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Resilient nations.*

# **Strengthening Political Parties**

00085177

## **2016 Annual Report**

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## Acronyms

ACB	Anti - Corruption Bureau
AFORD	Alliance for Democracy
CMD	Centre for Multiparty Democracy
DFID	Department for International Development
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
FIU	Financial Intelligence Unit
LAC	Legal Affairs Committee
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MPLC	Multiparty Liaison Committee
NASAF	National Salvation Front
PP	Peoples Party
PPM	Peoples Progressive Movement
PPRRA	Political Parties (Regulation and Registration) Act
TWG	Technical Working Group
UDF	United Democratic Front
UIP	United Independence Party
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

## **Executive Summary**

Activities in the final year of implementation of the project were prioritized to ensure achievement of project output and outcomes, as well as their catalytic orientation in strengthening the political party landscape in Malawi. The report provides a summary of the main progress, achievements, and challenges encountered by the project during 2016.

Regarding the review of the Political Parties (Regulation and Registration) Act (PPRA) by the end of the year, key stakeholders not only reached a consensus regarding the content of the proposed bill, but also presented it to the leaders of political parties. Further, the government adopted the bill, cabinet approved it, and the bill was gazetted and appeared in the order paper of the November/December session of parliament. It was not discussed, however, and it is one of the bills to be carried over to the next sitting of parliament, most likely in February 2017. During this process, the Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) brought political parties together and built consensus on contentious issues. The bill, as gazetted, contains all important elements that the CMD had been proposing, such as the independence of the Registrar of Political Parties and disclosure of political party financing.

Following a review of the Policy Development program which recommended that manuals should be developed, the project developed a manual, outlining module content for all four modules: Understanding of Political Parties, Political Ideologies, Policy Formulation, Advocacy. This is an ongoing capacity building initiative by CMD to ensure that political parties are able to articulate policy based issues and will continue to be a deciding intervention if political parties are to be able to connect with the citizenry on an issue-based platform.

Implementation of the paid up political party membership is now being piloted and AFORD and UDF are piloting with their members. Regional sessions during 2016 involved presentations of the paid up membership study including conclusions from the refresher workshop. The two national leaders of political parties engaged with their regional personal

so that the parties could develop their own strategies for a possible roll out: UDF has identified a desk officer to pursue this initiative, AFORD has started implementing this at a small scale, while the Malawi Congress Party is testing this in Chiradzulo and Machinga. The paid up membership intervention still has sensitivities, but holds the potential for both financial sustainability of political parties and for strengthening intra-party democracy.

There were sustained cross-party meetings of political parties from both the ruling, opposition and non-parliamentary parties addressing a number of difficult issues including the Political Parties Bill and section 65 of the Constitution. Interface meetings between political parties and CMD and the Electoral Commission, were constructive and dealt with issues such as the Status of Electoral Reforms. Unfortunately, the Chair of the Commission died suddenly leaving a gap for continuation of engagement with the old Commission. As a result of the independent review of the Central Audit Unit's Audit report on MEC, all senior members of the secretariat were sent on a forced leave. Thus continuity of the momentum developed with previous Commissions was lost. Although the new Commission has been in place since July, 2016, CMD has not managed to schedule a meeting due to competing priorities since Commissioners have been engaged in various orientation and capacity building activities. CMD is however exploring ways of re-establishing a viable working relationship with the new Electoral Commission in 2017.

The CMD strategic plan was finalized following extensive discussion by a cross-section of members of political parties, civil society organizations, development partners and other stakeholders. It is expected to be adopted by CMD board in the first quarter of 2017.

The end of term evaluation noted that the project has many lessons learnt that could inform any possible follow up project, particularly in the evidence based design and SMART indicators, but also interventions that have far reaching potential to fundamentally changing the way of doing business in the political landscape. One of the highlights of the evaluation is that CMD has created a platform for inter-party dialogue on key national development issues and cultivated a seed of unity and working together among the political parties for the betterment of the Malawi as the country.

In December, 2016 a technical management meeting attended by DFID, UNDP, and CMD approved an extension of the project from January to March, 2017. The main activities during the extended period are to facilitate advocacy for enactment of the political parties bill during the February 2017 sitting of Parliament and to conduct a conflict analysis of political parties to feed into a concrete conflict prevention strategy. This period is also a bridging period for support to CMD before the formulation of the next Elections project which will incorporate work with the CMD.

## **Situational Background/Context**

2016 was the final year of implementation for the project titled “Strengthening Political Parties” that is implemented by the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) with support from DFID and UNDP. The project was conceived with an aim of contributing towards strengthening political parties by, among other strategies, establishing a robust legal and regulatory framework of political parties, assisting political parties to become more issue oriented, strengthening the organizational structure of political parties and supporting the platform for dialogue, which has been working as an anchor to the project.

Broadly, this initiative is part of the realization of the critical role that political parties play in democracy and in the development of a country. Democracies need strong and well-established political parties to channel the demands of their citizens, govern in the public good and satisfy the basic needs of their societies. However, political parties in Malawi currently do not perform to the expectation of the people.

