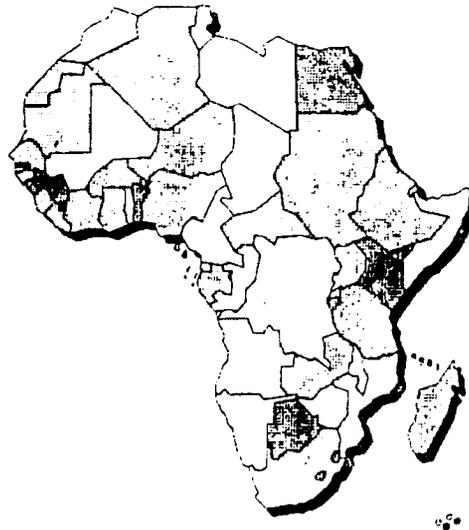


**AFRICA
REGIONAL
ELECTORAL
ASSISTANCE
FUND**

ANNUAL REPORT

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**The African-American Institute
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Preface

The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF) is a partnership of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), the African-American Institute (AAI), and the International Republican Institute (IRI), in collaboration with the Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU). As the managing partner, AAI orchestrates communications with the AID/State ARAEF committee, the AID Project Officer and Agreement Officer. ARAEF is funded through a cooperative agreement with the Agency for International Development (USAID) and is a direct result of the U.S. government's commitment to provide technical assistance, training and international observer missions to African countries undergoing transition to democratic governance and multi-party participation.

The purpose of this report is to present a general analysis of ARAEF's program activities during the past year. Details on these programs are contained in individual project reports. Program activities, status, findings and evaluations across countries and regions are reported under the four major components utilized in consolidation, following successful democratic transitions; providing assistance in second-round elections; and encouraging democratization in pre-transition countries: (i) Focussed assistance to governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs); (ii) Election Observation; (iii) Training for Sustainability and (iv) Regional Networks. Despite their inevitable overlap, these headings provide a template against which ARAEF's work can be assessed, in terms of its relevance as an instrument of US foreign policy in Africa; its impact; and its efficacy in Africa's democratization process.

During this reporting period, the Joint USAID/State Committee conducted an interim evaluation of ARAEF. The purpose of the evaluation was to "assess ARAEF contributions to the electoral processes across Africa, how they fit into USG d/g strategies, ARAEF's continuing relevance as Africa changes, and its future role, form, and functions." Although the magnitude of ARAEF's work cannot be directly measured because of the diffuseness of the topic of democracy, the evaluation attempted to "identify ARAEF's strengths that should be incorporated into the ongoing program of USAID's new Center for Democracy." The evaluation also provided specific recommendations for improving procedures during the last year of the current assignment, as well as recommendations for future electoral assistance in Africa. It is in this context that these four major components are selected to present ARAEF program activities for this reporting period.

The record shows that, since its inception in 1992, AREAF program activities have had a positive impact in many countries in Africa, albeit with different degrees of successes, as these countries are in transition from single party states to fledgling democracies. Reflecting the complexity of the task, political history, and the uneven commitment of governments to the task, the successes vary greatly among countries and regions. Nonetheless, over the coming years, citizens of Africa will continue to demand open, transparent and well-organized elections, and established western democracies will be called upon to support this growing trend. The direct impact of AREAF programs on beneficiaries, though not susceptible to measurement but nevertheless important, is the way democracy concerns have influenced African governments' strategies for social and economic development. In the process, the complementing of the re-wakening of long repressed democratic forces in the continent and expanded citizens' participation in the democratic process, have been underscored. In the interest of demonstrating the utility of AREAF, this report discusses not only this year's accomplishments, but also presents a graphical breakdown of AREAFs' activities and commodity assistance, since 1992.

Acronyms

AAEA	AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ELECTORAL AUTHORITIES
AAI	AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
AID	AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AID-AFRIQUE	ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LA DEMOCRATIE EN
ADM	AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK
A-FPRC	ARMED FORCES PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL IN GAMBIA
AID-AFRIQUE	ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE POUR LA DEMOCRATIE EN
	AFRIQUE
ANC	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
AREAF	AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
CA	CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
CAR	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
CCEU	CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY
CCM	CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI
CENA	AUTONOMOUS NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF
	BENIN
ECOWAS	ECONOMIC COMMUNITY FOR WEST AFRICAN STATES
FRELIMO	FRENTE DE LIBERTACAO DE MOÇAMBIQUE
GERDDES	STUDY & RESEARCH GROUP ON DEMOCRACY, ECONOMIC, &
	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
GPP	GAMBIA POLITICAL PARTY
ICJ	INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
IEC	INDEPENDENT ELECTION COMMISSION
IFES	INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
IRI	INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE
KANU	KENYAN AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
LKWV	LEAGUE OF KENYAN WOMEN VOTERS
MIFED	MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL DES FEMMES DEMOCRATES
NA	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NBC	NAMIBIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
NEC	NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
NED	NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY
NCP	NATIONAL CONVENTION PARTY
NDI	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL
	AFFAIRS
NED	NATIONAL ENDOWMENT OF DEMOCRACY
NGO	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
NOCEM	NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION AND
	MONITORING
OAU	ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
PDCH-RDA	PARTI DEMOCRATIQUE DE CÔTE D'IVOIRE-RASSEMBLEMENT
PVT	PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION
STAE	MOZAMBIKAN NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
TANGO	TANZANIA ASSOCIATION OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL
	ORGANIZATIONS
TANU	TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
UJCC	UGANDA JOINT CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
UMD	UNION DE MOUVEMENTS DEMOCRATIQUES
UN	UNITED NATIONS
UNAMO	UNIAO NACIONAL MOÇAMBIQUESA
UNDDSMS	UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT
	SUPPORT & MANAGEMENT SERVICES
UNDP	UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
UN/DPA/EAU	UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS,
	ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE UNIT
UN-EAD	UNITED NATIONS ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE DIVISION
UNIFEM	UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR WOMEN
UNOMOZ	UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION TO MOZAMBIQUE
USAID	UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL
	DEVELOPMENT
WILDAF	WOMEN IN LAW & DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA
ZANU	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

Executive Summary

This report presents the AREAF project activities undertaken by the International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and the African-American Institute (AAI), during the period, August 28, 1994 until August 28, 1995. It provides analytic summaries of completed program activities; on-going program activities and planned program activities that were funded during this reporting period. In addition, past AREAF's program activities and lessons learned in previous years, are referenced. One reflected consequence in AREAF's work during this period, has been innovation: in the types of projects undertaken; in new ways of preparing projects; and in the development of new areas for future AREAF work. The reflected innovations in this year's programs, are derived from lessons learned in previous years.

During the past year, AREAF partners conducted twenty-three project activities in-country and regionally, to benefit citizens in Benin, Congo, Central Africa Republic (CAR), Gabon, Burundi, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Botswana, Namibia, Uganda, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Gambia, Togo, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Malawi, Senegal, Mali, Tanzania, Cameroon, and Zambia.

Following the pattern established by the previous AREAF annual reports, with some deviations, the current report describes AREAF program activities under four sub-headings: (i) Focussed Assistance to Governments and Non-governmental organizations (NGOs); (ii) Election Observation; (iii) Training for Sustainability; and (iv) Regional Networks. The program activities conducted within these sub-headings, as reflected, inevitably overlapped and collectively implemented, all four components profoundly affect Africa's transition to democracy by shaping the environment in which it exists. This report also contains appendices that present a graphical breakdown of AREAF activities and commodity assistance from 1992 to present; all AREAF project summaries with associated funding; and AREAF assistance by country and region.

AREAF's focussed assistance to governments and non-governmental organizations encourages the possible inclusion of all segments of society for a participatory commitment in accepting democratic reform. Successes in AREAF programs have been closely linked to partner's continuing dialogue with governments and work with NGOs to explore and mainstream participatory approaches to the design and implementation of these programs.

In conducting its various programs, partners held high-level meetings with senior government officials and had policy dialogue with government policy makers, to facilitate constructive exchange on policy matters that may affect democratic reform. As in previous years, NGOs continue to play an important intermediary role in channeling information to and from program beneficiaries. In the past year, NGOs participated in over 90% of AREAF's program activities.

AREAF continued its traditional role of organizing **election observation** missions in Africa. During this reporting period, several African governments requested AREAF assistance for election observation. Understanding that the primary role of international observers is to bear neutral witness to an electoral process, AREAF partners have carried out these missions to provide a measure of confidence to the electorate.

