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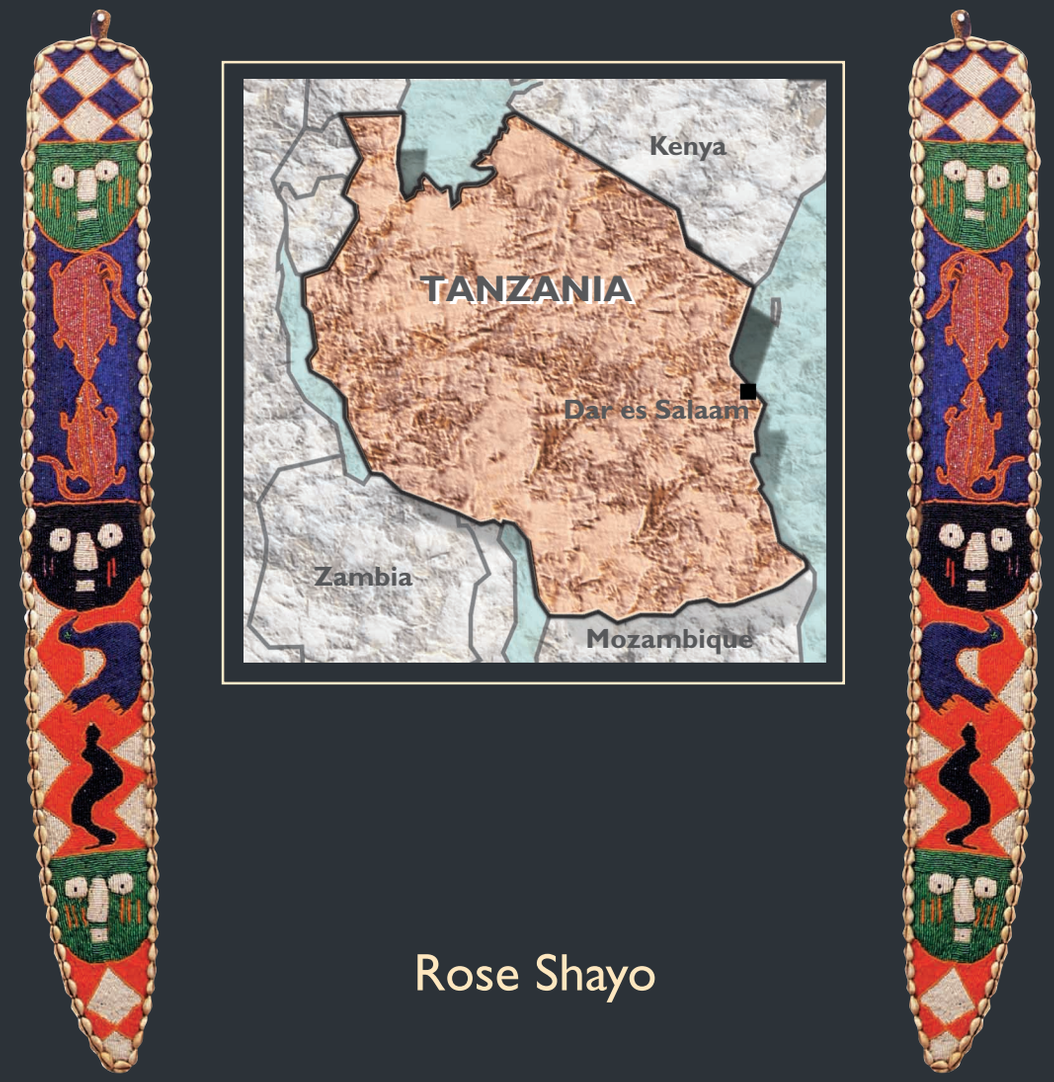

Rose Shayo

EISA RESEARCH REPORT No 24

PARTIES AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA

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BY
ROSE SHAYO

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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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EISA Research Report, No. 24

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR ROSE SHAYO is a senior lecturer and has for the past 25 years been working with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) based at the University of Dar es Salaam. She is convenor of the IDS Women's Studies Group and chairperson of the Tanzanian Chapter of Women, Law and Development (WilDAF). She has undertaken research and published several papers and articles on various development issues, including women and politics, gender and technology, gender and employment, gender and higher education, gender and poverty. Some of her published articles have included, *Women's participation in elective politics in Tanzania: Problems, prospects and challenges*, REDET Report 8, 2001; Gender and employment sector reforms in Tanzania, *IDS Journal* 5(2), 2004; Alternative technologies available for women in Africa, *Women's Encyclopaedia* 7, 2004; and The march towards gender equality in higher learning institutions: The case of the UDSM, *IDS Journal* 5(5), 2004. Dr Shayo has also been active as a local and international consultant on various gender training programmes dealing with gender mainstreaming, budgeting and planning.

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PREFACE

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

Since the 1990s, most SADC countries (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 Moloi, 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 party leaders who were interviewed and gave generously of their time. Last but not least, we would like to thank Dr Rose Shayo for her insightful contribution to this programme.

Khabele Matlosa
Project coordinator and series editor
EISA

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CC	Central Committee
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
Chadema	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
Chausta	Chama cha Ustawi wa Tanzania
CSO	Civil society organisation
CUF	Civic United Front
DP	Democratic Party
Ford	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
GDP	Gross domestic product
GGC	General Governing Council
Makini	Demokrasia Makini (Maarifa, Kilimo na Nishati)
MP	Member of parliament
NCCR	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC	National Executive Committee
NGC	National Governing Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PPT	Progressive Party of Tanzania – Maendeleo
Redet	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents findings from a study conducted in Tanzania for the EISA project on 'Strengthening democracy through dialogue with parties'. The overall aims of this project are to examine the functioning and regulation of parties in Tanzania during the multiparty era, and to identify best practices in relation to the functioning of parties in Southern Africa. The report provides comparative information on various aspects that were raised, including party formation, membership, policy development and relations within and between parties, as well as constraints and challenges facing parties when it comes to practising effective democracy.

Information presented in this report was obtained from primary and secondary sources. The former involved in-depth interviews with key leaders of the four parties included in the survey, namely, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the Civic United Front (CUF), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Chadema) and the Tanzania Labour Party (TLP).

Except for the CCM ruling party, the parties surveyed were established in the early 1990s after the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Tanzania. Multiparty politics existed in the pre-independence period (1961), but was abolished in 1965, leaving the country as a one-party state. Since the resumption of multiparty politics, there have been almost 100 attempts to establish parties. Owing to the strict regulations, however, only 17 of these had been registered at the time of writing, and of these only the four included in this study are active and have genuine and wide coverage throughout the country (that is, from national to grassroots levels).

