



DEMOCRACY REPORT

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DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL PARTIES AND LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



The word 'democracy' is of Greek origin and is derived from two words: demos meaning 'the common people', and kratia meaning 'rule or have power'. Therefore democracy literally means that the common people rule. Of course, in reality it would be impractical to have the people directly rule; if every person had to have their say before decisions could be made, progress would likely slow considerably. Over time, society has found ways to create political systems that aim to simulate democracy as much as possible. In other words, societies have created systems that make sure that the people have ultimate power in their country.

Namibia, like many countries in the world, is a representative democracy built on two main premises: that citizens vote for individuals to represent them in government, and those representatives are then held accountable by citizens. However, in practice, individuals have not run for political positions in Namibia until very recently. Instead, they join political parties and people vote for the parties instead of people.

This paper seeks to explore some of the characteristics of liberation parties, as well as the ways in which liberation movements evolve (or don't) into effective governments. The phenomenon of liberation governments is firmly established in Africa - in part because of the popularity of liberation movements following independence - and while there are examples of individuals or groups outside political parties gaining influence, these remain relatively rare. Understanding the history of liberation struggles, in the region and particularly in Namibia, gives greater insight into political processes, including Namibia's upcoming National and Presidential Elections.



What is a political party?

A political party is “an organisation of people with similar ideologies that seeks to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected”.¹ According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) political parties are crucial for a functioning democracy: having a number of parties contesting for power during elections to represent citizens as the government of choice or opposition is essential for accountability.²

Citizens can become members of political parties, volunteer their time, donate money and vote for the political party and party candidates of their choice as a means of exercising their democratic right to participate in political activity³. As such, political parties are conduits for the political participation of citizens and better facilitate the opportunity for citizens to influence government.

The central question is therefore: are political parties central to democracy? And more importantly, why do so many countries rely on the political party system?

Aldrich (2015) explains that democracy is “unworkable” without political parties.⁴ According to them, when their representative nature is taken into consideration, political parties provide a platform for accountability, especially in contexts where individual candidates are not viable representatives. Therefore political parties play an important role in democratic countries as it is their members who have delegated power to rule on behalf of the people.

Kölln (2015) on the other hand balanced two possibilities regarding whether the abolition of parties would still create a democratic political environment: “Yes, because it is certainly possible to organise the democratic process without parties – probably much to their disgruntlement. No, because we would end up with a worse representative democracy. Parties increase predictability and transparency of policy outcomes, and they save politics from becoming a dispersed and even possibly a contradictory set of actions”.⁵

On a cautionary note, in some countries political parties can act as barriers to democratic participation of citizens by not being accountable and transparent. Therefore a political party acts as a link between citizens and the government, only in as much that they represent the people, and are responsive to the needs and demands of the people.

What is a political ideology?

A political ideology reflects a set of ideas, beliefs, values and opinions which ultimately direct policy, whether economic or political.⁶ More practically, a solid political ideology signals to the public what kind of thinking will underpin the holder’s decision-making process. Ideologies can be built around economic structures, ideal forms of government, or some combination of both. Still others are built around more abstract concepts like human rights.

While political ideologies are as varied as parties themselves, there are general distinctions that can be made. These distinctions can help direct voters to the party or parties most likely to have similar values to themselves. Political ideologies also tell certain stories to voters, not only about what the party’s plans will look like, but also about their interpretation of the past.

Political ideologies are often compared on a scale from ‘left’ to ‘right’, or liberal to conservative. Left leaning parties are usually concerned with social equality, and seek to challenge and dismantle unjustified inequality. Left-wing politics have been associated with a variety of political movements, including: the civil rights and anti-apartheid movements, environmental movements, anti-war/pacifist movements, and feminist movements. Communist movements and political parties also fall under this umbrella. Notable left-wing political regimes include the Scandinavian countries who adopted welfare states in order to guarantee a level of social and economic equality.

Conversely, right leaning parties are generally formed around the ideas that structures/hierarchies - such as social and economic ones - are inevitable and even desirable. Right-wing politics are currently associated with groups such as the Republican Party in the United States, the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom, and the Freedom Front Plus in South Africa. Famous right-wing political regimes include the apartheid governments of both Namibia and South Africa.

