fragmentation of Mozambican society, thus endangering the fragile nature of the unity prevailing among different sections in the country.

Since, however, a successful democratisation process depends largely on electoral competition between or among institutionalised political parties, it can indeed be argued that such a process has been set in motion in Mozambique – even though there are still mixed signals. These ‘mixed signals’ include evidence of a growing distrust between Frelimo and Renamo, and Renamo’s preference for power-sharing mechanisms outside the framework of electoral politics, which probably has a great deal to do with this party’s belief that it has little prospect of gaining power by electoral means. This belief is based on Frelimo’s control of the state apparatus both politically and economically. On the other hand, Renamo’s wins in the most recent municipal election might persuade it to reverse this belief.

On balance, one might say that the prospects for democratic consolidation in Mozambique remain fragile and problematical.

**NOTES**

- 1 Mazula B (ed), *Moçambique: Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*. Maputo, 1995.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 See Held D, *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996, pp 99, 197, 271.
- 4 See Lijphart A, *Patterns of Democracy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, pp 10-47.
- 5 Cabrita JM, *Mozambique: The Tortuous Road to Democracy*. Palgrave Publications, 2000; De Brito L, Estado e Democracia Multipartidária em Moçambique, in De Brito L & Weimer B (eds) *Multipartidarismo e Perspectivas Pos-Guerra*. Maputo: UEM-FES, 1993.
- 6 Olson T, África do Sul e seus vizinhos: Estratégias regionais em confrontação, *Revista Estudos moçambicanos*. CEA-UEM, 1990, pp 17-62.
- 7 AIM, *Armed banditry in Mozambique: Some documents on its origins and source of support*. Maputo, 1988; ECA, 1989.
- 8 O’Laughlin B, A Base Social da Guerra em Moçambique, *Revista Estudos moçambicanos*. CEA-UEM, 1992, pp 109-142.
- 9 Mazula, *Moçambique: Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*, op cit.
- 10 Mazula B, *Moçambique: 10 Anos de Paz*. Maputo, 2002.
- 11 Mazula, *Moçambique: Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvimento*, op cit, p 26.
- 12 Weimer B, Moçambique: Dez Anos de Paz - Democracia, Governação e Reforma, in Mazula B, *Moçambique: 10 Anos de Paz*, op cit p 77.
- 13 Lijphart, op cit; Held, op cit.
- 14 Heywood A, *Politics*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Publications, 1997, 2002.
- 15 Jupp J, *Political Parties*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- 16 Heywood, op cit, p 262.
- 17 Jupp, op cit, p 10.

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### **Key informants (interview place and date)**

#### **Frelimo**

Mariano Matsinha, senior member  
Maputo, 29 September 2004

Teodato Hunguana, Constitutional Council judge  
Maputo, 17 October 2004

Filipa Baltazar da Costa, MP  
Maputo, 14 October 2004

Joyce Matsinhe  
Maputo, 17 October 2004

#### **Renamo**

Jafar Gulamo Jafar  
Maputo, 10 December 2004

Anselmo Victor, MP  
Maputo, 11 October 2004

#### **Pimo**

Sumaila Mussa, National Youth Secretary  
Maputo, 29 September 2004

Momade Tuahire Momade Aly, Finance Officer  
Maputo, 29 September 2004

Vicente Lázaro, Propaganda Secretary  
Maputo, 29 September 2004

Magalhães Ibramugi, General Secretary  
Maputo, 29 September 2004

Afua Badrú, Secretary  
Maputo, 16 November 2004

### **PDD**

Joaquim A. Castro do Castelo – Party's Presidential Adviser  
Johannesburg, 14-15 April 2005



**APPENDICES**  
RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE ON  
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME



**APPENDIX 1:  
COUNTRY CONTEXT QUESTIONNAIRE**

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

**BASIC MEDIA STRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENT**

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

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

## APPENDIX 2: EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

### LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

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

### INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

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

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

#### REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

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

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

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

#### ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

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

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

### **APPENDIX 3: INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE QUESTIONNAIRE**

#### **FOUNDING OF PARTY**

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

#### **INTERNAL STRUCTURE/ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP**

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

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

**Internal structure/election of leadership – additional comments**

#### **POLICY DEVELOPMENT**

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

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

#### Policy development – additional comments

#### MEMBERSHIP

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

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

#### Membership – additional comments

#### ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CANDIDATES

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

#### S/election of other candidates for election

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

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

#### Electoral activities – candidates – additional comments

#### ELECTORAL ACTIVITY – CAMPAIGNS

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

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

Electoral activities – campaigns – additional comments

## EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE PARTY

### International contacts

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

### National contacts

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

External relations of the party – additional comments

## FUNDING

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

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

**Funding – additional comments**

#### **QUESTIONS FOR ALL INTERVIEWEES**

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

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

#### S/election of candidate

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

#### Additional comments

## ABOUT EISA



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

### **VISION**

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

### **MISSION**

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

**VALUES AND PRINCIPLES**

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

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

**OBJECTIVES**

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

**CORE ACTIVITIES**

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

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

## **PROGRAMMES**

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

### **CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL EDUCATION**

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

### **ELECTORAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES**

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

### **BALLOTING AND ELECTORAL SERVICES**

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

**EISA'S SPECIAL PROJECTS INCLUDE:**

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

**EISA'S SUPPORT SERVICES INCLUDE:**

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

**EISA PRODUCTS**

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

## ABOUT IDEA



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

This year (2005), IDEA is celebrating its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary both at its headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

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