It is evident from the findings that all four parties surveyed have well-designed legal documents (party constitutions, policy documents and election manifestos) for regulating their functioning. For instance, each party's constitution, although written and formatted in different styles, covers the party's objectives, membership (rights and duties) and meetings and organs, from national to grassroots levels. Most constitutions have remained unchanged for many years, but the CUF's was revised after 10 years, in 2003. The parties have clear processes and procedures for nominating leaders. These vary from party to party and depend on the positions in question and

the party's financial stability. There are also differences with respect to the nomination of candidates seeking election to positions both within and outside their own parties. Generally, the parties emphasise age, membership status, academic qualifications and the support from members required by the law. Although there are remarkable differences regarding the interpretation of these basic qualifications, it became evident that the parties' respective national executives or governing councils approve the names of all presidential and parliamentary candidates.

All four parties reported having leaders elected through party meetings and by society at large – both proceeded by election campaigns. Although most elections have been smooth, there have been many petitions against certain election irregularities as well as allegations of corruption.

Members generally have the right to participate in all political activities within their parties. However, some members, such as civil servants, are not allowed to take an active part in politics, including holding key leadership positions, especially in opposition.

The survey findings established that parties adopted both top-down and bottom-up approaches in dealing with various aspects related to the functioning of their parties.

Party membership is generally broadly inclusive. Parties prepare gender data mainly for internal purposes, but are not allowed to form parties on the basis of sex, class, ethnicity or religion. Owing to the continuous movement of members both within and across parties it was not possible to establish the actual number of members of the various parties.

Most respondents were not willing to disclose information on issues related to finances. Except for the ruling party, most parties do not have adequate funds or assets.

Most opposition parties indicated that they are experiencing several problems and challenges. Some of our recommendations include the need to:

- improve the quality of opposition parties, particularly in relation to their internal functioning;

- create neutral political institutions to deal with constant conflicts within and between parties;
- establish a fair playing field by laying down sound financial policies with clear information that requires parties to disclose the sources of their funds and donations, and the details of their campaign spending;
- design gender-sensitive strategies for addressing gender issues within parties, including both quantitative and qualitative aspects; and
- organise periodic meetings to generate debate on issues related to the functioning of parties, as well as to establish and share information on best practices.

1

INTRODUCTION

This report presents findings from a study undertaken to examine the functioning of political parties in Tanzania and the regulations that govern them. The study aimed to get a full picture across the 13 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries regarding various aspects affecting parties and democracy, including external regulations governing the parties, parties' internal functioning and other socio-economic aspects.

The individual country studies were undertaken to obtain comparative data and to help to identify best practices in the region that might serve as examples to countries wishing to engage in political reform. The findings are expected to promote informed and constructive debate that will, it is hoped, lead to an environment in which parties in the SADC region can grow, flourish and compete.

The study was conducted on four parties, namely the ruling CCM and three opposition parties – the CUF, the TLP and Chadema. These parties were chosen because they have members in the Union Parliament on the Mainland or in the House of Representative in Zanzibar, or both. The findings are presented in a format prescribed by the study organisers, EISA.

The overall objective of this study is to examine patterns and trends during the multiparty era in the subject areas being studied. In order to accomplish the above task, the following specific objectives were pursued, namely, to examine:

- various issues related to the formation of parties, including the year of establishment and the reasons for their establishment, the interest groups served, and the parties' internal relations;
- party structures, as well as the election of party leaders;
- the various processes and procedures parties follow in formulating their policies and programmes;
- issues related to party membership;
- the processes and procedures parties use to nominate candidates to various positions, such as the country's presidency and MPs;

- parties' external relations, including their local and international contacts; and
- funding arrangements, including membership fees, funding of campaigns, support for regional branches, income, fundraising strategies, party assets and patterns of expenditures within and among parties.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

EISA provided researchers with a detailed questionnaire (see appendices) containing information on the methodology to be observed by researchers participating in the project.

The data and information presented in this report were obtained from both secondary and primary sources. The main secondary sources include published and unpublished information available from the University of Dar es Salaam main library, the Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania (Redet) Programme, the Tanzanian government and the various parties studied.

Primary sources of information came from the questionnaires that were to be completed by key people in each party, including the chairperson, the secretary, the treasurer, the information officer and representatives dealing with specific issues, such as women's and youth policies and programmes.

During field surveys it was not possible to find all these people for each party. In these circumstances, researchers were expected to complement information from primary sources with secondary data and information available from both government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

The four parties selected from the country's 16 registered parties were included because they all have representatives in the Union Parliament or House of Representatives or because they participated in the 1995 or 2000 presidential elections. The selection criteria were:

- *Number of representatives in Union Parliament and House of Representatives:* All the selected parties have representatives in

the Union Parliament and House of Representatives. In the first and second multiparty election in 1995 and 2000, the CCM had the largest number of seats, with 185 and 202 MPs respectively. The CUF had 24 MPs in 1995 and 17 in 2000. Chadema had 3 MPs in 1995 and 4 in 2000. The TLP had no MPs in 1995 and 4 in 2000.

- *Participation in presidential elections:* All the parties except Chadema participated in the 1995 and 2000 presidential elections. The parties nominated the same candidates for both terms – Mr Mkapa was the CCM's nominee, Prof Lipumba was the CUF's nominee and Mr Mrema was the TLP's nominee.

- *Party histories:* The ruling party (the CCM) was formed more than 28 years ago and has not split or merged with other parties, while its top leadership has remained solid and united. In the TLP and Chadema there have been leadership changes. Indeed, the TLP was formed from nearly all the members of another party, NCCR-Mageuzi, when they left that party with their leader, Mr Mrema, after a conflict of interest.

The table summarises the designations and genders of the respondents involved in the study.

Table 1: Respondents and party affiliations

Party	Designation	Sex	Total
CCM	Director of Information	M	One
UVCCM	Directors of Information and Policy Development	M	Two
Chadema	Secretary-general	M	One
CUF	Secretary-general	M	One

We could not interview party chairpersons, as they were all involved with various party activities. They did, however, delegate their responsibilities to other key officials.

Four difficulties or limitations were encountered in the process of collecting information for this report, namely:

- There were complaints from respondents on the way the study had been formulated. They were concerned about the study's top-down approach. The questionnaires were, however, prepared by EISA/IDEA, which asked the country researchers to complete them as they were. In view of this, some of the sensitive questions about funding and sources of funding were not answered as respondents found these 'too demanding'.

- Respondents also complained that the questionnaires were too long and too detailed. Most respondents said that they were too busy with party activities to do justice to the questionnaires.

- Respondents found it difficult to keep their appointments with us, and in each case we had to arrange three or more sessions for all the issues in the questionnaire to be discussed. In all, the researchers needed seven trips to complete the questionnaires.

- Information from party reports and data on sensitive issues such as membership was difficult to obtain from all the parties.

2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

When Tanzania became independent, it was among the poorest countries in the world. The situation became worse from the mid-1970s to the late-1980s, when Tanzania went through severe economic crises, prompted externally by the 1973 OPEC oil price hikes and exacerbated by a deterioration in Tanzania's balance of payments from 1977, the war with Uganda in 1978 and the second oil price hike in 1979. Domestic conditions were no better. In addition, the protective, inward-looking import substitution policies discouraged export expansion and stifled competition both politically and economically.