Parties are also organised in terms of the degree of authority they think should be vested in the government. Authoritarian political parties seek to centralise power, often disempowering the populace,

¹ See <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-government-and-civics/us-gov-political-participation/us-gov-political-parties/a/lesson-summary-political-parties>

² See <https://www.ndi.org/what-we-do/political-parties>

³ See Alweendo and Andreas, 2019, ‘How to Participate in Politics’ https://ippr.org.na/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/POP_GovernmentWEB.pdf

⁴ Aldrich, J.H. (2015) *Why Parties? A second look*. University of Chicago Press. London

⁵ See <http://www.democraticaudit.com/2015/01/06/despite-their-manifest-flaws-political-parties-improve-democracy-it-is-implausible-that-it-could-be-successful-without-them/>

⁶ See <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B0080430767011542>

often in the name of greater efficiency and equality. Historical examples include the Mao Zedong-led Communist Party in China, and the Workers Party in North Korea, which rules the country to this day.

While these are very stark distinctions, in practice most dominant political parties fall closer to the center of any spectrum, rather than being radical, in order to maximise their public appeal. The table below outlines some of the most common political ideologies in modern politics. Parties often draw on a combination of compatible bodies of thought.

Types of political ideologies⁷:

Ideology	Description
Capitalism	Right-wing political system where the principal means of production and distribution are in private hands. Profit is the ultimate goal of all economic activity, and resources are distributed according to merit. Inequality is an inevitable outcome.
Communism	Extreme left-wing ideology based on the revolutionary socialist teachings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. All economic activity is planned by the government, and the means of production are owned collectively, by society as a whole. Each should work to their capability and receive according to their needs, guaranteeing basic social needs for everyone.
Dictatorship	A single individual governs, with absolute control of the resources of the state
Libertarianism	Personal and economic freedom are prioritised, which often translates into a free market economic system with minimal intervention from the state.
Liberalism	The government is representative, and there is an emphasis on legal equality, and inalienable human rights. Liberalism as a philosophy is applied to a variety of economic systems, but it is most commonly associated with some form of capitalism.
Marxism	Systems of power are subject to change, and require an overthrow of power through class struggle.
Socialism	The principal means of production, distribution and exchange are collectively owned. Often associated with Communism.

Liberation Movements as Political Parties

Independence for many African countries was achieved from the 1960s onwards, after imperial Europe agreed to relinquish all colonies. Independence in Southern Africa in particular spanned approximately three decades: Botswana in 1966, Zimbabwe in 1980, Namibia in 1990, and South Africa in 1994.⁸

Liberation movements differ from other attempts to shift power in that they are driven by the desire to overthrow colonial regimes that were installed as part of the 'Scramble for Africa', as well as the First and Second World Wars. Nation-building, therefore, requires oppressed people to become their own liberators and oust foreign leadership.⁹ In other words, "liberation movements are driving elements in a struggle to free people and territories from oppressive regimes in order to achieve social transformation and the transition to people's power".¹⁰

This focus on the transition to people's power is a manifestation of the concept of self-determination: the belief that a country and its people are entitled to form their own government free from outside powers. After the end of German colonial occupation in Namibia, the mandate of the country was passed, not to the Namibian people, but to the Union of South Africa. This mandate was decided by the League of Nations, the world's first intergovernmental organisation, with the justification that the 'native people' were not yet capable of self-government. The Namibian people, notably, were not consulted before the mandate was issued.

Liberation movements such as the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the South West African National Union (SWANU) were organisations formed to work towards the liberation of Namibia's indigenous people, who had been marginalised since colonisation - regardless of who held power.

While there have been many liberation movements which were successful in their efforts to establish domestic rule on the African continent, it is often argued that "at the heart of the governance failures of

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Wallerstein, I. 1996. The ANC and South Africa: Past and Future of Liberation Movements in World-System. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 31(39):2695–2699.