The theme of **training for sustainability** pervades one of AREAF's strategic objectives of "facilitation of transferability" for the consolidation of the procedures of democracy. Instituting democratic foundations require a long gestation period, particularly when access to democracy information is limited. In the past years, AREAF best work, training, underscores the importance of institutions, and community groups as major conduits in the democratization process. Training programs were designed and implemented with input from these entities, in order to foster local ownership of reform programs, and, thus, relevance and sustainability.

AREAF's **regional networks** were a natural evolution from the need for African countries and donors to share know-how and lessons learned in Africa's democratic transition. Regional networks conducted during this period have resulted in the establishment of an African election authorities association and consultations with African women's groups to identify strategies for including women in the political process. These regional associations will be instrumental in drawing on local expertise; in identifying and addressing common obstacles to the democratic process; building consensus; and identifying strategies that are appropriate for democratic reform to take hold.

AREAF's multi-faceted approach in supporting Africa's democratic transition, derives from the growing conviction that an accountable government and an active civil society that participates in its own governance are a *sine qua non*, for sustainable democracy. The categories and intensity of this year's program activities varied from country to country according to country circumstances, requests and needs. All AREAF programs were designed and implemented on the premise that the transition to democracy is epitomized by predictable, open, enlightened policy making; a bureaucracy imbued with democratic ethos; a strong civil society participating in public affairs; and at the base, the rule of law. Hence, partners employed a variety of approaches, both traditional and innovative to provide AREAF support.

Section One

Focussed Assistance to Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

Focussed assistance to governments and NGOs, the most visible and readily identified dimension of AREAF's democracy work, is the foundation for the development of societies and participatory democracies. Focussed assistance relies on the capacity of government and civil society to allow for and implement reform. AREAF partners believe in working with both governments and NGOs when there is sufficient momentum to initiate democratic reform.

Recent experiences have shown that the success of democratic reforms depends on the understanding and acceptance by ruling groups, that civic associations and governments are allies in the reform process. A major element in democratic reform is to make government accountable to the citizens, through the contestability of the political power. Against this backdrop, working with NGOs to ensure greater citizenry participation in the democratic process, has increased.

During this reporting period, partners designed and implemented eight projects to provide political party and parliamentarian training; as well as capacity-building for NGOs. These programs were designed to enhance the ability of civic groups and political parties to positively influence policy debates on democracy issues, including, elections administration; political campaigns; and get-out-the-vote campaigns.

**AREAF Project Report
PAN AFRICAN DESIGN OF DEMOCRACY MATERIALS SEMINAR:
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
NDI**

Background

Many civic groups in Africa have developed innovative materials on democracy, but there have been few attempts to bring these groups together to share their views and further develop skills in creating new material.

In Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, NDI sponsored a working group of ten African civic organizers involved in the design of democracy materials. This group examined methods of developing democracy materials and ways to be able to fully disseminate these materials throughout Africa.

The seminar stressed on the use of print materials, electronic media, such as video and radio, and performing arts as democracy education tools. While much of the program focussed on voter education, the workshops curriculum also included women's participation in the political process.

Project activities

The project planning stages included identifying participants, developing a specific agenda, collecting voter education and women's participation materials, and identifying specific goals for tangible project outcomes. The seminar's main aim was to: develop the capacity to produce democracy education materials for use at the grassroots level; to share materials already created; to provide ideas for and training on the future development of low cost materials; and to develop a group of individuals who could train others in these skills elsewhere on the continent. Abidjan was selected as the seminar site due to its upcoming national elections and its role as regional transportation hub.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully completed. During the planning stage, there were indicators that this project was relevant and timely. All participants accepted their invitation, and in keeping with the project's collaborative nature, participants commented on the draft agenda and the issues to be covered in the workshop. Most invitees responded with thoughtful and detailed suggestions.

AREAF Project Report
CIVIC EDUCATION & INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
ZIMBABWE
IRI

Background

In Zimbabwe, the social and political environment conducive to the formation of a participatory and deliberative democratic culture is largely absent. The legislative body is devoid of debate on substantive public policy questions as the ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union - Political Front (ZANU-PF), controls 147 of 150 seats. All political institutions (including the Electoral Commission) are highly politicized, and activity is based largely on patronage or other forms of corruption. Public debate or discussion is stifled by fear, disorganization, and the government ruling party's tight control of the state-owned broadcast media and the self-censorship of the independent press. The consequent ignorance, apathy, and non-participation is widespread and is evident in voter participation levels; as low as four percent in some areas, in the 1993 by-elections.

Certain sectors of Zimbabwean society are especially poorly mobilized, namely in the rural areas (which is 70% of Zimbabwe's population) and the increasing number of urban poor. The government has made no effort to educate voters in rural areas or poor urban areas, for fear of eroding a predictable block of support for the ruling party. Additionally, the government has made no effort to educate the populace on the meaning of the vote, the secrecy of the ballot, or the importance of voter registration.

During this reporting period, IRI requested and received funding approval to implement a 14-month civic education program targeted at Zimbabwe's rural and urban poor populations. The program was designed to be executed primarily through a cooperative agreement with Zimrights, an indigenous human and political rights group with which IRI has had a previous working relationship.

Project activities

The goal of the program is to encourage political participation through civic education in several districts that have had especially low voter turn-out in the time preceding the 1995 legislative elections and the 1996 presidential elections and thereafter.

Through Zimrights – one of a small number of groups that has made any efforts to increase public awareness and participation – IRI proposed to provide the appropriate means and resources to combat the ignorance, apathy and non-participation that cripples Zimbabwe's political progress. Zimrights will conduct the civic education efforts through workshops for community leaders and grassroots organizers who could then further organize greater participation in the elections.

To achieve the stated objectives, IRI and Zimrights have outlined one primary and one secondary activity. The bulk of the program budget and time will be vested in a series of community workshops aimed at training local leaders on the importance of the upcoming elections and how to best mobilize voters in a political atmosphere that has suffered from an unusual level of apathy and intimidation. The secondary activity will be complementary to the community workshops but its specific focus will be on managerial training to build the institutional capacity of Zimrights. Over time, the managerial training will endow Zimrights with the capability of initiating future projects fully under the auspices of their own organization.

Project status, findings and evaluation

The project has not been implemented as of this report date. When completed, IRI's evaluation of the project will focus on whether and to what degree the stated objectives have been met. Did the community leaders and other participants in the targeted districts display a better understanding of basic democratic concepts and thus enable them to inform targeted groups of the rights and duties to participate in the democratic process? Did those same voters then exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibilities to a greater degree than they had before such educational initiatives?

Zimrights' internal evaluation procedures will have two complementary parts from which IRI can include findings in its own evaluation reports. All participants at the workshops outlined in the activities section will be required to fill out questionnaires both before and following the training. (The pre-training questionnaire will seek to measure the initial, basic knowledge of democratic systems, citizen rights, and the importance of voting. The post-training questionnaire will concern the contents and effectiveness of the training sessions.) The answers will be anonymous and the information will be compiled for a final report. To augment the questionnaires, throughout the duration of the program, Zimrights will select individuals that will be interviewed in greater depth about the effectiveness of the training and outreach and how those individuals have put the training to practical use.

The interviews will be compiled for use in any modifications of the program and whether the program effectively accomplished the stated goals of the proposal.

Finally, the most basic barometer of the effectiveness of the civic education and training will be based on the level of voter participation in the 1995 and 1996 elections. Specifically, whether voter turn-out was higher in the targeted districts than in the 1990 general elections and any subsequent by-elections.

AREAF Project Report
STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: BENIN
NDI

Background

During prior program work in Benin and the West Africa region, NDI developed an understanding of the need for political parties to strengthen grassroots participation in the political process. Parties tend to be centered in the major urban areas and are focused on the personality of the leader and/or regional and ethnic affinities. NDI thus developed a proposal which would feature the presence of an NDI field representative with considerable political party experience and a series of seminars addressing party organization and constituency development at the grassroots level. NDI designed and conducted a series of three political party training seminars in Benin during the fourth quarter of 1994.