These crises adversely affected the economy and were manifested in huge balance of payment deficits, high inflation rates, a huge external debt, stagnant and sometimes negative per capita gross domestic product (GDP) growth, and a general lack of basic consumer goods. Attempts to resolve the crisis led the Tanzanian government to sign agreements in 1986 with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. After the crises of the 1970s and 1980s, the economy has been slowly recovering, largely due to liberalisation and structural adjustment policies. Domestic inflation, which had averaged 25% between 1986 and 1994, fell to 11% by June 1998 and to single digit levels from 1999.

Today, achievements in macro-economic stability have included increased official and private capital inflows and improved foreign capital reserves. Gross official reserves were up by one-third from US$1,529 million in 2002 to US$2,038 million in 2003 – equivalent to 8.9 months of imports of goods and services. Growth in GDP has averaged 5.4% a year over the past five years, or considerably higher than the average for African countries.[1] The improved performance of Tanzania's economy is the result of the structural reforms that the government has consistently pursued over the past 11 years.

It has been a substantial achievement indeed, with the manufacturing and construction sectors growing by impressive annual rates of more than 8% and 11% respectively – the latter in the wake of primary education development and road construction programmes. While the rate of capital

investment increased from 14.7% to 18.5% of GDP between 1997 and 2003, this is still too low for economic development to accelerate effectively. As a result of tax reforms and greater administrative efficiency, there has also been a significant increase in revenue collections – from an average of some Tsh25 billion a month in the early-1990s to Tsh108 billion a month in 2003/4.

These achievements have facilitated the servicing of external debt, the development of financial markets and improvements to the money supply, credit facilities and export levels. They have also led to the reopening of enterprises that had closed before privatisation, an increase in the quantity and quality of goods and services, increased tax revenue from privatised businesses, increases in employment and a strengthening of the education and health environment.

3

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATISATION

Tanzania had been a multiparty state from before independence until 1965, when the decision to establish a single-party state was implemented. In recent times, political development has gone hand in hand with socio-economic development, with the most significant feature being the establishment of multiparty democracy in the early-1990s that culminated in the first multiparty election in 1995.

We call it a *political* development because it was attained after a nationwide debate and referendum at which the people voted for the best course of action. Politicians (including the late President Nyerere), elites and the media were all involved in educating the masses on the need to shift from one-party to multiparty politics. Although 80% of those voting remained in favour of single-party rule, with only 20% preferring a multiparty democracy, the decision was taken to go for the latter. The political development for Tanzania was that the minority view should prevail as the politicians accepted that a change to multiparty politics was in the country's best interests.

However, this change took place when the ruling party and the government retained both political and economic power. As a result, there was no immediate redistribution of national resources in favour of newly emerging parties. The opposition therefore remained weak until some senior members of the CCM started breaking away from their party to join the opposition forces. Today, therefore, the CCM and other parties may remain the same *de jure* but not *de facto*. Resources, however, are still not being allocated equally, and this has allowed the CCM – in the same way as ruling parties in other countries – to continue to retain its power.

At the same time, the CCM has broadened the democracy by permitting – in line with President Mkapa's credo of 'openness, transparency and accountability' – the rise of private media, independent journalism and almost unlimited freedom of speech and of the press. Other key players, such as the trade unions and civil society, have been able to become involved in the process, as they are no longer subject to an authoritarian government.

Since Tanzania adopted multiparty politic, several social groups have played decisive roles in achieving broader democratic participation. These have included student and youth groups, political, human rights and women's organisations, and the church. Firm leadership has strengthened the favourable political climate. Perhaps the only weakness has been that the progressive sector of the country's society operates predominantly at present in the capital cities, with the rest of the country and the rural population having been almost forgotten.

While cases of electoral corruption have occasionally been reported, these have mainly involved individuals, and not the CCM as the ruling party.

DEMOCRATISATION WITHIN PARTIES

Inevitably, the degree of democratisation within parties depends on the freedom, openness, accountability and above all ethics that bind the members into one responsible organ. From the grassroots there are party organs through which every member has a right to participate and air his or her views, right up to the apex of the party at the national level, where major decisions are made.

There is a participative democracy within the ruling party that permits opposing views. Occasionally, this is quite different from what happens when the word of the party chairperson is all that matters.

The ruling party's encouragement of democracy within its ranks has been for a real reason and not 'just for the sake of it'. The party in power has welcomed alternative approaches and different points of view on the management of resources and the economy generally in order to create improved conditions for the people. The success of this approach can be seen in the country's dramatic economic improvement. The party's altruistic-sounding agenda has included opening the doors to broad citizenship rights – including the right to life and the right to a minimum income – as well as giving attention to questions such as redistribution and control of ownership, resources and powers, and working towards gender equality.

4

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS

The contemporary history of multiparty politics in Tanzania can be traced back to the early 1990s, when Tanzania's first president, the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, introduced the idea of reinstituting a multiparty system in the country. According to Mmuya and Chaligha,[2] President Nyerere called a press conference in February 1990 and announced that it was not treasonable to debate multiparty politics in Tanzania. Moreover, he challenged Tanzanians to start thinking about the relevance of retaining a single-party system: 'The single party is not a religious dogma that was never to be tampered with,' he said. The National Executive Committee of the CCM, under his chairmanship, endorsed his proposals and sanctioned a national debate on multiparty politics in Tanzania.

A commission under the chairmanship of Chief Justice Francis Nyalali was formed to gauge public opinion on the reintroduction of multiparty politics. Msekwa[3] reports that Tanzania officially became a multiparty state in 1992 and the constitution was amended after 30 years of one-party politics to accommodate the new changes. According to Ngware,[4] however, the ruling CCM has continued to exercise an almost exclusive monopoly of power and authority, even though 12 parties were formally registered between 1992 and 2001. Indeed, Chachage[5] argues that by 1994, 43 parties applied for provisional registration but only 13 managed to get full registration. Likewise, five parties were formed between 2002 and 2005.

It is pertinent to note that the majority of members of opposition parties came from the ruling party (the CCM), including the leaders of various parties. Thus, it is proper to indicate that most opposition parties are splinter groups from the pre-multiparty period. According to Malyamkono[6] after the reintroduction of multiparty politics, most people started to challenge the supremacy of the ruling party. In this respect, although the CCM was very strong as an institution it began to lose support from the people, thus providing space for the creation of new parties. Nevertheless, very few of these parties have gained broad-based support, particularly at grassroots levels. This is clearly reflected in the location of their head offices. All the

parties except for the ruling party (the CCM) have their head offices in Dar es Salaam city. The head office for the ruling party (the CCM) is in Dodoma, which is the capital city of Tanzania. Between 1993 and 2004, 16 parties had achieved full registration. Table 2 summarises details of registered parties in Tanzania in 2005.