Throughout the year, the country has been experiencing a number of socio-economic challenges, which had the potential for negatively affecting the space for political dialogue. During an acute food shortage, maize, the staple food, was in very short supply – where it was available on the market, the price was prohibitive for the poor. There was a deterioration of public service delivery: the health service delivery system experienced an acute shortages of essential and general drugs, with referral hospitals running out of food for patients. The inflation rate was very high, averaging at 22 percent as the food prices increased considerably. This complex of factors led to the high cost of living.

Two of the most influential groupings in Malawi were prompted to voice out their concerns the Public Affairs Committee in January organized an all-inclusive stakeholders conference to discuss Malawi’s social economic challenges and the Catholic Bishops through their traditional Lenten Letter, that spoke of the difficulties.

Thus the Centre for Multiparty Democracy, as a dialogue platform for political parties managed to sustain dialogue between political parties that involved open discussions on the political context and came up with suggestions that would be constructive and shape political party functions. One of the suggestions was to engage General Secretaries of Political Parties to influence their leadership to hold roundtable discussions.

The main opposition party, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) has also been facing internal strife. The party has seen a faction of its members successfully challenging the party in court to force the party to hold an early convention, or revert to all the elected leadership positions as elected at its national convention.

This affected MCP's participation in the dialogue platform as it was focusing its efforts on its internal issues. Further, since CMD is primarily a platform for Secretaries General, there was a risk for CMD to deal with a Secretary General that did not really have a mandate from the mainstream party.

Further in the year, the tenure of office of electoral commissioners expired and a new commission were appointed in July, 2016. Only one commissioner from the previous commission was retained. The sudden death of the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission shocked many in the political arena. The Chair was seen as a vital link between the old Electoral Commission and the new Commission that had been recently appointed. Immediately after his death however, senior management officials of the Commission, including the Chief Elections Officer and his deputy were put on administrative leave to pave way for an independent review of the Central Audit Unit's Audit report on MEC. With the absence of the chair, and the absence of the top management meant that the Commission suffered a setback in its operations.



## **Assessment of Project Results During the Reporting Period**

### **Project Background**

The Strengthening Political Parties Project is a 4-year project and its goal is to strengthen political parties to effectively participate in Malawi's multiparty democracy, integrating women and youth groups in political parties' structures and dialogue. The project has three overall objectives:

- to revise the Political Parties Registration and Regulations Act (PPRRA);
- to assist political parties to develop issue-based platforms for the 2014 elections;
- to strengthen inter-party dialogue among political parties.

### ***Project Outputs***

In order to achieve the above objectives, the project has been pursuing the following outputs:

- (i) National Assembly enacts revised Political Parties Registration and Regulation Act (PPRRA).
- (ii) Political Parties' issue-based Platforms for 2014 elections developed and disseminated
- (iii) Organizational structure for political parties developed to foster transparency and accountability
- (iv) Platform for inter-party dialogue strengthened to promote transparency and accountability as well as enhance credibility and legitimacy of political parties at all levels
- (v) Effective and efficient management, partnership development and monitoring and evaluation of the project.

## **Output 1: National Assembly Enacts revised Political Parties (Registration and Regulation) Act**

### **Activity Result 1: *Enactment of the Revised Political Parties (Registration and Regulation) Act***

CMD started the year 2016 with a draft bill that was due for ratification by political parties. This was as a continuation of a process that started in 2010 when CMD made a decision to champion the review of the political parties (registration and regulation) act.

#### **1.1.1. Lobby for public policy and conduct advocacy campaigns, including public debates on the Political Parties (registration and Regulation) Act**

***Indicator 1: Consensus on the proposed revised Political Parties Bill by Political Parties***

***Baseline: Availability of revised draft political parties' bill***

***Target: Enactment of Political party Act***

After several revisions of the draft bill, political parties reached a consensus agreeing on the proposed bill. In January, the parties agreed that they were satisfied with the consultations and revisions on the bill, and they agreed that the bill should be presented to the Minister of Justice, and Constitutional Affairs.

Thus, upon reaching this consensus, CMD presented the proposed bill to all leaders of political parties in Parliament, starting with the leader of DPP and State President, Peter Mutharika on 21st January. Thereafter, CMD then presented the bill to the Leader of Opposition, President of the MCP, Dr. Chakwela. On the 22nd of January, CMD met and presented the bill to Atupele Muluzi (UDF), Uladi Mussa (PP) and Enock Chihana (AFORD). CMD then submitted the proposed bill to the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs through the Solicitor General. CMD continues to engage the Ministry to check on the progress on the bill. It was anticipated that the bill would be presented to Parliament in the June 2016 sitting.

After formal submission, however, CMD received comments on the draft bill from the Solicitor General and the Attorney General in May, 2016. Since the comments were substantial, and would affect the essence of the draft in some aspects, CMD decided to have another meeting with the TWG to address the issues raised, which included clarification on definition of vote buying, disclosure of private political party financing, and the independence of the Office of the Registrar of political parties. CMD's comments to the issues raised were submitted back to the ministry for processing.

