



# THE STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZAMBIA – 2003

## FINAL REPORT

Assessment Conducted By  
the *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs* (NDI) and  
the *Foundation for Democratic Process* (FODEP)

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Significant political developments have occurred in Zambia since the 2001 tripartite elections. After having had two previous elections in 1991 and 1996, the 2001 elections produced a multiparty Parliament for the first time since Zambia's independence in 1964. These elections seem to signal that the country has moved from a dominant one party political system to a competitive multi-party system.<sup>1</sup>

Despite these positive political developments, political parties and the party system in Zambia still remain relatively undeveloped. This trend in Zambian political culture may be partly due to the short time period in which political parties have had to organize, a lack of organizational funds, and a host of legal and political obstacles that have exacerbated political party fragmentation. Political parties play a vital and indispensable role in modern political systems and are the *raison d'être* of a multiparty system. It is therefore important to examine the role played by political parties in the Zambian democratic process in order to understand the challenges they face and determine what particular level and type of assistance may be provided to strengthen them.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) implemented a political party assessment with funding from the Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (nIMD) in order to gauge the causes and factors underlying political party weakness in Zambia. The project, "*Defining a More Constructive Role for Political Parties in Zambia – Building from the 2001 Tripartite Elections*" was conceived by FODEP and NDI out of the realization of the need for political parties to reflect upon the role they have played in the past and the role they could play in the future of Zambia's democratic development.

The FODEP/NDI team would like to extend its gratitude and appreciation to the representatives of all of the participants involved, including various political parties, civil society, media, and other stakeholders for cooperating with the assessment. Understandably, this project could not have been completed without their candour and an overall commitment to the democratic growth of their country.

The assessment project was implemented between April 15 and July 15, 2003. Its principal focus was to gather information to support a long-term political party-strengthening program. The goals of the assessment were to assist political parties to:

- Realize that party strengthening is an important and achievable aspiration;
- Broadly define their institutional strengths and weaknesses;
- Identify appropriate actions necessary for parties to play a more constructive and effective role in Zambian politics during and between elections;
- Realize that a strategic agenda is necessary to capitalize on the results of the research; and,

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<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of models for party systems see Sartori, 1976. See also Burnell, 2002.

- Develop the confidence and trust in FODEP and NDI necessary to engage in a long-term capacity building program.

## 1.1 Project Implementation

The project implementation involved the following stages:

**Stage 1:** Undertake consultative visits by FODEP and NDI project team members with the various political party leaders at the national level. These visits were necessary to gain commitment from the top-level party leadership for the project conception phase.

**Stage 2:** Finalize the project conception and plan, incorporating feedback from the consultations. This process also included meetings with national level party leaders to introduce the full project team including the researchers.

**Stage 3:** Conduct interviews and collect information from the various target groups at the national, provincial district and constituency levels.

**Stage 4:** Collate and analyze the data and compile the report.

The report is structured as follows:

**Section 1** Introduction

**Section 2** Evolution of Political Parties in Zambia, organized chronologically.

**Section 3** Overview of Political Developments in Zambia from 1991 to 2003

**Section 4** Economic Overview

**Section 5** Main Findings and Conclusions

**Section 6** Recommendations

## Research Team

The FODEP/NDI research team comprised the following:

Neo Simutanyi	-	Researcher (FODEP)
Sarah Jenkins	-	Researcher (NDI)
Adrian Muunga	-	NDI Resident Representative
Elijah Rubvuta	-	Acting Executive Director - FODEP
Miriam Chonya Chinyama	-	Information Manager - FODEP
Penelope Kamungoma	-	Programme Manager - FODEP

## 1.2 Methodology

The assessment was based on extensive interviews with key informants from political parties: party leaders, officials and members. NDI and FODEP also

conducted interviews with representatives from civil society, trade unions, media and other stakeholders. At the national and provincial levels, the research team conducted interviews with representatives of non-governmental organizations. In sum, approximately a total of 215 individuals were interviewed for the assessment. (See **Annex I** for a List of Organisations and Individuals Interviewed). Prior to the interviews and consultations, NDI and FODEP conducted a thorough literature review on political parties in Zambia and political party organization globally. NDI and FODEP also studied various political party and official documents to obtain a better understanding of political parties in Zambia.

For the purposes of the assessment political parties were grouped into four categories based on the following criteria:

**Group 1** – *Parties that fielded presidential candidates and have an identifiable leader; fielded more than 125 parliamentary candidates and won more than 10 seats in Parliament; and fielded over 750 candidates for the local government elections.*

Parties that fit these criteria are as follows:

- ▶ FDD (Forum for Democracy and Development)
- ▶ MMD (Movement for Multiparty Democracy)
- ▶ UNIP (United National Independence Party)
- ▶ UPND (United Party for National Development)

**Group 2** – *Parties that fielded presidential candidates, have an identifiable leader; fielded more than 100 parliamentary candidates, won less than 10 seats in Parliament; and fielded over 250 candidates for the local government elections.*

Parties that fit these criteria are as follows:

- ▶ Heritage Party
- ▶ Patriotic Front (PF)
- ▶ Zambian Republican Party (ZRP)

**Group 3** – *Parties with an identifiable leader who either fielded a presidential candidate or fielded at least 5 parliamentary candidates*

Parties that fit these criteria are as follows:

- ▶ National Citizen's Coalition (NCC)
- ▶ National Leadership for Development (NLD)
- ▶ Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- ▶ Zambia Alliance for Progress (ZAP)

**Group 4 (Not Included in the Study)** – *Parties with no identifiable leader or did not field at least 5 parliamentary candidates.*

Parties that fit these criteria are as follows:

- ▶ Democratic Party (DP)

- ▶ Liberal Progressive Front (LPF)
- ▶ National Party NP
- ▶ National Lima Party (NLP)
- ▶ Zambia Progressive Party (ZPP)
- ▶ Zambia United Democratic Party (ZUDP)

### **Limitations of the Study**

Despite certain restraints imposed on the assessment, the team is confident that the study provides a fair analysis of the state of political parties in Zambia. The restraints encountered in this assessment are described below.

The team could not connect with all of the political parties that were targeted for the assessment. In part, this challenge was the result of the unstable political environment occurring during the time frame of the project, perhaps placing an undue demand on political party officials, whom the review team had slated to participate in the study. Additionally, in a few instances, party leaders were not inclined to meet the interview team, even though the FODEP/NDI team obtained written authorization by the parties' national leadership to conduct the interviews. These cases were indicative of communication breakdowns between the party leadership and the field, whom had not received word that the interview team received the party's approval to conduct the interviews. Consequently some party officials in the provinces and districts were unwilling to be interviewed.

## **II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ZAMBIA 1991-2003**

### **2.1 Evolution of Political Parties in Zambia**

The evolution of political parties in Zambia can be traced back to the colonial period. The first political parties were the parties that originated from Europeans, which were organised in Zambia by the 1930s. However, these parties were only able to win governmental recognition in the 1950s with some representing African interests up to 1962. In 1962 the first multi-racial elections took place in which Africans gained universal suffrage.<sup>2</sup> The first African political party in the country was the African National Congress (ANC), which was established in 1948 as an offshoot of the Federation of African Societies. Internal differences in the leadership of the ANC regarding policy, specifically the strategy necessary to achieve political independence, led to the formation of Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) in 1958. ZANC was the forerunner of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), which was established in 1959 under the leadership of Fredrick Chiluba. UNIP led Zambia to independence on October 24, 1964 (Mulford, 1967:36-106).

At the birth of independence in 1964, Zambia was a multi-party state. UNIP, the ruling party, faced a small but persistent opposition from the African National Congress (ANC). While the ANC was the main opposition to UNIP between 1964 and 1972, two smaller parties, the United Party (UP) and the United Progressive Party

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<sup>2</sup> The European political parties that existed in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) up to independence were the United Federal Party (UFP), the Dominion Party, Constitution Party and the Liberal Party. In the 1962 elections, two European parties contested the elections. These were the UFP and the Liberal Party.

(UPP) were created during the same time period. Their existence was short-lived, however, because they were outlawed for organising along ethnic lines. The failure of the ANC to command a nation-wide following as well as the pressures for national unity led to the integration of the ANC into UNIP in 1972.

In 1972 when the government announced Zambia would become a one-party state, the Second Republic, as this period is known in Zambia, was enacted into law on 25 August 1973. The 1973 Constitution declared that UNIP was the only political party allowed to operate in Zambia. As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, there were growing demands for an end to the one-party state.

In defiance of the government's one party declaration, pro-democracy groups, initially encouraged by the trade union movement and university students, formed the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in July 1990. Following initial resistance, the government announced that it would hold a referendum on whether to continue the one-party state. Subsequently, in September 1990, the referendum proposal was abandoned in favour of amending Article 4 of the Constitution to allow the formation of other parties.

## **2.2 Political Trends in Zambia, 1991 - 2003**

To its credit Zambia has been deemed an "oasis of peace" in Africa since its independence. Although the country experienced one-party rule for 27 years, there was not the degree of repression and social anarchy that characterized many other African countries. Because of this unique attribute, Zambia's political transition in 1991 was peaceful; Zambia successfully held presidential and parliamentary elections in 1996 and 2001. Despite disputes over the elections results in 1996 and 2001, the country has been able to utilize constitutional provisions to resolve political differences.

The MMD government was elected in 1991 and within six months of assuming office; fragmentation began to surface within the ruling party. Several MPs resigned in the fracas. In 1993, several former cabinet ministers and notable MPs left MMD to form the National Party. Although several MPs successfully won their seats on the NP ticket, the party atrophied and failed to offer a serious challenge to the MMD government. Due to continued dissatisfaction with MMD, two other parties, the Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC) and the Agenda for Zambia (AZ) were formed in 1995 and 1996 respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Faced by a perceived threat from the political opposition, by 1996 the MMD government orchestrated a constitutional amendment to preclude the strongest challenger, UNIP's Kenneth Kaunda, from competing in the 1996 elections. Traditional tribal chiefs were also barred from standing as candidates. In a backlash attempt by supporters of UNIP, the 1996 elections were widely boycotted by civil society representatives, and supporters of UNIP, resulting in a consolidation of MMD's dominance in Parliament. That year, the MMD increased its parliamentary seats from 125 to 131, while the political opposition remained largely fragmented,

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<sup>3</sup> Both parties were led by individuals who held senior positions in the first MMD National Executive Committee and were ministers in Chiluba's first cabinet.

with the combined opposition parties winning only nine seats and the independent candidates having won ten seats. This parliamentary result followed serious irregularities in the electoral process. The alleged irregularities included poor management of the voter registration process, resulting in a massive reduction in voters eligible to participate in the elections. The overwhelming evidence of widespread vote rigging and other forms of electoral fraud in the 1996 elections led to the elections results being challenged in the Courts.

