

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL PARTY AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING**APPENDIX No. 1****Matrix for collection of information on normative frameworks**

NAME OF COUNTRY AND NATIONAL RESEARCHER GUYANA SHEILA HOLDER	
I. NATURE OF FINANCING REGIMENS (PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND MIXED)	
A. GOVERNMENT DIRECT FUNDING	
1. Conditions for eligibility:	There is no public funding of either political parties or their elections campaigns.
2. Limits / amounts:	Not Applicable (N/A)
3. Fund distribution:	N/A
a. To parties:	N/A
✓ Routine operation	N/A
✓ Electoral campaign	N/A
✓ Research / Capacity building	N/A
✓ Mixed	N/A
b. To candidates:	N/A
✓ Presidency	N/A
✓ Parliament	N/A
c. To party caucus or individual members of parliament/congress	N/A
d. Other organizations:	N/A
4. Election funding:	N/A
a. Internal party elections	N/A
b. Presidential elections	N/A
c. Parliamentary elections	N/A
d. Local municipal elections	N/A
5. Time of disbursement:	N/A

a. Before campaign	N/A
b. During campaign	N/A
c. After campaign	N/A
d. Combined	N/A
6. Criteria for distribution:	N/A
a. Equitable (in equal parts)	N/A
b. Proportional to the electoral strength	N/A
c. Parliamentary representation	N/A
d. Mixed methods:	N/A
✓ Equitable and electoral strength	N/A
✓ Electoral strength and parliamentary representation	N/A
✓ Other	N/A
B. INDIRECT GOVERNMENT FUNDING	
1. Objects of financing	NONE
a. Transportation	N/A
b. Publication (printing, mailing and posting)	N/A
c. Exemptions	N/A
d. Grants	N/A
e. Tax benefits	N/A
f. Loans	N/A
g. get-out-the vote campaigns	N/A
h. Political broadcasting	N/A
i. Training	N/A
j. Other	N/A
C. NON-GOVERNMENTAL FUNDING: CONTRIBUTIONS RESTRICTIONS	
1. Contribution limits:	NONE
2. Prohibitions:	NONE

a. Individuals / Legal entities	NONE
b. Foreign donors	NONE
c. Unions	NONE
d. Associations / Corporations	NONE
e. Government contractors	NONE
f. Anonymous	NONE
g. Other	PART XIV OF ACT restricts the making of illegal payments in excess of maximum allowed, and for providing money for illegal purposes.
D. LIMITATIONS ON EXPENDITURES	
1. Political parties:	
a. Amount	G\$50, 000 MULTIPLIED BY A MAX. 53 CANDIDATES
2. Candidates:	G\$25, 000: FOR PERSONAL EXPENSES
a. Presidency:	N/A
✓ Amount	N/A
✓ Are election candidates centered?	N/A
b. Parliament:	N/A
✓ Amount	N/A
E. ESTIMATED COSTS OF POLITICAL FINANCING	
1. Previous elections:	UNKNOWN
a. Presidency	N/A
b. Parliament	N/A
2. Cost by actors	N/A
a. Political parties	MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES US1-2 MILLION (GUESSTIMATE)
a. Candidates	N/A
b. Electoral authority	US\$10 MILLION (approx.)
3. Funding sources: Amounts / Percentages	
a. Public financing	NONE
b. Private financing	ALL
✓ List principal donors	UNKNOWN
c. Resources from political party budgets	UNKNOWN
d. Other	UNKNOWN
4. Allocation: greater	

costs on the campaign	
a. Advertisement (television, radio, press, others)	SIGNIFICANT
b. Staff Salaries	UNKNOWN
c. Transportation	UNKNOWN
d. Vote buying?	UNKNOWN
e. Other	N/A