This process however meant that the bill would not be presented to the House in June/July during the budget sitting as expected since the process remaining required that the drafters in the ministry should complete their work, make a presentation to a cabinet subcommittee on legal affairs before presenting it to the full cabinet that would then present it to the national assembly.

Political parties sought to have an audience with the Honourable Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Samuel Tembenu, SC to discuss the prospects of the bill and the way forward. The meeting took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, at the Ministry of Justice. The following people were in attendance from the CMD delegation:

<b>Party</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Designation</b>
AFORD	Christopher Edward Ritchie	Secretary General
DPP	Grace Obama Chiumia	Deputy Secretary General
DPP	Charles Mhango	Director of Legal Affairs
MCP	Gustave Kaliwo	Secretary General
PP	Ibrahim Matola	Secretary General
UDF	Kandi Padambo	Secretary General
<b>In Attendance</b>		
CMD Secretariat	Daniel Dawa	Finance Manager
	Kizito Tenthani	Executive Director

The Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs was accompanied by the Solicitor General, Dr. Janet Banda, SC, and Mr. Kelious Mlenga, Assistant Chief Legislative Council.

The Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs made a commitment that the Bill will be presented to the National Assembly at the next sitting of Parliament (scheduled for November, 2016).

Towards that end, the following roadmap was agreed:

- The Ministry of Justice would finalize processing the bill by 2<sup>nd</sup> of September, 2016.
- A joint meeting between CMD and the Minister of Justice was scheduled for 8<sup>th</sup> of September for final clearance of the bill before the Minister took the bill to the Cabinet sub-committee and full cabinet.
- The bill was scheduled to be published by the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, 2016 in readiness for the tabling in the National Assembly.

CMD received the revised draft from the Ministry of Justice on Friday, 2<sup>nd</sup> of September. The meeting with the Minister took place on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, earlier than scheduled. At the meeting, the political parties and the Minister of Justice reached a consensus on the content of the bill. Towards that end, the minister reconfirmed his commitment and pledged to stay the course. The Minister has indicated that he planned to present the bill to a cabinet sub-committee. The Cabinet Committee on Constitutional, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs met on the 19<sup>th</sup> of October, and raised issues that it wanted CMD to address. The Committee engaged CMD on the issues on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November.

The Political Parties bill was finally gazetted on 6<sup>th</sup> December, 2016 and was circulated to members of Parliament. As of Monday, 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2016, the bill was appearing on the Parliamentary Order paper as Bill number 40 of 2016. However, the bill was not discussed and its one of the bills to be carried over to the next sitting of parliament, most likely in February 2017.

## **Output 2: Political Parties' Issue Based Platforms for 2014 Elections developed and disseminated**

### *Activity Result: Issue Based Platforms for Political Parties disseminated*

*Indicator 1: # of political parties' formulating policy documents with involvement of party membership*

*(Baseline: 0 (2009 elections) Target: 6*

The main objective of this output was to begin a process of assisting political parties to become more programmatic whereby politics focuses on issues and ideas rather than personalities. These interventions started in the run up to the elections but since political parties were expected to use their issue based platforms to market themselves for the 2014 elections, the same would be applicable in between elections, where the party in government would be checking its policies or actions against their 2014 election platform and at the same time, the parties in opposition would be using their 2014 elections platform to evaluate the conduct and behaviour of the party in government, and use the same to offer alternative solutions to develop the country.

### **2.1.1 Develop, print and disseminate manuals on policy development including a module on political parties**

A review of the Policy Development program recommended that, for the sake of sustainability, manuals should be developed for each of the modules. The review also recommended adding another module to the original three. As a result, during 2016, the project developed a manual outlining the module content for four modules:

- **Module 1: Understanding of Political Parties**
- **Module 2: Political Ideologies**
- **Module 3: Policy Formulation**
- **Module 4: Advocacy**

The manuals will be used for reference in day-to-day engagement for the political parties, as well as use for in house training targeting party cadres that would not directly benefit from CMD's facilitated training opportunities. CMD reviewed the content before having the modules printed, and it was thought that the modules would better be pre-tested in a training session before printing.

Please find attached the module outline attached as *annex 3*.

### **2.1.2 Refresher Training in Political Party Policy Development**

The refresher training on party policy development was not done. It was decided that the refresher training should be used as an occasion to pre-test the policy development manual. However, by the time the manual outline was ready i.e. towards the fourth quarter, resources had been prioritized for other activities .

### **2.1.3 Organize quarterly debates on policy platforms of political parties on emerging issues using radio, TV and open forums**

The plan at the design of the AWP was that after the refresher training, parties would be prepared for some issue based debates. Thus this activity was designed to be dependent on the two activities above and did not materialize.

### **Output 3: Organizational structure of political parties developed to foster transparency and accountability by December, 2015**

#### ***Activity Result: Intra party democracy strengthened***

***Indicator 1: Report of comparative audit of party constitutions***

***Indicator 2: Number of political parties with revised party constitutions with clear mechanisms on participation, transparency and accountability in the light of the new act.***

#### **3.1.1 Review, revise and disseminate results of Paid up membership study**

Following a study on the benefits and sensitivities of paid up membership that was commissioned in 2011, CMD planned to revisit this initiative in order to identify parameters for it to be carried forward. In March, 2016, CMD organized a session with leaders of political parties to revisit the study and map out the way forward.