Table 2: Details of registered parties in Tanzania, 2005

Name	Certificate	Chairman	Secretary-General	Address & other details
1. Chama cha Mapinduzi (the CCM)	001/92	Benjamin William Mkapa	Philip Mangula	Kuu Street, Dodoma Telephone 21805757
2. Civic United Front (the CUF)	002/93	Ibrahim Lipumba	Seif Sharrif Hamad	Mtendeni Street P O Box 3637, Zanzibar Telephone 024 22 37446
3. Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (Chadema)	003/93	F Mbowe	W Slaa	Ufipa Street, Kinondoni P O Box 5330, DSM Telephone 2170785
4. Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD)	004/93	Salum Ally	Idrissa Ali Bakari (acting)	Itungi Street, Magomeni P O Box 298, DSM Telephone 074 44 78153
5. National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi)	005/93	James Mbatia	Mwaiseje Polisya	Kilosa Street, No 2, Ilala P O Box 72474, DSM Telephone 074 43 18812
6. National League for Democracy (NLD)	006/93	Emmanuel Makaidi	Khalfan Matumiah	Plot D/73, Sinza P O Box 352, DSM
7. United People's Democratic Party (UPDP)	012/93	Fahmi Dovutwa	Abdullah Ally	Shariff Mussa Street, Kagera P O Box 11746, DSM P O Box 3121 Zanzibar Telephone 074 47 53075
8. National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA)	009/93	Rashid Mputa	Masoud Ratuu	Bububu Street, Tandika Kilimahewa P O Box 100125, DSM Telephone 074 44 96724

9. Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party (Tadea)	010/93	John Lifa Chipaka	Charles Dotto Lubala	Buguruni Malapa P O Box 482, DSM Telephone 022 28 65244
10. Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)	012/93	Augustine Mrema	Rajab Tao	Argentina, Manzese P O Box 7273, DSM Telephone 074 43 25648
11. United Democratic Party (UDP)	013/93	John Momose Cheyo	Teddy Kasela Bantu	Mbezi, Juu P O Box 5918, DSM Telephone 074 86 13723
12. Demokrasia Makini (Makini)	014/01	Godfrey Hicheka	Dominick Lyamchai	Kinondoni, Mkwajuni Mabuki P O Box 70387, DSM Telephone 074 83 42077
13. Haki na Ustawi (Chausta)	015/01	James Mapalala	Joseph Mkomagu	Drive-Inn, Oysterbay P O Box 5450, DSM Telephone 074 49 90228
14. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford)	016/02	Ramadhan Mzee	Emmanuel Patuka	13 Kibambawe Street, Kariakoo P O Box 15587, DSM Telephone 074 44 78116
15. Progressive Party of Tanzania (PPT-Maendeleo)	4/3/2003	Peter Kuga Mziray	Ahmed Hamad	Plot No 11 Morocco Rd P O Box 31932, DSM Telephone 074 43 00302
16. Jahazi Asilia	18/11/2004	Abuu Juma Amour	Shaaban Kakinga	Saateni JKU Road P O Box 761, Zanzibar Telephone 074 74 28593

Source: Registrar of parties in Tanzania, November 2005

It will be seen that the first 11 parties were formed immediately after the introduction of multiparty politics, while the others were formed in the past five years. Parties in the later category include Demokrasia Makini, Chausta, and Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford), the Democratic Party (DP), Progressive Party of Tanzania (PPT)-Maendeleo, and Jahazi Asilia.

Parties from the days of pre-multiparty politics, including the ruling CCM, have a history dating back to soon after the attainment of political independence in 1961. The CCM has a strong ideology base and a strong national grassroots identity. It has a firm and sustainable organisational structure and continues to gain support.

Later parties, which are in opposition, can be divided into those formed between 1992 and 2000 and parties formed more recently.

5

EXTERNAL REGULATIONS AND ENVIRONMENT

LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE FORMATION OF PARTIES

This is detailed in a 1992 government notice, titled Party Registration – popularly know as the Regulations – which includes information on:

- conditions for applying for temporary registration;
- processes and procedures for applying for full registration;
- office-bearers and changes in office-bearers;
- changes in the location of a party's head office or postal address;
- changes to the name or status of a party – including becoming a member or affiliate of another party or organisation located outside the country, or applying for deregistration;
- changes to a party's constitution;
- name changes – generally, parties may not use identical names or names that resemble those of existing parties or that are likely to confuse members of the public;
- records of funds and sources of funds;
- notices, returns and reports; and
- offences and penalties.

The Registrar of Parties may refuse to register a party, but if s/he does so s/he must give reasons for this.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNAL PARTY FUNCTIONS

On paper, most parties have frameworks and polices that allow for internal democracy in all-important matters, including party organs, selection of candidates and settlement of disputes.

CCM

The ruling party has well-designed and elaborate regulations governing almost every aspect of the party. These are contained in the party's constitution and in its *Party Guidelines* document, and include:

- the name, objectives and aims of the party;
- membership and leadership, including founding members,

new members, conditions for joining the party, training of new members, membership contributions, annual fees, resignation from party membership and membership rights and obligations;
- party meetings from branch to national level, the latter including:
  - the National Congress;
  - the National Executive Committee (NEC) and its secretariat; and
  - the Central Committee (CC) of the NEC;
- responsibilities of the CC, including:
  - providing general political guidance;
  - overseeing the implementation of party activities at all levels;
  - spreading the policy of the CCM throughout the country;
  - monitoring the implementation of party elections; and
  - electing district party secretaries.

During presidential elections, the CC also deals with:

- nominations of and recommendations for party members for the positions of chairperson and deputy chairperson of the party;
- nominations for the president of Tanzania;
- nominations of party members for MPs and members of the House of Representatives;
- disciplinary actions against all party members except the party's chairperson and deputy chairperson; and
- issues relating to national security and development.

CUF

The comprehensive constitution of the CUF was formulated immediately after the party's establishment in 1993 and revised 10 years later. It regulates the internal functioning of the party, which was created by Shariff Hamad, a former Zanzibar chief minister in the CCM government. It has a strong base both in Zanzibar and on the Mainland. The party was formed after a pressure group from the Mainland, Chama cha Wananchi, united with Kamahuru from Zanzibar at a meeting that was held at the Institute of Finance and Management in Dar es Salaam.

The CUF is a liberal party and a member of Liberal International and African Liberal networks. The party was established with the intention of improving

the wellbeing of all Tanzanians with respect to socio-economic and political matters.

To be more precise, the party is committed to addressing the needs, interests and priorities of low-income people, particularly in the informal sector (the so-called *Wabangaizaji*). The party works closely with people of all walks of life and has become known as a 'people's party'.

The CUF's constitution and operational guidelines are similar to those of the CCM. Its General Governing Council (GGC), which is its national organ, governs the party and meets on a quarterly basis.

A total of 45 members of the GGC (i.e. 25 from the Mainland and 20 from Zanzibar) are elected by delegates to the party's general congress, which meets every two-and-a-half years. Congress delegates, who are required to pay a registration fee of Tsh500, are drawn from regional and local party branches and other affiliates, such as youth and women's wings. Delegates receive allowances but not salaries. Decisions taken by the congress need to be ratified by the GGC, which is the party's highest decision-making body.

The party's constitution also gives guidance on the formation of party branches, for which a membership of 50 is required.

