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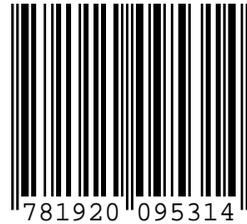
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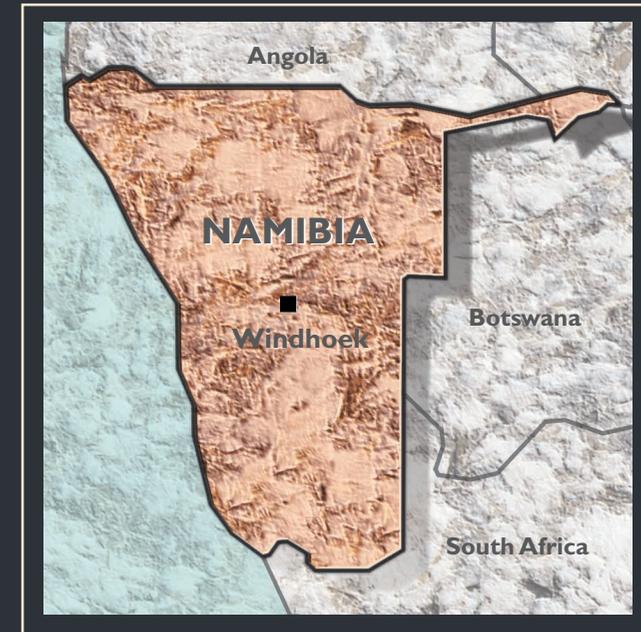
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PARTIES AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NAMIBIA



Victor L. Tonchi
and Albertina N. Shifotoka

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IN NAMIBIA

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BY

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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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Furthermore, this research project could not have succeeded without the cooperation and willingness of the political parties involved in the study. This study was undertaken at the height of the preparation for the 2004 presidential and national assembly elections that were subsequently followed in a spat of just two weeks by the regional council elections. In these circumstances, it was therefore heartening for us as researchers to find politicians with a great interest and enthusiasm in scientific research and the generation of knowledge.

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 (barring 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.

We are also grateful to the following people who have played a crucial role at various stages of the project: Denis Kadima, EISA executive director; Abdalla Hamdok, director, IDEA Africa Regional Office; Julie Ballington, IDEA programme officer; Roger Hallhag, IDEA head, political parties; Per Nordlund, IDEA senior programme officer; Francesca Binda, IDEA, senior advisor, political parties; Claude Kabemba, EISA programme manager, research; Jackie Kalley, EISA publications officer; Grant Masterson, EISA research fellow; Sydney Letsholo, EISA research assistant; Maureen Moloji, EISA research intern; Selby Matloga, EISA research intern; and Nkgakong Mokonyane, EISA assistant programme administrator. We acknowledge the sterling effort they invested in the project.

Thanks are also due to the political party leaders who were interviewed and gave generously of their time. Last but not least, we would like to thank Victor Tonchi and Albertina Shifotoka for their insightful contribution to this programme.

Khabele Matlosa
Project coordinator and series editor
EISA

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACN	Action Christian National
AU	African Union
Canu	Caprivi National Union
CDA	Christian Democratic Action for Justice
CoD	Congress of Democrats
CSO	Civil society organisation
DCN	Democratic Coalition of Namibia
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
ECN	Electoral Commission of Namibia
EMB	Electoral management body
EU	European Union
FCN	Federal Convention of Namibia
FPTP	First-past-the-post
Frelimo	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
MAG	Monitor Action Group
MP	Member of parliament
NNDP	Namibia National Democratic Party
NNF	Namibia National Front
NPF	National Patriotic Front of Namibia
NP	National Party of South West Africa
Nudo	National Unity Democratic Party
NUNW	National Union of Namibian Workers
OPO	Ovamboland People's Organisation
OPC	Ovamboland People's Congress
PR	Proportional representation
RP	Republican Party
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
Swanu	South West Africa National Union
Swapo	South West Africa People's Organisation
Swapo-D	Swapo Democrats
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDP	United Democratic Party
UN	United Nations
Untag	United Nations Transitional Assistance Group
WRP	Workers' Revolutionary Party
Zanu-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Southern African region is emerging as a champion of democratic practice on the African continent. The 1990s in particular have seen a number of these countries adopting fundamental democratic practices such as multiparty systems and regular elections.

Namibia's own political history spans the period from the German colonisation in the late-19th century to the armed liberation struggle that ended with the attainment of independence in 1990.

Several nationalist movements were formed over the years to challenge the status quo. The real challenge by these movements, however, came in the late-1950s and early-1960s with:

- the formation of the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC), later changed to the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO);
- the formation of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu); and
- the transformation of the OPO into the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

The launch by Swapo in 1966 of the liberation struggle changed the political tide in Namibia. The South African colonial government frantically searched for moderates among Namibian political leaders and groups. This strategy to find alternatives to Swapo saw the emergence of such political parties as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). In the run-up to the United Nations (UN)-supervised election in 1989, many new political parties cropped up, most of them with the blessing of the outgoing South African government. However, some of the parties that participated in the 1989 election had provided the foundation for multiparty democracy in an independent Namibia.

Political parties in Namibia are regulated by law. The Namibian constitution and the Electoral, Regional Councils and Local Authorities acts provide the regulatory framework for the registration and participation of political parties in the country's electoral process. The registration requirements are

particularly stringent. Both the Electoral and Local Authorities acts stipulate the requirements to be met by parties intending to participate in the political process, while the Local Authorities act additionally requires parties to consider gender equality on party lists during a local election.

Several of the parties that participated in the 1989 election no longer exist. Of those that showed resilience then, the DTA lost support when some of its alliance partners broke away, leaving only the Swapo Party to have increased political representation at all legislative levels. Some analysts believe that this trend may encourage Swapo, which has a comfortable two-thirds majority, to change the constitution or to marginalise other parties. Despite its overwhelming strength in both chambers of parliament, however, Swapo has shown political maturity. It has spearheaded a policy of national reconciliation while allowing political inclusivity to continue to reign.

Although political parties play a significant role in the promotion of democracy in Namibia, it is doubtful to what extent democracy is being practised by the parties themselves, and there are serious doubts about whether democracy within the parties is being practised to the full. This research has, however, ascertained that most parties have structures for dealing with both day-to-day activities and policy matters. The most significant threat to internal party democracy is in the way candidates are selected for party lists for the local and national elections.

The lack of funds hampers parties' outreach programmes for promoting their party's activities and policies to the greater public, and so gaining greater popular support. Some parties have even had difficulty in maintaining their offices. Most parties depend on government funding, but as this is provided proportionally to a party's representation in the National Assembly, it has proved insufficient to help the smaller parties to grow their constituencies.

The challenge facing all the opposition parties is how to sustain or grow their electoral support. The governing Swapo Party continues to consolidate its support base, while the opposition parties seem to be disintegrating. In these circumstances, the parties concerned will need to change their political strategies if they are to survive into the future.