Amid popular contestation, Chiluba announced in May 2001 that he would not seek a third presidential term on the MMD ticket. In late August 2001, Levy Mwanawasa emerged as the party's choice for its presidential candidate.<sup>4</sup> The election date was announced at the end of November, in the middle of the rainy season and well after the MMD had commenced its election campaign. At the dissolution of Parliament, prior to the election, MMD held 89 seats as compared to 131 when elected in 1991. The opposition UPND, NP and UNIP held twenty seats in sum. Forty seats in Parliament were vacant. After a split within the MMD, forty seats that were occupied by that party were left vacant, as several MP's who left the government either joined the opposition or formed other parties<sup>5</sup>.

The 2001 tripartite elections were also widely regarded as flawed by both domestic and international observers. There were serious doubts as to whether the results reflected the will of the people (FODEP, 2002; Burnell, 2002). The final results released by the Electoral Commission of Zambia indicated that about 70% of the registered electorate cast their votes for president. Of these votes the MMD party received 28.69%, while the UPND receiving 26.76%, a difference of 30,000 votes. Expressed as a percentage of registered voters, the MMD received less than 20% of the vote, which makes it the only party to win the government with such a narrow margin of victory since independence, in spite of allegations against the party over vote rigging and other alleged abuses of electoral fraud.

The 2001 elections seem to highlight the risks associated with transitioning from a dominant single party system to a non-authoritarian competitive party system.<sup>6</sup> Of the seven political parties in Parliament, no party had an absolute majority. The MMD won less than 50 % of the seats (46%), while the UPND had just about a third (33%). Combined, MMD and UPND shared about 80% of seats in Parliament. Together, UNIP and FDD accounted for 17% of the seats while the remaining three opposition parties shared 5% of the seats. At the local government level, opposition parties controlled key city and municipal councils in about six provinces. Given these obstacles to political representation in Zambia, the new political landscape after the 2001 elections demonstrates challenges to a country that has grown accustomed to

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<sup>4</sup> Levy Mwanawasa has served as MMD and Republic Vice President in the first MMD cabinet from 1991-94. He resigned citing lack of action on corruption and drug dealing. The Patriotic Front (PF) formed in late September by a senior party official and close ally of Chiluba was a reaction to the manner in which MMD's National Executive Committee chose the presidential candidate.

<sup>5</sup> The twenty-two MMD MPs who had opposed the third term had been expelled from the party, but had won a High Court injunction to retain their seats until the matter had been determined. In a turn of events, the expelled MPs initiated a bid to impeach President Chiluba from office for gross violation of the Constitution, which forced Parliament not to meet for eight months. Other MPs who had lost their seats was due to change of party allegiance, such as an independent and one National Party MP both of who held high position in the UPND.

<sup>6</sup> For a further discussion of models of party systems see Sartori, 1976.

dominant single party governments, both in the one-party era and during the last ten years of multiparty politics.<sup>7</sup>

Since President Levy Mwanawasa pledged oath for national office in 2002, he has faced a number of significant political challenges, including the establishment of a broad-based and inclusive government, eliminating corruption within the government and addressing the ongoing factional struggles within the MMD. Mwanawasa has dealt with these contentious issues by targeting some of the political party leadership that supported his rise to presidential office, including former president Chiluba. In a widely controversial move, Mwanawasa lifted Chiluba's immunity in order to render him eligible to stand trial on corruption charges. Mwanawasa has also faced challenges to his own legitimacy, through court actions and a threat of impeachment for a possible violation of the Constitution arising from his decision to appoint a losing presidential candidate as his Vice President.

### **III. ACTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES IN ZAMBIA - 2003**

#### **Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)**

The MMD originally formed during a planned referendum in July 1991 as a pressure group to campaign for the restoration of a multiparty system to contest the ruling party UNIP. In January 1991, MMD transformed itself into a political party with diverse representation, including trade unions, commercial farmers, the clergy, students, academics, businesspersons and former UNIP politicians. Under the leadership of the former Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) chairman-general, Frederick Chiluba, the party united around a cohesive platform to remove UNIP from power. As MMD consolidated power in 1991 and 1996 elections, with the party leadership garnering the majority vote, there were fears that the country was regressing back to a one-party state. As

Although legislation severed the formal links between the party and government, MMD's priority position in government allowed it to use the incumbency to access state resources, especially during election campaigns. As a result of discord within the party over governance issues, between 1993 and 1996 the party experienced several defections and resignations leading to the formation of rival political parties.

In 2001, the MMD had an organizational presence in every province within the country. Consequently the party could boast of national structures and coverage and it held regular elections for its national leaders. However, as the 2001 elections drew nearer, the party was faced with the prospect of defeat, triggered by the desire of President Chiluba to run for a third term in office. As public pressure against the third term mounted and senior party leaders began denouncing the action, the party began to lose its popularity. Eventually, the president declared he would not seek a third term and the MMD went on to win its third mandate. However, MMD's electoral performance was very poor -having gained less than 30% of the national vote and winning less than three seats in four provinces This was perhaps the lowest mandate

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<sup>7</sup> Apart from the 1962 UNIP-ANC coalition government, Zambia has little experience in inter-party coalition building and coalition politics.



won by any ruling party in Zambia since independence and posed serious challenges to the new leadership.

The MMD manifesto is based on the promotion of a free market economy and good governance. Since 1991 the party has implemented a very ambitious economic reform program. It has liberalised the economy and removed most of the controls that characterised the Zambian economy in the Second Republic. These policies have produced a serious social impact, which has contributed to deterioration in living standards and a high incidence of poverty. The party faces a number of challenges, as has been reflected in the party's declining representation in Parliament, considering that since the 2001 elections the MMD no longer commands an absolute majority.

### **United Party for National Development (UPND)**

Anderson Mazoka, the former Chief Executive of a major international corporation operating in South Africa formed the UPND in 1998. The party was established on a social democratic platform of providing free health and educational services to the Zambian people. It also articulated a commitment to providing agricultural subsidies to rural farmers to increase agricultural production.

The UPND's performance in local government and parliamentary elections between 1998 and 2000 made it the main opposition party to the MMD. The party won more than 60 local council seats in the 1998 local government elections and six parliamentary by-elections in Southern, Western and Central provinces. It also controlled one council in Northwestern province. Although the party claimed an organisational presence in almost all of Zambia's nine provinces, it was better organised in Central, Northwestern, Southern and Western provinces.

UPND finished second to the MMD presidential candidate in the 2001 elections. The party won the majority of local government seats in Western, Central, Northwestern, Southern and Lusaka provinces. With these 49 seats UPND was the second largest party in Parliament. Historically, UPND has strong ties to other opposition parties, with which it contested the results of the 2001 election in the Supreme Court.

The party has encountered serious leadership and organisational challenges, including its level of dependency on the patronage of its party president. Although the party's national leadership is representative of all the ethnic groups, the electorate perceives it as a regional or ethnic party. Additionally, the party has had difficulty asserting itself as the main opposition party in the country. Without recognition as the official opposition, on account of falling short of the threshold of 53 seats, the party has been unable to systematically challenge government policy in Parliament and to initiate legislation. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, UPND has been internally cohesive and self-confident, as evidenced by very few defections among the senior leadership. Additionally, it is the only political party that successfully expelled its MP for accepting a ministerial appointment in the MMD government.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> At the time of writing this report the expelled UPND MP was to re-contest his seat on the MMD ticket.

## **United National Independence Party (UNIP)**

UNIP is the oldest African political party in Zambia. It was established in 1959. It was briefly involved in a coalition government with the ANC between 1962-1964 and it was the governing party in Zambia from 1964-1991. The leader of the party until 1992 was former President Kenneth Kaunda, who was the first president of the independent country of Zambia. He voluntarily stepped down in favour of Kebby Musokotwane, but returned to the party in 1995 to increase the party's chances of defeating the MMD in 1996. Kaunda was excluded from running on the party's ticket in 1996 due to a controversial constitutional amendment passed by the ruling MMD, which barred persons whose parents were not born in Zambia from contesting the presidency.

Between 1992 and 1998 UNIP suffered harassment under the government's rule, including arrests and detentions over allegations that the party conspired to overthrow the Government. The most controversial of these alleged conspiracy acts were the "Zero Option" and "Black Mamba" "plots" that resulted in a number of UNIP leaders being detained, including the party's vice president Chief Inyambo Yeta. Additionally, UNIP president Kenneth Kaunda was detained in connection with an alleged coup attempt to overthrow the MMD government in December 1997.

Although UNIP can legitimately claim to have countrywide organisational structures, the party has experienced serious organisational problems since leaving office in 1991. During the one-party era prior to 1991, UNIP benefited from the use of public funds because there was no distinction between the ruling party's purse and the government as evidenced by the fact that party officials were paid from the public treasury, the party used government vehicles and the State financed party offices. Since leaving office, UNIP has had to rely upon its own resources and properties, which has translated into a diminution of the party's organizational capacity. The Central Committee that was formerly full-time is now part-time and a number of staff have been laid off or have not been paid for a significant period of time. Due to financial problems the party has not been able to hold important party meetings.

In addition to organisational problems, the party has also experienced serious leadership problems since 1992. Internal bickering and factionalism has led to frequent leadership turnover, suspensions and sometimes expulsions. The influence of the party's founder and former president Kenneth Kaunda may have had a negative impact on party organisation and membership morale, as the party seems to be divided between two camps between supporters of the former president, and those who want fresh leadership without formal ties to Kaunda.