Program Activities

The first seminar took place from September 16 to 18 in Cotonou. Attended by approximately 60 activists from more than 15 political parties, the seminar focused on the role of grassroots activists in political parties. The seminar was designed to provide practical information and technical advice to Beninese parties on subjects such as party organization, local fundraising and party communications. The second seminar, conducted from October 27 to 30, in Parakou, a city in north central Benin, focused on the importance of public opinion-gathering in the development of party platforms and the elaboration of public policy in general.

From December 8 to 10, 1994, NDI conducted the third political party training seminar in Lokossa. The focus of this seminar was on grassroots involvement in election related activities. Attended by approximately 50 activists from more than 25 political parties, the seminar participants discussed campaign organization and voter contact strategies as political parties in Benin prepare for the second-round of democratic elections. Participants also discussed the electoral code, which is undergoing substantial changes, as well as the legal environment of the elections. The seminar was composed of plenary sessions involving all participants, and workshops in which the larger group was divided into working groups of approximately 20 participants. Some of the themes addressed during the workshops were candidate selection, message development and targeting, get-out-the-vote, and voter contact.

The international faculty comprised: Isobel Finnerty, director of the General Election campaign for the Liberal Party of Canada; Didier Triscos, a magistrate in France who has previous experience with election observation missions; and Walter Van Wolputte, special advisor to the President of the Socialist Party of Belgium.

The international trainers were joined by four Beninese facilitators: Virgile Akpovo, cabinet director at the Supreme Court representing the Human Rights Institute; Reine Alapini-Gansou, a lawyer from the Women Jurist's Association of Benin; Dominique Adjahouinou, special advisor at the Justice Ministry; and Paul Ayemonna, of the Centre Afrika Obota. The seminar was organized by NDI Field Representative Michael Smith, Logistics Coordinator Lorry Yamamoto, and Program Assistant Leslie Koerner.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. Comments from the participants indicated that they found the seminar topics as well as the training methodology to be interesting. Some of the participants complained that a few of the suggestions did not take into consideration the realities of the Beninese political situation such as illiteracy, the fact that voters do not vote for a program or party but for an individual, and the fact that parties are generally supported financially by one person. However, the participants seemed pleased with the large number of documents that were distributed as well as with the performance of Beninese and international facilitators. Despite of few criticisms about insufficient time to more fully explore he issues, many participants felt that the workshops and plenary sessions were enriching.

AREAF Project Report
SURVEY MISSION: THE GAMBIA
NDI

Background

The Gambia was considered a democracy through the first 29 years of independence until July 1994 when the president was deposed by a military coup. Immediately after the coup, the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) announced a four-and-a-half year timetable to return the country to democratic, civilian rule. The United States reacted to the coup by suspending aid until the country was returned to civilian rule. Faced with further criticism from the international community and some elements within Gambian civil society about the expected duration of military rule, the ruling council appointed a commission of civilian leaders – the National Consultative Committee -- to study the issue and advise the AFPRC. The Committee traveled across the country, met with a cross section of representatives of Gambian civil society and finally recommended that the transition's duration be shortened to two years from the date of the coup. That recommendation was accepted by the ruling military council. A new transition timetable was drawn up with benchmarks that include the re-writing of the constitution and election law, the organization of a constitutional referendum in November 1995, and the conduct of local elections in March 1996 and national elections in June 1996. The transfer of power to a democratically elected president is scheduled for July 1996.

Project activities

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an assessment mission to The Gambia from April 9 to 15, to observe the country's progress in undertaking a democratic transition to civilian rule by July 1996. NDI undertook this survey mission to gain a better understanding of political developments in The Gambia since the July 22, 1994 *coup d'etat*, as well as to respond to requests for assistance from the chairman of the AFPRC, Captain Yahya A.J.J. Jammeh; deposed president, Dawda Jawara; and Gambian citizens residing in and out of the country.

The NDI delegation met with the Chairman and members of the AFPRC, government ministers, political party leaders, representatives of civic organizations, members of professional associations and labor unions, traditional and religious leaders, journalists, members of the diplomatic community, and other independent observers. The team met with Gambians in the greater Banjul area, which includes Serrekunda and Bakau, as well as in the towns of Kerewan, Farafenni, Soma and Brikama.

These meetings provided the delegation members with the opportunity to gather relevant information on political developments in the country and the attitudes of Gambians at the grassroots level.

The broad range of meetings provided the delegation with an opportunity to gain insights into different perspectives on the current political climate and ongoing preparations for a return to democratic, civilian rule. The delegation also examined prospects for democratization within the transition framework, looking at possibilities for outside assistance in the areas of constitutional development, political party development, election processes, and civic and voter education.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. NDI is currently undertaking assistance programs that will support Gambian efforts to implement a genuine transition process. A program proposal was submitted and approved by the USAID mission in Banjul for this support. The first phase of these programs would be conducted in the period between July and December 1995. Proposed activities included: providing technical assistance to the constitutional review commission and the electoral review committee; conducting political party building activities; providing capacity building training to civic organizations; and working with these groups to design civic education materials.

AREAF Project Report
LEAGUE OF KENYAN WOMEN VOTERS: KENYA
IRI

Background

Although women account for more than half the electorate in Kenya, they have not played as significant a role in the country's political development as their numbers might suggest. Currently, there are only six female members of Parliament out of a total of 200 members. Furthermore, women do not hold a significant number of local offices, and only one political party, the Democratic Party of Kenya, utilizes women to any significant degree.

To begin the process of increasing political awareness on the part of Kenyan women, several prominent female political activists met to discuss the role of women in Kenya's pluralist electoral future, following President Moi's December 1991 decision to allow opposition parties to function. On 9 January 1992, the League of Kenyan Women Voters (LKWV) was established, and the League was registered formally under Kenya's Public Societies Act on 5 May 1992 as a national, non-partisan voluntary lobby group. Officers of the LKWV were elected for a period of two years. The League's target group is women of all levels of development, but especially rural women, poor women, illiterate or semi-literate women, women with no formal employment and young women.

In February, 1995 the IRI provided program support to allow the LKWV to conduct its mission of promoting democratic change in Kenya and to provide limited technical assistance to enhance the League's ability to effectively operate its headquarters and conduct successful outreach programs.

Project activities

The objectives for this project were:

- To provide funding that will allow the LKWV to conduct its mission of promoting democratic change in Kenya; and
- To provide limited technical assistance to enhance the League's ability to effectively operate its headquarters and conduct successful outreach programs.

Under established terms of this grant, the League received funding for the management of its office and two outreach seminars. LKWV also continued to promote women's issues through its newsletters and work with other, like-minded Kenyan organizations.

In addition to the administration of the grant itself (i.e. monitoring of activity and financial reports), IRI made two site visits. During one of the visits, training was conducted by an IRI management grants expert. These visits allowed for on-site management of the grantee, as well as allowing IRI to provide technical assistance to the League's headquarters staff, Board of Directors and, to a limited extent, at to one local chapter. The technical assistance was provided in the form of working meetings and mini-seminars. IRI also provided books and other materials on NGO management and leadership development to the LKWV.

Project status, findings and evaluation

The project was successfully completed. Project evaluation was in three forms: The first was that, LKWV was required to complete monthly financial reports, accompanied by copies of receipts, to document the spending of grant funds. Monthly grant drawdowns were tied to the League's ability to properly demonstrate the appropriateness of its spending. Secondly, activity reports were required on a monthly basis to explain League programming during that month and assesses the effectiveness of this programming. Thirdly, the impact on the political process of those trained was measured – not only their increased participation in strictly political activities, but also their understanding of their civil and human rights, and their ability to take action to defend their rights. Similarly, in the case of LKWV newsletters, booklets and advocacy projects, the measure of impact was how many participants took action to correct situations pointed out by the League, and how successful were those actions. Also 30 participants in LKWV seminars were interviewed to determine how they utilized information gained from the League in promoting democratization in Kenya.

IRI also utilized AID accepted forms to conduct on-site management assessments. This allowed IRI to determine first-hand, the efficiency of LKWV headquarters and branch management, as well as outreach efforts. IRI sought evaluations of the League's effectiveness by interviewing organizations cooperating with LKWV on programming. These interviews solicited specific comments on joint events – from logistics through the execution of the event itself through impact assessment.