INTRODUCTION

Since the resurgence of democratic movements around the globe in the late-1980s, a number of regimes entrenched after so many years of autocratic and authoritarian rule began to crumble and give way to popular governance.

In Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, the road to democracy and multiparty democracy was multifaceted. Currently consisting of 14 countries, the Southern African region – referred to as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) – was once known for its wars of liberation. The last colonial vestiges had persisted in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa years after the winds of change had swept across the African continent in the early- and mid-1960s. It was only in 1994, when a non-racial government was installed in South Africa, that the wars of liberation in the region were brought to an end, finally signifying the end of colonialism on the continent.

Most of the countries in the SADC region achieved independence in the early- and mid-1960s and the first governments of these countries were popularly elected. Regrettably, these were the early years when Africa was busy experimenting with modern democracy. This was further compounded with the complex task of nation building, since most of the African states emerged from multi-ethnic societies. It was under these circumstances that a number of African states adopted single-party political systems as an appropriate political strategy for nation building and development. While Botswana was a notable exception, many Southern African countries – including the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Swaziland and Lesotho – barely held third post-independence multiparty elections.

The democratisation fever that has engulfed the region in the past 15 years has seemingly consolidated and enhanced multiparty politics. Political parties have mushroomed and today there is hardly a country with fewer than five political parties contesting national elections.¹

This thriving political pluralism needs to be carefully studied and understood. The transition to democracy has taken different paths and has provided each

country with a unique experience in multiparty democracy.² This research project is an attempt to clarify a rather complex and unpredictable democratic transition. Democratic transitions in the region have produced not only new political parties but new political actors as well. Laurence Whitehead has referred to this process as the 'drama of democratisation'.³

Another category of countries in the Southern African region that went through democratic transitions was those that waged armed liberation struggles in order to attain independence. Since their emergence from colonial rule, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have thus far continued with multiparty politics. Mozambique has since 1994 become more inclusive in the political arena, and this is also expected of Angola now that hostilities in that country have ceased.

This study examines the nature and characteristics of political parties in Namibia. It reviews the historical formation of these political parties, their *raison d'être* as well as their modes of sustenance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method used in this study involved two structured questionnaires, interviews and library research. The questionnaires (see appendices) were developed by EISA and International IDEA. One of the questionnaires dealt with the internal functioning and structure of political parties and was used to conduct interviews with political parties. The other questionnaire dealt with the external regulations governing political parties and the environment in which they operate.

On 30 August 2004, 22 sets of questionnaires each with a covering letter were distributed to senior leaders of eight political parties. It was viewed appropriate to send the questionnaires in advance so that the interviewees could familiarise themselves with the contents. As much of the questionnaire refers to basic information about the functioning and structure of parties, sending the questionnaires to the respondents in advance made it easier for them to fill in this information. Questions 1 to 37 try to elicit both standard and technical information of political parties. It was for this reason that the interview process concentrated on questions 38 to 90. The timing of this project created difficulties for researchers as it coincided with three elections

that were to take place over the next three months. It was therefore extremely difficult to convince members of political parties to agree to sit for a lengthy interview of 90 questions in the midst of election campaigning.

Five questionnaires each were delivered to the offices of the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) Party, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Congress of Democrats (CoD), two each to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Unity Democratic Movement (Nudo), and one each to the South West Africa Union (Swanu), the Monitor Action Group (MAG) and the Republican Party (RP). Although a total of 22 sets of questionnaires were distributed, only five interviews were conducted. As already indicated, the time schedule for this exercise coincided with three elections that were to take place in November and December 2004. The presidential and National Assembly elections and the regional council elections were scheduled for 15 and 16 November and 29 and 30 November respectively. It became extremely difficult to schedule appointments with senior members of any of the political parties targeted for this research project. Political party officials were either out in the field campaigning and organising or were preoccupied with legislative or government business.

Another obstacle in administering the questionnaires was that party members were distrustful or suspicious of them. Since the questionnaire targeted mostly senior party officials, individual members felt uncomfortable about filling in the questionnaire by themselves. The excuse given was that completing separate questionnaires for the same party was mere duplication. There was therefore strong resistance, from the major parties in particular, to receiving more than two copies of the questionnaire.

Despite these difficulties, face-to-face interviews were finally conducted with members of Swapo, the DTA, the CoD, Nudo and the MAG. This process was completed in the first week of April 2005.

As was required under the methodology guidelines of this project, the questionnaire on external regulations and environment was completed by researchers from relevant data collected for the purpose. It is also important to note that the election period had presented an opportunity for this study, as political party documents such as manifestos, constitutions and other

political programmes were readily available. Through library research, a number of academic works on party politics and democracy in general were also consulted. Government documents and publications provided both the required statistics and other relevant information for the study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of the literature consulted dates from 1990, which is the time of Namibia's independence. Although not many academic works are available on Namibian politics, studies on elections and the electoral process have produced material that interrogates the behaviour and nature of party politics in the country. A number of international observer reports provide an insight to the political landscape.

Government documents such as *Vision 2030* provided information on economic and political questions.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Namibia is a large country. During the period leading to independence, its size was most often compared to the combined area of Germany, France, the Netherlands and Belgium. Its population of 1.8 million is, however, hardly one per cent of the combined populations of these countries. Namibia is rich in several minerals and for this reason the country's economy is heavily dependent on the mining sector. In world terms, the country is among the top 10 producers of diamonds – and a primary source of gem diamonds – as well as the fifth-largest producer of uranium. Namibia is also Africa's fourth-largest exporter of non-fuel minerals, producing large quantities of zinc, lead, tin, silver, copper, tungsten and marble, as well as several semi-precious stones, lithium, cadmium and salt. Other mineral resources include natural gas deposits estimated at 31 billion m³.

Although a dry country, Namibia produces a number of agricultural products and exports large quantities of beef to the European Union (EU) and South Africa. In recent years the country has begun growing grapes along the Orange River and is now a grape exporter. Since independence, dates are now also grown and exported.

Namibia's advanced fishing industry, operating from the ports of Walvis Bay and Luderitz, had stagnated from over-fishing prior to independence but has since recovered with the introduction of a strict resource management policy.

The country's often spectacular landscape, its game reserves and its good roads attract many overseas tourists. Since independence, many kilometres of good all-season roads have been built, including the Trans-Caprivi and Trans-Kalahari highways. In line with SADC objectives on regional trade and development, Namibia built these roads to link the land-locked countries of Zambia, the south-eastern DRC, Zimbabwe and Botswana to the seaport of Walvis Bay.

Despite a healthy economic growth rate – which has averaged 3.5% a year – and its abundant natural resources, Namibia still has an unemployment rate of 33% and the gap between the rich and the poor is one of the largest in the world.⁴

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION

Although Namibia emerged from colonialism only a decade and half ago, the country has always had a degree of political mobilisation and activism. Historically, political movements in Namibia were formed as a reaction to the existing status quo. Following the anti-colonial struggles of the early-1900s by Nama, Herero and Ovambo chiefs, political organisations emerged in the late 1950s. The Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) is regarded as the country's first modern nationalist movement.⁵ The increase in the level of repression by the South African administration after the rise of the National Party in that country accelerated the formation of other political movements, including the Caprivi African National Union (Canu) and the National Unity Democratic Organisation (Nudo) between 1962 and 1964.