The refresher workshop attracted several leaders from political parties as follows:

- Secretaries General
- Directors of Women
- Publicity Secretaries
- Directors of Youth
- Treasurer Generals

The refresher workshop focused on the following:

- Paid Up Party Membership in Perspective
- Linking Paid up Membership and Intraparty Democracy
- Sources of Party Finances and Intra-party Democracy
- Sensitivities of Paid Up Party Membership
- Prospects and Challenges for Paid Up Membership
- Paid up Membership and Party Membership

- Options for Party Financing in Malawi

#### Broad Outcomes of the refresher workshop

- There is consensus among political parties that it is time to consider introducing membership fees – the question is how to move the issue forward
- For this to happen, political parties have to move out of their comfort zones, and make decisions that will change the *status quo* and for the parties to be bold and willing to make tough decisions
- The decisions require some reorganizing, especially regarding how political parties are organized
- Finally, have to realize that these initiatives require special skills in change management. Old habits die hard. Parties need to change their story as parties, to become issue oriented so that people may find a cause to support them through paid up membership fees.
- Further, there is need for political parties to develop accountability structures that would ensure that any monies collected are properly accounted for. This also entails that political parties ought to start having registered members that can be tracked.

#### **3.1.2 Popularize paid up membership strategy to district party officials**

As a continuation of popularizing paid up membership strategy, the next activity involved regional / district structures of political parties. The approach was that at least two members from political parties that attended the earlier refresher training at the national level would engage their regional structures in all three administrative regions. The regional sessions during 2016 involved presentation of the paid up membership study including the conclusions from the refresher workshop. The second part involved the two national leaders of political parties engaging with their regional personal so that the parties could develop their own strategies for a possible roll out.



There are some signs of positive results that some political parties have taken the initiative forward. The United Democratic Front has identified a desk officer to pursue this initiative. The Alliance for Democracy has started implementing this at a small scale while the Malawi Congress Party is testing this in Chiradzulo and Machinga.

Going forward, the CMD will need to consider how to backstop political parties in making this a national campaign, and ensuring that political parties are supported to have the necessary capacities to manage this. Further, an alignment of this initiative, with what comes out of the Political Party Bill will be key for further interventions.

### **3.1.3 Promote intra party dialogue through review of political parties' constitutions, with focus on recruitment, succession and inclusion of youth, women and marginalized groups, in relation to the new act**

#### **Intra Party Democracy: Conflict Resolution Strategy**

Following the discussion and advice from the Steering Committee, and also a discussion and resolution at the second quarter CMD Board meeting, CMD embarked on taking action regarding conflicts that are affecting political parties. The intervention was in two parts. The first part was to review and update the CMD Conflict Resolution Strategy. The second part was to engage the Malawi Congress Party, as one of the parties involved in open conflicts.

The conflict resolution strategy is under formulation. The strategy proposes that CMD takes both a proactive and reactive approach in the conflict management initiative. Its primary approach should be to prevent conflicts and stop them from occurring. Where they do occur, CMD should take action to resolve them before they can escalate to become dysfunctional.

The proposed proactive approaches include ensuring that democratic conflict resolution mechanisms are embedded within political parties. Further, it is proposed that the CMD approach should be grounded in research, evidence and to provide a learning mechanism. On the other hand, when conflicts do occur and the party fails to contain them, CMD would try to facilitate engagement within the political parties through the provision of technical and financial resources. In addition, with support from UNDP Peace and Development Adviser, CMD will work towards building in-house capacities for mediators in political party conflicts.

For this strategy to work, there is need for buy in from political parties themselves. This would be achieved by having a well-grounded investigation on the actual needs of political parties and the approaches they themselves would accommodate, hence the need for a baseline and validation of this proposed strategy.

### **The Case of Malawi Congress Party**

The Malawi Congress Party is one of the parties that has been facing a lot of open internal conflicts. In 2016, a cursory investigation by CMD established that the party had not provided a secure and free space for the different people to engage and resolve the conflicts. CMD had a discussion with the Secretary General to explore whether the party would have an appetite to gather together all concerned to chart a way forward for discussion. The secretary general was amenable to this, and advised that other stakeholders should be engaged like former speaker Louis Chimango etc. and some of the disgruntled. They too felt a round table would go a long way in addressing the issues, and should it be necessary, external facilitators would be engaged.

With this, CMD went to meet the party president, Dr. L Chakwera. The president acknowledged the divisions within the party and he too appreciated the need for a round table discussion. However, the president was of the view that since the matter was in court, he would rather have the court process be concluded.

A few days later, the national executive committee of the party met and expelled or suspended some of the people agitating for some reforms within the party.

The developments within MCP are indicative that more work needs to be done on the conflict resolution strategy. To begin with, there is need for more baseline information to establish an approach that would best suit the needs of political parties. There is need for the strategy to be grounded in the needs of the party, they should know that there is a resource they can utilize, and above all, there should have their own internal mechanisms that are responsive.