II. ACCESS TO THE MEDIA	
A. FREE POLITICAL BROADCASTING	
1. Electoral time slots:	
a. Obligatory:	NONE
✓ State-run media (TV, radio and press)	NONE
✓ Private media (TV, radio and press)	NONE
b. Voluntary:	SOME
✓ Private media (TV, radio and press)	ARBITRARY
2. Type time slots:	ARBITRARY
a. Unique (only free political broadcasting)	n/a (not available)
b. Principal (paid political broadcasting does not exceed the electoral time slots)	NO ELECTORAL TIME SLOTS; ANYTIME DESIRED COULD BE HAD FOR GOING PRICE
c. Complementary (paid political broadcasting exceeds the electoral time slots)	SAME AS ABOVE
3. Time slots in non-electoral periods	n/a
4. Cost of time slots	n/a
a. Completely free	n/a
b. Reduced fee or State sponsored	n/a
5. Access to time slots:	FIRST COME FIRST SERVE BASIS

a. Per previous election results:	N/A
✓ Number of votes gained	UNKNOWN
✓ Positions gained	n/a
✓ Criteria for new political organizations	NONE
b. Combined criteria	NONE
c. Completely free	ARBITRARY
6. Production cost (time slots)	GOING PRICES & NEGOTIATED PRICES
a. Paid by the State	NONE
b. Non-paid	n/a
7. Time granted:	ARBITRARY
a. As a whole	UNKNOWN SINCE ARBITRARY & INDIVIDUALLY NEGOTIATED
b. To parties and electoral alliances	SAME AS ABOVE
c. To candidates	SAME AS ABOVE
8. Organizations granting the time slots	UNKNOWN
9. Organizations monitoring the time slots	(GECOM) MEDIA MONITORING UNIT & INDEPENDENT MEDIA MONITORING & REFEREEING PANEL
10. Sanctions	NONE
B. CONTRACTING OF TIME SLOTS	
1. Advertising paid by parties, candidates, etc:	BASED ON AFFORDABILITY
a. In addition to paid time slots:	UNKNOWN
✓ Limits	NONE
b. Resulting from lack of time slots:	UNKNOWN
✓ Limits	NONE
✓ Unlimited	YES
c. Rules and fees for paid advertising	NO OFFICIAL RULES. DIFFER FROM ENTERPRISE TO ENTERPRISE
d. Controller agencies	NONE
e. Radio ads/Publicity spots: Cost per	BASED ON CURRENT PRICES:- FROM \$G575: FOR 15 SEC. AD TO \$G5, 000: FOR

minute/second.	5 MIN. NEWSCAST SPONSORSHIP (See report for details)
2. Indirect advertising:	n/a
a. Indirect information (positive, negative, neutral)	(See Media Monitoring reports)
b. Journalistic programs	Same as above
c. Other	NONE
3. Debate regulations:	NONE
4. Pre-election polls:	VOLUNTARY & UNSOLICITED CONDUCTED BY OVERSEAS BASED GROUP NORTH AMERICAN CARIBBEAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION (NACTA)
a. Limits	NONE
b. Rules guaranteeing technical quality of data	NONE
5. Regulation for Exit Polls	NONE
6. Specific dispositions for mass media:	THE THREE-MAN ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON BROADCASTING ADVISES THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDING THE IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS ON TV BROADCASTING MEDIA.
a. Television	NONE
b. Cable	NONE
c. Press	NONE
d. Satellite TV	NONE
e. Internet	NONE

III. PUBLIC DISCLOSURE

1. Who discloses?	<input type="checkbox"/> Political parties (yes) <input type="checkbox"/> Pongos or donors (a Pongo is a political NGO for fundraising purposes) (no)	<input type="checkbox"/> Candidates (no) <input type="checkbox"/> Others (Please specify) (none)	<input type="checkbox"/> Donors (no)
2. What is disclosed?			
a. Parties:			
✓ Cash Contributions	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized yes	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated yes	
✓ In-kind contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized yes	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated yes	

✓ Expenditures	<input type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc. itemized	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated yes
✓ Names of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No donor names listed with contribution amounts
✓ Addresses of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Full address Unclear	<input type="checkbox"/> Partial address Unclear <input type="checkbox"/> Unclear No address required
✓ Names of vendors	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of vendors listed with expenditures amounts
✓ Personal assets	<input type="checkbox"/> Required to be filed	<input type="checkbox"/> * Not required to be filed no
b. Candidates:		
✓ Cash Contributions	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated N/A
✓ In-kind contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated N/A
✓ Expenditures	<input type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc. N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated or not categorized N/A
✓ Names of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of donors listed with contribution amounts
✓ Addresses of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Full address yes	<input type="checkbox"/> Partial address <input type="checkbox"/> No address required *
✓ Names of vendors	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names no	No names of vendors listed with expenditures amounts *
✓ Personal assets	<input type="checkbox"/> Required to be filed no	<input type="checkbox"/> Not required to be filed *
3. Do party and candidate expenditure reports record campaign and operational expenses separately?	Yes Explain _____ _____ _____ _____ _____	No Explain: It is the party's election agent that is responsible for submitting expenditure returns on behalf of candidates and party.