As these movements became more nationalist and politically mature, the need for cooperation and solidarity became evident, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) established itself in Zambia after a merger with Canu.

The period between 1965 and 1975 saw a lull in the formation of nationalist movements within the country. This was mainly because Swapo had consolidated, had started waging a liberation struggle against the South African forces from Angola and Zambia, and had been declared by the UN as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Swapo's position in the international community and its military activities inspired Namibians and instilled nationalist values among them. For any other nationalist movement to have emerged during that time would have required immense effort and political manoeuvring to have convinced the international community and not to have been construed as a challenge to Swapo. Also, most of the movements that had been formed during the same period as Swapo had maintained cordial relationships among one another.

The formation of the DTA in the 1970s had created another political climate and had reinvigorated and aroused strong political activism among students and workers, thousands of whom crossed the Angolan and Zambian borders to join Swapo in the mid-1970s.

It is in this context that one can understand the characteristics and behaviour of the political parties formed in 1989 ahead of the independence elections in November of that year. Of the 10 parties that contested the 1989 election, most fizzled out barely a year after independence. Even though some of these parties were never associated with the DTA – a party sponsored by the South African government – the hastily formed parties had the blessing of the South African government, and their campaigns were funded by the South African government in an attempt to weaken Swapo's support base.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

We have already referred to the mushrooming of political parties in 1989, which led to ten parties participating in the UN-supervised elections of 1989, namely:

- Action Christian National (ACN)
- Christian Democratic Action for Justice (CDA)
- Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA)
- Federal Convention of Namibia (FCN)
- Namibia National Democratic Party (NNDP)
- Namibia National Front (NNF)
- National Patriotic Front (NPF)
- Swapo-Democrats (Swapo-D)
- South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo)
- United Democratic Front (UDF)

The resilience of the parties still in existence and active in Namibian politics is due to their not being among the parties hastily formed for the purpose of entering the 1989 election. On the contrary, they have been in existence for much longer periods and, one way or another, have played a role in Namibian politics.

ACTION CHRISTIAN NATIONAL

This party, which later changed its name to the Monitor Action Group (MAG), is as old as the National Party in South Africa. Although initially formed only in 1989, its relationship with the National Party of South West Africa (NP) and its objectives made it synonymous with the NP. The demise of the NP after the 1989 elections was in name only as it is still kept alive through the MAG. The MAG appeals to the white community, from which it derives most of its support, maintaining its representation in the past four National Assembly elections.

DEMOCRATIC TURNHALLE ALLIANCE

The history of this party dates back to the mid-1970s. Over the years, different groupings throughout the country merged with it, so that by 1989 it had

entrenched itself in Namibian politics and made a strong showing in that election. Today the DTA is no longer the alliance that its name implies; and, indeed, has recently seen a number of its alliance partners breaking away.

In 1999 its president, Mishake Muyongo – now implicated in a secessionist plot – broke away with his Caprivi-based United Democratic Party (UDP), and prior to the 2004 election the RP and Nudo also left the DTA. These defections saw the party's support plummet and its representation in parliament dwindling. However, as the political groups that constituted the DTA seem to have deeply rooted constituencies, it will be interesting to see how they fare in the future.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

This party made its mark in Namibian politics both by initiating a nationalist organisation and by launching the armed liberation struggle against the South African colonial regime. Although Swapo had professed a socialist ideology during the liberation struggle, this philosophy was never deeply rooted in the organisation. Today Swapo still enjoys tremendous support among the Namibian population, being the only party whose support base has increased since independence. Swapo has also continued to increase its representation in parliament. Although the party failed to gain enough seats for a two-thirds majority in the 1989 election, it did increase the number of parliamentary seats it held from 41 in 1989 to 53 in 1994, 55 in 1999 and 55 in 2004. As indicated later, however, the party did not use its two-thirds majority to give itself additional powers, such as by amending the constitution.

Swapo owes its massive and so far unwavering support to the fact that during the struggle years it represented the plight of the Namibian people both internally and internationally, galvanising support for the independence struggle and articulating the demand for independence at many international forums. These activities left indelible memories, especially among many of the older generation, who see Swapo as the party that removed colonialism and brought about independence.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Formed in 1989, this party maintains its support base through its strong links with the Damara Council. The UDF entered into coalition with several

other parties for the 1989 election, when it won four seats. Despite the disintegration of the coalition over the past 15 years, it has retained its support – something that will be discussed in the section on party representation.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA NATIONAL UNION

Although one of the oldest political parties in Namibia, Swanu did not participate independently in the 1989 election, but was a member of the NNF coalition. Since the disbanding of this grouping, the party has been represented in parliament despite its committed participation in the political process. Swanu and the Workers' Revolutionary Party (WRP) seem the only parties with a strong socialist ideology. Both these parties, however, are the ones that usually obtain the least votes in national elections.

REPUBLICAN PARTY AND NATIONAL UNITY DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The disintegration of coalitions and alliances led to the emergence of new parties. Both the RP and Nudo, which had been part of the DTA since its inception, broke away from the alliance in 2003 and participated in all four elections that took place in 2004.

CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

Causes for dissatisfaction among some Swapo party members in the late-1990s included the issue of a third term for the head of state and Namibia's military involvement in the DRC. They were cited as reasons for the formation of the (CoD). While it was therefore assumed that with its ex-Swapo leadership, the CoD would derive its support from former Swapo voters, the results of the 1999 National Assembly and presidential elections proved otherwise. The loser in those elections was the DTA, whose representation was reduced by more than half – from 15 seats in the previous election to seven in 1999 – while Swapo gained two seats, one from the DTA and one from the Democratic Coalition of Namibia (DCN). As the newly formed CoD won seven seats, it can be deduced that all its gains were at the expense of the DTA, and not Swapo.

EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

As a functioning young democracy, Namibia has put in place a number of instruments to regulate the conduct of political parties and associations engaged in the electoral process. As in any multiparty system, it can be expected that there will be competition among political players and that this will generally generate tension and distrust – something that requires the political processes to be orderly and transparent. The following sections examine Namibia’s provisions for achieving this as they relate to the election of members to the different governing bodies in the country.

LEGISLATION GOVERNING POLITICAL PARTIES

Although there is freedom to form political parties in Namibia, once formed, they and civic associations are subjected to certain local authority requirements in order to be registered to compete in elections. The Namibian constitution regulates the country’s different types of elections and this in turn has an impact on how political parties select their candidates. Article 28 requires that persons nominated for the presidency shall be Namibian citizens and over the age of 35 years. Article 17 provides that all Namibians may participate freely in the political process and that those who have passed their 18th birthday shall have the right to vote and be voted into office.

To give expression to these constitutional provisions, the 1992 Electoral Act governs the way political parties participate in the political process.