CMD intends to think through a consultative conflict resolution strategy in order to ensure that political parties have a buy in in the strategy, but also that the strategy should be informed by the needs of political parties.

#### **Output 4: Platform for Interparty Dialogue Strengthened to promote transparency & accountability and enhance credibility and legitimacy of political parties**

##### ***Activity Result: Strengthened inter party dialogue platforms***

Indicator 1: *Sustained cross party meetings of political parties from both the ruling, opposition and non-parliamentary parties as an actualization of the interparty dialogue platform*

Indicator 2: *Ability of political parties and CMD to forge a thematic agenda for joint lobbying and advocacy.*

#### **4.1.1 Facilitate Interparty Dialogue Platforms (CMD /MEC interface meetings)**

CMD Board members agreed that CMD should engage the Electoral Commission Board of Commissioners before the expiry of their tenure of office for political parties to

appreciate the status at which the commissioners would be leaving the Commission. This was to provide a baseline for engagement with the new commission.

The meeting took place on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May and the following issues were raised:

- **The Status of Electoral Reforms:** political parties were formally informed that the process is now with the Law Commission who has set up a special law commission on election reform.
- **Status of Elections Petitions:** The parties were informed that out of the 360 petitions that were received, 26 ended up in court out of which, 7 were dismissed, 10 were withdrawn, one case is awaiting judgment, 4 were scheduled for hearing and 2 cases were at the supreme court of appeal.
- **Bio – metric voter register:** political parties were informed that MEC is working with the National Registrations Bureau to explore possibilities of working together in order to have a multipurpose card that would be used by MEC to extract biometric information to build a voters roll/register for 2019 general elections.
- **Status of By-elections:** The Commission expressed their challenges in implementing s. 63 of the Constitution that gives a 60 day window for the Commission to carry out by-elections in cases of vacancies. The Commission informed political parties that they had presented the issue to the special law commission.
- **Constituency Boundary Demarcation:** This is in line with s. 76(2)(a)(b) that requires periodical consideration of the constituency boundaries to take into account current realities. The Commission informed the parties that this process is undermined by the lack of current data from the National Statistics Office. Due to the complexity of the matter, both parties, the Commission and CMD political parties agreed that this matter requires further discussion.

Considering the issues under discussion in the interface meeting between political parties and CMD and the Electoral Commission, the discussion was a constructive one, and that if these interactions could be sustained even this time, in between the ballot, trust levels

could be developed between the Electoral Commission and the political parties, a situation that would improve the environment for holding subsequent elections.

After the new commission was appointed in July, 2016, only one commissioner from the previous commission was retained. This necessitated an urgent meeting with the new Commission to take advantage of the presence of the Chair of the commission whose contract was still in effect. Unfortunately, the Chair of the Commission died suddenly thereby leaving a gap for continuation of engagement with the old commission. Further, there was another setback on CMD and MEC engagement due to a requirement by the independent review of the Central Audit Unit's Audit report on MEC to send all senior members of the secretariat on a forced leave. Although the new commission has been in place since July, 2016, CMD has not managed to schedule a meeting due to competing priorities since Commissioners have been engaged in various orientation and capacity building activities. CMD is however exploring ways of re-establishing a viable working relationship with the new Electoral Commission in 2017.

#### **4.1.2 Convene Quarterly Party Members Meeting at the National Level**

These meetings are the actualization of the interparty dialogue platform for political parties. During the year's meetings major discussions and decisions included the following:

- **Electoral Reforms:** The Board was informed that the taskforce on electoral reforms made a decision to present all their consultation findings to the Law Commission. The parties were further informed that the planned National Conference was not going to take place, neither was there going to be an Issues Paper. The Board was informed that CMD was invited to submit two names to sit as Special Law Commission, and that it was waiting for feedback from the Law Commissioner. The Board agreed to write to the Law Commissioner to seek clarification on the process and an indication of how long it would take bearing in mind the need to have the proposed reforms cleared way before the elections on 2019.

- **Facilitating interparty Dialogue Platforms (CMD/MEC meetings):** The Board decided that it would be important to have at least one meeting with MEC before their term of office expires in May. Issues to be discussed include constituency demarcation, electoral reforms, updates on court electoral petitions and the issues of financial mismanagement at the Electoral Commission.
- **Write to the Minister of Finance to Lobby for Funding to CMD:** The Board decided to make a follow up to the request made to the State President regarding public financing of CMD, by bringing the request to the minister of finance.
- **CMD's Membership Fees:** The Board received suggestions for political parties membership fees to CMD. The parties will consult within their parties and a decision will be made at the next Board meeting.
- **CMD's Position on National Issues:** The Board considered the issues that were raised at the PAC All Inclusive Conference and the issues raised by the Catholic Bishops in their Pastoral Letter. The Board agreed that there is need for dialogue on the matters raised and agreed that the Secretaries Generals should meet to think about and prepare a round table meeting for leaders of political parties.