Chadema

This was one of the first opposition parties in Tanzania. A former Minister of Finance in the CCM government, Mr Edwin Mtei, established Chadema in 1993. Since its inception, Chadema has provided strong opposition because it has a clear programme of activities from national to grassroots levels. Unlike other strong parties, such as the TLP and National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi), Chadema has undergone no split in its ranks and has retained both its original name and its membership integrity. The party is considered to have a centre-right alignment.

Similar to the CUF, Chadema sees its role as fighting for the rights of low-income urban and rural people. It believes that the people's low level of development can be transformed by the power of the people in the private sector of the country's economy. The party's leaders are campaigning for

good economic governance and attacking the misappropriation of public goods and services by the ruling party. They believe that all the country's social groups – from the elite to the business community and the peasants – can combine to create 'peoples power'.

Chadema's constitution includes clear operational guidelines on membership and financial issues, and on the formation and roles of party organs from national to branch levels. The constitution contains procedures for the selection of members of its National Governing Council (NGC), which meets every five years, as well as for the selection of candidates for MPs and for membership of regional and district branches and the party wings for women, youth and people with disabilities. Lower-level bodies elect most of the party leadership in a bottom-up approach, while higher-level bodies elect the directors of various departments. The party also has a code of ethnics for its members and officials.

While Chadema has no formal internal quotas for women or youth, 37% of the members of the NGC are women and almost 23% are youth members. NGC members receive no salaries but are paid subsistence allowances whenever they attend meetings. If available, allowances are also paid at district and regional levels, but again no salaries.

The next highest organ of the party is the NEC, whose members are elected by national, regional and district congresses, as well as by women's and youth wings at regional and district levels. A further 12 members are appointed by the party's national chairperson, half from the Mainland and half from Zanzibar, with six of the members being women or youth members.

The party's structure includes some 25,000 sub-branches – each with at least eight members living in a sub-village – and 8,000 branches – each made up of several sub-branches. There are also 130 district branches and several women's and youth wings throughout the country, as well as regional branches for each of Tanzania's 26 regions, five of which are in Zanzibar.

A representative from a district branch supervises the choice of the leader of a sub-branch. Party members are required to pay a total of TSh500 as annual and subscription fees.

Overall observations

In practice, parties have adopted both top-down and bottom-up approaches in addressing various issues related to the functioning of their parties. Consciously or unconsciously, however, most party leaders have created organisational structures that tend to concentrate power at the top levels, with most decisions handed down to the lower party levels. The chairperson is usually the senior party officer.

The three parties that provided us with information on the subject told us that their parties were all managed by national governing councils, differing only in the details of their structure, size, operation and frequency of meetings.

REGISTRATION OF PARTIES

The 1992 Parties (Registration) Regulations provides detailed information on the processes and procedures to be followed by individuals or groups interested in establishing political parties. Registration is normally in provisional and full stages, and requires copies of constitutions, rules and names and other details of two founding members.

Prospective parties are required to pay the Registrar of Parties' fee, after which, to achieve full registration, they are required to:

- have at least 200 members aged above 18 years;
- have support from at least 10 regions, two of which must be from Zanzibar and Pemba;
- submit the names of their parties' national leaders, one from the Mainland and the other from Zanzibar; and
- provide proper addresses for the national party offices, including the physical location and the postal addresses of their head offices

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS

The presidency

Table 3 summarises the qualifications for party candidates for the country's presidency. As will be noted, these are virtually identical for all the parties.

Table 3: Qualifications for party candidates for presidency

Requirements	Party			
	CCM	CUF	Chadema	TLP
Age – above 40 years	✓	✓ *	✓	✓
Belong to a certain ethnic group	X	X	X	X
Must hold position in party	X	X	X	X
Representative from a certain geographical area	X	X	X	X
Active members of the party for at least five years	✓	✓	✓	✓
Academic qualifications	✓ †	✓	✓	✓‡
Leadership experience – at least five years inside and outside the party	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fulfil all legal requirements of the Registrar of Parties	✓	✓	✓	✓

✓ Reflects a Yes response and X a No response
* For the CUF, at least 45 years.
† For the CCM, this is a basic undergraduate degree.
‡ For the TLP, this is reading and writing fluency in both Swahili and English.

PROCESSES FOR SELECTING PARTY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

CCM

On 10 February 2005, 11 members of the CCM, the ruling party, who were eligible to stand for the presidency, were invited to collect application forms from the party secretary-general. They were then given two months (up to 15 April) to collect at least 25 signatories from 10 regions in Tanzania, including two regions in Zanzibar and Pemba, in order to establish the extent to which party members throughout the country accept each prospective candidate. After the prospective candidates returned their forms to the secretary-general, a confidential meeting was held by the party's national secretariat, which forwarded its technical recommendations to the ethics committee, which then scrutinised and discussed the qualities of each prospective candidate on the basis of prescribed parameters. The ethics committee then forwarded a shortlist of five names to the party's central

committee, which after further discussion forwarded its three preferred names to the party's national congress, attended by some 1,500 members from all 26 of the country's districts. The congress used the three-vote system (*kura tatu*) to declare the name of the winning candidate by a majority of the votes.

CUF

Aspiring candidates from this party similarly collect application forms, which they submit to the party secretaries in the districts where they have permanent residence. The district executive committees then scrutinise the forms and forward them for discussion first by the NEC and then by the party's general congress, after which one name is selected by a simple majority in a secret ballot as the party's presidential candidate. This candidate then recommends the name of his or her running mate as vice-president to the party's central committee.

Chadema

The party's central committee provides forms for assisting party members to elect party leaders, including its candidate for the presidency. There is a timetable for the collection and submission of the forms after these have been filled in. The selection process begins with district and national executive committees, and their recommendations are normally endorsed by the party's national congress. Chadema has introduced a system of giving unsuccessful candidates reasons for their not having been selected.

TLP

Any member aspiring for the presidency must meet the conditions laid down by the party and complete the required forms. The central committee then discusses the qualities of each of the would-be candidates and approves the name of one candidate to stand for the presidency.

Candidates for other offices

All the party constitutions lay down procedures for electing leaders to various positions within their parties, such as:

- national leaders, including party chairpersons and vice-chairpersons;

- party secretaries and treasurers;
- heads of various party organs and committees; and
- regional, district, ward, branch and sub-branch officers.

For leadership positions within a party, similar qualities and procedures generally apply, as in the case of aspirant candidates for the country's presidency. These include diligence, commitment and adherence to party guidelines. For members to become party leaders, sex, colour, ethnicity, class, age or place of residence provide no disqualification. Equality within parties is emphasised by the use of the word 'comrade' (*ndugu*) as the common form of address, although some honorific, such as 'honourable', 'professor' or 'bishop' are gaining currency.

ELECTION CAMPAIGNS AND OBSERVATION

Party leaders are elected through party meetings, while the leadership usually appoints administrators. Parties' national congresses elect all national leaders. While details may differ, political campaigns are a common feature of all parties. These serve two purposes – to advertise a party's policies and to assess the personal attributes and leadership qualities of the various aspirants.