The act governs a variety of issues, including:

- the registration of voters;
- the registration of political parties;
- the conduct of elections;
- offences and penalties; and
- election applications.

Although the act does not give a clear definition of a political party, it lays down the processes and activities to be followed by organisations intending to participate in the country’s electoral process. The act states that in relation

to an election for a local authority council, a political party includes an organisation or association registered for such purpose under the act.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

The internal functioning of political parties is governed by parties' constitutions, while the Electoral Act governs the requirements for candidates for local, regional, national and presidential elections. The provisions of the act and of party constitutions differ from one type of election to another.

The act stipulates that to be nominated as a candidate for election as a member of a local authority council, a person must:

- qualify to be a member in terms of section 7 of the 1992 Local Authority Act;
- be on a party list as a member of a political party and nominated by that political party; and
- be nominated as an independent candidate and be supported by at least 50 registered voters in the ward for which such nomination is intended.

For regional council elections, the act stipulates that a candidate must:

- qualify to be a member in terms of section 6 of the 1992 Regional Councils Act;
- be nominated as a member of a political party by that political party; and
- be nominated as an independent candidate and be supported by at least 100 registered voters in the constituency for which such nomination is intended.

For presidential elections, the act stipulates that a candidate must:

- qualify to be elected to the position in terms of the requirements of the Namibian constitution;
- be a registered voter in terms of the provisions of the act;
- be nominated by a political party as a representative of the party; and

- be nominated as an independent candidate and be supported by at least 300 registered voters from each of at least 10 regions of Namibia.

As far as national elections are concerned, however, no bodies or authority outside the parties themselves oversee or regulate parties' internal processes for electing candidates for participation in these elections. And the same is true for parties' nomination of candidates for their own internal positions.

Although the number of civil society organisations (CSOs) has grown and although CSOs continue to play significant roles in politics and national development, only the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) is officially affiliated to a political party. The relationship between Swapo and this workers' body goes back a long way as the NUNW was founded by Swapo and could not disengage itself after independence. Some non-governmental organisations (NGOs), however, are associated with political parties, but their role in internal party politics is not as significant as is the NUNW's role within Swapo. The NUNW is fully involved in Swapo congresses and many of its members are elected to parliament on a Swapo ticket.

The aspect of gender is addressed only in the 1992 Local Authority Act and its subsequent amendments. This act requires political parties to include equal numbers of male and female candidates on their party lists for local elections. There are, however, no other legal provisions in Namibia laying down gender quotas for other elections. Also none that encourage, require or provide incentives for political parties to include a certain number or percentage of female or male candidates on party lists, or, indeed, for ethnic, religious, linguistic or minority groups or persons with disabilities. As a result, the percentage of women candidates in regional and national elections remains fairly low, and the SADC gender declaration, which requires a 30% quota for women in decision-making, is not adhered to. The issue of gender equality is discussed further below.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES AND NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

To qualify as a candidate in any election, there are certain requirements an individual must meet. These requirements differ both from party to party

and as far as the type of election is concerned – presidential, national, regional or local. Some political parties, such as Nudo, have no party requirements other than the 35-year age requirement in the national constitution for a presidential candidate. Swapo, on the other hand, requires its presidential candidates to have been members of the party for an unbroken period of 10 years.

The Electoral Act is the sole authority for regulating the activities of political parties. It provides that a party shall be registered if the Electoral Commission is satisfied that:

- its principal objective is to participate in and promote elections, which includes nominating persons as candidates for any such elections in accordance with the provisions of the act;
- no objective of that political party is prejudicial to the safety of the state, public welfare or peace and good order;
- its membership is not exclusive or restricted on the grounds of sex, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed or social or economic status;
- its application form contains the party's name and abbreviated name; the full names, signature and business and postal addresses of its authorised representative; a complete list of the names and addresses of office-bearers; and its distinctive symbol, which will appear on ballot papers if the party so desires; and
- its application form is accompanied by the prescribed registration fee; the party's constitution; and a declaration signed by at least 500 of its members whose names appear on the national voters' register to the effect that they support the party's registration, which shall comply with the act, as well as these members' full names, their registration numbers and the names and addresses of the regions and constituencies in which they are registered.

A political party shall also be deregistered if:

- it breaches a code of conduct or the electoral law; or
- its authorised representative referred informs the commission in writing that following a resolution of the party in congress

the party has been dissolved or will be dissolved on a certain date.

Thirteen political parties are currently registered with the Electoral Commission, namely: the DTA; Swapo; the CoD; the MAG; Nudo; the RP; the UDF; the DCN; the FCN; Swanu; the WRP; the Namibia Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC); and the Namibia Democratic Party (NDP).

The Electoral Commission encountered some problems with the registration of the RP, Nudo, the NDMC and the NDP in 2003 and 2004. Since the RP and Nudo were originally affiliates of the DTA, it was natural for the DTA to challenge the registration of these parties. There were, however, no legal grounds to prevent the two parties from registering as independent parties as the DTA constitution did not specify these organisations as affiliates. The NDP had initially applied under the name of the Caprivi Democratic Party and this was rejected by the commission as representing a particular region rather than a national character.

These challenges have tested the powers of the commission and have proved that it carries sole responsibility for the administration, enforcement and sanctions of the legislation on political parties.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

All elections subsequent to the 1989 UN-led election – which was prone to violence as the country was just emerging from armed conflict, with the nation divided between those who fought against South African occupation and those who were for maintaining the status quo with minor incremental changes – have been conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner.⁶

The first post-independence elections were held in 1992 for the local authorities and regional councils. To ensure a smooth running of the elections, the government established an Independent Electoral Commission in accordance with the electoral law to oversee the conduct of all elections. Political parties are required to abide by rules and regulations for their conduct during an election. Although the electoral law does not provide campaign guidelines, the commission usually draws up a code of conduct, which all participating parties are required to sign and honour.

Most of the presidential and parliamentary elections as well as the local and regional elections were characterised as orderly. So far there have been only minor incidents of violence during the campaigns, and parties have generally kept to the rules. The police and the courts see that justice takes its course if individuals or groups are accused of infringing the rights of others during the campaigns. The exception, however, was the 1999 presidential and parliamentary elections, which saw a resurgence of violent campaigning, with verbal and physical attacks directed at the newly formed CoD.⁷ The antagonism was blamed on the allegation that the CoD was made up of Swapo defectors.

Namibian parties still use traditional methods of campaigning. Rallies are usually held country-wide during the campaign period. This is, however, costly because of the huge size of the country and its small population. To reach their supporters, parties had to travel extensively. The use of both electronic and print media was also widespread even though not many citizens had access to these media. Coverage on public radio and television is usually allocated according to a formula between participating parties and media institutions.