<p>4. Are reporting requirements in this country temporary or permanent, i.e. are they only in effect during an election cycle, or year-round before and after an election?</p>	<p>🚩 Temporary during elections cycle.</p> <p>Explain: Only after elections and then information available to the public only for two years after elections.</p>		<p>Permanent</p> <p>Explain: _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>5. What kind of monies can the party or candidate legally receive?</p>	<p>🚩 Private funds</p> <p>🚩 Foreign company funds</p>	<p>🚩 Corporate funds</p> <p>🚩 Foreign national funds</p>	<p>🚩 Union funds</p> <p>🚩 Expatriate nationals' funds living overseas</p>
<p>6. What sources of illicit funds for parties and candidates are suspected?</p>	<p>🚩 Illegal funds given over the limit but not declared by corporations, unions, or persons</p>	<p>Organized crime</p> <p>🚩 Drug trafficking funds</p> <p>🚩 Laundered funds</p>	<p>🚩 Foreign influence funds</p> <p>🚩 Others</p> <p>🚩 No illegal funds are suspected</p>
<p>7. What is the name of the body receiving the financial disclosure reports?</p>	<p>🚩 This is a governmental body created by statute</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> This is a private body created and funded by government</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> This body is constitutionally created</p>
<p>a. Name:</p>	<p>Mr. Gocool Boodhoo, Chief Elections Officer/Commissioner of National Registration</p>		
<p>b. Phone No:</p>	<p>592-226-6758</p>		
<p>8. Are there contribution thresholds? (Donations below a certain amount don't have to be reported)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Yes</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> If yes, what is the amount of the threshold: \$__Not applicable</p>		<p>Explain:</p>
<p>9. When are the disclosure reports due from politicians or parties?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Before the election</p> <p>- How many weeks before the election? _____ weeks.</p> <p>- How many reports are required? _____ reports.</p>		<p><input type="checkbox"/> After the election.</p> <p>- How many weeks after the election?</p> <p>- five weeks.</p>

10. How are the reports transmitted to the public?	<input type="checkbox"/> Fax ** Photocopy <input type="checkbox"/> Internet	<input type="checkbox"/> Gazette or published in local newspapers or bulletins. A summary is Gazetted	<input type="checkbox"/> Other. Please specify.
11. Rate how easy or how difficult it is to access the public reports? (Difficulty of accessibility)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> High	<input type="checkbox"/> Medium	<input type="checkbox"/> Low
12. How much time elapses between the receipt and dissemination of the report by the election commission?	Fill in the blanks: <input type="checkbox"/> Weeks: _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Months _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Years _____		<input type="checkbox"/> Explain: Since regulations came into force in 1990 only one party (WPA), on one occasion, in 1992 submitted returns thus question not applicable.
13. Quality of report criteria:			
a. Are reports itemized or aggregate figures reported?	Unknown as 'Expense Returns' regulations not observed.		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cash contributions	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated unknown	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In-Kind Contributions (materials and equipment, including loans)	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated unknown	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Expenditures	<input type="checkbox"/> Listed by categories or itemized, e.g. media, etc unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Aggregated or not categorized unknown	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Names of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Itemized listing names unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> No names of donors listed with contribution amounts	
b. Names of donors	<input type="checkbox"/> Full names of donors required? yes	<input type="checkbox"/> Full mailing address of donor required? no	<input type="checkbox"/> Is donor's name listed on the report by specific amounts of money contributed? n/a
c. Names of vendors	<input type="checkbox"/> Full names of vendors required? no	<input type="checkbox"/> Full mailing address of vendor required? no	<input type="checkbox"/> Is vendor's name listed on the report by specific amounts of money paid? n/a