There are today considerable differences compared with the one-party era, when, for example, there was only one candidate for the country's presidency and the voters could vote only 'yes' or 'no', or not vote at all.

Except in 1995, elections in the multiparty era have gone smoothly, although there have been various petitions to contest some parliamentary results. There is stiff competition among parties, and charges of corruption against MPs and councillors during the campaign process are quite common.

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INTERNAL FUNCTIONING AND STRUCTURE

POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Most parties make use of departmental heads to draft policy papers, which then go to the party secretariats for discussion and improvement. Revised policy proposal documents are then forwarded to the central committees for further deliberations, after which they go up to the parties' highest decision-making organs for final approval and endorsement.

The overall policy statements of all the parties surveyed were very similar. All parties expressed commitment to the development of a strong economic and political base that is both self-sustaining and responsive to the needs of the majority of the country's people, particularly the poor and marginalised groups.

OPINION SURVEYS

The CCM, Chadema and the TLP have access to their own opinion survey resources as well as to public resources – which include institutions such as Redet for which they are not required to pay insofar as the research is related to the parties' activities. All three parties also poll their own members' opinions.

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY DECISION DIRECTIVES

All parties noted that they were required to operate within the approved policies of their parties, and that any leaders or members who are in violation of party decisions or rules were subject to disciplinary proceedings involving ethics or advisory boards or committees at all levels of the party structures.

MEMBERSHIP AND RECRUITMENT

The CCM, Chadema and the TLP indicated that they maintained membership registers at the branch level, and that reports on membership were submitted to the party head offices at the national level. There were, however, difficulties in quoting actual numbers because the figures were continually fluctuating.

Nevertheless, the secretary-general of Chadema indicated that at the time of the survey his party had about 850,000 members on the Mainland and in

Zanzibar. This included a membership drive during which no fewer than half a million new members were recruited during 2004 in preparation for the forthcoming election in October 2005.

Similarly, the secretary-general for the TLP reported that his party's membership had increased from fewer than 10,000 members in 1995 to some 300,000 in the year 2000, and to more than one million in 2005.

While the membership strength of the ruling CCM was not known, opposition parties were concerned that it had employed the administrative services of the state for more than 40 years to gain its membership strength. There was further concern that the ruling party could afford to pay its officials and staff much higher salaries than was the case with the opposition parties.

A study by Chaligha[7] established that very few elite people join opposition parties, particularly at the early stages of these parties. All parties had clear criteria for recruiting new members and for the members' rights and obligations once they had joined. The details provided for the ruling party are broadly similar to those of the other parties.

CCM

Members are required to participate fully in party activities, to offer their opinions at party meetings, to take part in elections of leaders and other officials and to be elected to any vacant position in the party. Members may criticise the party and present their views at higher levels if they are not satisfied. They are also entitled to meet any of the party's leaders if they follow laid-down procedures.

People may join the party if they are above 18 years of age, are employed or are a peasant (farmer) and subscribe to the party's constitution. They must also respect other people, be prepared to cooperate with other people and let their actions and deeds be a role model for others. They must, in addition, be hard working and ready to advocate the party's ideology.

Chadema

Members pay fixed amounts in membership and annual fees but the exact amounts were not disclosed. However, most members cannot afford these fees.

TLP

Activists and other influential people are sometimes retained to recruit members. When identified by branch and other leaderships, these recruiting agents may receive small financial support in the form of food and transport allowances. This is especially the case for those with family commitments. A member who joins this party is required to pay TSh200 for his or her membership card plus an annual membership fee of TSh600.

COMMUNICATION WITH PARTY MEMBERS

Individual postal correspondence is the most frequent form of communication in the case of all parties except the CUF, which relies to a large extent on public rallies and meetings. Rallies are also used by the other parties, as are mobile phones and, to a smaller extent due to the limited access to computers, websites and email.

Members who have filed petitions against election results communicate with party leaders in order to receive administrative guidance and support. Although parties' constitutions and election manifestos are widely available, most party leaders said that few of their members read these regularly.

TRAINING

All four parties surveyed offer training to different categories of their membership, including the leadership, campaign volunteers, aspiring candidates, MPs and party officials.

Political training for candidates for senior positions in their parties or for public offices includes training in lobbying, advocacy and social and economic issues. There is also training on gender issues, good governance, multiparty politics, democracy, peace and security.

Civic education programmes for the general public and for women's and youth wings are sometimes offered in partnership with certain NGOs and civil society organisations (CSOs).

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

As the ruling party, the CCM has strong contacts with international organisations, but no details were available.

Chadema
The party communicates with the International Democrat Union (IDU) and has contacts with political parties in various countries, including the Conservative Party of the United Kingdom, the Center Party in Sweden, Kokomus in Finland, the NPP in Ghana, the DP in Kenya, Renamo in Mozambique and the UMP in Sri Lanka.

TLP
The party has 'friends' in the Scandinavian countries and in the United States (particularly the Democrats), who are supporting them. Since 2002 the Netherlands-based Institute for Multiparty Democracy has provided funds to the TLP for civic education training for its members and for capacity-building training for its leaders. The National Democratic Institute of America and the Foundation for Democracy in Africa have provided similar funding.

CUF
This party has contact only with the Liberal Democratic Party in the United Kingdom.

INTERNAL ALLIANCES

Parties have the right to form alliances without having to establish legal entities. Our respondents speculated that the reason for this might be the difficulty new parties have in establishing themselves with little, if any, state funding, which at present is provided in proportion to the votes cast for each party.

Attempts have been made to form coalitions among the opposition parties in an attempt to oust the ruling party. One of these was during the political crisis after the 2000 election in Zanzibar, when some 26 people were killed and several hundred fled the country as political refugees.

It was also reported that parties not included in our survey had formed an alliance to push for constitutional changes and a levelling of the playing field for all political parties. While the law requires the state to provide equal opportunities for all fully registered parties, state support goes mainly to the parties that are represented in parliament, and in proportion to their representation.

RELATIONS WITH THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND OBSERVERS

Our respondents reported that the parties work closely with the country's electoral commission, which was established after the reintroduction of multiparty democracy.

Chadema noted that the electoral commission is the official observer of its party's activities. The TLP also indicated that it has a formal relationship with the electoral commission, but said that the party is not happy with how the electoral commission operates, 'because it favours the ruling party rather than the opposition parties'.

RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Only the CCM, as the ruling party, has wide contacts with the majority of CSOs, including those in the rural areas. The party also participates in the outreach programmes of these CSOs.

Outreach programmes by opposition parties are limited by the parties' weak financial position, and their relations with these organisations and networks are nowhere near as strong as the CCM's. The CUF, indeed, said that it had no formal relations with any CSO or NGO.

However, the TLP and Chadema indicated they have formal relations with several NGOs, including Redet, the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme, the Bunge Foundation, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme and the Media Women's Association of Tanzania.

Chadema added that it worked closely with NGOs on issues related to civic education and debates on the state of democracy in Tanzania. For instance, for the past 13 years Redet has been organising annual conferences on the state of democracy in Tanzania, involving political parties, other NGOs and CSOs, and has also been conducting research and training from national to grassroots levels. What emerged from our interviews was that most parties do not consult with the general public on a regular basis.