During the 1994 presidential and parliamentary elections the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) established an election forum, which was a task force comprising the NBC and parties that participated in that election.⁸ It is interesting to draw a comparison with decisions of this forum in 1994 and the controversy that emerged during the 2004 elections. In 1994 the parties and the NBC agreed that airtime should be equally allocated to all parties participating in the election regardless of the size of their representation.⁹ In 2004, however, opposition parties cried foul on the allocation of airtime, which the NBC had unilaterally allocated in proportion to parties' representation in parliament. This arrangement had been suggested by the NBC in 1994, but had been rejected by the election forum. Some of the smaller parties, including those with no representation in parliament, had threatened the NBC with legal action.

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND PARTY POLITICAL CONTESTS

Namibia uses three different electoral systems for its four different elections. The first election in 1989 was held under the proportional representation

(PR) system in order to ensure a fair representation of all Namibians and to provide an atmosphere of reconciliation. Through this system, seven political parties of the 10 that contested the election secured seats. The PR system is entrenched in the constitution for parliamentary elections. PR is also used for local elections. PR has led to a significant representation by women in both local and parliamentary elections.

The election of the president is based on the plurality system whereby the candidate has to obtain 50% plus 1 of the total vote in order to be elected as president.

Regional elections follow the first-past-the-post (FPTP) system. Comparatively, the FPTP system does not seem to be gender friendly as the number of women gaining seats in regional elections has been disappointingly low. But the FPTP system has helped Swapo to consolidate its representation in the 13 regions of the country; the 2004 regional elections showed that Swapo won 96 of the 107 constituencies – with the remaining 11 constituencies shared among the UDF (five); Swanu (one), Nudo (three), and the DTA (two).

PARLIAMENT AND PARTY REPRESENTATION

The Namibian parliament consists of two chambers – namely the National Assembly and the National Council. After the first national election in November 1989, the then Constituent Assembly was tasked with the drafting of the Namibian constitution.

On 21 March 1990, the Constituent Assembly became the National Assembly.¹⁰ The functions of the Namibian parliament are clearly stipulated in the Namibian constitution and need not be repeated here.

The National Assembly is composed of 72 members elected on the basis of PR. The president may appoint not more than six further persons to the Assembly. At its first sitting, the Assembly elects a speaker and a deputy-speaker to chair the conduct of its business.

The representation in the National Assembly since 1989, when seven of the 10 contesting parties won seats, is shown in Table 1.

The National Council, which is the second chamber of parliament, has 26 members, or two for each of the 13 regions of Namibia. Each regional council elects its National Council representatives from its own membership. Since its establishment in 1992, the National Council has been dominated by Swapo Party, which holds both the chair and the deputy chair of the chamber. The 2004 regional election resulted in Swapo dominating 10 of the 13 councils – nine with no single opposition member. This party was therefore already assured of 18 National Council seats in the new chamber. Swapo currently has 22 seats in the National Council, with the UDF (two) and the DTA and Nudo (one each) filling the remaining four seats.

Table 1: Party representation in the National Assembly since 1989

Party	1989	1994	1999	2004
Swapo	41	53	55	55
DTA	21	15	7	4
UDF	4	2	2	3
ACN/MAG*	3	1	1	1
FCN	1	0	0	0
NNF	1	0	0	0
NPF/DCN**	1	1	0	n/a
CoD***	n/a	n/a	7	5
Nudo****	n/a	n/a	n/a	3
RP****	n/a	n/a	n/a	1
Totals	72	72	72	72

Notes: * The ACN changed its name to the MAG after the 1989 election.
 ** The NPF similarly changed its name to the DCN at the same time. The DCN was disbanded after its failure in the 1999 election.
 *** The CoD was formed before the 1989 election.
 **** Nudo and the RP were formed before the 2004 election. They both seem to have taken votes from the DTA and the CoD.

INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

Namibia is a multiparty democracy with a number of active political parties. In this examination of the internal functioning and structure of Namibia's political parties, we will focus on the key parties – Swapo, the DTA, the CoD, Nudo and the MAG – while making relevant references to other parties in order to round off the picture.

FOUNDING OF PARTIES

Swapo

This party was founded on 19 April 1960 in Windhoek, when Namibia was still known as South West Africa. This was after its reorganisation and transformation from the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), which was founded in 1958 in Cape Town, South Africa. Swapo became a political party in December 1991. Interestingly, despite the transformation from a liberation movement into a political party or the change of the country's name from South West Africa to Namibia, the name of the party did not change significantly. The acronym 'Swapo' still conveys the same message as it did when the party was a liberation movement, but the formal name has now been changed to 'the Swapo Party'. Swapo still views itself as a mass-based political party with the same populist perceptions it had while waging the armed liberation struggle.

Swapo was formed to unite the people of the then South West Africa in the fight against South African tyranny and oppression; and once victorious, to establish a free, non-racial and democratic government for the country, in which all its citizens are able to live in peace, harmony and prosperity. Swapo believes that at present it commands support from the whole spectrum of Namibian people, irrespective of race, ethnicity or economic status.

CoD

This party was founded in 1999 and registered as a political party in the same year. It describes itself as a social democratic party, standing for the issues of democracy, equality between all people, fair sharing of national resources, fair chances for everybody as well as a better society for all Namibian people to live in. This study shows that the CoD was founded as

an alternative to Swapo, which, according to the CoD's founding members, had failed to bring about significant development since the country's independence in 1990. CoD founders felt that during the 10 years of Namibia's independence, the developmental efforts had been skewed, with only few Namibians so far benefiting. The party remains highly critical of the misuse of the country's natural resources to enrich a few individuals while the rest of the nation is in dire need.

Another factor that led to the formation of the CoD was the issue of misuse of power by government bodies such as the executive. The CoD founders observed that the executive had been making critical decisions on behalf of the nation without consulting the legislature, which is supposed to be the representative of the entire Namibian people. An example given was the case of the DRC. The executive had decided that there was a need for Namibia to become involved in assisting the DRC to achieve independence. According to our CoD respondents, this decision was not well communicated between the executive and the legislature. The CoD felt that the money used for the intervention in the DRC could have been used in Namibia for development activities, such as increased pension pay-outs to the elderly and other social-oriented projects. The CoD was therefore founded in order to deal with 'misplaced priorities'. It was felt that there was a need for a smaller but more effective government whose priorities would improve people's health, education and other social needs.

Nudo

This party was originally founded in Windhoek in 1964 and in 1977 became part of the DTA, which was an umbrella body for various ethically based political parties. Nudo split from the DTA in September 2003 and registered in December 2003 as an independent political party, with a socialist orientation. According to the respondents, Nudo was originally formed to challenge the South African apartheid regime and to draw the world's attention to the struggle for national liberation. Its founders were the existing Herero chiefs' council under Chief Hosea Kutako, who accepted that the council was not sufficiently broad and inclusive to speak on behalf of all Namibians. Members of the chiefs' council therefore decided to establish Nudo as a political party. A committee was set up to write a constitution for the party, which was later adopted. Respondents further indicated that Nudo

represented all ethnic groups in Namibia irrespective of their social status or standings. However, the party received only ethnic support from the Hereros. Respondents also indicated that since the party's formation, various individual members had supported the party financially.