**AREAF Project Report
CITIZEN DISCUSSION OF THE
CONSTITUTION-MAKING PROCESS: UGANDA
AAI**

Background

Since 1986, democratization in Uganda has proceeded at a slow pace. In 1989, President Yoweri Museveni extended the mandate of the current interim government until January 1995. He then promised that there would be a new Constitution, an elected president and new legislature by that time. Unfortunately the timetable has been pushed back, due in great part to the difficulties encountered in ratifying the new Constitution. To hold elections, the constitution and electoral code must first be ratified and promulgated. As a result, the elections, which cannot take place before the ratification of the constitution, have also been postponed.

In order to facilitate the constitution making process, the African-American Institute (AAI) provided funding assistance to the Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC) for a series of seven seminars in Uganda, with the intent of more deeply involving Ugandan citizens in the constitution-making process. On March 28, 1994, a Constituent Assembly (CA) was formed through direct and indirect elections, with the mandate of ratifying a new, permanent democratic constitution. The issues at stake are highly sensitive, and since its election, the Constituent Assembly has had some difficulties reaching compromise on key points. Through this series of seminars, AAI hoped to encourage greater discussion of these contentious issues outside the capital Kampala, and to provide a forum for interested parties to express their ideas and have those ideas transmitted back to the Constituent Assembly. AAI has further advanced the course of civic education in Uganda by encouraging seminar participants to discuss with the people of their hometowns to better comprehend the debates' relevance to the new constitution, by promulgating public understanding of the constitutional issues.

Project activities

The Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC) provided primary organizational support and AAI provided monitoring support. For the presenters and discussants, UJCC relied heavily on Constituent Assembly Delegates from all sides of the political spectrum, political party leaders, members of the current government, educational authorities and religious leaders.

The actual participants, well over one hundred for each seminar, were identified primarily through non-partisan civic and religious groups, and personally invited to attend and share their opinions.

Each of the seminars had a parallel structure. Each seminar was to open with a brief discussion of the progress made by the CA during the last year, and continue with presentations and discussions on two issues: multipartyism versus the Movement and federalism versus decentralization. Although the above order was not always followed, all of the topics were presented and debated.

Before the closing of each seminar, the UJCC coordinators gave the participants the opportunity to draft resolutions which they wished to be forwarded to the Constituent Assembly in Kampala. At some sites, these were done individually by many of the participants, while at other sites, groups of 20-30 participants were organized and submitted resolutions reflecting group consensus.

Participants and presenters were also requested by the UJCC to evaluate the success of the seminars. General support for the seminar format was almost unanimous. Specific complaints focussed on the timing of the seriousness of pointing out of relative lateness of the seminars in the constitution-making process, and the obvious constraints of limiting such an event to only one day. Although a concerted effort was made by the UJCC to invite participants from all walks of life, audiences still consisted of "societal elites." The presenters (specifically the CA delegates) and the UJCC were advised not to take the opinions of the participants as indicative of the entire populace in that region, but as indicative only of the opinions of the teachers, religious leaders and professionals who were present. Audiences were consistently encouraged by presenters and the UJCC to share those lessons learned at the seminars with their friends and neighbors outside the cities. The audiences expressed willingness and interest in doing so.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully completed. Despite initial difficulties encountered in confirming authority figures to present and discuss the topics, the series of seminars was a success. Over 700 people were present at the seminars, including over 30% women. Many of the audience members displayed awareness of the sensitive constitutional issues, and they felt the series of seminars was worthwhile and thought-provoking, regardless of their political affiliations. At the end of each seminar, participants drafted resolutions indicating their preferences for the constitution, and the UJCC National Coordinators brought these back to Kampala to be shared with the Constituent Assembly.

Complaints also surfaced from the participants and the press about various biases present at the seminars. Some were seen as blatantly pro-opposition, others as pro-Movement, depending on the number and ability of the presenters from both sides.

The African-American Institute feels that the series of seminars to discuss the constitution-making process was profitable, and that the success of the discussion seminars encourages the furtherance of democratic principles in Uganda. Channels of communication between the capital and outlying areas were opened or strengthened by the seminars and the UJCC.

These channels will remain open throughout the constitution-making process due to UJCC's large capacity and planned follow-on activities with the participants. Although most Ugandans are interested in the tenets of their new constitution, rarely do they have the chance to express their viewpoints or ask pertinent questions to individuals so closely involved in the process. The forum provided by these seminars is invaluable to the citizens, and offers the Constituent Assembly in Kampala a further glimpse of what will be best for the country as a whole when the Constitution is eventually promulgated.

**AREAF Project Report
DEMOCRATIZATION IN AFRICA -
THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY: BENIN
AAI**

Background

AREAF provided a planning grant, and project support for a regional conference to examine the evolution of the role of the military in pluralistic democratic governance in Africa. The conference, held in Benin in May 1995, was a follow-on to the highly successful conference on the role of the military in the democratization process held in Burundi in February 1993. The Burundi conference brought together military and civilian representatives from nine countries to discuss, with guidance of Western and African academic and military experts, the proper conduct and disposition of militaries in the process of democratization, as well the military's role within an established democracy. The participants in the Burundi conference felt that it would be of great use to replicate the conference in other geographic venues, both to new regional audiences and with the inclusion of former participants.

Project activities

In response to the continent-wide challenge to authoritarian rule by military and civilian leaders, this conference was designed to engage the military and civilian participants to address the role of the military, its mission, structure, and relationship both to political order and to civil society. Issues addressed included the desirable outcome of how the military should function under democratic control and the military's role in the transition to a new political order. While some African countries' senior officers have begun to give serious thought to such issues, these structured conferences allowed for the significant advancement of the discussion. With the help of outside specialists, African civilian and military leaders were able to explore these issues; and learnt from each other's experiences and plans.

Project status, findings & evaluation

As the Burundi conference, this conference was successfully completed. It was evident from both conferences that there is surprisingly little contact between civilian and military leaders within individual countries. This fact often leads to a certain distrust and suspicion between the government and military. In terms of inter-military relations between countries, there is very little contact as well.

The lessons learned in bringing these two entities together has demonstrated that much creative thought can be generated and that the process of intra-state discussion at these conferences were continued at home.

Organizations like the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Commission on Africa (ECA) have informed AAI that these conferences have inspired them to delve in greater depth into the heretofore taboo subjects of military roles and ethnic divisions.

Section Two

Election Observation

During this reporting period, AREAF continued its traditional role of providing international observers for elections. Many citizens in Africa feel the presence of international observers serves as a conduit to the rest of the world, whereby the world can observe the conducting of a country's election in a transparent and open manner. The international observer missions that have been sponsored by AREAF partners have often been credited by local people for deterring fraud, assuring transparency and building confidence in the electoral process. It is in this context that some citizens consider the main value of international observer missions is to put pressure on incumbent regimes to observe fair practices in the electoral process.

The high costs associated with organizing and deploying international observers and the short notice requirements for these missions, have been constant challenges to AREAF partners. Drawing lessons from previous years, partners have shifted to include regional collaborations for neighboring country observers; utilizing observers on a pro bono basis; and where allowed, training and working with domestic observers.

During this reporting period, AREAF partners conducted three project assessment missions to determine countries' preparedness for elections and organized election observer missions in four countries.

AREAF Project Report GHANA: SURVEY MISSION NDI

Background

During the Ghana's 1992 presidential elections, the major opposition parties argued that the incumbent president, Jerry Rawlings, rigged the elections by inflating the voter registrar. The opposition therefore boycotted the subsequent legislative elections. This led to wide-spread suspicion which permeates the political climate, today. There is a lack of confidence in electoral process and fear of fraud during the upcoming elections.

During these elections, NDI in junction with the Carter Center developed a plan for a parallel vote tabulation (PVT) of election results in Ghana. The initial phase of the project involved training Ghanaian election monitors and determining the feasibility of a PVT.

The plan called for using the first round of the presidential elections on November 3, 1992, as a "dry-run" for a PVT methodology in order to determine whether it would be possible to conduct a PVT during the second round of elections.

In August 1994, an NDI staff member attended a roundtable in Accra organized by the Institute for Economic Affairs, a nonpartisan Ghanaian NGO. The roundtable included members from the three major political parties: the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Front (NPF), and the People's Convention Party (PCP). Also participating were representatives of the churches, labor unions, the bar association and some members of the diplomatic community. The purpose of the roundtable was to facilitate dialogue among the political parties in order to foster agreement on electoral reforms for the 1996 presidential and legislative elections.

In September 1994, NDI organized a meeting of scholars and representatives of the US Department of State, the Ghanaian Embassy and the NGO community in Washington to discuss Ghana's pre-election environment.