MEDIA OUTLETS

In Tanzania, the electronic and print media make up the most important vehicle for communicating with the general public. The law gives political

parties equal access to the media, with free airtime on public television and radio, and free space in government-owned newspapers.

The government owns two television and radio stations – one each on the Mainland and in Zanzibar – while there are at least five private television networks and twice that number of private radio stations. Tanzania also has more than 100 privately owned newspapers.

While no opposition party owns a television network, a few parties do own newspapers. These include a daily, *Tanzania Daima*, which is owned by the chairman of Chadema, and a weekly, *Shaba*, which is owned by the TLP. (At the time of our survey, however, *Shaba* was not being produced due to a lack of funds.)

The ruling party has the lion's share of the media, and opposition parties complain that they have an unequal access to the public electronic and print media.

GENDER EQUALITY

In 1995, the Commonwealth heads of state endorsed an action plan for the promotion of gender equality. Their governments were urged to introduce measures that would result in an immediate increase in the participation of women in politics. The target then was that the ratio of women to the total should be at least 30%. At national level, gender equality is reflected in the country's constitution.

In the context of political parties, however, no up-to-date information is available. This is not surprising, as the law governing parties discourages any emphasis on religion, ethnicity or gender. For the purposes of good governance, on the other hand, it seems important to have figures on the gender composition of parties, as well as other demographic data for their members, such as their region of origin, age, education, class and occupation and the priority needs of themselves and their families.

Respondents also indicated that, particularly at national level, men occupy all the leadership positions, giving the impression that political parties are men's clubs. At the time of the study and in all parties except Tadea, men

filled the positions of party chairmen, secretary-generals, deputy secretary-generals, and publicity and information officers.

Also at committee level, men predominate, although the ruling party has taken some corrective action. Whereas all 21 members of its NEC were male in 1994, by 2002 there were eight women members of the enlarged, 39-member, NEC.

In Chadema, the TLP and the CUF women are grossly under-represented in these parties' NECs. In Chadema, for example, the head of the women's wing is the only woman in this party's 24-member NEC.

PARTY FUNDING

The 1992 Parties Act describes the following as the five main sources of funds for registered political parties:

- membership fees;
- voluntary contributions;
- the proceeds of any investment or project undertaken in which the party has an interest;
- subventions from the government; and
- donations and grants from any other sources.

Only the CCM has significant assets in the form of businesses or buildings.

The opposition parties rent buildings and some cars. The TLP noted, for example, that it owns two cars at its head office and a car in each of two regions, as well as 30 motorcycles and 231 bicycles (one for each constituency) and some public address systems. Fundraising strategies include:

- *CUF:* Property donated by members is auctioned at fundraising functions. Other activities include charity walks, dinners and lunches, and gala dances and festivals.

- *TLP:* This party asks for donations from friends outside the country.

- *Chadema:* This party receives donations from individuals, with the reservation, previously noted, that most businessmen are afraid to support opposition parties. Fundraising is also done through fliers and posters.

All parties indicated that their main expenditure goes on publicity and propaganda, salaries, transport, and research and meetings. No percentage breakdown for these various expenditure items was, however, available.

On paper, all parties are required by law to have their expenditure audited and their audited reports presented to party meetings. The CUF respondent indicated, however, that no regular financial reports were prepared but that, without mentioning the time frame, some audited reports were sent to the Registrar of Parties. The TLP respondent also indicated that no regular reports were prepared or made public, but that some audited reports were discussed by its NEC and forwarded to the Registrar of Parties. Of the parties surveyed, only Chadema prepared regular financial reports at all levels, submitted audited financial reports to its central committee and council for discussion and approval, and sent final reports to the Registrar of Parties.

No information was obtained on how parties spend their money. This was seen as a sensitive issue and one that most respondents were not ready to talk about at any length. Party candidates pay only token amounts for their nomination forms, and most party leaders noted that the majority of Tanzanian people are too poor to contribute significantly to party funds. This applies particularly to the opposition parties, including those we surveyed – the CUF, Chadema and the TLP.

CAMPAIGN FUNDING

As far as campaign funding is concerned, there were differences from party to party.

- *CCM:* This party has a solid funding base that allows it to distribute funds to the national, regional and district branch levels of the party.

- *CUF:* No funds are distributed from the central level, and individual candidates must bear all their own campaign costs.

- *Chadema:* This party's approach is different to the extent that candidates' campaign funding is discussed by the various party organs and distribution takes place according to the amount available. This party's total government funding subsidy is only US$5,000, which is not even adequate to cover daily running costs. Expecting candidates to raise money for their own campaigns becomes a major problem because 'most people at these levels do not have enough money for their own personal needs'. Indeed, 'most people at these levels are not sure about their next meal'.

- *TLP:* The party's NEC discusses campaign-funding requirements and allocates amounts according to party strength in the various areas and the quality of its candidates. Larger amounts go to areas where the competition is stiffer. Presidential candidates receive more than aspirant MPs. The exact amounts depend on the money available at the time of the election. This party's candidates are expected to raise campaign funds themselves and they may spend everything they collect without any party interference.

All parties

Regional and local parties are also expected to raise funds for their own campaigning purposes. This is because funds from the national level are never sufficient. When asked how much income was collected during the last election and non-election years, all the respondents noted that this was confidential information that was disclosed only to the relevant party committees and to the Registrar of Parties.

SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S AND YOUTH WINGS

- *CCM:* This party's youth wing, which has some two million members throughout the country, is 100% supported by the senior party. It also receives income from its projects but the exact amount was not disclosed.

- *Chadema:* In the case of this party, no specific amount is allocated to either women's or youth wings because of the inadequate funding of the party.

- *TLP:* This party allocates 20% of the funds it receives from the Registrar of Parties to its women's wing and 10% to its youth wing. A further 10% goes to the elders of the party. All these wings or groups are also allowed to raise their own funds from any source.

- *CUF:* Both the women's and the youth wings of this party have their own income and also receive contributions from the membership, in the form of membership fees and annual contributions.

7

CONSTRAINTS, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The development of democratic political systems in Tanzania faces a multitude of constraints, challenges and opportunities. Most of these require political will in order to change some rigid or dominant political cultures. This will also require general goodwill and may take a considerable length of time to fully achieve.

MUSHROOMING OF PARTIES

There is a growing concern that changes to Tanzania's political system may have been more the result of external factors than of internal forces. This view seems to be borne out by the way most of the political parties, and particularly the opposition parties, spend more time on party problems than they do on development issues. Also noticeable has been the readiness of some party leaders to rush to create new parties instead of addressing the weaknesses in their present parties. It is largely because of the personal ambitions of party leaders that the wind of democratisation is not yet benefiting the majority of Tanzanians.

LACK OF ENFORCEMENT

Most opposition leaders interviewed felt cheated by the political law. They felt that the ruling party was benefiting too much from government institutions such as the media and the electoral commission, and that the playing field was therefore not level.