A leadership crisis in 2000 led to the ouster of party president Francis Nkhoma and his replacement by Kaunda's son and UNIP's secretary general, Tilyenji Kaunda, who later contested the 2001 presidential elections. There are concerns within the party over Tilyenji Kaunda's leadership ability, as he is perceived to be directing the affairs of the party from outside the country and lacking necessary organisational experience

UNIP espouses a distinct social-democratic ideology that calls for more state involvement in the economy and the provision of state resources for social services.

However, the perceived failure of its past policies, coupled with its serious leadership problems have contributed to the party's failure to offer a formidable opposition to the ruling MMD.

### **Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD)**

The FDD party was formed in July 2001 by senior MMD and government officials who were expelled from the MMD for opposing a third term of the country's president. The original founders included the former Vice President of Zambia, Christon Tembo, cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and MPs. In September 2001 Tembo was elected as the party's first president, with a similar manifesto as the MMD.<sup>9</sup>

In the 2001 elections the FDD won 12 MP seats in Lusaka and Eastern provinces. It also gained control of the Lusaka City Council. Additionally, its candidate in presidential elections finished third, managing to win 13% of the national vote. Additionally, the party fielded the largest number of councillors and MPs and won the mayoral ticket. Unsatisfied with the results, however, the FDD have joined in collaboration with other parties to contest the 2001 elections results in the Supreme Court.

The party has an organizational presence in all nine provinces of the country. Although relatively well organized, lately a significant number of FDD party members have defected to the MMD government. Recently three of its MPs were appointed to governmental ministerial positions without party consultation. While the party supports a Government of National Unity (GNU), as it has sought to negotiate its involvement in the MMD government with the President to date it has been unable to reach a workable partnership.

### **Heritage Party (HP)**

Godfrey Miyanda, former Zambian Vice President from 1994 to 1997 founded the HP. Like other opposition parties, the HP was formed in protest of the government's bid for a third presidential term. HP is committed to promoting integrity in public office, transparency and greater public accountability. The party's leader is a central force in the party's operation. Although the party contested the 2001 elections and finished fifth with about 8% of the national vote, it obtained only four MPs in the most recent elections. Since those elections two of these MPs have defected to the ruling party, while the remaining two HP MPs have both been appointed to Deputy Ministerial positions in the MMD government party approval. The party views this action as "poaching" and because there is no expulsion clause in the HP constitution, it has not challenged with the "erring" MPs. Currently HP is one of the parties challenging the election of the country's president in the Supreme Court.

### **Zambia Republican Party (ZRP)**

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<sup>9</sup> Many former MMD members claim that their only quarrel with the MMD was Chiluba's desire to run for a third term. This explains why a number of FDD members and officials have gravitated back to the MMD after Levy Mwanasa was elected President.

The ZRP was formed in early 2001 through an alliance of four parties including the Republican Party. The ZRP presidential candidate in the 2001 elections did not perform well finishing sixth with less than five percent (4.8%) of the national vote. Although the party did win one Parliamentary seat in Lusaka Province, the MP has since been appointed by the government as Cabinet Minister.

The party's policy direction does not differ fundamentally from the MMD. ZRP supports a free-market economy based on private entrepreneurship, good incentives to the private sector and a Government that is responsive and responsible to the citizens.

### **Patriotic Front (PF)**

In September 2001 Michael Sata, a former Cabinet Minister and the MMD National Secretary, formed the PF. It was the last of the parties to be formed as a result of MMD succession problems.

The party was organised quickly to contest the 2001 elections and consequently it did not perform well. . The PF secured under 4% (3.3%) of the national vote and won only one MP seat. The party's main policy platform is the reduction in taxes and prudence in the management of public resources. The party's leader is a central force in the party's operation. However, the main problem the party faces is a public perception that its leader supported Chiluba's third term bid and was at the forefront of prosecuting those opposed to it through suspensions and expulsions.

### **3.2 Other Parties**

Other political parties that fielded candidates in 2001 but failed to win MP representation in Parliament include, National Citizens Coalition (NCC), Social Democratic Party (SDP), Zambia Alliance for Progress (ZAP), National Leadership for Development (NLD) and the NCC (National Citizens Coalition).

During the time frame of the assessment the MMD government appointed Nevers Mumba, tele-evangelist and founder of the National Citizens Coalition, as vice president of the Republic of Zambia. This move surprised many of the country's political pundits. Although the NCC fielded candidates for the 2001 elections, its presidential candidate only managed to win 2.2% of the national vote and the party did not win any parliamentary or local government seats. The controversial appointment of Nevers Mumba is currently being contested in the High Court, while the UPND has initiated a motion in Parliament to impeach the President for violating the Constitution by appointing Mumba.

## **IV. MAIN FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS**

### **4.1 Structural Organisation of Political Parties in Zambia**

#### ***Weak Organisational Structures***

The duration of the one-party political state in Zambia has seriously affected the evolution of political parties in Zambia. The UNIP party ruled the country for 27 years and almost all subsequent parties formed based on UNIP's organizational structure and a model. This model creates a field operation from the branch to the national level. This structure has worked well for UNIP because as the ruling party it relied upon public resources to operate both the state and its own party organization. The model created problems for other non-ruling parties because an extensive country wide political structure like UNIP's is difficult to support without a strong financial base.

The research team found that apart from UNIP, MMD, UPND, and FDD, the Zambian political party system is characterized by an absence of countrywide structures. Many political parties have a minor presence in parts of the country, but in several instances the party organization exists only on paper.

### ***Lack of Organisational Guidelines***

The research team observed that there is an absence of clear organisational guidelines within the parties. While political party positions are highly sought, most party officials lack the necessary skills to organise, operate and manage a political party. It was also noted that party officials in the field lacked the initiative to instigate party activities and programmes. With the absence of these necessary skills, these individuals tend to look to party leadership for inspiration and direction.

### ***Irregularity of Public Meetings and Rallies***

The review team found that although parties claim that they hold regular internal meetings at the constituency, district, provincial and national levels, respondents indicated that these meetings were irregularly held. Most respondents cited the costs for organizing such events as the main reason the meetings were not being held. In most of the provinces no political party has held a public meeting since the 2001 elections, aside from campaign meetings held during the local government or parliamentary by-elections. The one exception to this practice has been when public meetings are held when national leaders visit the districts or provinces.

### ***Attendance at Public Meetings***

It is generally believed that one way to assess the strength or popularity of a party is to check the number of people who attend its public meetings. However, all parties interviewed agreed that the attendance at public meetings is not an indication of party support because people who attend the meetings are not necessarily party members or supporters. Attendance at these events can still be useful because it provides an opportunity for the party to gauge people's perceptions and willingness to listen to the party's message.

The research team also found that the logistics and organization of public meetings are very complicated. In order to ensure that a meeting succeeds, some political parties, especially those that are more established, bus supporters to the event, provide entertainment and in some instances promise food to those travelling a

distance to attend meetings. Sometimes the failure by political parties to hold public meetings is a reflection of the parties' fear that the meetings will be poorly attended, which undermines the party's public standing.

### ***Role of Members at Public Meetings***

When political parties organize public meetings, they have been held in a sermon-like fashion. Typically, speakers line-up in hierarchical order, starting with the most junior official and ending with the provincial or national leaders. After the main address the audience is often not allowed to ask questions or express its concerns to the leadership. After the meeting the leadership has little interaction with other party members and the general public. The party leadership confers with the local officials who record the problems of the local membership. Often these discussions are not about party strategies or programmatic issues. Generally these meetings are a shopping list of requests for financial and material assistance from the national leadership and or headquarters.

### ***Weak Leadership***

A serious organizational problem facing political parties in Zambia is the nature of its leadership. Most political parties are formed around dominant individuals with presidential aspirations and remain largely leader-driven and leader-financed. Generally the parties are identified by their leaders' names, not by the party's name or its ideology. For example, UPND is identifiable by Mazoka; ZAP is associated with Mungomba; and ZRP by Mwila. This practice emphasizes a key assessment finding that dominance of parties by their founding leaders or presidents has tended to weaken the leadership of parties. Since such powerful patrons dominate parties, organizational initiative and program development is stifled because local leaders find it hard to organize without the patron's resources or name association. Conversely because the party leaders spend their personal money on party organisation, they expect loyalty from lieutenants and subordinates.

As a consequence, the political party leadership tend to feel ownership of the party and that becoming party president is the reward for their patronage. Apart from the MMD, FDD and UNIP, most parties are heavily dependent on their presidents for political direction and financial support. Many party officials complained about the lack of regular visits from national leaders to the field to motivate and encourage party officials, staff and the members. Aside from raising party morale, these visits are needed to strengthen communication between the field, party headquarters, and the party leadership.

## **4.2 Party Administration**

Perhaps one of the main organisational difficulties facing political parties in Zambia is in the area of administration. Most parties do not have the resources, people, equipment or capacity to effectively operate a political infrastructure on a day

- to -day basis. Almost all parties at the provincial and district levels do not have office space or full- time staff. Although most parties had offices during the 2001 elections, these offices have since closed down due to negligence in paying their rent. Therefore, the party does not have a visible presence in these areas. The lack of office space was mostly at the branch and national levels, while almost all major parties have offices at the national level based in Lusaka.

Some major parties have full-time staff at the national level. However, most of the staff complained that salaries were either not paid or paid late. In one instance, full-time party staff had not been paid since 1991. Apart from the failure to pay full-time staff, some parties had either laid staff forced them to leave. The parties' general practice today, however, is not to engage full-time staff. Instead, parties now rely mainly on volunteer staffs, which often expect financial compensation by the national leadership.

In many instances, the study noted that party offices were often poorly administered lacking basic office equipment including telephones, fax machines, photocopiers, computers and filing cabinets. Most parties depend on donated or loaned furniture from members that can be withdrawn at any time; consequently a number of offices lacked basic furniture, such as desks and tables. The parties that had transport, such as motor vehicles and bicycles, were faced with problems of maintenance including the purchase of fuel and lubricants. There was also the added problem of party officials converting party property to personal use.