NP

This party was originally founded in 1945 and in September 1991 it was renamed as the MAG and registered as a political party in August 1994. The MAG describes itself as 'a religious conservative party in principle' but 'very pragmatic in its policies'. According to the respondents, the MAG was formed in order to 'convince with arguments and principles' rather than to 'concentrate on conflicts'. There was no significant support for the party when it was founded and very little has changed since. People who wanted to join the party were frightened off by the NP's past history and the fact that they were accused of being puppets if they associated with the MAG.

DTA

This party is a liberal democratic party with strong international links to international liberal organisations. According to the respondents, the motive to establish the DTA was spearheaded by Chief Clemens Kapuuo and Derk Mudge. It was indicated that Namibia was divided into ethnic groups by the South African regime, thus the main aim was to come up with a political party in which all the ethnic groups in Namibia could be consolidated under one umbrella body, the DTA.

The main objective of the DTA is to act as a representative of the people of Namibia and serve their interests. In the same vein the 'DTA of Namibia is a political party, which arises from and is rooted in the cultural multiplicity of the people of Namibia, with the fundamental aim to advance and maintain peace and prosperity and to achieve national unity based on a multi-party democracy'.¹¹ According to the party's constitution, all party functions are articulated at the branch, constituency, regional and national level and everybody is encouraged to take part in elections in a democratic manner.

INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP

The internal structure and method of election of leadership differ from party to party. Two examples follow.

Swapo

This party is guided in its functions and operation by the following documents:

- Constitution
- Operational guide
- Political programme

Swapo's national executive body is the central committee. In consultation with other stakeholders, this committee makes decisions for the party. Members of this body are the party leader, party MPs, members of regional and local branches and auxiliary groups. There are formal quotas for women as well as for youth, ethnic minorities, elders and workers. Members of the committee are unpaid and the distribution of powers and tasks within the party leadership is guided by the party's constitution.

The party chooses its leaders as follows:

- The party leader is elected by the central committee.
- Candidate MPs are nominated by the electoral college.
- Members of regional and local branches are elected at regional and local conferences.

Swapo's congress is its highest structure. Delegates to the congress elect members of the central committee and the central committee members elect members of the politburo, which is responsible for implementing decisions of the central committee, including policy formulation. Members of the politburo are not paid, except regional and district coordinators, who are full-time employees of the party.

The congress, which is the party's national conference, is attended by the party leader, the party's members of both chambers of the national legislature, regional and local delegates, women's, youth and other wings, and affiliated organisations, such as trade unions and the employers' federation.

Congress decisions are binding on the party executive. The party constitution and code of conduct provide the guidelines for monitoring and regulating the ethical behaviour of party officials.

Nudo

This party's constitution guides the functioning and organisation of the party. The party's executive body is the national bureau, whose members are elected at the party's congress. There are no formal quotas for women, youth, ethnic minorities or any other groups in the national bureau. Apart from the secretary-general and a few other key positions, members of the national bureau are not paid.

Next to the national bureau is the central committee, which is the permanent body of the party. Its members are elected by the national bureau and delegates to the party's congress. Members of this committee are also unpaid. Members in the country's villages make up the party's local branches, known as party branches.

The party's national conference, which takes place annually, is attended by the parliamentary party caucus as well as by regional and local party delegates. Decisions taken at these conferences are binding on the party's executive. The highest decision-making body, the congress, meets less frequently.

There are no specific requirements for candidates for the position of president of the party, except that he or she shall be an eligible member of the party. The behaviour of party officials, especially as far as any ethnic prejudice is concerned, is monitored and regulated by the party's board of ethics.

Since Nudo was registered as a political party, it has established a variety of branches and wings in most parts of the country. There are about 40 regional branches and 60 local branches as well as women's and youth wings.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Each political party has specific rules and procedures that guide the administration of party activities and mandates.

Swapo

This party has no policy programme document but conducts opinion surveys of party members and other Namibians. As in many cases throughout the region, however, the Swapo party leadership cannot be held accountable if it does not follow party policy decisions.

MAG and Nudo

In the case of these parties, however, policy documents are finalised only after extensive consultation with all stakeholders. Decisions binding on party officials are stipulated in the party policy document (in case of Nudo) or in the party constitution (in case of MAG). In Nudo's case, party officials who fail to follow these decisions will be called to account by the disciplinary committee, which if it finds an official guilty will suspend or expel the member or give the member a written warning. The party congress has the final say.

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

Swapo

This party has membership registers both nationally and at branch levels. Its present membership is claimed to be more than 800,000 and to be increasing substantially, particularly in urban centres. Membership is open to all Namibians who have attained the age of 18 years, who subscribe to the aims and objectives of the party and who are not members of another party. Membership fees are N\$1 a month, while members who hold paid party positions are expected to pay one per cent of their monthly salaries to the party.

A prospective member must be recommended by two existing members of the party, who must have known the prospective member for at least two years. The rights associated with membership include that a member may:

- demand the fulfilment of what is established in the constitution as well as the implementation of resolutions, decisions, directives and agreements of the party;
- participate in congress and in meetings of Swapo organs and wings;
- vote at meetings on decisions to be taken;
- subject to the party's constitution, elect and be elected to positions of authority in the party; and
- put forward proposals or defend his or her opinions before a decision is taken on the matter under discussion.

Additionally, with regard to the responsibilities associated with membership, party members are required to:

- act with dedication and commitment in the interest of the party and the national interest of Namibia;
- respect, take care of and protect the property of the party;
- contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the party and the political consciousness of its rank and file;
- be sincere and honest and protect the party's secrets; and
- oppose factionalism and defend the party.

Our respondents noted that they believe that most Namibian people want to associate themselves with progress made by Swapo and the government. One respondent said: 'People believe that Swapo represents a pride of belonging, with a range of experiences and political vision in which the contribution of each individual is respected.'

These respondents noted further that Swapo communicates regularly with its members through the party newspaper, *Namibia Today*, its website (www.swapoparty.org.na), as well as at party meetings. Party members communicate with the party's top officials on a regular basis – normally during party meetings. The right of members to express their opinions on party matters is laid down in the party's constitution.

Swapo provides training for all its members at all levels. Recruitment is done as an ongoing process. During elections, party members may be appointed to serve as election agents or election training officers.

Nudo

As in the case of Swapo, this party has a national membership register. According to the respondents, every regional and local branch is responsible for sending a list of registered members of the party to the party headquarters. All registered members are therefore allocated numbers and entered into a membership database. A membership fee of N\$120 is payable on registration. At the time of the 2004 election, party membership was estimate at 34,000. As the party dates only from 2003, information with regard to the increase and decrease of party membership is not available.

Membership to the party is open to every Namibian who understands and accepts the party constitution. All members have the right to vote at any

party meeting and must adhere to the party statutes. If a member breaches the party rules, a disciplinary committee will investigate. The central committee therefore makes the final decision on the recommendations of the disciplinary committee.

At all levels – from national to regional and branch – the party communicates with its members through correspondence, meetings and petitions as well as through its electronic newsletter. There are, however, no guidelines for members to express their opinions on party matters.