d. Categories of expenses	<input type="checkbox"/> Are vendor products or services categorized on the disclosure report? (e.g. media expense, transportation, labor, meals, etc.?) unknown	<input type="checkbox"/> Are vendor purchases listed in aggregate or itemized on expenditure reports? unknown
14. Quality of enforcement criteria:		
a. What is the name of the body that enforces the disclosure reporting laws?	Yes Same as electoral commission or body that receives the disclosure reports? <input type="checkbox"/> Different body than the one receiving the disclosure reports? Name of body. <input type="checkbox"/> Is the enforcement body a tribunal or special court?	Explain: Chief Elections Officer. He has confirmed that this law has never been enforced as political parties in control of making policies on the Guyana Elections Commission (GECOM) do not desire a level playing field. He sees himself as a creature of GECOM which is politically controlled.
✓ What are the powers of the enforcement body?	<input type="checkbox"/> Passive: Receives no reports - Receive the report with little investigation	<input type="checkbox"/> Active: - Does it audit reports and conducts investigations? - Have sanctions and fines offenders? - Criminal penalties also possible?
✓ Strength and weakness of the enforcement bodies	<input type="checkbox"/> Strengths:	<input type="checkbox"/> Weaknesses: explained in 14 (a)
✓ What's the reputation of the enforcement body? Check all apply.	<input type="checkbox"/> Strict <input type="checkbox"/> Not Strict <input type="checkbox"/> Politically bold and doesn't play favorites	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Politically timid and bends with the power <input type="checkbox"/> Respected <input type="checkbox"/> Not too respected
15. Reality check / actual practices criteria:		
a. Looking over the above answers, how would you compare the disclosure laws on the books in this nation with the actual practice of disclosure?	* Distant relationship between the laws on the books and practice of disclosure	<input type="checkbox"/> Reasonable degree of fit between books and practices. <input type="checkbox"/> Excellent degree of fit between laws and practices

b. Using the Disclosure Ranking in Column 8 of the Latin America Disclosure Table listed below (produced by USAID for the OAS countries) how do your findings correspond with the table? **Non-disclosure and ignore the law.**

IV. ENFORCEMENT	
A. CONTROLLER AGENCIES	
1. Nature of regulatory agencies:	
a. Electoral management bodies	The Guyana Elections Commission (GECOM), Chief Elections Officer & National Registration Center.
b. Judges with electoral jurisdiction	NONE
c. Auditing bodies	NONE
d. Combined	NONE
2. Election / Composition of controller agencies:	The seven-member GECOM Board is composed of three members each from the governing political party (PPP/C) and combined political opposition parties with the major opposition party (PNC/R) with two seats and the combined smaller opposition parties being allocated one. The Chairman is nominated as follows. The leader of the Opposition presents the President of Guyana with a list of six names from which he chooses one. This is known as the ‘Carter formula’ following the recommendations of former US President, Jimmy Carter in 1990.
3. Functions / Responsibilities:	To manage national and regional elections and enforce the laws.
4. Autonomies / Dependencies:	SUPPOSEDLY
5. Institutional capacity:	
a. Financial resources	Provided by Government and Donor agencies e. g. UNDP, IFES, OAS, IADB, EU, etc.
c. Human resources	d. Seen as adequate but not impartial
e. Technical capacity	Same as above
6. Internal party controlling mechanisms:	Through representation on GECOM Board

B. SANCTION REGIMENS	
1. Mechanisms:	
a. Permanent and systematic oversight	GECOM
b. Complaint-based system	GECOM
c. Random auditing	Political parties
d. Alternative mechanisms (compliance agreements, etc.)	Unknown except for voluntary media monitoring
e. Combined	N/A
2. Sanction regimens:	
a. Financial penalties:	\$G32, 000:
✓ Political parties	n/a
✓ Candidates	n/a
✓ Donors	n/a
b. Legal sanctions:	Not enforced
✓ Political parties	n/a
✓ Candidates	n/a
✓ Donors	n/a
c. Administrative sanctions:	n/a
d. Other sanctions:	Sections apply to parties' elections agent on behalf of parties
3. Provide examples of sanctions already applied:	UNKNOWN
C. CULTURE OF COMPLIANCE AND PUBLIC OVERSIGHT	
a. Incentives for voluntary compliance:	
✓ Training of campaign workers	UNKNOWN
✓ Technical assistance	UNKNOWN
✓ Provision of material support	UNKNOWN
✓ Subsidies for auditing services	UNKNOWN
✓ Public education	UNKNOWN
b. Public oversight of resources:	UNKNOWN