### **4.3 Membership**

One of the main challenges facing political parties is membership recruitment and retention. The research team found that all of the parties interviewed do not maintain reliable membership records. As a consequence, party respondents could not provide accurate estimates of their national membership. In one example a senior party official stated that although it was difficult to determine a certain party's total membership, that a reliable indicator of the political party membership was based on the total party branches. He estimated that one branch represented 30 members; hence the number of branches multiplied by 30 gives an approximation of the total party membership. Additionally, when party figures were provided they were often exaggerated and at best unreliable. In another example, a party, which does not have a councillor or MP in Kitwe, claimed to have a total membership of around 100,000 in that town. Even parties that have not fielded a single parliamentary or local government candidate since their establishment have claimed to have large memberships.

This study also found that there is a weak affinity between members' and their political parties.<sup>10</sup> It is not uncommon for individuals to hold multiple party memberships (i.e. possession of more than one party membership card). As stated earlier, political party membership is not typically based upon ideological convictions, resulting in frequent defections from one party to another.

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<sup>10</sup> A similar finding was made in the Bratton, et al, 1997 and Mattes, et al, 2000 studies.

Members place large demands on the party leadership, expecting benefits from their party leadership in exchange for service to the party. In addition, members expect to be transported and fed at public meetings. During elections citizens can gain additional benefits from their parties, as the leadership distributes cloth (“chitenge” material), T-shirts, beer and even money to party members. Sometimes members demand or expect cash or in kind payment to vote for particular candidates.<sup>11</sup>

#### **4.4 Women and Youth**

Almost all political parties have included women and youth into their organisational structures through the existence of women and youth wings... However, real commitments to the agenda of these players into the political party dialogue have been marginal. The review team noted that, for example, very few women hold senior leadership positions in the party. Additionally, as very few women hold senior leadership positions in their respective parties, there is a need to increase women’s political participation through the representation of women in leadership and policy - making bodies throughout the party infrastructure. Further, very few women received their party’s support in the adoption process for either local government or parliamentary positions. The composition of the present Parliament with only 16 women MPs illustrates the overall gender imbalance within political parties in Zambia. Notably, President Mwanawasa has appointed all seven of the female MMD MPs to ministerial positions. One party, for example explicitly requires that 33% of all leadership positions be held by women. The other parties have not encouraged the institutionalisation of such innovative policies within their infrastructure. Most of the respondents indicated that it was important to meaningfully increase the representation of women within their parties agreed that they would support a quota to achieve this end.<sup>12</sup>

Like women, the youth are also under-represented in the organisational structure within parties. Moreover, the review team noted that political parties have not seriously addressed problems facing the youth, including delinquency and unemployment. The parties seemingly considered young people to be pre-mature and unseasoned for leadership positions. Consequently, the parties have tended to undermine the potential of young people by using them as propaganda tools to harass or intimidate rival parties during election campaigns. However, several interview respondents pointed out the potentially constructive role the youth could play in party leadership and administration, including spearheading membership recruitment and providing manpower to run party administrative offices at all levels. Some respondents suggested that a quota could be reserved for youth candidates in the adoption of local government and parliamentary candidates.

#### **4.5 Policy/Programs**

One important finding of this study is that political parties in Zambia are not based on clear ideological or policy alternatives. Apart from UNIP, which has

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<sup>11</sup> See FODEP, *The 2001 Elections in Zambia*, Lusaka.

<sup>12</sup> The Zambia National Women’s Lobby Group has advocated that a 30% quota in all party policy and decision making positions be reserved for women.



consistently espoused a socialist policy since independence, there is not much difference between the platforms of the various parties (Rakner, 2002). Apart from the MMD, UNIP and FDD, most parties are best identified by their respective leaders. In some rural parts of the country many parties are only known by their leaders and not by the party name.

The absence of clear ideological and policy differences among political parties partly explains why the patronage systems continues to persist and how rich, powerful and influential individuals are able to dominate politics in Zambia. Rather than political parties being institutions for the aggregation and articulation of interests, they have been turned into vehicles for patronage, and individual bids for the presidency. In the words of one of our informants, “political parties in Zambia are preoccupied with the presidency at the detriment of national development.” Several scholars affirm this view, indicating that “political careerism, competition for spoils and personal traits offer more convincing explanations than serious disagreements over ideology or programme” (Burn ell, 2001: 3).

#### **4.6 Internal Democracy**

Another factor affecting the survival and organization of political parties in Zambia is the lack of internal democracy. The review team found that a number of parties have not held elections for the national leadership, even though they have been established for a number of years. While elections are required in every party’s constitution, the guidelines on elections are not typically followed. The national leadership of these elections frequently engage in irregularities during the process of electing the national leadership, including changing party delegates arbitrarily, tampering with nominations, and handpicking the leaders, which are imposed on the constituency. Generally, candidates are not favoured if the top leadership finds them vocal, controversial or disloyal.

Internal democracy has also been found lacking in the parliamentary candidate selection process. In most political parties there are no primary elections to select parliamentary candidates. Where party constitutions mandate primary elections, the procedures are either not followed, the national leadership vetoes the results, or the national leadership imposes their preferred candidates. This issue has been a source of bickering and even resignations within the parties.

#### ***Tolerance of Opposing Views/Opinions***

This study found that in almost all parties, there is widespread intolerance for opposing or divergent opinions. Those who hold contrary opinions have been expelled from a party, which instigates other party defections and resignations. In most parties subordinate officials are expected to show loyalty to the national leadership or the party president. Differences of opinion are treated as insubordination and attract serious censure. In some cases this “insubordination” results in further disciplinary action. As one of our respondents told us, “the intolerance to criticism and self-criticism and the practice of the leadership to surround themselves with sycophants has the great potential to produce dictators in Zambia. Because these persons are found in all political parties, there is great danger that whichever leader emerges from these parties to lead the country could become a dictator.”

### ***Defections from Political Parties***

In order to discourage fragmentation and defections within political parties, the parties themselves need internal procedures to regulate conduct and retain membership. These procedures should aim to institutionalize a system for resolving conflicts. Additionally, they should encourage policy debates on the party's programme and direction. In the absence of core values based on reconciliation, which should underscore rules of procedure, defections from one party to another has become commonplace in Zambia. The practice to defect from party membership is currently not viewed with disdain by political observers and society, but rather it is encouraged.

Political party defections are a troubling feature of the Zambian political party system. According to the study, many people have moved from one party to another due to frustrations with the party. Another common reason for defecting is the hope of attaining greater reward within another party's hierarchy, particularly when defections occur in favour of the ruling party.

While all political parties have encouraged defections to some degree, political observers have accused the ruling party of engaging in a deliberate campaign to lure members from and leaders from other political parties by promising government appointments and jobs. In the last year, the MMD enticed at least four opposition MPs to defect and join the ruling party. Of these four MPs, three were appointed Ministers.

#### **4.5 Coalition Building and Inter-Party Dialogue**

Although there have been several attempts to form coalitions in Zambia, these attempts have yielded few results because of the competing personal ambitions between party leaders. Many of the informants interviewed believed that the opposition parties could perform better if they formed a successful coalition against the ruling party. It is commonly understood that the opposition lost the 2001 elections, as a result of its failure to form an electoral alliance.

Between 1996 and 2001, political parties effectively attempted to initiate coalitions formed around key policy issues including Government enforcement of electoral regulations, media coverage of election campaigns and Government use of public resources during elections. A few alliances were successful in fielding a common candidate as a result of their alliance. By and large, these alliances tend to be dominated by bigger parties and resented by smaller ones, who feared being "swallowed."

In the lead up to the 2001 elections, several well-established opposition parties tried to field a common presidential candidate and launching a Government of National Unity (GNU). But in the words of one of our informants, "the initiative collapsed in the face of greed for power and fear of ethnic domination." As a result of the collapse of the coalition effort, several parties fielded single candidates, resulting in split votes, and the return of the incumbent to the presidential seat. After the 2001 elections the main opposition parties again established an inter-party alliance with an understanding that they should remain united and maximize their comparative advantages in fielding parliamentary and local government elections. This alliance

seems to have collapsed, however, as parties have continued to field rival candidates in by-elections despite their earlier agreement.

Another major setback that has historically hindered the development of democracy in Zambia has been the lack of inter-party dialogue. While it has been fairly easy for opposition parties to collaborate on key issues, it has been difficult to obtain the ruling party's cooperation on issues of mutual concern. Although the MMD set up an Inter-Party Liaison Committee in 1996 to promote inter-party dialogue, forum rarely met while the opposition parties claimed that the MMD was intransigent. Finally, the Committee was disbanded in 2001.

Since the MMD does not command the majority in Parliament, there is now an opportunity for the formation of a coalition government. However, the negotiation for the inclusion of opposition MPs in the government has not been transparent and the views and concerns of respective parties have often not been taken into account.

#### **4.6 Party Resources and Finance**

One of the major problems facing political parties, especially the opposition, is the chronic shortage of funds needed to finance their operations. Aside from the MMD, almost every political party relies exclusively on membership fees and donations from party members for funding. In most cases, membership fees are so low that the overall contribution to party finances is negligible. The review team found that membership and renewal fees were as low as K100 annually. Further, in a number of instances membership cards were distributed freely and most parties encouraged those people who defected from other parties to simply exchange their membership cards without paying any fees, contributing to lost revenue. This lack of funds has created huge problems in opposition party operations.

The study found that most parties do not keep accounting records, nor do they have established accounting departments. The lack of financial controls has led to the misuse of party funds by officials. Since the parties do not practice financial planning, most of them do not have operational budgets or financial audits of their expenditures. Other important financial issues facing the parties are a lack of transparency in how funds are managed and disbursed. Some common features within political parties include financial indiscipline, heavy dependence on contributions from party presidents, and a lack of sustainable fund-raising ventures. The study also found that party members lacked information on financial matters and that financial information is often shrouded in secrecy. Financial matters are "very political" and therefore, opaque because parties consider financial information as confidential and are concerned that if the information is made public it could create problems.

Given the poor state of political party funding in Zambia, many of our informants indicated that the Government should consider funding political parties, especially those represented in the National Assembly. This is an ongoing topical issue in Zambia. At the time of writing this report, there was a row between Parliament and the Executive over this matter. Perhaps, modalities of party funding could be a subject of inter-party dialogue. There are indeed legitimate concerns about whether political parties as constituted in Zambia today have the ability to put public funds to good use if they do not exhibit the capacity to mobilize their own resources.