Nudo provides training at various levels, including volunteer and campaign training. Training is also offered to elected and general members on their responsibilities as well as on responsible leadership. Party officials are also trained in party administration.

As in the case of Swapo, recruitment is done on an ongoing basis.

DTA

Membership of this party is open to all Namibians who support the policies, principles and objectives of the DTA, who accept the party's constitution and who are loyal to the Republic of Namibia. Group membership is approved by the party's central committee, while individual membership is approved by branch committees. Membership may be terminated voluntarily or at the recommendation of executive, regional, constituency or branch committees.

Party membership has declined since independence. In 1989, the DTA won 21 seats in the National Assembly but only five in 2004. Respondents attributed the decline partly due to the party's insufficient resources to meet with its members regularly and partly to competition from new parties, such as Nudo and the CoD. Our respondents believed that the DTA's failure to be in close touch with many of its members meant that some members thought the party was not sufficiently serious and moved to other political parties, such as Swapo.

As is the case in other parties, the DTA provides training to its members, mostly through public meetings and the media. Specific training is offered

to the youth and to women, and includes training in human rights, crime prevention and gender issues. Party officials and candidates also receive training in their areas of responsibility.

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Swapo

The sole qualification for candidates for the party's president is that they must have been members of the party for a continuous minimum period of ten years. The president is elected by a simple majority through a secret ballot at the party's congress for a period of five years and shall be eligible for re-election. Although not obligatory, there are certain commitments that will weigh in the final choice, including that the candidate should be committed and dedicated and have a broad experience of community interests.

DTA

For selection as a candidate for the party's presidency, this party will consider factors such as commitment to the party's campaign strategy, local and regional connections with the community, educational qualification and public speaking ability.

Nudo

Apart from the need to have achieved the age of 35, this party has no constitutional barriers to the nomination of candidates for the party's presidency. The president is elected at the party congress, which includes delegates from the different branches of the party.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES AND PARTY CAMPAIGNS

The qualification requirements and nomination procedure for parties' candidates for various offices in Namibia vary from office to office.

In the case of the country's presidency, the requirements and procedure are generally the same as those for the president of the party.

In the case of seats in the National Assembly, candidates are chosen by parties' electoral colleges. In Swapo's case, 72 candidates are chosen for the party on the basis of the number of votes they receive in the electoral college. Nudo

also uses a party list system, but in its case members' names are ranked by the party leadership to determine membership of the National Assembly.

In the case of the National Council and regional and local authority councils, members are identified and elected through parties' regional and local party structures. In order to represent Swapo or Nudo, candidates are required to hold the parties' membership cards and to have paid all outstanding membership fees. Once elected, parties' candidates will hold office for the periods associated with the various offices, and may be re-elected. Candidates for national and regional offices can serve for up to five years, for district branches up to three years, local branch up to two years and certain other offices up to one year.

At all levels, Nudo requires that at least 50% of its candidates shall be women, and to ensure that this is successful it has adopted training for aspiring candidates. The party also requires that at least 30% of its lists are made up of youth, with San people representing 20%. In the legislature, some seats are reserved for women and various minorities, and these members are appointed by the party president. Differently from Swapo, Nudo puts no limits on the number of times a candidate can hold an elected office on behalf of the party.

There are procedures for election campaigning. In Swapo's case, for example, the party produces an election manifesto. This is developed by one of the subcommittees of the party's National Preparation Election Committee, which is set up before national elections. The draft manifesto is required to be approved and adopted by the party leadership.

During campaigns, parties' candidates are expected to campaign for their parties at all levels. At other times, Swapo, for example, conducts house-to-house visits on a non-partisan basis to provide voter education and other civic training.

Nudo also produces an election manifesto for the guidance of its members during the campaigning process. This is developed by the party's election manifesto committee, which incorporates comments from ordinary members throughout the party structure.

PARTY OUTREACH PROGRAMMES

Political parties in Namibia are in dire need of finances to conduct their business. With the exception of Swapo, the MAG and the RP, parties have difficulty in maintaining their administrative offices. In 2005 the DTA and Nudo were only rescued once their quota on the government funding of parties represented in parliament was released. Such is the clamour for funds that three senior Nudo members were recently suspended when they cashed the first instalment of the party's share for themselves. Under these financial difficulties, most opposition parties are heavily preoccupied with their survival and have too few resources to involve themselves in non-political developmental or cultural outreach activities within their respective communities.

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL RELATIONS

Swapo

This party has good relations with various organisations and sister political parties internationally. It has observer status with Socialist International and contacts with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola, Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe, Frelimo in Mozambique, the African National Congress in South Africa and Chama Cha Mapinduzi in Tanzania, all of whom were sister parties in the liberation struggle against apartheid colonialism. Swapo respondents indicated that the party has no alliance or cooperation arrangements with other political parties in the country. Election management body (EMB) respondents indicated that the party has a formal relationship with the Political Party Liaison Committee. With regard to the civil society, Swapo has, as earlier indicated, a relationship with the NUNW, which is an affiliate of the party. The party owns *Namibia Today*, which is its national media outlet.

Nudo

This party has no international party connections and no connection either with any other political party. Nor does it have a relationship with any CSOs or own any media outlets. It is a voting member of the EMB.

GENDER EQUALITY

Gender issues in politics have preoccupied scholars since the dawn of African independence. Some observers have characterised African states as patriarchal.

This is so because they have inherited many systems and values from the colonial regimes, which excluded women from the decision-making process.¹² Although a number of African states have in recent years started to pay more attention to gender equality, women's representation in politics has generally remained insignificant.¹³

In Namibia, gender equality in politics has become a crucial issue. CSOs with a gender equality agenda have been in the forefront of ensuring that the government adheres to the gender provisions of the Namibian constitution as well as to international and regional agreements. At the political level, Swapo has shown political understanding and maturity towards gender issues. Although it is the current governing party, Swapo's exposure to gender issues dates from the pre-independence period, when, while it was in exile for nearly 30 years it had been exposed to and participated in gender affairs at international forums. As a liberation movement, it established the Swapo Women's Council as one of its wings to participate in the various international conferences and activities related to gender equality. It was therefore inevitable that both at the time of independence and as the governing party, Swapo should have encouraged the involvement of women in its political ranks and government. As in the case of other liberation movements, Swapo also had several women cadres in the ranks of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia. The involvement of women in the liberation struggle may have helped to break down some of the entrenched cultural stereotypes and attitudes towards women.¹⁴

Since the 1992 post-independence regional and local elections, there has been a steady increase in the number of women elected to political office. As earlier indicated, however, the type of electoral system used for the various elections influences the degree of gender representation. Women fare better with PR than they do with FPTP elections. In Namibia, members of the National Assembly (lower chamber of parliament) and the local authority councils are elected under PR, while those for the National Council (upper chamber of parliament) and the regional councils are chosen by FPTP elections.