Other issues discussed over the year were as below:

- **Membership contribution CMD**  
Parties agreed that political parties in parliament should be paying a membership fee of Mk700,000 per year while parties outside parliament should be paying Mk300,000 per year.
- **Implementation of the Leaders' Summit**  
Secretariat was tasked to propose a meeting of party leaders.
- **Meeting with the Electoral Commission**  
The Board agreed to engage the new EC to pick up from the previous interactions.
- **Progress on the political party bill**  
The Board agreed to continue its lobbying efforts
- **Financing of CMD**  
The Board agreed to engage the Minister of Finance.

### **4.1.3 Strengthen networking and representation through local and international partnerships**

CMD has complied with all the statutory requirements that require CSOs/NGOs to get registered with CONGOMA and the NGO Board. The CMD has since been taking part in the meetings organized by these organizations. CMD is planning to get registered with an international network for organizations facilitating interparty dialogue – the Global Partnership for Multiparty Democracy.

### **Output 5: Effective and efficient management, partnership formation and M&E of the program**

#### **Activity Result: Effective program management and strengthened capacity of CMD Secretariat**

#### **5.1.1 Provide oversight and input from project board**

The project steering committee met in the first quarter. The committee meeting comprised of representatives from UNDP, DFID, The Board of CMD and the secretariat of CMD. The committee guided that 2016, being the final year of the project, the AWP should avoid starting new interventions, but rather focus on consolidating the successes of the activities that had already been initiated. Further the committee advised that the AWP 2016 should focus on strategic activities that are catalytic and would position CMD properly for subsequent funding. Thus the 2016 AWP was developed with this orientation.

The project steering committee met again in July. Among other issues, the Committee urged CMD to mobilize other partners in support of the political party bill so that there are different voices agitating for its passing. It further urged CMD to complete unfinished business bearing in mind that the project is coming to an end. The Committee further urged

CMD to support the end of project evaluation to ensure that it highlights achievements, lessons learnt and to guide sustainable programming.

### **5.1.2 Project Quality Assurance and Management**

This was covered in 5.1.1 above

### **5.1.3 Conduct Review of CMD Strategic Plan**

The strategic plan review process has been progressing. During the reporting period, the Malawi Institute of Management presented a draft report for further validation. A cross section of members of political parties, civil society organizations, development partners and other stakeholders gave comprehensive feedback for the improvement of the draft to ensure that it encompasses the current political realities. The consultant finalized the report for final adoption by the CMD. The strategic plan is expected to be adopted by CMD board in the first quarter of 2017.

### **5.1.4 Conduct End of Project Evaluation**

The project was evaluated in November, 2016. The main objective of the evaluation was to assess the extent to which the project has achieved its goals and UNDP's contribution to the achievement of the results

The evaluation concluded that the project satisfactorily achieved four out of five outputs rating the overall project performance highly. Other key findings of the evaluation are that the project has contributed to significant changes in the operational environment of multi-party politics in Malawi and in developing the capacities of participating political parties. The notable changes include the following:



- Political parties are steadily shifting from sentimental politics towards embracing issues based politics as evidenced during the 2014 general elections in which political parties made significant attempts tailoring their manifestos to their party policies
- The inter-party dialogues have not only created a platform for discussion of key national development issues but have also cultivated seed of unity and working together among the political parties for the betterment of the Malawi as the country.
- Capacity of multi-party structures has been built and there is evidence of enhanced capacity in policy review and formulation among various multi-party structures.

The evaluation noted that the Political Parties Registration and Regulations Bill, which was one of the major interventions of the project, has not yet been tabled in Parliament.

The evaluation has made a number of recommendations which are aimed at improving the efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability of similar interventions in the future. Among the recommendations, the evaluation has pointed to the need to pay more attention to the quality of project indicator frameworks at the design stage. The evaluation has recommended a continued role for the Centre for Multiparty Democracy as an anchor for support for strengthening political parties in Malawi. Among other interventions, political parties need to strengthen their secretariats, facilitate the participation of women and the youth in party leadership positions and enhance intra party democracy. In addition, the evaluation highlighted the need for advocating for the approval of the Political Parties Registration and Regulation Bill (PPRRA) by Parliament, its enactment and thereafter support its popularization.

## **Gender Mainstreaming**

In the course of the year, CMD, with support from the UN Women developed a gender strategy. This gender strategy for Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) Malawi is a pathway to the creation of a level playground for equal participation of youth (boys and

girls), men and women in the political sphere in general and in activities of CMD in particular. The enabling gendered climate will require deepened and measurable of gender commitments within CMD-M, political parties and its stakeholders.

The nature of the project provided few opportunities for a progressive gender mainstreaming approach. One of the areas where CMD attempted to address issues of gender was in the drafting of the Political Party Act where as much as the legal drafting protocols would allow, CMD tried to engender the draft bill, by, for instance using gender neutral terms and propagating for inclusion of women and youth in political party governing structures.

CMD continued with the principle that in all platforms for dialogue where political parties interact, representation should always include a woman, where more than one participant has been invited. This has also been CMD's approach when cascading the interaction of political parties in the regions or districts. In order to make this possible, at the CMD board level, we have maintained that representation should always include the director of women.