✓ Names of participating civil society organizations	Electoral Assistance Bureau
✓ Initiatives of citizens	An opinion survey in 2000 “Hopes & Aspiration” by small NGO group called the ‘Initiative’
✓ Other	UNKNOWN
c. Cases of corruption? If yes, provide examples:	UNKNOWN

V. INFORMATION ABOUT PARLIAMENTS																					
1. Total cost to Parliament (Figures from general national budget and Parliament budget)	\$G250,885,000:- (Total Appropriation & Statutory) Expenses (Details of Expenditure, Agency: 07 – Parliament Office, Estimates of the Public Sector for the year 2003).																				
2. Who is the parliamentary budget administrator?	Clerk of the National Assembly																				
3. Cost of each Member of Parliament.	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2" style="text-align: right;">GROSS SALARIES</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>SPEAKER</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G2,847,756:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PRIME MINISTER</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G2,877,408:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ATTORNEY GENERAL</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G8,707,836:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>19 GOVT. MINISTERS</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G2,847,756:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>OPPOSITION LEADER</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G2,043,840:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PARLIAMENTARY SECT. @</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G1,500,404:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DEPUTY SPEAKER (OPPOSITION)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G696,708:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2 CHIEF WHIPS @</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G600,908:-</td> </tr> <tr> <td>40 MPs @</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$G437,244:-</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	GROSS SALARIES		SPEAKER	\$G2,847,756:-	PRIME MINISTER	\$G2,877,408:-	ATTORNEY GENERAL	\$G8,707,836:-	19 GOVT. MINISTERS	\$G2,847,756:-	OPPOSITION LEADER	\$G2,043,840:-	PARLIAMENTARY SECT. @	\$G1,500,404:-	DEPUTY SPEAKER (OPPOSITION)	\$G696,708:-	2 CHIEF WHIPS @	\$G600,908:-	40 MPs @	\$G437,244:-
GROSS SALARIES																					
SPEAKER	\$G2,847,756:-																				
PRIME MINISTER	\$G2,877,408:-																				
ATTORNEY GENERAL	\$G8,707,836:-																				
19 GOVT. MINISTERS	\$G2,847,756:-																				
OPPOSITION LEADER	\$G2,043,840:-																				
PARLIAMENTARY SECT. @	\$G1,500,404:-																				
DEPUTY SPEAKER (OPPOSITION)	\$G696,708:-																				
2 CHIEF WHIPS @	\$G600,908:-																				
40 MPs @	\$G437,244:-																				
a. Gross cost (divide total cost by number of Members of Parliament)	\$G250,885,000 DIVIDED BY 65 MEMBERS = \$G3,859,769:- [Govt. 34 + 1(crossed the floor) Opposition. 30]																				
b. Net Cost (salaries of Members of Parliament)	Total Employment Costs: \$G15,629,000:- ((Details of Expenditure, Agency: 07 – Parliament Office, Estimates of the Public Sector for the year 2003).																				
4. Parliamentary services (costs of support services, advisors, secretaries, etc.)	Included in above Total Employment Costs.																				
5. Allocation of resources: caucus vs. individual.	N/A Total other charges \$G83,597,000																				

6. Access to other resources for parliamentary needs (special funds, resources from political party budgets, etc.)	N/A
VI. LIST OF REGULATIONS ON FINANCING	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Laws of Guyana Cap: 1:03 - Representation of the People Act Part XIV Section, 133 (Penalty for illegal payments). ✓ Laws of Guyana Cap: 1:03 – Representation of the People Act Part XIII Section, 116 (1) – 128 (Election Expenses & Publication of summary of expenses return). ✓ Laws of Guyana Cap: 1: 03 – Representation of the People Act Part XII Section, 109 – 111. 	
VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY LIST RELATED TO POLITICAL FINANCING	
✓ NONE	
VIII. OTHER ANNEXES	
✓ NONE	