#### **4.7 Relationship with the Media**

The study found that, apart from the independent media, the public media including television does not typically cover opposition political parties. By contrast, the ruling party receives a great deal of favourable coverage. The extent of the coverage for the ruling party, especially during election campaigns, creates an uneven playing field between the MMD and the opposition parties.

#### **4.8 Relationship with Civil Society**

Civil society organisations have tended to neglect working closely with political parties, as they fear being perceived as partisan by political party officials and other stakeholders. Likewise, the parties view civil society organisations with suspicion and distrust. Although most of respondents pointed out that it might be in the best interest of the parties to work more closely with civil society.

One highly positioned political party official said that because parties do not have the resources of civil society to advocate issues and causes, the parties frequently adopt civil society issues, in order to gain greater access to NGO resources, and to use the information to their political advantage. However, Government frequently views civil society as a threat, even making attempts to pass laws to regulate, even stifle, the foreign funding of NGOs. Following the 1996 elections, the Government singled out civil society organisations that had declared the elections as not free or fair, even freezing their bank accounts, and punishing them on alleged tax evasion charges.

#### **4.9 Party Outreach Activities**

This study found that parties engage in very few activities between elections. Most of our political party informants explained that there had been no party activities in their areas since the last elections in December 2001. Aside from election campaign meetings, no other public meetings have been held.

The concentration of political parties on elections, while important, potentially marginalizes the electorate, since the party only becomes relevant and visible, when political party members are seeking public office. Although, a few political parties indicated that they had implemented community-based projects for their members, most parties expressed a desire to have community projects. In an indication of the lack of party organization, particularly on community outreach activities, this desire rarely results in action. Beyond the expression of willingness, the review team found that political parties do not provide community outreach activities to their members.

The informants indicated that political parties were in need of financial and material assistance to involve their members in productive ventures on community outreach. However, the review team found that in order for these activities to be realized, political parties must take proactive steps to engage members in community outreach.

#### **4.9 Strengths and Weaknesses**

Despite all the problems cited above, representatives from political parties identified a number of strengths and weakness, upon which a political party-strengthening program could be modelled.

Undoubtedly, some political parties exhibit more viability than others. Various political parties identified the following **strengths**:

- Nation-wide organisational structures.
- Some representation in local councils and Parliament
- Support from distinct constituencies (often from a particular region).

By contrast, the respondents identified several key **weaknesses**, including:

- A lack of coherent programmes
- A lack of organisational and managerial capacity
- An Absence of effective strategies for sustaining membership, recruitment and fund-raising
- Poor internal procedures for the promotion of internal democracy.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

Although, the assessment did not produce any additional findings regarding the state of political parties in Zambia, the study affirmed the issues, problems and concerns that have been previously recognized by voters, stakeholders, media, political parties, donors and academics. In addition, through the process, the NDI/FODEP research team found that the study enabled the participants to keenly reflect on the strengths and weaknesses attributable to parties in Zambia, and to provide insights on the particular political climate in which parties find themselves. The research conducted by the review team also affirmed conclusions, regarding the need to fund political parties.

Overall, many some political parties are better managed and financed than others, but the study concluded that all political parties exhibit a need for reinforcement. .

As reported in the methodology section of the report, the respondents from all nine of Zambia's provinces were extensively interviewed. Additionally, the research team interviewed with people at the constituency, district, provincial and national levels. The assessment, although not a scientific study, aims to provide a balanced analysis of the condition of political parties in the country by attempting to accurately portray the perceptions and that various stakeholders have of political parties in Zambia.

In politics everywhere, perception matters. Likewise, in Zambia and for the purposes of the study the perception that various stakeholders have of political party leaders and their performance ultimately determines the fate of a political party. The study was instrumental in identifying the perceptions of the political parties, and how they differed from voters' perceptions. One effect of the negative perception of

political parties is the disillusionment of the electorate. Consequently, political parties must affirm their commitment to combat disparaging perceptions through targeted intervention to change the perceptions of voters about the party system before, during and after elections. This necessary step is a major challenge confronting political parties in Zambia today

Despite Zambia's record under a multiparty system, voters and stakeholders remain confused about the nature of political parties, the reason for their differences and how each party is unique from their competitors. The dominance of powerful individuals within parties who are "bigger" than the party itself adds to the voters' confusion. The typical Zambian voter feels that when their trust is vested in an individual, that person is more vested in their care than a body electorate, i.e. political party. Rather than capitalizing on this invested trust, individuals themselves tend to become vehicles for the aspirations and ambitions of the leadership at the expense of their political party. Consequently, the electorate has a sense of individuals being better than the political parties, contributing to greater confusion, which parties and voters alike must work to dispel.

Based on the NDI/FODEP review team's findings, it appears that political parties have not taken political party membership seriously, contributing to fluidity in political party identity. In general, political parties attach more importance to elections than to the maintenance and retention of its membership. As suggested earlier, none of the parties interviewed maintained membership records or could provide totals for its membership base. Parties typically do not have effective records' management systems to administer membership records. One area for support could therefore target putting in place more effective systems for records' management, or the development of database software and training to assist political parties maintain and track political party membership.

Political party membership is an important facet of the development of political parties because members have voting power and contribute to the party's capacity building ability and infrastructure development. The ability of parties to recruit, manage and constructively utilize its members is an indication of the party's ability to lead, influence voters and mount a strategic and effective election campaign. Parties that do not understand the need to have a current membership database, written or computerized, indicate that they are either unable or unwilling to recruit and manage an essential element of a political party's resource base. A party without a membership base is like a horse without legs.

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

The recommendations for political party strengthening in Zambia are based upon the needs of the outlined in the assessment's findings and conclusions.

### **Capacity Building:**

- a. Developing a unique identity for a party that sets it apart from all other parties in the political environment.

- b. Creating opportunities for the party to increase its membership, geographic base and resources.
- c. Encouraging and implementing policies to include women and youth in decision-making and management apparatus within the party.
- d. Understanding and implementing policies and procedures that value, motivate and encourage democratic behaviour on the part of party leaders, officials and membership.
- e. Strengthening the skills and increasing the knowledge base of headquarters and field staff.
- f. Encouraging and implementing policies and procedures that take into account input and feedback from party membership and electorate concerning the party's programs and policies.
- g. Developing policies and procedures to encourage "transparency" in the party's internal operations, elections, programs and activities.

**Infrastructure Development:**

- h. Reinforcing field organization of the party at the ward, constituency, district, and provincial levels.
- i. Strengthening the party's "two-way communication system" from the headquarters to the field and back to headquarters.
- j. Ensuring there is a country-wide base for gathering and distributing information to party members and the general public.
- k. Supporting and managing membership recruitment and voter outreach.
- l. Implementing more effective management systems for membership tracking.
- m. Encouraging and implementing policies and procedures for party members to provide input and feedback from the party membership and electorate on the party's programs and policies.
- n. Increasing the party's ability to transfer newly acquired skills to its field leaders and membership.

With Parliament more balanced than ever before, the role of viable political parties as instrumental checks and balances in government is crucial to democratic consolidation. To date, however, political parties have been unable to further democratic consolidation in Zambia because they lack institutionalisation, have a tendency for factionalism, lack the genuine ability to provide alternative policies or programmes, and are often centred around key individuals.

In order to ensure that political parties play a more constructive and meaningful role in Zambia's democracy, political parties require sustained intervention targeted in the key areas identified in the study. Specific activities should be designed for overall political party strengthening. In order to capitalize on the current multi-party development climate, the political party system must be nurtured, so as to prevent political backsliding.



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## ANNEX I

### PERSONS INTERVIEWED

NAME		ORGANISATION/PARTY	DISTRICT
FALEKA MASEKA	Box 940094, Kaoma	BUSINESS-MAN	KAOMA
LIPOBA EMELDAH	Box 940184, Kaoma	07-360150 FDD	KAOMA
MAZEKO MAIMBOLWA	Box K087, Mongu	07-221550 FDD	MONGU
MUPO NAMATAMA	Box 910064, Mongu	FDD	MONGU
SIYUNYII ARTHUR	Box 910111, Mongu	07-221819 FDD	MONGU
LUTANGU JONATHAN	MMD, Kaoma	MMD	KAOMA
YUWVENU KASHANDOLA	Box 940034, Kaoma	MMD	KAOMA
CHUULU COLLINS	MMD Office, Kaoma Central	MMD	KAOMA
DR MUNDIA SAMSON	Box 019-K, Mongu	097-742589 MMD	MONGU
KATONGO KAMEYA	Box 910303, Mongu	MMD(Chairperson)	MONGU
MATE PAUL	Box 940034, Kaoma	MMD(Dist. Secretary)	KAOMA
MPILA MUTUMBA	Box 940034, Kaoma	MMD (Vice-Chairperson)	KAOMA
NYAMBE CHARLES	Box 910234, Mongu	07-221266 NWLG	MONGU
KAYOMBO DENNY	Box 910213, Mongu	UNIP	KAOMA
MAIBWE MWANDAMENA	Plot 1568, Mongu	UNIP	KAOMA
MWAYANGUBA MEBELO	Show Grounds	UNIP	MONGU
KANGUYA FOSTER KAOMA	Box 940088, Kaoma	07-360049 UNIP (Dist. Treasurer/Trustee)	
KHUTOHA SHIYAMA	BOX ,KAOMA	0 7 -360105 UPND	KAOMA
MANANGA VICTOR	Box 940010, Kaoma	7360106 UPND	KAOMA
SIMASIKU ROSEMARY	Box 940011, Kaoma	07-360195 UPND	KAOMA
MUKAMBA KATAPA Chairperson)KAOMA	Box 940021, Kaoma	UPND ( Const.	
BIEMBA CHIMBALI	Box 940021, Kaoma	UPND (Const. Secretary)	KAOMA