### **Status of Key Partners**

CMD continues to work closely with both government and civil society organisations on a number of themes and activities such as gender and women participation in politics, review of the electoral laws and the review of the political parties registration and regulation act. Key among these organisations are: the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Welfare (MoGCSW), the UN Women, UNDP, the Legal Affairs Committee of Parliament, Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC), Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN), National Initiative for Civic Education (NICE), and the Ministry of Justice, and Constitutional Affairs.

On the international scene, CMD is partnering with the Socialist Party and the Liberal party of Denmark on the youth empowerment project. It is also partnering with the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy (DIPD) on the women empowerment project.

## **Financial Status**

See detailed financial report; Annex 2.

## **Lessons Learnt**

- One of the key lessons learnt is regarding the need for wide consultation with key but relevant stakeholders in legal reform. In the work of reviewing the Political Party (registration and regulation) Act, the Centre consulted various stakeholders, including the Taskforce on Electoral Reforms, with an aim of harmonizing the process. That assisted in that the process of developing the draft bill took into account the expectations of relevant stakeholders with similar interests. Early engagement and inclusion of key stakeholder allowed wide acceptance and consensus of the draft bill, particularly by major political parties represented in the National Assembly.
- Legal reforms: As observed in the past years and throughout this project, the process of law reform is complex. It is not a linear process. The project has brought the political economy of legal reforms to the limelight in that, while reviewing the PPRRA, interests of different actors have come into play and the process has taken longer than anticipated. Thus the design of the project must have taken into account the likelihood of a protracted process in revising the PPRRA. The design of the project should have taken into account the likelihood of delays to have the PPRRA bill passed in parliament beyond the project implementation period. Future programming in legal reforms to take the long process of legislation into account.

- Paid up membership: again, lessons from political economy analysis come to the fore. After reorienting the project on the initiative of paid up membership, all political parties buy into the idea, but the sensitivities remain and thus, make parties to be lukewarm as regards implementation. Future programming to consider robust advocacy strategy to ensure that political party members are well aware of the benefits of being a registered and paying member of a political party.
- Synergies with Malawi Electoral Cycle Support (MECS) and Conflict Prevention (Social Cohesion): In parallel to the political parties project, there were two other UNDP supported projects that had components on conflict prevention and mediation; namely MECS and Social Cohesion. There is therefore need to ensure these synergies are realized in the next project formulation.
- The Project Steering Committee is a very useful element of project implementation. The Committee guided the approach and strategic orientation of the program, particularly bearing in mind that this is the final year of the project. In addition, the steering committee provided the much needed oversight to drive politically sensitive activities like legal reforms.

## **Challenges**

- The major challenge experienced was the reduced funding for 2016 programming. This has affected the reach of the project as some activities could not be cascaded to the district level. For instance, resources were not allocated to Multiparty Liaison Committee (MPLCs) meetings, and yet, the MPLC in between the ballot initiative started taking root.
- Another more programmatic challenge is regarding the initiative to review the PPRRA. Once the bill was submitted to the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, the ministry moves at its own pace, and it's not easy to influence it, apart from lobbying cautiously to avoid antagonizing them.

- CMD has had no secure funding for party bilateral programs, where CMD would have direct intervention initiatives with political parties, including tailor made capacity development plans. Recent trends have indicated that political parties are suffering from intra party democracy issues, and CMD has no resources to adequately intervene. This has a potential of affecting the cross party program.

## **Conclusion**

This being the final year of implementation, the project focused on concluding the more prominent activities that would assist in delivering the results that the project intended to achieve. The evaluation that was carried out has indicated that CMD has been able to go a long way towards the realization of the results and it is believed that the bridging period from January to March 2017 will provide insights into the design of next project. In addition, the Elections Needs Assessment mission deployed to Malawi in September, 2016 has recommended that support to CMD need to be part of a larger electoral cycle support programme to maximize synergies and have a greater impact on how political parties conduct business in Malawi.

Annex 1: Project Plan for the Period

EXPECTED CP OUTPUTS AND TARGETS for Quarter or period	PLANNED ACTIVITIES	Responsible Party	RESULTS OF ACTIVITIES	PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING OUTPUTS
<p><b><i>Output 1: National Assembly enacts revised Political Parties (Regulation and Registration) Act</i></b>  <b>Target:</b> Enactment of Political Parties Bill</p>	<p>1.1 Lobby public policy advocacy including radio programs and meeting party leaders on the draft bill</p>	<p>CMD</p>	<p>Political parties reached a consensus on the text of the bill; leaders of political parties including the State President endorsed the bill and the Government through the Ministry of Justice adopted the bill as a Government Bill</p>	<p>By the end of the year, the bill was gazette in the Malawi Government Gazette, it was circulated in the National Assembly and it appeared in the Parliamentary Order Paper.</p>

<b>Output 2: Political parties issue based platforms for 2014 elections developed and disseminated</b> <b>Target:</b> 8 political parties develop their policy documents	2.1.1 Develop, print and disseminate manuals on policy development including a module on political parties	CMD	The outline and content of the manual were developed (see annex)	The policy development initiative has the potential of contributing to improving relevance and enhancing the legitimacy of political parties. The manuals as a knowledge product will be used for continuous training and orientation of political parties once pretested and printed.
	2.1.2 Organize refresher training in political party policy development	CMD	This refresher training was meant to be conducted as a pre-test of the manual, and was not done.	