PARTY FINANCING

Most opposition parties were facing financial problems and these affect the implementation of their party policies and programmes.

INTERFERENCE WITH PARTY ACTIVITIES

Most opposition parties felt that the ruling party was interfering with their activities, particularly when the opposition parties moved into areas where the ruling party had a strong base.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARTIES

Overall, there is a serious problem with respect to relationships between parties. There is a perception that the ruling party and the government see the

opposition parties and their leaders as enemies rather than as partners jointly responsible for the promotion of a democratic culture in Tanzania. Chadema, for example, indicated that it is not close to the CCM at all.

MEMBERSHIP

Opposition parties complained that some sections of the population, including the elite and business people, do not join their parties because they believe they may suffer negative consequences. They see some government actions as partisan, including directives aimed at preventing government employees from taking an active part in politics, and as ways of discouraging such people from joining opposition parties.

DISCONNECTED OR UNINFORMED PARTIES

Continuous conflicts between parties have led to some party leaders becoming isolated from the general public, which does not take politics as a serious business, with most people believing that politics is a dirty game.

SKEWED PARTY ASSISTANCE

It was alleged that for various reasons rich businessmen, in particular, support the ruling party and not the opposition.

CONFLICTING VIEWS ON ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Most opposition parties do not support or approve many of the steps taken by the government (under the ruling party) to reform the Tanzanian economy, and believe in particular that the privatisation and democratisation programmes have not gone far enough.

GENDER IMBALANCES

Despite efforts by the ruling party to address gender inequalities, these still persist. There is also a concern that the ruling party is putting more emphasis on the quantitative rather than on the qualitative aspects of gender equality.

LIMITED OR INADEQUATE FUNDING

There is hardly any financial support from the state for newly emerging parties, particularly those with no members of parliament. This accounts for the weak base of most parties.

8

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The ruling party (the CCM) is content with the present state of democratisation in Tanzania. Most opposition parties, on the other hand, are dissatisfied with the democratisation process.

- The fragmentation and internal weakness of the opposition parties create a strong opportunity for the ruling party to continue in power for a considerable period of time.

- Unless opposition parties unite or form alliances in order to establish a few strong parties they will not be able to challenge the ruling party, even though many Tanzanians have lost confidence in the CCM due to conflicts within the party.

- There is need to improve the size, quality and internal functioning of the opposition parties. This will require a review of the conditions governing the registration of parties. The following proposals are made in this regard:

    - One or more neutral institutions should be created to deal with conflicts within and between political parties.
    - Sound financial guidelines need to be laid down for parties. These should include clear recommendations on ceilings for donations and on campaign spending.
    - Candidates aspiring to leadership positions such as the presidency of the country and MPs should be required to pay higher deposits or otherwise give proof of their 'success stories'.
    - Quotas for women should be raised to match the current AU norm of 50%. Some parties have been able to achieve this.
    - Regulations should be introduced for the financing of election campaigns, particularly those for the presidency. These should require parties to set funding limits for their campaigns and for all parties to establish a temporary

election fund account with a bank (to be chosen by all parties) for all campaign-related activities. Procedures for reporting need to be established and all parties need to be required to draw and deposit monies into these accounts. Income and expenditure statements should be prepared, and audited reports on these should be made available to the public.

- Likewise, limits for individual donations to parties must be established.
- Additionally, the law should clearly define who is and who is not eligible to contribute money for political activities.
- Individuals or groups should also change the law to prohibit anonymous donations to parties.

NOTES

1 *The State of the Nation*, Statement by His Excellency Benjamin William Mkapa, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, 25 September 2004.
2 Mmuya M & Chaligha A, *Towards Multi-party Politics in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam: FES & DUP, 1992, p 108.
3 Msekwa P, *The Transition to Multi-party Democracy in Tanzania*. TPH, 1995, p 5.
4 Ngware, 1994, p 77.
5 Chachage, paper presented by the author to EISA workshop on party financing, 2004.
6 Malyamkono TL, The development of multiparty politics in Tanzania, in *The Race for the Presidency: The First Multiparty Democracy in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Tema / Government Publishers, 1995, pp 19-20.
7 Chaligha A, Electoral systems in democracies, *Civics*, Redet Reader, 2001, pp 21-53.

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APPENDICES

RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE ON
POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMME

APPENDIX 1:
COUNTRY CONTEXT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **What is the country's record of holding free and fair general elections?**

2. **What is the record of freedom of association as regards forming political parties?**

3. **What is the country's score on the Freedom House index for free and democratic countries? And thinking about changes over the past five years and reasons for the changes, please comment on the Freedom House score?**

4. **How free are parties to present candidates in national elections?**

5. **How, if at all, are political parties restricted in carrying out political or electoral activities?**

6. **What, if any, specific rules or code of conduct exist for the ruling party or ruling coalition?** Provide copies.

7. **What parties and independent candidates are represented in the national parliament (both chambers if applicable) according to the following model?** (use Election Results Archive as one source) – *% of votes; No. of seats in lower chamber; No. of seats in upper chamber; No. of seats held by women in lower chamber; No. of seats held by women in upper chamber*

8. **What, if any, reference do the policy documents of the ruling party/coalition and the biggest opposition party/coalition in parliament make to specific International Conventions on Human Rights?** Provide examples of formulations where applicable.

9. **What other significant – in size or otherwise important – political parties or political groups exist that are not represented in the national parliament?** Indicate why they are significant (size, regional, exiled, influential diasporas, historical, non-parliamentary influence, armed, repressed group, etc.) and measurable national/regional strength (percentage of votes, opinion survey results etc.).

10. **What is the total number of registered parties (if applicable)?**

BASIC MEDIA STRUCTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

11. **Briefly describe the media environment, including: whether political parties have equitable access to major media outlets; difference between paid and free media coverage for parties; access during an election campaign period and during normal times.** Distinguish any differences between publicly and privately owned media.

12. **What are the most important sources from which people say they access political information?** Note source. If survey/poll data is available, if not – skip question.
Television; Radio; Newspaper; The Internet; Friends; Other (please specify)

13. **What is the level of literacy of the general population?** Note source.

14. **If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of the population which:**
Read daily newspapers (combined readership); Read other news print media at least weekly (readership); Have mobile/cellular telephones; Use the Internet?

15. **If survey/poll data is available, what is the percentage of households which have access to:**
Television; Radio; landline telephones?

16. **Apart from the constitution and direct party laws, are there any legal instruments or other circumstances that strongly impact the existence or functioning of political parties?**

17. **Which, if any, are the politically influential groups seeking to influence or maintain power through other means than electoral politics?** (Mechanism used/ Intended influence/ Intended outcome)
Business groups; Ethnic groups; Media; Military; Other non-governmental organisations (specify); Organised crime syndicates; Religious; Unions; Other (specify)

18. **Are there mechanisms for public participation in government decision-making other than elections?**
Parliamentary public hearings; Referenda; User committees; Other (please specify)

19. **Attempt a <u>country nutshell description</u>, 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 repory; 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 s/elect 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 constiuency, 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 additional 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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