Project activities

NDI's proposal to conduct this survey mission grew, in part, out of these activities. From December 9 to 21, 1994, NDI sent a three-member survey mission to Ghana to assess the feasibility of conducting political development programs in preparation for the 1996 national elections. The survey team identified three broad areas in need of AREAF assistance: political party training, civic education, and election related training. The mission tried to meet with a cross section of individuals in order to get a comprehensive overview of the situation on the ground.

The primary goal of the survey mission was to identify areas in Ghana's political arena that could hinder progress toward successful presidential and legislative elections in 1996. Because of the 1992 elections boycott and the allegations of voter fraud and inflated voter registration lists, the survey team paid special attention to political parties. The delegation held meetings with all the major political parties, including the ruling and opposition parties, to reinforce NDI's nonpartisanship.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. The presidential and legislative elections in 1996 will be a test case for Ghana. For those elections to be conducted properly, some of the country's democratic institutions need strengthening. Political parties are poorly organized. They lack resources and their leaders seem to be out of touch with their constituents. The parties could benefit from basic political education and training. Civic organizations are weak; they lack an institutional base and have few resources.

The legislature is overburdened; legislators seem to lack fundamental parliamentary skills. The media, although free and independent, suffers from a lack of credibility. There is a lack of confidence in the electoral process and suspicion permeates the political climate. The election commission is generally viewed as nonpartisan although it has on some occasions been accused by the opposition of having government leanings. Most voters are in the rural areas, and outside of NDC campaign activities, little attention is given to these areas except during elections. Parties tend to organize only during the elections and have not been effective in developing their political agendas, messages and recruitment techniques since they boycotted the 1992 legislative elections.

Based on mission findings, NDI will determine how best it can help in enhancing confidence and participation in the election process as Ghana prepares for national elections in 1996, and will develop a proposal with specific plans for program work.

AREAF Project Report
JOINT SURVEY MISSION: CÔTE D'IVOIRE
NDI & AAI

Background

In the last quarter of 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the African-American Institute (AAI) sent a joint survey mission to Côte d'Ivoire to assess the state of preparations for presidential, legislative and municipal elections to be held there in late 1995. Through the assessment, the two institutes also hoped to determine possible program activities that they could undertake to support the Ivorian electoral process.

NDI and AAI planned the assessment as Côte d'Ivoire faced a turning point in its political history. A new group of leaders was emerging to fill a vacuum created by the December 1993 death of Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the country's founding president. Internal pressure to democratize the country's political system was intensifying as the new president, Henri Konan Bédié, sought to solidify his hold on power. Also, Côte d'Ivoire's position as a sub-regional power meant that the outcome of its political transformation would be felt well beyond its national boundaries. NDI and AAI considered the assessment mission to be a useful prerequisite to future program activity in support of this important electoral process.

Program Activities

On November 29, 1994, NDI Senior Program Officer Carol Smetana and Program Officer Tim McCoy joined AAI's Senior Program Coordinator Hillary Thomas and François Sita, AAI's representative from Congo, in Abidjan where they began a series of meetings with U.S. Embassy officials, political party leaders, government authorities and civic organization representatives. To increase the number of contacts during the assessment, the NDI team decided early during the mission to divide the meetings. Carol Smetana traveled to northern Côte d'Ivoire where she conducted meetings in the northern cities of Korhogo and Bach. Tim McCoy remained in Abidjan to meet with high-ranking government officials, national party leaders and presidents of various civic organizations. AAI representatives also remained in Abidjan.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. The assessment meetings revealed an almost-unanimous enthusiasm for the two institutes to conduct programming in Côte d'Ivoire as soon as possible. Political party and civic organization representatives identified voter education and political party training as primary needs.

AAI's assessment revealed an immediate need for building NGOs' capacity in preparations for the elections. Opposition political parties also requested that NDI sponsor international observer delegations to the upcoming elections.

The government, however, was more reserved on the issue of election observers. Government officials indicated that they prefer international NGOs to become involved at an earlier stage, as opposed to being present only for the elections.

Election preparations were in the spotlight for the duration of the assessment mission. A new electoral code, which will govern the organization of the elections, was moving toward final adoption in the National Assembly. A government-conducted electoral census had recently been completed. Results of this census will be used in 1995 to finalize voter lists. These preparations figured prominently in the discourse of the country's political and governmental leaders. Opposition parties were complaining that the electoral code sought to exclude political party participation in the preliminary stages of the electoral process. The electoral census was also criticized by these parties, which said that the government had deliberately omitted their supporters from the census in order to adversely affect the opposition's electoral chances. The government counter-charged by saying that parties would be allowed to take part in phases of the process, detailed in the electoral code.

AREAF Project Report
PROJECT DESIGN MISSION: TANZANIA
AAI

Background

For the first time since independence in 1961, Tanzanian leadership has conceded to the introduction of competitive multi-party elections. With the adoption of constitutional amendments authorizing such a system, political change has begun in Tanzania, building a momentum toward greater democratization. The Tanzanian government and the U.S. Embassy requested electoral assistance to Tanzania during this transformative period. In response to this request and believing that a thorough evaluation of the Tanzanian political environment and the government's commitment to pluralistic governance is required, AAI sent a four-member team to Tanzania. The purpose of the mission was to seek out NGO and political party representatives, members of the government, opposition media to determine the government's commitment to democratization. Also, the team sought to determine the capacity of the current infrastructures - governmental and non-governmental, and their ability in providing effective electoral support to Tanzanians.

Project activities

In October, 1994, AAI conducted a project design mission to Tanzania. The purpose was to design a civic education program with a focus on voter education in preparation for the country's first multi-party municipal elections in October 1994 and national elections in October 1995. The team focussed on designing a long-term civic education program to support and further develop the civic and voter education efforts of Tanzanian NGOs and the National Electoral Commission.

The team met with staff at the U.S. Embassy, the USAID Mission, other international donors, Tanzanian NGOs, the National Electoral Commission, human rights groups, law associations and religious organizations to estimate how to best support effective civic education that will not only address the short-term needs, before the October elections, but also continue during the run-up to the 1995 national elections and beyond.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully completed. Based on the mission findings, AAI concluded that a civic education program is feasible and desirable in the run-up to national multi-party elections in October 1995 and beyond. The project design mission identified Tanzanian organizations and institutions with sufficient capacity to develop a broad-based civic and voter education program.

AAI further found that there is significant interest among both governmental and non-governmental entities to collaborate on the design and implementation of such a program. Finally, the mission concluded that there is a particular need for aspects of the civic education program to be directed at women and citizens of rural communities. Based on these findings, AAI has maintained contact with the most active organizations and individuals, and proposed a comprehensive civic and voter education project leading to the 1995 Tanzanian presidential and legislative elections. However, due to stringent mission requirements, AAI was not able to continue with the follow-on activities envisioned, as a result of this program.

AREAF Project Report
PARTIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS: CONGO
AAI

Background

Congo's recent political history has been fraught with violence and confusion. The crisis follows in the wake of a string of successful elections. Beginning with a referendum on the preferred type of political system, the people of the Congo went to the polls six times during 1992. The final poll, in which Lissouba was elected president, was August 16. Following presidential and parliamentary elections in 1992, gridlock between the two branches of government quickly ensued. President Lissouba dissolved the Parliament and called for new legislative elections in May 1993. Opposition political parties challenged the President's action in the Supreme Court, but new elections proceeded, nonetheless.

The first round of legislative elections that were held in 1993, resulted in 11 of the 126 seats needing to be decided in run-off elections, as none of the candidates had received more than 50 percent of the vote. In addition, the opposition petitioned the Supreme Court to invalidate the results in 12 additional districts, while the Government contested the legitimacy of 24 seats gained by the opposition. Run-off elections were called for June 6 and the opposition boycotted. Civil disorder, confusion, and tension followed. Through the efforts of international mediation, the opposing parties signed the "Libreville Accord" in early August, paving the way for a re-vote of the boycotted second round. Elections for the 11 contested seats took place in early October and results left an unchanged overall majority. Although the elections were peaceful, in the following months conflict arose again between the opposition militias and the security forces, resulting in more than 100 fatalities. By the end of January, 1994, a cease-fire was agreed upon by both parties, thus restoring relative calm. However, occasional outbreaks of instability occurred during this cease fire. AAI organized international observer delegations for the Congolese elections of May 2, June 6, and October 3, 1993.