¹⁰ Adapted from Clapham, 2012 and Johnson (2003)

many African independence and liberation movements turned governments was, and still is, their inability to effectively transform from resistance movements into effective democratic governing parties".¹¹

Part of the challenge is the way that liberation movements seem to struggle to adapt their identity after independence is achieved. According to South African political analyst, Moeletsi Mbeki, "the mindset of liberation movements is often focused on the party as the liberators of their countries, which is powerful because it creates a sense of entitlement to power".¹² Mbeki further explains that this sense of entitlement is rampant in Southern Africa and often rises above the constitution which is the rule of rule for any sovereign democratic state.¹³

Common Characteristics of liberation movements in Southern Africa¹⁴

One-Partyism: A concept premised on the belief that only one united party, where different groups are represented, can drive development and nation-building efforts.
Centralised Decision-making: Before many African countries became independent, liberation movements emulated Soviet Marxist-Leninist or Chinese Communist tenets, with a powerful leader at the head. Post-independence, these parties retained many of these frameworks in government.
Discouraging competitive leadership elections: This is mainly due to fear that an alternative leadership model would promote political, ethnic and factional divisions. Therefore the appointment or election of leaders would often be by a small clique, or the party's top leaders endorse a choice to be presented to the members as the best option. The rhetoric around opposition in politics implicitly discourages support for political parties without 'liberation credentials'.
The 'cult' of the leader: Liberation leaders, due to the role they play in their parties, are idolised to 'god-like' status on the basis of the 'strongman' syndrome, which fosters a personality cult around the leader. This reflected in many liberation movement leaders' refusal to step down from political office, and can lead to constitutional amendments in order to change term limits. ¹⁵
Small clique syndrome and ethnic politics: This is often referred to as 'partyarchy', which means that party members tend to group along specific lines such as ethnicity, a common military background, the educated elite, etc.
Fusion of party and state: Liberation movements end up fusing their parties with the state and often the ideals of the party end up being promoted as those of the state.
Independence Rhetoric: Liberation movements hold the title of 'liberator' and relish in referencing to this historic feat as motivation to retain political power.
Weak/Fragmented opposition: In many African countries, opposition parties often enter the independent era with a credibility problem if they were either associated with the colonial government's or were opposed to liberation. Post-independence, this narrative prevails and opposition parties seldom enjoy the same trust from voters as their liberation movement counterparts. In other cases, opposition parties tend to do poorly at presenting themselves as viable alternatives, resulting in voter apathy.

Examples:

Country	Party History
Namibia	The first democratic elections in Namibia were in 1989, with the South West People's Organisation (SWAPO) as the leading liberation movement contesting in the elections. SWAPO was founded in 1960 and its forerunners were the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) and the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC). SWAPO has been Namibia's ruling party for the past 29 years and has had three different Presidents, namely: President Sam Nujoma (who served three terms), President Hifikepunye Pohamba (who served two terms) and President Hage Geingob (who was elected for a second term at the end of 2019).

¹¹ William Gumede (2017): The Democracy Deficit of Africa's Liberation Movements Turned Governments, *Politikon*, DOI: 10.1080/02589346.2017.1282337

¹² See <https://thepatriot.com.na/index.php/2018/02/16/liberation-movements-and-the-entitlement-syndrome/>

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ See https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312190538_The_Democracy_Deficit_of_African_Liberation_Movements_turned_Governments_Politikon_Vol_44_No_1_pages_1-22

¹⁵ A notable exception to this is Nelson Mandela, who stepped down after one term as South Africa's first post-apartheid president.

South Africa	South Africa gained independence in 1994, with the African National Congress (ANC) liberation movement winning the majority vote. Twenty-five years later, the ANC continues to be the governing party in South Africa. The South African Presidents were Nelson Mandela (one term), Thabo Mbeki (resigned nine months before the end of his second term), Kgalema Motlanthe (nine months), Jacob Zuma (resigned three months before the end of his second term) and Cyril Ramaphosa, who succeeded Zuma, and was officially elected as the country's president in May 2019.
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, with the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by President Canaan Banana emerging as the ruling party to date. Thereafter the party was renamed to ZANU-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) led by President Robert Mugabe from 1987-2017 (30 years). Mugabe's tenure, which became increasingly dictatorial in nature, resulted in a military coup and the leadership of ZANU-PF being handed over to the incumbent President Emerson Mnangagwa, after the 2018 elections.