MUFUTI GEORGE Chairperson)KAOMA	Box 940153,Kaoma		UPND	(District
NYAMBE MAYBIN	Box 940153, Kaoma		UPND (District Treasurer) KAOMA	
MUDENDA ENOCK Officer)KAOMA	Box 940153, Kaoma		UPND	(Party Security
KAKENENWA MUBYANA	Box 910245, Mongu	07-221573	YWCA	MONGU
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NAIK SATISH	BOX 630495 CHOMA		BUSINESS MAN	CHOMA
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MWIYA CHRISPIN	BOX 60522 LIVINGSTONE	03-323244	CCJDP	L/STONE
PRINCE MUJUTA 3RD RIGHTS COMMITTEE	BOX 60238 LIVINGSTONE L/STONE	097-805965/097-755500		HUMAN
MTOMBORWA NYAUSISKA TRUST	624 MUSI-O-TUNYA BLDG (old) L/STONE		097-793349/03-322179	LEGENDS
MULENGA CHARITY	517 MOSI-O-TUNYA BLDG (old wing)		097-769311	LIWOMADI L/STONE
SIAMAYUWA ANDREW	BOX 630007 CHOMA		MMD	CHOMA
LUKONGA AGNESS	M.D MARAMBA L/STONE		MMD	L/STONE
MUKOSHA JOHN	101KWAME NKHURUMAH RD		MMD	CHOMA
MWILA BAN WELL	BOX 60820 LIVINGSTONE	097-885959	NCC	L/STONE
MWEENE CONFUCIOUS	BOX 61266 LIVINGSTONE NGOCCL/STONE	097-786259/03-323675		
LIMWANYA KENNEDY ZAMBIA	TIMES OF ZAMBIA L/STONE L/STONE		097-827563	TIMES OF
BANDA BERNARD	BOX 61046 LIVINGSTONE	03-321313(neighbours)		UNIP L/STONE
MUSHIBA FRANCIS	BOX 60872 LIVINGSTONE		UNIP	L/STONE

PHIRI ENOCK	BOX 630058 CHOMA	097-799269	UNIP	L/STONE	
PHIRI SILOLE	101 KUMENILRUMA ROAD		UNIP	CHOMA	
SIMUCHOBA RICHARD	BOX 630443 CHOMA		UPND	CHOMA	
MAAMBAO PHILIP	ZAMTEL -CHOMA		UPND	CHOMA	
NYAMBE LAWRENCE	BOX 60374 LIVINGSTONE	097-842119	UPND	L/STONE	
KAYUMBA HAMWEENDE	BOX 60587 LIVINGSTONE	03-321040	UPND	L/STONE	
SIMAANYA SYLVIA	BOX 61197 LIVINGSTONE	097-743722	UPND	L/STONE	
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MWEELWA CHIBULU	BOX 60182 GWEMBE	032-40136	ZIS	CHOMA	
NDHLOVU FREDRICK	BOX60339 LIVINGSTONE	097-843850	ZRP	L/STONE	
RANDERA AHMED	BOX 510267 CHIPATA	06-221781	BUSINESS SECTOR	CHIPATA	
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MWALE MATHEW	BOX 511251 CHIPATA	05-222060	FDD	CHIPATA	
MBAZIMA ANDREW	BOX 511227 CHIPATA	06-221318(ngwenya)	FDD	CHIPATA	
BANDA WINSTON	BOX 560158 PETAUKE		FDD	PETAUKE	
MWANZA NELLIE	BOX 56321 PETAUKE	06-71380	LOBBY GROUP	PETAUKE	
THOLE CAROLINE	BOX 511162 CHIPATA	06-222152	LOBBY GROUP	CHIPATA	
SHAWA WEBSTER	BOX 511078 CHIPATA	06-222734	LPF	CHIPATA	
PHIRI SAIDI	BOX 560072 PETAUKE	096-454675 /06-371114		MMD	PETAUKE
SAKALA NELIA	BOX 511062 CHIPATA		UNIP	CHIPATA	
PHIRI PHILLIPOT	BOX 510973 CHIPATA		UNIP	CHIPATA	
PHIRI ROBBIE	BOX 510973 CHIPATA	06-221781	UNIP	CHIPATA	
ZULU HENRY	BOX 560133 PETAUKE		UNIP	PETAUKE	
MWANZA MARTIN			UPND	CHIPATA	
PHIRI MARY	BOX 510200 CHIPATA		UPND	CHIPATA	
SHEMA ALICK	BOX 510108 CHIPATA		UPND	CHIPATA	
NGWENYA MARTIN	MWAWA RESTAURANT	06-222910/221488	UPND	CHIPATA	
MUNDIA KWALOMBOTA	BOX 510100 CHIPATA		UPND	CHIPATA	

MWALE FELIX	BOX 510708 CHIPATA		UPND	LUNDAZI
MATIYA STEADMAN	BOX 510044 CHIPATA		UPND	CHIPATA
DAKA CLEMENTINA	BOX 560232 PETAUKE	06-371380	UPND	PETAUKE
KASALIKA BEATRICE	BOX 510236 PETAUKE	0 -221136	WDASS	PETAUKE
PHIRI JUDITH	BOX 49 PETAUKE	0 -371035	ZIS	PETAUKE
MKUMBA MOSES	BOX 510202 CHIPATA	06-221741/221377	ZIS	CHIPATA
MWALE ANDSON	BOX 560321 PETAUKE		ZRP	PETAUKE
MWANZA KENNETH	BOX 560097 PETAUKE			PETAUKE

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MBINJI MUFALO	BOX 31145 LUSAKA	01-251814/01-251813	AFRONET	LUSAKA	
SIMWANZA FRAVELL	HSE NO 59 OLD CHIBOLYA		FDD CONST. TREASURER		LUSAKA
NCHITO CHIMESE	SHIKOSWE, KAFUE	097-782636	FDD	LUSAKA	
SIMON ZUKAS		096-450481	FDD	LUSAKA	
DR B. CHUNGA		096-433350	HP	LUSAKA	
FRANK MWALE	BOX 34663, LUSAKA		HP	LUSAKA	
JOSEPH KULUNETA			HP	LUSAKA	
DR FRED MUTESA	BOX 32379 LUSAKA	096-452819	HP	LUSAKA	
CHONGWE RODGER (PRESIDENT)	PLOT 1693 PANGANANI ROAD LUSAKA		097-765673	LPF	
DR A. MBIKUSITA LEWANIKA	MMD SECRETARIATE	097-842931	MMD SPOKESPERSON		LUSAKA
MIKATAZO WAKUMELO	BOX 38619, LUSAKA	097-781727	INDIVIDUAL	LUSAKA	
BONIFACE KAWIMBE	MEDICAL CLINIC, LUSAKA	097-825690	MMD	LUSAKA	
RICHARD KACHINGWE					
MWAANGA VERNON	BOX 30661 LUSAKA	097-877574/096-744616/01-223133	MMD		LUSAKA
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CHIPO LUNGU	BOX 30342 LUSAKA	097-774493	NWLG(EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR)		LUSAKA



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SAMUEL MULAFULAFU CCJDP	KAPINGILA HOUSE, KABULONGA LUSAKA		260980	UNIT HEAD	
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CHISANGA PATRICK	BOX 50576 LUSAKA	097-775016/01-293611/290864			
	UPND(C/MAN INFORMATION)		LUSAKA		
MARY SIMASANA CHAIRPERSON		096-720411	UPND	KANYAMA	CONST.
WILFRED MULOMBA	LUSAKA				
TIENS KAHENYA	KAFUE, ESTATES	97799741	UPND (DISTRICT CHAIRMAN)		KAFUE
SIKAZWE EMILY (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR)	PLOT1088 KAUNGA RD CHELSTONE		097-777764/01-222780		UPND (TREA
SICHONE LANGTON	BOX 33102 LUSAKA	097-770886/01-224396		WFC	
ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS	LUSAKA				
LEONARD HIKAUMBA	BOX 360006 KAFUE	097-797207/01-312254		ZAMBIA	
CHILAIZYA JOE	KAFUE				
BANDA JOHANNES	ZCTU, BOX 20652, KITWE	097-783419	ZCTU PRESIDENT	LUSAKA	
CHITAMBALA GRACE	BOX 50344 LUSAKA	097-852641/096-781895		ZRP	LUSAKA
DR. NKANDU GENERAL)	BOX 50164 LUSAKA	097-827250	ZRP	LUSAKA	
MWILA BENJAMIN (PRESIDENT)	14 ROAN ROAD KABULONGA		097-874767	ZRP	LUSAKA
PHIRI AMOCK	LUSAKA		ZRP (VICE	SECRETARY	
TIYAONSE KABWE	14 ROAN ROAD KABULONGA		097-787312	ZRP	
	LUSAKA				
	52 GARDENIA STREET AVONDALE		01-229057		LUSAKA
				LUSAKA	

KASHIWA KELLY	CIVIC EDUCATOR		AVAP	KASAMA	
CHINTU HENRY	DISTRICT SECRETARY		FDD	KASAMA	
MULENGA JOSEPH	V/DISTRICT CHAIR	04-221596	MMD	KASAMA	
BWALYA EDWARD	V/CHAIRMAN		MMD	LUKASHYA	
SIMBEYA BEN	P/COORDINATOR		MMD	KASAMA	
WAPABETI MWABA	BOX 410285 KASAMA		NAMAC	KASAMA	
KAPOKA FIDELIS	P/CHAIRMAN	04-221346	PF	KASAMA	
CHISANGA FREDRICK	P.D.S	04-222360	PF	KASAMA	
KALENGA PETER	BOX 410235 KASAMA	4222940	SESTUZ	KASAMA	
MULENGA AARON	BOX 410784 KASAMA	04-222603	UNIP	KASAMA	
JOHN MATANDIKO	BOX410359, KASAMA		UPND	KASAMA	
MWALE JOHN	NATIONAL AIRPORTS		Zambia allied workers	KASAMA	
CHOTA MARK	PROVINCIAL CHAIR		ZRP	KASAMA	
MSABASHI MARY	P/YOUTH CHAIR	04-221907	ZRP	KASAMA	
MBOLELA PHILIP	BOX 710502 MANS	02-821760		14 MANS	
LYOBA BERNARD	BOX 710036 MANS	097-846584/02-821964		CITIZEN	MANS
KUNDA EMMANUEL	BOX 710156 MANS	02-821132/02-821633	FDD	MANS	
KAUMBA GEORGE	BOX 710031 MANS	02-821500	FODEP	MANS	
KALIKEKA BONIFACE	BOX 720048 SAMFYA		HP	SAMFYA	
TEMBO JURRY	BOX 720076 SAMFYA		MMD	SAMFYA	
CHIKONTWE JAMES	BOX 720076 SAMFYA		MMD	SAMFYA	
CHUNGU PROTASIO	BOX 720076 SAMFYA		MMD	SAMFYA	
CHINSHE ALEX	BOX 710418 MANS	02-821348	NCC	MANS	
MULENGA JERRY	BOX 710019 MANS		PF	MANS	
MAYANI KUNDA	MWAFUNI VILLAGE SAMFYA		PF	SAMFYA	
MUSUNTE MWANSA	BOX 710100 MANS		UN IP	MANS	