A committee of international arbitrators, that had investigated the conduct of the first round of legislative elections, concluded that the results of the October 1993 elections in nine of the legislative districts were invalid and thus recommended a re-vote. The government of Congo along with the signatories of the "Libreville Accord" agreed to conduct a re-run of these legislative elections.

Project activities

The African-American Institute (AAI), in response to a late request in March 1995, from the US Embassy in Brazzaville sent a three-person delegation to observe the legislative elections in the Congo for nine electoral districts that were being re-run as a result of challenge petitions following the 1993 elections.

The nine seats being contested were: Makoua I, Mossaka II, Loukolela, Bacongo II, Abala II, Epina, Lumumba I, Dangou II, Ouenze I.

AAI fielded a delegation composed of participants from the past election exercises. The AAI observer delegation was deployed with international observers from other donor nations, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the OAU. Only nine districts were being re-voted, and the majority of these districts are in the greater Brazzaville area. The nine districts scheduled for elections were Makoua I, Mossaka II, Loukolela, Bacongo II, Abala II, Epina, Lumumba I, Dangou II, and Ouenze I. However, on the scheduled day, April 23, 1993, elections proceeded in only two of the nine designated districts – Ouenze 1 in Brazzaville and Lumumba 1 in Pointe Noire.

Project status, findings& evaluation

The program concluded with observation in only two of the nine districts scheduled for these elections. These two districts were duly observed by the group. For political and/or logistical reasons, elections in the other seven districts were postponed for the April 26. When it was, however, determined that the elections may again be delayed beyond April 26, observers departed Brazzaville on the 28th. The findings of the AAI observation only reflects elections in the two districts of Ouenze 1 and Lumumba 1. In the two districts cited, the elections as observed did proceed in a calm and lawful manner. On a whole, voting stations operated satisfactorily.

AREAF Project Report
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS: GUINEA
AAI

Background

Guinea's presidential and legislative elections, originally scheduled for 1992 under the Transitional Council for National Redressment, were postponed several times. Presidential elections were finally held in December of 1993, with President Lansana Conté declared the victor. Prior to the presidential election, opposition political parties and representatives of the international community requested that the elections be postponed. Citing inadequate logistical preparation, the opposition questioned the transparency of the process. The circumstances surrounding the long delays in announcing the results, numerous flaws in electoral administration, and a lack of transparency brought into question the legitimacy of the elections. Following these elections, there were protests and random clashes and protests from opposition and government supporters. Overall, the situation before and after the election did not bode well for the consolidation of Guinean pluralist democracy. The Government of Guinea has insisted that many of the perceived irregularities were due to a lack of experience and training. In order to alleviate a reoccurrence of these problems, the government extended invitations to international donors and NGOs to observe the legislative elections of June 11, 1995.

Project activities

The African-American Institute, (AAI), in response to a request by the US Embassy Conakry, fielded a sixteen member observer mission to the June 11 legislative elections. At the onset of this project, AAI sent a two-person assessment team immediately to review the preparations for the upcoming legislative elections in Guinea. The historically unstable electoral environment in Guinea required a high level of cautiousness in observing these elections. In sending a two-person team out immediately, AAI 's intention was to obtain a clear picture of the improvements that have reportedly occurred since December 1993, and thus determine what type of international observer delegation would be appropriate. These improvements included the ability of the opposition political parties to participate freely, the relative freedom of the media, the independence, preparation and mandate of the National Electoral Commission, and adequate logistical preparations. Subsequently when it seemed that these conditions existed and that open and transparent legislative elections were possible, AAI fielded the rest of the observers to observe the June 11, 1995 legislative elections.

The AAI assessment team met with government officials, opposition political parties, media and non-governmental organizations to determine if minimum conditions exist for the holding of open and transparent legislative elections.

The AAI team consisted of experienced international observers familiar with the political environment in Guinea and its electoral processes. The AAI observer delegation was deployed throughout the country, and it focused primarily on those areas in which there was controversy during the presidential elections of 1993.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully concluded. Among other things, the AAI team noted the following:

- The National Electoral Commission (CNE), being neither an independent nor permanent body, played only a marginal role in organizing the elections.
- Training of election officials was inconsistent, and generally inadequate. Prior to and on polling day, officials showed ignorance regarding the contents of the Electoral Code, and the way in which it should be applied.
- The distribution of voter cards was poorly organized. The distribution commissions were not balanced in their composition (most commission members were overtly strong supporters of the PUP), and in some regions (such as Labé and Kankan) a significant number of opposition party activists and supporters did not receive voter registration cards.
- In several regions, the local officials, notably from the "prefect" and "sub-prefect" levels, displayed partisan behavior that favored the PUP. In the region of Labé, we obtained overwhelming evidence of partisan appointments.
- The time lag between the tallying of the results and their communication to the National Commission was too long. The CNE only began to receive partial results, four days after the polls had closed.

AREAF Project Report
LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS: BENIN
AAI

Background

Benin's March 28, 1995 legislative election was the culmination of the democratization process which began with the burgeoning of a reform movement in 1989. This movement led to the 1991 Presidential elections, the sudden restructuring of government, creation of multiple political parties, guarantees of an independent judiciary, and the founding of many non-governmental organizations, including an independent Human Rights Commission.

AAI has had a long history in Benin's politics. AAI organized a delegation that observed Benin's presidential elections, March 10 and 24, 1991. In November 1994, a Beninese delegation of NGOs and government officials traveled to Washington, DC to study and observe the US congressional electoral process.

Project activities

The African-American Institute (AAI), in response to a request by the US Embassy Cotonou, sent a five-person international observation delegation to observe the March 28, 1995 legislative elections. Along with its resident representative in Cotonou, AAI closely followed the entirety of the electoral campaign. The observer team arrived in Benin on March 23, 1995 and left the country around April 3, 1995 following the release of the official election results. The members of the team covered parts of the following regions: Mono, Altacora, Ouémé, Atlantic and Zou. They visited a total of 119 polling stations representing 47,663 registered voters.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. AAI's past experience in Benin was invaluable in responding on short notice to the observer request for the 1995 legislative elections.

Overall the election observers concluded that the elections were conducted freely and fairly and the vote was conducted without any major hinderance or obstacles. The level of voter participation was high and in particular the number of women voting was remarkable. The team also observed that the general populous exhibited a high level of political maturity which was seen in the massive turnouts at polling stations. The team concluded that the creation of the Autonomous National Electoral Commission (CENA) greatly contributed in establishing a peaceful climate and at the same time maintained the trust of the various social groups, Beninese voters, and the international observers. AAI strongly recommends that the CENA continues functioning as a permanent body.

AREAF Project Report
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: MOZAMBIQUE
AAI

Background

On October 27 to 29, 1994, the Mozambican populace voted in the first multi-party democratic elections in the country's history. After the country's experiences with colonialism and civil war, the populace greeted its first election with over 90% of eligible voters reporting to the polls.

Since its independence from Portugal in 1975 until 1989, Mozambique had been characterized by the socialist-oriented government of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO.) In 1989, FRELIMO renounced its Marxist-Leninist orientation, and drafted proposals for a new constitution and the end of the one-party state. Political change was further advanced in 1990 with the approval of a new constitution and the announcement of elections.

A new assembly met for the first time in 1990. Legislation was passed, permitting the formation of new political parties, elections were set for an unspecified date in 1992, but were later postponed. Elections were finally held from October 27 - 29, 1994 - voters voted for a selection from twelve candidates who ran for the presidency and from twelve parties to make up the National Assembly.

Project activities

Responding to a request from the Mozambican National Electoral Commission (CNE), AAI provided technical assistance to the Mozambique National Election Commission's Technical Secretariat (STAE). AAI sent an eight-person team to Mozambique for the October 1994 Presidential and Legislative elections, to provide technical and logistical support to the national electoral commission, including interpretation/translation staffing for the press room of the National Electoral Commission during its sessions with the international press. AAI also provided technical support for the computerization of vote reporting.

AAI identified and fielded a Telecommunications Specialist for these elections, because Mozambique's communications infrastructure was inadequate for the purposes of election results communication. The fax and telephone capacity was assessed as below the provincial standard for handling 145-150 districts and 1,600 polling stations.

The STAE's telecommunications specialist prepared a needs assessment document for the donor community, and requested that a telecommunications specialist from neighboring South Africa be brought in to provide training and technical assistance in time for the October election.