According to Lindeke and Wanzala¹⁵ and Pendleton et al,¹⁶ Namibia's affirmative action provision for locals is in terms of the 1992 Local Authorities Act. By contrast, the FPTP representation is very low – three women out of a

total of 95 elected regional council members and only one out of a total of 26 National Council members.¹⁷

PARTY FUNDING

All parties distribute their campaign funds on the basis of decisions from party politburos or central committees, with the funds being allocated to regional party structures.

Swapo

While individual candidates are not expected to raise campaign funds, regional and local branches are expected to raise funds for their own campaign activities. No information was available from the party in answer to the following questions:

- What was the total amount of campaign income used in the last election year and the last non-election year?
- Once nominated, how much do party candidates receive, if any, for their personal election campaigns?
- Once nominated, what are candidates' spending limits for election contests?
- How much funding, if any, are party candidates required to bring to the party in order to secure their candidacy?

The party does not provide funds to women's, youths and other wings, which have their own budgets.

In the last non-election year, the main sources of income were public funding from the state, membership fees, income from fundraising activities and events, and individual donations. Most party expenditure goes on salaries and transport. General and campaign income and expenditure are published regularly through annual financial reports and edited financial reports.

Nudo

Few replies were available to the funding section of the questionnaire, except that all party candidates are expected to raise specific amounts of funds, which are dispersed at the discretion of candidates and the regional and local leadership. Local and regional party branches also raise funds for their

own campaign activities. The party has no significant sources of funds, and fundraising methods are still to be devised.

DEMOCRACY WITHIN PARTIES

Swapo

Policy development changes are influenced by affiliated external organisations, such as the NUNW trade union, auxiliary internal organisations, such as the women's and youth wings, delegates to the party congress, the national executive and ordinary party members. Of all these, only the party congress has absolute approval or veto power in finally deciding major policy changes.

A candidate's commitment and dedication to the party cause and his or her experience of community-based interests are some of the factors that will positively affect the candidate's chances of being elected by the party.

Nudo

Similarly, this party's policy development changes are influenced by delegates to the party congress, local party structures, the national executive and ordinary party members. Auxiliary internal party structures have a fair amount of influence in initiating policy change. In addition, similar bodies greatly participate in debating major policy changes.

Various factors affect a candidate's chances of being elected by the party. Being a good public speaker is seen to be important. Other factors include how close an individual is to the party leader or senior party officials, experience of holding party office, local or regional connections with the community as well as length of party membership. The party does not regard educational qualifications or personal wealth as important factors for candidate selection.

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

Namibia is a thriving democracy adhering to the rule of law. Although a young country with only 15 years' experience of democracy, Namibia's government institutions are well entrenched and consolidated. Although the legislature is weak because of the dominance of the governing party, there is still a clear separation of powers between the three levels of

government. Many incidents since independence have tested the validity of this assertion. Over the years, government actions have frequently been challenged by individual citizens or communities and the government abided by the outcome of such challenges.

Presidential appointments made without the correct constitutional procedures have also been challenged, as in the case of the appointment of the second ombudsman in 1996. In this and similar cases, the Swapo government has not used its majority representation in parliament to influence independent decision-making bodies.

For the past 15 years, the political environment has been conducive to the exercise of individual rights and freedoms as enshrined in the constitution. It is for this reason that one is confident that democratic practice through active participation of political parties will be strengthened for years to come.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The fact that Namibia has neighbours with vibrant multiparty systems is an encouragement for tolerance and the politics of inclusion. Since the 1990s the SADC region has consolidated democratic practice in terms of the conduct of elections. Political changes in Angola and the DRC will give further impetus to this process. Namibia's involvement in regional and international organisations such as SADC, the African Union and the Commonwealth provides a wealth of experience both for members of political parties and for government officials and structures. Political parties have participated in election observer missions under the auspices of these organisations and their experience has immensely influenced the political perspectives of individual members and their parties.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has investigated the nature of political parties in Namibia. Parties that were formed in the early 1960s and 1970s tend to look backwards into history to consolidate their support. But since the history of some of these parties has not always been rosy, this approach has not always been helpful. Even these parties, however, continue to participate in the political process, which the political environment allows them to do. Both the law and institutional machinery allow for a broad range of democratic parties, which need to be nurtured.

The survival of parties does not, however, depend only on the provisions of the constitution and the country's legal framework. Opposition parties in particular will have to devise new strategies for fundraising and policy development if they do not wish eventually to exist only on paper. Although 13 parties are registered in the country, the fact that only seven are represented in parliament indicates that there needs to be concern for the survival of political parties.

Democracy within the parties also needs to be encouraged as this is a general shortcoming. Parties have tended to have recourse to party discipline instead of tolerating criticism, and this has led to some defections and to some political apathy. How candidates should be nominated to contest national elections is something that needs to be questioned and reconsidered by all the country's political parties. As there are no legal requirements for parties to streamline these procedures, arbitrary acts by party leaders has been the order of the day.

NOTES

- 1 Cowen M & Laakso L (eds), *Multi-Party Elections in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey, 2002, p 12.
- 2 Salih MMA, *African Democracies and African Politics*. London: Pluto Press, 2001, p 149.
- 3 Whitehead L, The drama of democratisation, *Journal of Democracy*, October 1999, pp 85-98.
- 4 See *Namibia Vision 2030 – Policy Framework for Long Term National Development*. Government of Namibia, 2004.
- 5 Grotperter JJ, *Historical Dictionary of Namibia*. London: The Scarecrow Press, 1994, p 394.
- 6 Weiland H & Braham M, *The Namibian Peace Process: Implications and Lessons for the Future*. Freiburg: Arnold Bergstraesser Institut, 1992.
- 7 SADC ECF, *The Namibia Elections Report: December 1999*. Auckland Park: EISA, 1999, pp 21-23.
- 8 Totemeyer GKH, Weiland H & Wehmhorner A, *Elections in Namibia*. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers, 1996, p 127.
- 9 Ibid, p 129.
- 10 Schedule 7 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia.
- 11 DTA Policy Statement.
- 12 Ibrahim J, *Expanding Democratic Space in Nigeria*. Dakar: Codesria, 1997, p 78.
- 13 Swai F, The position of women in political party leadership, in *The Road to Democracy*. ESAURP, Dar es Salaam: Tema Publishers, 1998, p 117; Cowen & Laakso, op cit, pp 60-74.
- 14 Ibrahim, op cit, p 82.
- 15 Lindeke W & Wanzala W, Regional elections in Namibia: Deepening democracy and gender inclusion, *Africa Today* 41(3), 1994, pp 9-13.
- 16 Pendleton W, Shiimbi T, Tonchi V & Wanzala W, *A Study of Voting Behaviour in the 1992 Namibian Regional and Local Government Elections Plus Election Statistics*. Windhoek: University of Namibia, 1994, p 20.
- 17 Ibid, p 20; Electoral Commission of Namibia. *Analysis of the 2004 Local Authorities Election*. Namibia, 2004, p 11.

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- <http://www.op.gov.na/Decade_peace/mof.htm> (15/07/2005)

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 10th anniversary both at its headquarters in Stockholm, Sweden, and also at select venues around the world.

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