	2.1.3 Organize quarterly debates on policy platforms of political parties on emerging issues using radio, TV and open forums	CMD	The debates were supposed to follow the refresher, and were not done because of the reason above. The refresher training was also expected to deal with a perception where political parties expected that debates are only for the electoral period.	
<b>Output 3: Organizational structure of political parties strengthened to foster participation,</b>	3.1.1 Review, revise and disseminate results of Paid up membership study	CMD	The study report was presented again to the leadership of political parties at the SGs level, and was validated and endorsed for implementation.	Some political parties have started the process of registering their political parties at a small scale. This process needs to be linked with the National Registration initiative, and some bottlenecks regarding the possibility of rollout need to be addressed.



<b>transparency and accountability</b> <b>Target:</b> working with the 8 political parties	3.1.2 Popularize paid up membership strategy to district party officials	CMD	Regional and district party officials were taken through the study report and again they provided input and suggestions for roll out	
	3.1.3 Promote intra party dialogue through review of political parties' constitutions, with focus on recruitment, succession and inclusion of youth, women and marginalized groups, in relation to the new act	CMD	Since the bill was still being processed, with advice from the Steering Committee, this activity was redesigned to focus on intraparty conflict resolution.	While the intervention was welcome, it was felt that the strategy still needs to be well thought through with the participation of political parties.

<b>Output 4: Platform for interparty dialogue strengthened to promote transparency and accountability and enhance credibility and legitimacy of political parties</b> <b>Targets:</b> 12 MPLCs reactivated across the country	4.1.1	Facilitate Interparty Dialogue Platforms (CMD /MEC interface meetings)	CMD	This was done with the old EC. And a discussion on outstanding issues from the 2014 elections were discussed. The new EC is yet to be engaged	As a platform for dialogue, CMD continues to define and occupy its space in the political landscape. CMD was able to achieve consensus on the draft political party bill. It was also able to engage the EC as a united front of political parties
	4.1.2	Convene Quarterly Party Members Meeting at the National Level	CMD	CMD come up with a number of important decisions regarding the dialogue platform	
	4.1.3	Strengthen networking and representation through local and international partnerships	CMD	Membership to like minded organization realised	
<b>Output 5: Effective and Efficient program</b>	5.1.1	Provide oversight and input from project board	Oversight committee	Guidance to the project realised	The steering committee continued to guide the implementation of the project. During the year, the strategic review

<b>management, partnership formation and M&amp;E for the program Targets:</b>	5.1.2 Project Quality Assurance and Management	Oversight committee	As above	was conducted and the new strategic plan was drafted. THE end of project evaluation as concluded.
	5.1.3 Conduct Review of CMD Strategic Plan	CMD	New strategic plan was developed	
	5.1.4 Conduct End of Project Evaluation	UNDP	The evaluation was conducted with pertinent recommendations	

## **Annex 2: Financial Report**

## **Annex 3**

### **Political Parties' Training Module Outlines**

The module outlines provide indicative content of the issues that will be covered in each of the four proposed training modules for political parties under the auspices of the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD). The four proposed modules are: 1) Understanding Political Parties; 2) Political Ideas and Ideologies; 3) Policy Making and Analysis; and 4) Advocacy and Political Campaign. The expectation is that political party officials who will have undergone through these modules will be better equipped to fully and meaningfully participate in the political processes. This could, in turn, lead to the development of a robust party system which is a firm basis for fundamental and sustainable democratic transformation. Each of the modules will be structured as follows:

- Introduction
- Aims
- Objectives
- Content
- Evaluation
- Learning Outcomes

#### **Understanding Political Parties**

- Political parties and party system
- Functions of Political Parties
- Political Party Management
- Parties in Parliament and Government
- Challenges for Political Parties in Democracy
- Best Practices for Political Parties in Democracy
- Key Lessons and Conclusions

#### **Political Ideas and Ideologies**

- Introduction
- Ideas and Politics
- Role of Ideas in Politics

- Meaning and Scope of Political Ideologies
- Functions of Political Ideologies
- Main Strands of Political Ideologies
- Status of Political Ideologies in Malawi
- Implications of Political Ideologies for Political Practice in Malawi
- Key Lessons and Conclusions

### **Policy Making and Analysis**

- Meaning of Policy
- Types of public policy
- Key Concepts in Policy
- Context for Policy Making
- Politics of Agenda Setting
- The Policy Making Cycle
- Theories of the State and Policy making
- Political Economy Analysis and Public Policy
- Key Lessons and Conclusions

### **Advocacy and Political Campaign**

- Meaning and Practice of Advocacy
- Advocacy Arenas and Targets
- Advocacy Strategies and Tactics
- Effective Advocacy
- Practical Cases and Scenarios of Advocacy
- Meaning and Scope of Political Campaign
- Key Lessons and Conclusions