The recent experience of the South African International Electoral Commission (IEC) in organizing communications logistics provided an appropriate reference point in assessing the needs of the STAE. This also served as an excellent opportunity for regional technology transfer.

To overcome the numerous challenges faced by the STAE in a short period of time, AAI supported the Commission by providing three staff aides to assist the Secretariat in organizing a reporting and documentation system for recording its proceedings during the plenary and individual sessions. The staff aides also back-stopped the members of the Commission in accurately and adequately reporting and documenting its proceedings. These individuals were Portuguese speakers with high-level drafting, editing, and reporting skills. Additionally, AAI provided two interpreters to serve as aides to the Commission's press and correspondent operation which was organized for the electoral period. They provided services in interpretations into English and/or French for the Mozambican Commission officials during press conferences, and providing orientation for the foreign, non-Portuguese-speaking press covering the elections.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was completed. In attempting to meet the expectations made explicit by the proposal, the team encountered some difficulties: First of all, the team's arrival was considered by many to be too late for it to have the opportunity to adequately integrate itself into the extant administrative structure at the CNE. The Commission was quite politicized, and outside help at that late date, technical or simply administrative in nature, was regarded with a touch of anxiety/hostility, even if that help was beneficial if not necessary to the electoral process.

The team was initially stationed at the CNE/STAE offices, from where the majority of the members moved to the Press Center (Gabinete de Imprensa.) Although the duties performed by the eight team members differed somewhat from those dictated by and expected from the original proposal, the team as a whole managed to function effectively, and it proved possible to facilitate the administration of the electoral process, before, during and after the actual polling.

Although the elections of both the President and the Assembly were overall successes, and the high participation is considered by many as a sign of popular approval, the process was marred by a lack of civic education and voter registration; inefficiencies on the part of the National Election Commission (CNE); last-minute maneuvering by the main opposition party; RENAMO; and a perceived unwillingness to share power on the part of the ruling party, FRELIMO.

Section Three

Training for Sustainability

In the past year, as in previous years, the theme of training pervaded AREAF's project activities. As evidenced by program activities listed in the other three sections of this report, partners view training as a prerequisite for successful beneficiary participation in Africa's democratic reform. The general practice has been toward integrating workshops, conferences, civic and voter education programs to encourage a participatory approach in the transition to democracy. This practice impacts the way training projects are prepared and implemented, and it has the potential to greatly improve beneficiaries' reception to training and, thus, relevance and sustainability.

AREAF partners have conducted civic, voter and political party training at national and regional levels. These programs have provided training for elected officials; supported NGOs to provide civic education on voluntary coalition building; and trained the citizenry to translate ideas into action, especially for traditionally marginalized groups like women.

During this reporting period, partners conducted five training activities for political parties and NGOs.

AREAF Project Report VOTER EDUCATION: NAMIBIA NDI

Background

To promote greater involvement by political parties and the electorate in the Namibian presidential and parliamentary elections held on December 7 and 8, 1994, NDI undertook a six-month program designed to: 1) educate voters about their rights and responsibilities in a democracy; 2) motivate the public to participate and exercise their democratic rights; 3) use the mass media to instruct Namibians about the electoral process; 4) inform the voters on the choice of options presented by the political parties; and 5) encourage a dialogue between the media, political parties and NGOs about how broadcast media can be used in innovative and creative ways to inform and motivate voters.

To achieve these objectives, NDI's program focused on the use of broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, competing parties and key campaign issues.

NDI's project incorporated a sub-grant to the Namibian Broadcast Corporation (NBC) to facilitate the use of broadcast media to conduct voter education.

Program Activities

NDI field representatives Erin Martin and Mary Elizabeth Johnson worked with the NBC to design and implement a comprehensive radio and television campaign to help increase voter turnout.

Through an NDI sub-grant, NBC aired a variety of campaign and election programs, including a four-week radio series addressing specific election-related topics. These programs and other election-related programs and announcements were translated and broadcast in nine languages. NDI also assisted the NBC in planning an unprecedented political debate between presidential candidates President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO and challenger Mishake Muyongo of the opposition DTA. Unfortunately, the debate had to be canceled when SWAPO decided not to permit its presidential candidate to participate.

The sub-grant to the NBC was initially approved at \$120,000 but amended during the quarter to a total of \$113,640 when the NBC indicated to NDI that it would not utilize all of the sub-grant funds. NDI utilized the \$6,360 to assist Namibia's first independent, commercial radio station, Radio 99, in implementing its own voter education and campaign information initiative scheduled to run one week before the elections. This was accomplished at the point when the NBC ended its voter education programming. Radio 99's effort complemented the much larger NBC voter education program and broadened overall outreach to Namibians. By working with both stations, NDI was able to help reach a greater number of Namibian voters.

In mid-October, NDI organized a workshop and interactive video tele-conference which focused on the importance of media strategy in a campaign. The tele-conference linked three political experts in Washington with 50 party leaders in Windhoek to discuss the role of the media in elections. NDI staff members also facilitated a four-day media training program from November 16 to 19, which focused on increasing political parties' access to and effective use of media techniques. Following the workshops, NDI instituted a series of intensive individual media consultations, which were offered to all parties competing in the December elections.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully completed. Despite widespread predictions that Namibian voters were apathetic and would not turn out for the elections, overall voter turnout nationally was more than 76 percent of the registered voters. The NBC called its voter education project a success, and commented that the effort would not have been possible without NDI's assistance.

AREAF Project Report
POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING PROGRAM: CÔTE D'IVOIRE
NDI

Background

As a result of a joint NDI/AAI needs assessment mission in anticipation of the first truly competitive presidential legislative and municipal elections in Côte d'Ivoire, NDI implemented a political party training program. The training focussed on a number of areas including: expanding party bases of support, encouraging parties to promote the involvement of women and other neglected constituencies in the electoral process, and sharing with Ivorian political leaders' candidate-selection methods used in advance of elections to improve party electoral chances.

Project activities

Building on its work with political parties in Côte d'Ivoire's during 1994, NDI designed this program to train the major political parties during the pre-election period. This training was accomplished through one-on-one consultations with Ivorian political parties and through two major training seminars; the first seminar took place in Abidjan and the second took place further up-country in Bouaké. The seminars' format included presentations in plenary sessions and smaller interactive workshops in which trainers and conference participants engaged in various role playing simulation exercises. Specifically, the seminars addressed such issues as candidate selection (including the promotion of women as candidates for elective office), message development and delivery, campaign strategy, and resource development and allocation.

Project status, findings & evaluation

All phases of this project were completed. NDI field representative will remain in country to analyze the seminar evaluations and assess the positive impact of the training on political party activities and will remain actively engaged in Côte d'Ivoire through out the elections. Currently AAI and NDI are organizing an international observer mission to provide an independent monitoring of the presidential and legislative elections scheduled for October and November, respectively. After the elections, a comprehensive report will include an examination of the lessons learned from this program, as well as from the election observer mission, for consideration in future programs.

AREAF Project Report
LEGISLATIVE TRAINING PROGRAM: CENTRAL AFRICAN
REPUBLIC
NDI

Background

From October 10 to 13, 1994, NDI held an inter-regional seminar entitled "Multiparty Legislatures in Emerging Democracies" in Bangui, Central African Republic (CAR). Sixty-five deputies from the CAR, ten deputies from Congo, ten from Gabon, seven deputies from Burundi and three deputies from Madagascar participated in the seminar. One government official with the Ministry in Charge of Relations; respective delegations from Congo and Gabon were present.

NDI planned the seminar in response to requests from deputies within the participating national assemblies. The program was implemented in three phases: an advance trip which was conducted by an NDI delegation in July 1994 to plan the seminar and develop a specific agenda; the seminar itself; and follow-up work by an NDI field representative to assess the impact of the seminar and to assist with any initiatives that resulted.

Project activities

The structure of the seminar was developed following a 10-day program development mission to the CAR, Gabon and Congo. NDI invited parliamentary experts from four established democracies as discussion facilitators to permit an exchange of information and legislative experiences with participants. The international delegation of parliamentarians comprised: Jim Higgins, a parliamentarian from Ireland; Isabel Espada, a former member of the Portuguese parliament; Donald Cravins, a U.S. state senator from Louisiana; and Alan Ganoo, former minister of justice and currently a member of parliament from Mauritius.