When a liberation movement wobbles

In contrast to some other liberation movements in the region, the African National Congress (ANC) as the ruling party of South Africa since independence in 1994, was expected to “introduce policies and governing practices that would foster inclusion and address the deep levels of inequality, poverty and violence that characterised society”.¹⁶ Marlea Clarke & Carolyn Bassett (2016) write that the 2014 general elections in South Africa demonstrated limited transformation in the country.¹⁷ This is because South Africa, unlike its neighbours such as Angola and Mozambique, had political and economic support from regional and international actors, which resulted in high expectations and hopes that the new ANC led nation would be the beacon of socio-economic and political transformation.¹⁸

Following that, the 2019 general election in South Africa was marred by distrust, political scandals, corruption allegations and a weakened economy. According to *The Conversation*¹⁹, an online academic platform, the ANC is a case of “a liberation movement that has lost its lustre”²⁰ and there are three main reasons:

1. Insiders and Outsiders

This refers to the ANC's inability to transform the country's economic divide between the rich and poor. Admittedly, the white minority in South Africa post independence still hold economic power and only a few black elites joined this so called “insiders club”, with the majority of the black population still on the outskirts. This resulted in party members wanting to join the middle class, and political office being viewed as a sure route. To that end, factional politics between those who have access to economic power and those who desire it increased within the party.

“The toxic blend of politics and money which is fuelled by economic exclusion has prompted political killings, particularly in the KwaZulu-Natal province... Former president, Kgalema Motlanthe has suggested that the ANC may need to lose a national election to rid itself of those who see it as a route to resources”.

2. The black middle class has walked away

Many South Africans view the ANC as inherently corrupt, and some of the prejudices held against the ANC during the struggle for liberation still prevail. Furthermore the ANC, admitted to have lost the middle class vote in 2014 and 2016 elections, respectively. This is mainly because the challenges of the middle class are very different to those of the ANC leadership, meaning that liberation rhetoric has become unsatisfactory to those keen for intellectual debate and good governance.

“Not long ago, black intellectuals gravitated almost automatically towards the ANC – now they are likely to run to avoid it. This deprives it of talents which it clearly needs.”

¹⁶ Marlea Clarke & Carolyn Bassett (2016) The struggle for transformation in South Africa: unrealised dreams, persistent hopes, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34:2,183-189, DOI: 10.1080/02589001.2016.120

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ See <https://theconversation.com/africa/who-we-are>

²⁰ See <https://theconversation.com/the-anc-the-story-of-a-liberation-movement-thats-lost-its-lustre-108628>

3. The loss of young talent

After Julius Malema was expelled from the ANC Youth League, the party's youth wing has been marred by factional politics, with the central leadership hesitant to support another youth leader who might end up challenging authority.

"A party driven by the politics which economic exclusion creates, alienated from intellectuals and the middle class and which has lost most of its talented youth leadership, is clearly on a downward path".

Additionally the 2019 elections resulted in the ANC (at 51.7%) and the Democratic Alliance (DA at 20.77%) losing out on votes, while the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the Freedom Front Plus (FFP) gained more votes than ever before, with 10.79% and 3.38% of the votes, respectively. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP at 2.38%) also did better compared to the previous elections.

The 2019 election also had the lowest voter turnout since 1994, with only 65.99% of the electorate going to the polls. The 2014 election, on the other hand, saw 73.48% voter turnout. This turnout is alleged to be evidence that the electorate is disheartened by the ANC leadership, and by extension do not believe in democracy as it presently presents itself in the country.²¹

A key lesson for liberation movements, learning from the South African case, is the need to mature with the politics of the day. While liberation rhetoric may have been sufficient to secure votes soon after independence, it has since become less significant as the electorate become increasingly interested in policy reform and tangible outputs and interventions that address socio-economic and political injustices.

ZAMBIA²² - Beyond multi-partyism in name alone

Zambia presents an alternative to the typical southern African narrative of liberation movements. The post-independent era began with autocratic rule, but this was ultimately overturned in a multi-party democratic process which has seen a transition to rule by the former official opposition.