BWALE WILSON	BOX 720007 SAMFYA	02-830212	UNIP	SAMFYA	
CHISHINGE MWEWA	CHITAKWA Village, Chief Chimese		UNIP (Provincial Chairperson)		MANSA
BANDA GODWIN	BOX 710166 MANSa		UNIP	MANSa	
MULENGA DANNY	BOX 710348 MANSa		UPND	MANSa	
HANAkAAMBA EDWIN	BOX 710418 MANSa		UPND	MANSa	
SIKOMBE CHRISTINE	BOX 7101020 MANSa		ZNWLg	MANSa	
MULELA DICKSON	BOX 720008 SAMFYA		ZRP	SAMFYA	
MPASA IVO	BOX 710184 MANSa	02-821559/02-821320	ZRP	MANSa	
CHEWE SAMUEL	BOX 710036 MANSa	02-821261	ZRP	MANSa	
JONAS MWANAPABO					
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ZIMBA TOMMY	BOX 80320 KABWE		UNIP	KABWE	
MUYEYE STERIUS	BOX 80152 KABWE		UNIP	KABWE	
MWANAMUNGELA PELEKELO	HSE NO ZD 239 KATONDO CPND		UPND	KABWE	
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	UPND(PROVINCIAL CHAIRMAN)		KABWE		
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KAYUMA JAMES	BOX 110070 SOLWEZI	08-821805	FDD	SOLWEZI
KABOZHA FANWELL	BOX 110033 SOLWEZI		FDD	SOLWEZI
KALUSA JOHN	BOX 110035 SOLWEZI		FDD	SOLWEZI
MAYAMBO OBET	BOX 110041 SOLWEZI	08-821930	MMD	SOLWEZI
MBILISHI CHRISTOPHER	BOX 110100 SOLWEZI	08-821650	MMD	SOLWEZI
MUFWABULE RICHARD	BOX 110047 SOLWEZI		MMD	SOLWEZI
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KANYUNGULU MUSOLE	BOX 110050 SOLWEZI		UNIP	SOLWEZI
KAYOMBO JOSEPH	BOX 110399 SOLWEZI		UNIP	SOLWEZI
MULEVU JOHN	BOX 110050 SOLWEZI		UNIP	SOLWEZI
HON CHIKOTI LUCAS	MANYINGA		UPND	
CHISANGALA LEONARD	BOX 110293 SOLWEZI	08-821754/39	UPND	SOLWEZI
KANKOMBA STEWARD	BOX 110293 SOLWEZI	08-821754	UPND	SOLWEZI
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KAPAPI JOHN MWANSA	P.O box 70134, Ndola	097-846288	PF	NDOLA
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WALUKA JOHN	HOUSE No. 4193, Chimwemwe		UNIP ( District Secretary)	MUFULIRA KITWE

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BANDA BEN PHILIP	14 BUTAKA RD, Kasenshi		UNIP	NDOLA	
KALANDO VICTOR	404 NKWAZI RD		UNIP	NDOLA	
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MUSA DOMINIC	7 Vitanda Street, Ndola	096-782810	UPND	NDOLA	
KADWALI WATSON	ZNBC STUDIOS, Kitwe	02-226714	MEDIA	KITWE	
CHONDOKA JANET	CDU CAMPUS			KITWE	
KAMATA LADISLAS	9 FREEDOM	096-751764	FDD	CHINGOLA	
LUNGU TOM	30 Bulangililo, Kitwe	096-944487	MMD	KITWE	
LUNGU MICHEAL KULEYA	P.O Box 230148, Ndola	096-924935	PF	NDOLA	



## ANNEX II

### **NDI/FODEP POLITICAL PARTY ASSESSMENT PROJECT**

#### INTERVIEW GUIDE (Political Parties)

##### **1. Interviewee Details**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Position in the Party: \_\_\_\_\_

Political Party: \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

##### **2. Party Structure**

- i). Can you describe the organizational structure of your party or how is your party organized?
- ii). What are the decision-making organs in your party?
- iii). Can you describe the organizational structure of the women wing (if any) of your party?
- iv). Can you describe the organizational structure of the youth wing (if any) of your party?

##### **3. Party Administration**

- i). Can you describe the administrative structure of your party?
- ii). Who is responsible for the day-to-day administration of the party?
- iii). What is the total number of personnel at the National Headquarters/ Provincial Office/District Office?
- iv). What is the relationship between the office of the Secretary General and that of the Treasurer?
- v). What is the level of coordination between National Executive, National Secretariat (HQ), Provincial, District and Constituency offices?

iv). How effective is your administrative staff in carrying out the mandate of the National Executive?

v). If not effective, what explains the deficiencies?

vii). What suggestions (if any) do you have to strengthen the party's National Headquarters and sub-national offices?

#### **4. Democratic Principles within the Party**

i). How are leaders selected in your party?

ii). How often does the party hold meetings at National/Regional/District/Constituency levels?

iii). To what extent are members involved in the formulation of party policies and programmes?

iv). How are public meetings conducted? Who are usually the main speakers? Are members given an opportunity to ask questions?

v). Does the party tolerate dissent or conflicting opinions? Are there any political factions in your party? If so how are they handled by the national leadership?

vi). What is the frequency of party members defecting to other political parties?

vii). What are the main reasons leading to members defecting to other parties?

viii). Does your party have an anti-defection mechanisms, or in other words how does your party discourage members from defecting to other parties?

ix). What are the main reasons for disciplinary action in your party? Do members have recourse to appeal? How have appeals been handled in the past?

x). Describe the conduct of internal party elections at: a.) Constituency, b). District, c). Province, d). National levels.

xi). Describe the procedures for selecting candidates for: a). Local government elections, b). Parliamentary elections, c). Presidential elections.

xii). Have there been any conflicts/disagreements between the national executive and local party organs in the selection of local government/parliamentary/presidential candidates?

xiii). How can you characterize the relationship between national, executive and local party leaders?



xiv). Do local party leaders (District, Constituency and Branch) have latitude to make decisions without reference to national executive?

xiii). Do local party leaders hold the national leadership accountable for its actions? How is this done?

## **5. Membership**

i). How does one become a member in your party? What types of membership exist in your party?

ii). Can you explain the membership base of your party?

iii). What is the distribution of your party membership (in terms of age, gender, ethnic, racial, professional, occupation and educational)?

iv). Which level of party leadership is responsible for membership recruitment and mobilization?

v). Who are the traditional supporters of the party?

vii). What is the total membership of your party at the national/provincial/district/constituency levels?

viii). What is the relationship between party members and supporters?

ix). Which level of party leadership is responsible for fund-raising activities?

## **6. Party Ideology/Objectives/Policies**

i). Why was your party formed? What are the main objectives of your party?

ii). What is the difference between your party and other parties?

iii). What role does the party want to play in Zambian politics?

iv). What were the key political issues for the party during the 2001 elections?

v). What are the current political issues occupying the party?

vi). How does the party develop/formulate public policy?

- vii). Does the party have a research department or policy think tank? How does this work?
- viii). How does the party engage in public debate?
- ix). What do you envisage as the key issues for the party in the next two to three years?
- x). Where does the party want to be in three years (2006)?

## **7. Party Resources**

### ***i). Finance***

- a). What are the party's core sources of funding?
- b). How sustainable are these sources of funding?
- c). Does the party maintain account books?
- d). Does the party maintain bank accounts? If so, which bank (s)?
- e). What is the current monthly budget to run party activities? Is this adequate?
- f). Which level of party leadership is responsible for fund-raising?
- g). Who is responsible for the disbursement of party funds?
- h). Does the party have accounting procedures?
- i). Do members have a right to know the finances of the Party? How is the financial information provided to the members?

### ***ii). Property and equipment***

- a). Does the party own property and equipment (e.g. houses, real estate, vehicles, bicycles, computers, etc)?
- b). If, yes how were they acquired?

### ***iii). Communications***

- a). What is the main means of communication between the party national headquarters with the provinces, districts and constituencies?

- b). Does the party own a newspaper or distribute a newsletter? Where, how, and how often is it distributed?
- c). Is the party on the Internet (web page, email, etc)? If yes, where is this information publicized?
- d). Does the party have a method by which members can make suggestions or communicate with the national executive?
- e). What is the party's press/media and public relations strategy?
- f). How strong is the public relations infrastructure?
- g). How is the head of information, publicity and public relations selected/recruited?
- h). How is the press and public relations section of the party organized?
- i). How is the campaign and election function handled in your party?
- j). Who is responsible for elections and campaigns in your party? How is this person selected?

## **8. Roles and Functions of Different Party Officials**

- i). What are the roles and functions of the National Executive Committee members?
- ii). What are the roles and functions of the Provincial Executive Committee members?
- iii). What are the roles and functions of the District Executive Committee members?
- iv). What are the roles and functions of the Constituency Executive Committee?
- v). What are the roles and functions of the Ward Executive Committee?
- vi). What is the relationship between different levels of party leadership?
- vii). What are the sources of conflict (if any) between different levels of leadership?
- viii). What is the relationship between the ward executive committee and the party's elected councillors?

ix). What is the relationship between the constituency executive committee and the party's elected MPs?

x). What is the relationship between the party's elected MPs and other levels of party leadership?

## **9. Party Strengths and Weaknesses**

i). What is your estimated total membership?

ii). What is the distribution of your membership? (regionally, ethnically, racially, gender, age).

iii). Who are the party's main supporters?

iv). What is your total number of elected Members of Parliament?

v). What is the your total number of elected Councillors?

vi). How many councils does the party control (i.e. have mayors, council chairmen)?

vii). Does your party have any relationship with another party or parties? Is it a member of an alliance or coalition?

viii). If so, what has been the history of your party with coalitions and mergers since its formation?

ix). How many senior level defections from other parties to you party have taken place in the last two years?

x). How many parliamentary committees does the party chair in the National Assembly?

xi). Does the party have a Parliamentary Caucus? How is the Caucus organized?

xii). What is the relationship between the Parliamentary Caucus and the Party outside parliament?

xiii). What is the number of female members of the National Executive Committee?

xiv). How many female MPs does the party have?

xv). How many female councillors does the party have?

xvi). How many defections to other parties have taken place in the last two years?

xvii). How many leadership changes (at national, provincial, district and constituency levels) have taken place in the last two years?

xviii). How inclusive is your national executive committee (regional/ethnic representation)?

xix). How regular are your public meetings/rallies?

xx). How many public meetings (excluding election campaigns) has the party held in the past one year?

xxi). How do you rate the attendance at your public/meetings relative to other parties?

xxii). What methods are used to organize public meetings?

xxiii). How often is your party reported in the media?

xxiv). What specific actions (e.g. demonstrations, petitions, public appeals, etc.) has your party taken in the last one year?

xxvi). Do you consider your party national in character? What justification do you have for that?

## **10. Efforts at Internal Organizational Development**

i). Does the party hold organizational and administration seminars?

ii). Does the party hold seminars on fund-raising?

iii). Does the party hold regular internal reviews and evaluation programmes? When was the last such review undertaken?

iv). Are there frequent administrative reshuffles within the party?

v). What is the frequency of suspensions/expulsions of party functionaries and appointment of officials in acting capacities.

vi). Is there an effort to balance the principle of electoral accountability with efficiency and effectiveness?

## **11. Party Activities**

a). What type of activities is the party involved in between elections?

- b). What activities is the party involved in during elections?
- c). How are election funds mobilized?
- d). What are the problems associated with election campaigns?

**12. Perceived Role for the Party**

- i). What role has your party played in Zambian politics since its establishment?
- ii). What is the common public perception of your party/leader? What explains that perception?
- iii). What do you consider to be the proper role of a political party in Zambia?

**13. Suggestions for Party Strengthening**

What specific suggestions do you have for the strengthening your party in the following areas?

- a). Membership recruitment
- b). Party administration and organization
- c). Party finance
- d). Inter-party relations
- e). Electoral competition
- f). Preparations for government

**14. General Observations**

## ANNEX III

# **NDI/FODEP POLITICAL PARTY ASSESSMENT PROJECT**

## INTERVIEW GUIDE (Individuals & Organisations)

### **1. Interview Details**

Name:

Organisation:

Position in the Organisation:

Date of Interview:

Place of Interview:

### **2. Characteristics of the Zambian Party System**

- i). How do
- ii). What can you say about the how parties are organized?
- iii). What can you say about the membership base of political parties?
- iv). What can you say about the leadership style in Zambian political parties?
- v). What do you think explains the dominance of Zambian parties by strong or powerful or rich individuals?

### **3. Party Administration**

- i). What can you say about the administration of political parties in Zambia?
- ii). Do Zambian parties have administrative offices, staff and clear administrative systems to coordinate and manage party functions?

### **4. Democratic Principles within the Party**

- i). What can you say about the way leaders are selected in Zambian parties?
- ii). Do these parties hold regular meetings?
- iii). What can you say about the involvement of ordinary party members in the formulation or party policies and programmes?
- iv). How are public meetings conducted? Who are usually the main speakers? Are members given an opportunity to ask questions?

- v). What can you say about the tolerance of dissent or conflicting opinions in  
Zambian parties? How have political factions been handled in political parties?
- vi). What do you think explains the frequency of party members defecting from one  
party to another?
- vii). Why do you think there are so many cases of disciplinary action been taken in  
political parties? Do you think members have had recourse to appeals? In your  
view how have appeals been handled in the past?
- viii). What can you say about the conduct of internal party elections in Zambia at  
different levels)?
- ix). What can you say about the procedures for selecting candidates for:
  - a). Local Government elections
  - b). Parliamentary elections
  - c). Presidential elections
- x). Have there been any conflict/disagreement between the national executive and  
local party organs in the selection of local government/parliamentary/presidential  
candidates?
- xi). How can you characterize the relationship between National Executive and local  
party leaders?
- xii). Do local party leaders (District, Constituency and Branch) have latitude to make  
decisions without reference to National Executive?
- xiii). Do you think ordinary members play in role in political parties?

## **5. Party Ideology/Objectives/Policies**

- i). How different are Zambian political parties from each other? Do political parties  
have clear and distinct objectives in your party?
- ii). What role does the ruling party play in Zambian politics?
- iii). What role do opposition parties play in Zambian politics?
- iv). Were parties able to articulate their policies during the 2001 elections?
- v). What are the current political issues occupying political parties in Zambia  
today?



vi). What do you envisage the key issues are for political parties in the next two to three years?

vii). Where do you think political parties should be in three years time?

## **6. Party Resources**

### ***i). Finance***

- a). What can you say about political parties' funding sources?
- b). How sustainable are these sources of funding?
- c). Do you think members know the financial situation of their Party?
- d). What can you say about the proposed state funding of political parties?

### ***iii). Communications and the media***

- a). Do parties have means to communicate with their members at different levels?
- b). How visible are Zambian political parties? Are they regularly covered in the media? If not, what explains the poor coverage?
- c). What are each party's ability to utilize the media to get its message across to the public/members?

## **7. Party Strengths and Weaknesses**

- i). How can you determine party membership in Zambian political parties?
- ii). What can you say about methods of membership recruitment by political parties?
- iii). What main reasons inhibit political parties' participation in elections?
- iv). For the parties with elected councillors, what can you say about the performance of those councillors?
- v). For the parties with elected MPs, what can you say about the performance of those MPs?
- vi). What are the obstacles and challenges to coalitions and alliance building?

viii). What can you say about the relationship between elected MPs and their party? How organized are Parliamentary Caucuses?

ix). What can you say about the representation of women at different levels in the political parties' policy making and decision making bodies?

x). What can you say about leadership changes in political parties (at various levels) in the last two years?

xi). How inclusive are political parties (regional, ethnic, race, gender, age representation)?

xii). Is the question of minorities an important issue for political parties in Zambia?

xii). How effective have opposition parties been in articulating their demands and holding government accountable in the last one year?

xiii). How can you characterize the main Zambian parties in terms of geographic and ethnic diversity?

xiv). Would you say that since 1991 political parties have contributed to democratic governance?

## **8. Party Activities**

a). What type of activities are political parties involved in between elections?

b). What activities are political parties involved in during elections?

c). What problems do political parties face during election campaigns?

d). What do you consider to be the proper role of a political party in Zambia?

## **9. Relationship Between Political Parties and Civil Society**

i). How would you characterize the relationship between political parties and civil society in general/

ii). Are members of civil society connected to political parties?

iii). What do you women's role is in the political process?

iv). What do you see youth's role is in the political process?

v). Are civil society organizations, or is your organization, affiliated to political parties?

vi). What prevents civil society organizations, or your organization, from fully participating in the political process?

vii). What prevents civil society organizations, or your organization, from working closely with political parties?

## **10. Suggestions for Party Strengthening**

What specific suggestions do you have for the strengthening political parties in the following areas?

- a). Membership recruitment
- b). Party administration and organization
- c). Party ideology/policies
- d). Party finance
- e). Inter-party relations
- f). Intra-party relations
- g). Electoral competition
- h). Preparations for government

ANNEX IV

**NDI/FODEP POLITICAL PARTY ASSESSMENT PROJECT**

**POLITICAL PARTY INVENTORY**

- 1) Name:
- 2) Name of Political Party:
- 3) Physical Address:
- 4) Postal Address:
- 5) Telephone:
- 6) Email:
- 7) Name(s) of Principal Officer (s):
- 8) Contact Address:

**Party History**

- 9) When was the party formed?
  - a. Date of registration:
  - b. Why was the party formed (i.e. circumstances that led to the formation of the party)?
- 10) Party objectives:
- 11) Elections contested since 1991: (a) Parliamentary
  - a. Local government
  - b. Number of elections won (local government & parliamentary)
- 12) Date of last National Congress/Convention:
- 13) Frequency of Party Congresses/Conventions:
- 14) Names of leaders behind the formation of the party:
- 15) Background of founder members:

Name                      Date of Birth                      Level of Education                      Occupation

**Party Headquarters/Administrative Office**

16) Name of the person responsible for the day to day administration::

17) Level of education of the person responsible for day to day administration:

18) Number of Staff at Party Headquarters:

- a. Number of full-time staff:
- b. Number of part-time staff:
- c. Number of volunteer staff:

**Party Resources**

***Documentation*** (collect documents)

19) Does the party have a constitution?

20) Does the party have a manifesto?

21) Does the party have disciplinary rules and procedures/code of conduct?

22) Does the party have electoral rules and procedures?

***Membership***

23) What is the estimated total membership?

24) How are membership records kept?

25) What is the distribution of party membership (by region, ethnic, race, gender, age)?

***Financial Information***

26) What are the sources party funding?

27) Does the party maintain audited account books?

28) Name of Party's Financial Officer/Accountant:

29) Qualification of Party Financial Officer/Accountant:

30) Does the party maintain (a ) bank account (s)?

31) Name of Bank (s):

32) Balance in the bank:

33) Estimated monthly cost of running the Party Headquarters

***Property and Equipment***

34) Does the party own property?

- a. Does the party own houses and other real estate?
- b. Does the party have vehicles? (If yes, how many and what type?)
- c. Does the party have a photocopier?
- d. Does the party have a telephone/fax machine?
- e. Does the party have filing cabinets? (If yes how many?)
- f. Does the party have desks and chairs? (If yes how many?)