The country was colonised by the British and gained independence on 24 October 1964. The country's first President was Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). During his first campaign for re-election in 1968, Kaunda ran unopposed and retained his position. However, in the following years, Kaunda banned all opposition parties and implemented one party rule in the country.

After 27 years, in 1991, the first multi-party democratic elections took place. Decades of economic uncertainty and dissatisfaction with one party rule essentially forced President Kaunda's hand. The election was, unsurprisingly, won by Frederick Chiluba of the newly formed Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), a trade unionist who had become increasingly involved in political protest against the repressive regime. Chiluba served for two terms, ending in 2002.

The MMD was the ruling party in Zambia for over 30 years, with President Levy Mwanawasa leading from 2002 to his death mid-term in 2008. He was succeeded by the Vice-President, Rupiah Banda, who was not re-elected in the 2011 elections. Instead, the presidency was claimed by an opposition party leader, Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front (PF). President Sata died towards the end of his term in 2014 and this resulted in the Vice-President Guy Scott acting as the country's leader, until President Edgar Lungu was sworn in after elections in 2015, thereby maintaining PF political rule in Zambia to date.

Zambia is unique in that three different parties have contested and won elections. However, a multi-party system is not the only prerequisite to a democratic electoral system: factors such as voter turnout, the conduct and integrity of elections as well as the observation of fundamental human rights should also be considered.

History of Political Parties in Namibia

The formation of political parties in Namibia can be traced back to apartheid, which acted as the trigger for the rise of nationalism. During apartheid many Namibians were employed through the contract labour system, which brought workers on contract from different settlement areas, with the majority coming from northern Namibia. Due to the discriminatory and oppressive nature of apartheid, resistance was inevitable and workers organised themselves, with the first branches of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) forming in 1920 and the Garveyite Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) being

²¹ See <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-africas-2019-general-election-post-analysis>

²² See <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14112449>

launched in Lüderitz to represent workers' interests in December 1920.²³

SWAPO is the precursor to the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) which was formed in 1957 with the agenda to resist the contract labour system. It was later renamed the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) in 1959, to advocate for the independence of Namibia. The South West African National Union (SWANU), Namibia's first nationalist political party, was also formed in 1959. The following year, the South West People's Organisation (SWAPO) was formed. While SWANU and SWAPO shared a common agenda of advocating for the interests of black Namibians against the apartheid regime, SWAPO expanded this agenda by launching its military struggle in 1962, and consequently claimed the "liberation movement" status it holds to this day.²⁴

In 1964, the Herero Chiefs Council founded the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO), a traditionalist party which also aspired to liberate Namibia. To counter the agenda of SWAPO, the apartheid regime encouraged the formation of the the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in 1977 which was a coalition of small parties including NUDO²⁵ and the Republican Party (RP).²⁶

RP was formed in 1977 claiming to champion an end to racial discrimination and therefore it was officially merged with the DTA in 1991. This was the status quo until a faction of the former party decided to revive it (RP) in 2003 and it was officially registered as a party in Namibia.²⁷ The DTA has for many years faced backlash from Namibians due to its association with the apartheid regime. In what can be assumed to be (at least in part) a consequence of this backlash, the party changed its name to the Popular Democratic Movement (PDM) in 2018 in what some saw as an attempt to shift the negative memory culture attached to its former name.

Another coalition of smaller parties formed in 1989 in the run-up to Namibia's first democratic election, called the United Democratic Front of Namibia (UDF).²⁸ Led by the Damara Council, the party advocated for a mixed economy and the right to private ownership of property, as well as the representation of traditional authorities and preservation of culture. This agenda varied from the already existing parties that were liberation focused.²⁹

Ten political parties ran in the 1989 Presidential and Constituent Assembly elections. The parties that made up the Constituent Assembly after the 1989 elections reflect below³⁰:

Party Name	Number of votes	%	Seats
SWAPO	384,567	57.33	41
DTA	191,532	28.55	21
UDF	37,874	5.65	4
ACN	23,728	4.10	3
NPF	10,693	1.59	1
FCN	10,452	1.56	1
NNF	5,344	0.80	1

Source: African Elections Database

²³ Du Pisani, A. and Lindeke, W.A. (2009) Political party life in Namibia: Dominant party with democratic consolidation. IPPR, Namibia. See <https://ippr.org.na/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/PPR%20Briefing%20Paper%20NO%2044%20Political%20Party%20Life%20in%20Namibia.pdf>

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ it eventually left the coalition in 2003

²⁶ Other parties included; Bushman Alliance (BA), Christian Democratic Party (CDP), National Democratic Unity Party (NDUP), Caprivi Delegation, Namibia Democratic Turnhalle Party (NDTP), National Democratic Party (NDP), Rehoboth DTA Party (RDTAP), Tswana Alliance, South West African Labour Party, South West Africa People's Democratic United Front (SWAP-DUF)

²⁷ See https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=4ddbdbd2-f86d-f77b-0f3e-b36c829e3b02&groupId=252038

²⁸ Coalition members included CANU-UDF, WRP, Caprivi Alliance Party (CAP), Original People's Party (OPP), Namibia National Independence Party (NNIP), Patriotic Unity Movement (PUM)

²⁹ See https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=4ddbdbd2-f86d-f77b-0f3e-b36c829e3b02&groupId=252038

³⁰ The Namibian Constituent Assembly is what is today called the National Assembly of Namibia

Timeline of political parties officially registered after independence

- 1991 - Monitor Action Group (MAG)
- 1994 - Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP)
- 1999 - Congress of Democrats (COD)
- 2000 - Christian Democratic Voice (CDV)
- 2003 - Namibia Democratic Movement for Change (NDMC)
- 2003 - Republican Party (RP)
- 2004 - National Democratic Party (NDP)
- 2007 - Rally for Democracy (RDP)
- 2008 - All People's Party (APP)
- 2008 - Democratic Party of Namibia (DPN)
- 2010 - United People's Movement (UPM)
- 2014 - Namibia Economic Freedom Fighters (NEEF)
- 2018 - Landless People's Movement (LPM)

Since the first constituent (i.e. parliamentary) elections in 1989, Namibians have exercised their right to political participation during the 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014 Presidential and National Assembly elections. Local authority and regional council elections usually occur a year after.

In November 2019, Namibia will hold its seventh democratic elections. The website of the Electoral Commission of Namibia reflects 17 registered political parties - far more than those who participated in the 1989 elections.³¹

Political Parties represented in the National Assembly between 2014 and 2019:

Party	Number of Seats
SWAPO	77
PDM	5
RDP	3
UDF	2
APP	2
NUDO	2
WRP	2
UPM	1
SWANU	1
RP	1

Conclusion

Namibia is a multi-party representative democracy. This means that while voters have many choices available in the form of political parties for the National Assembly seats, they do not directly vote for the individuals who will represent them in parliament.

As a result, the best way for the electorate to be informed on which party to support would require understanding on the history of Namibian political parties, their ideologies and vision for Namibia. It is equally important that African political parties mature beyond 'liberation movements' status as the battles of the day are no longer colonial in nature. As Namibia has moved into the 21st century, it is clear that there is an increasingly pressing need for greater social and economic justice.

It is evident from the run up to the 2019 Presidential and National Assembly elections, the Namibian electorate is demanding more from political parties beyond liberation struggle rhetoric.

The SWAPO party especially is experiencing pressure in this area, as the reality is that for many

³¹ See <https://www.ecn.na/political-parties/>

Namibians (especially the youth), voting for a political party on the basis of their role in the liberation struggle is no longer sufficient. Therefore, similarly to other countries where liberation movements are ruling, Namibian political parties should draw lessons and be open to reform in accordance with the times. Intrinsicly, there is nothing wrong with a liberation movement continuing to exist after independence and governing. The challenge, however, is in ensuring that future legitimacy comes from the party's ability to serve the electorate.

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About Democracy Report

Democracy Report is a project of the IPPR which analyses and disseminates information relating to the legislative agenda of Namibia's Parliament. The project aims to promote public participation in debates concerning the work of Parliament by publishing regular analyses of legislation and other issues before the National Assembly and the National Council. Democracy Report is funded by the Embassy of Finland.

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