Assisting the international delegates during the plenary sessions and serving as co-moderators during the workshops were two "lead participants": Kané Nana Sanou, parliamentarian from Mali and Ramatou Baba Moussa, parliamentarian from Benin. These two deputies had previously served as chiefs of their country delegations to NDI's inter-regional seminar held in Niamey, Niger, in January, 1994. The participation of these West African deputies, who are slightly more experienced legislators than their Central African counterparts, helped to provide a broader African perspective to the panel presentations during the seminar.

The seminar was designed to have three separate but very complementary components which included a roundtable discussion, presentations in plenary session, and discussions in smaller workshop settings.

This approach helped to provide the international faculty valuable exposure to the

political realities of the host country.

It also had the advantage of familiarizing younger and less experienced deputies with the practice of participating in large public settings while at the same time allowing for more interactive and in-depth discussions in the smaller hands-on environment of workshops.

In an effort to familiarize the trainers with some of the political issues currently being discussed in the Central African Republic, as well as to provide a preview of issues that were likely to be raised during the seminar itself, NDI organized a three-hour roundtable discussion on the role and functioning of the National Assembly in the CAR. The roundtable was also intended to initiate debate between civic activists and other political critics and Central African deputies on how the national assembly has conducted its business since the October 1993 elections. Invited to the roundtable were representatives from over 15 civic organizations, three trade unions, leaders from each of the parliamentary groups of the CAR legislature, and local journalists.

NDI's West Africa Regional Director Christopher Fomunyoh, moderated the discussion, and the international trainers served on one of the panels. After opening the session with a series of thought-provoking questions on how participants perceived the role of legislators, the moderator let the Central Africans dominate the discussions, with only minor and occasional intervention from the international faculty.

Other issues discussed included: the reputed lack of access by minority parties to state media outlets, and the difficulties encountered by deputies in maintaining regular contact with their constituents given the shortage of private transportation for constituents and the lack of private cars for the deputies.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully concluded in December, 1994. Both civic leaders and deputies seemed to be misinformed about each other's proper functions in a democracy. Both groups admitted that they had never really tried to work towards achieving a constructive, interactive relationship. Particularly in countries like the CAR where civic organizations have a degree of popular support, civic groups may be able to influence the parliament to function more effectively and more in the interest of the citizens. Parliamentarians on the other hand, may also benefit from increased contact with civic organizations which often have much needed information regarding the problems people face at the local level.

A major issue which surfaced was the lack of appreciation or understanding between civic groups and deputies of each other's role.

Representatives from GERDDES, the Association of Women Jurists and the Human Rights League voiced their opinion that the deputies, irrespective of their

party, lack the courage to challenge the executive branch and automatically endorse government bills without debate or amendments. The deputies responded that the civic groups were only repeating platitudes and had no way of understanding the reality of the situation since they rarely bother to attend open parliamentary sessions.

In the course of the discussions, both sides stated that this was the first open forum in which they had the opportunity to exchange views on how the national assembly of CAR functioned. Participants encouraged NDI to consider replicating such roundtable forums of civic leaders and members of parliament in the future, in an effort to facilitate the exchange of information and discussions on ways in which the two could interact and contribute constructively to the consolidation of democracy.

AREAF Project Report
ELECTION-RELATED TRAINING -
FOR THE 1995 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS: NIGER
NDI

Background

In response to requests made by the National Election Commission of Niger, local civic organizations, and the U.S. Embassy in Niamey, NDI proposed a program of limited technical assistance to train individuals and organizations involved in preparations for Niger's parliamentary elections held on January 12, 1995.

Program objectives were: 1) to train and advise civic organization monitors, political party pollwatchers and election authorities on their roles in the election administration process; 2) to enhance public confidence in the electoral process; 3) to reinforce the role of domestic civic organizations and expand their role in election monitoring; 4) to assist Nigeriens evaluating the election process and assessing the legitimacy of the elections; and 5) to train Nigerien NGOs in coordinating the domestic observer effort.

Program Activities

NDI assistance centered around the design and implementation of a two-day training of trainers program held in Niamey and subsequently repeated in the two regional capitals of Zinder and Tahoua. The seminars, attended by domestic monitoring groups, political party representatives and election commission officials, were designed to help ensure a legitimate electoral process.

Six international experts and selected Nigeriens familiar with the electoral process served as trainers for the seminar in Niamey on December 26 and 27, 1994. The international training faculty included: Theo Noel, a Canadian who has participated in electoral operations and training programs around the world; Hilary Miezah, who is currently the executive director of ELECTA, a non-profit organization based in London which seeks to assist developing democracies to conduct free and fair elections; Hannah Baldwin, deputy chair of the African Area Studies Program at the Foreign Service Institute; Mariana Drenska, the National Coordinator for the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights (BAFECR); and Aminou Taofiki and Zakari Tchagbale who are members of Benin and Cote d'Ivoire chapters of the *Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherche sur la Democratie et le Developpement* (GERDDES), respectively.

Following the Niamey seminar, the team split into two groups. One group traveled 900km to Zinder and the other traveled 600km to Tahoua for further training on December 29 and 30. One hundred and five Nigeriens attended the Niamey seminar, 92 participated in Zinder and 68 in Tahoua.

Because the program was intentionally designed to train trainers, the Nigeriens participants were encouraged to organize subsequent training programs across the country at the grassroots level. The National Election Commission and some of the civic organizations pursued the follow-up training making it possible for several thousand Nigeriens responsible for the administration and monitoring of the elections to benefit ultimately from the program. A small team of NDI staff and advisors remained in the country through election day to observe the activities of political parties and civic organizations in the pre-election period and provide informal assistance to the election commission and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) with the briefing and deployment of international and domestic election monitors.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The project was successfully completed. The NDI team observed activities in the immediate pre-election period and on election day and assisted with the briefing and deployment of international and domestic monitors. A report on findings during these activities and election follow-up plans, will be submitted at a later date.

AREAF Project Report
ELECTION OBSERVATION PROGRAMS: GERDDES-Africa
NDI

Background

In February 1994, the ARAAF Senior Project Council and the joint AID/State Committee approved NDI's proposal to provide a two-year sub-grant to the Study Group for Democratic Development and Economic and Social Research (GERDDES-Africa) for the purpose of expanding GERDDES' capacity to train domestic election monitors and to observe elections. The sub-grant included funding for a regional training seminar, two country-specific training seminars, and five 10-member election observation missions.

Project activities

As a result of these grants, GERDDES undertook election monitoring in South Africa and Guinea Bissau, and organized a regional conference in Benin on lessons learned from elections in West and Central Africa. In addition, GERDDES provided a 24-member election observation team to monitor parliamentary elections in Niger, scheduled in January 7, 1995. GERDDES members also participated in the subsequent observation of elections in Benin, Guinea and Congo.

Project status, findings & evaluation

During October through December, 1994, GERDDES completed work on reporting from previous activities, particularly the regional election assessment conference.

Section Four

Regional Networks

In order to share know-how and lessons learned among countries and donors, regional networks have evolved through AREAF's program activities. This evolution began with the OAU conference in Addis Ababa on observer training and continues to expand. AREAF's regional networks serve to maintain regular consultation, build consensus and identify strategies for implementing democracy reforms. Regional networks thus demand close coordination among a diverse group of players who may not be in the habit of communicating among themselves, but are nonetheless working to achieve the same goals for democratic reform. Specifically, these groups include military and civilian governments; NGOs; donors; and local communities.

During this reporting period, AREAF partners conducted four regional network program activities.

AREAF Project Report AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK II: KENYA IRI

Background

IRI helped establish the African Democracy Network (ADN) I, in early 1994 at a conference in Gaborone, Botswana. The goal of ADN was to enable Africans to learn, from each other, the techniques of democratization in the most cost-effective manner. The conference brought together political party officials, electoral commission members and non-governmental organization representatives from 22 eastern and southern African nations. This gathering enabled the Africans to meet their counterparts and begin a continuing exchange of practical experiences and views on party organization, election administration, and civic education. African electoral experts were also able to meet representatives from donor countries and organizations, technical assistance organizations and electoral equipment manufacturers.

Project activities

As a means to facilitate networking and training practical methods for the conduct of elections, among representatives of indigenous election-related organizations, the African Democracy Network II (ADN II), was started as a follow-up to the previous project activity - ADN I.

ADN II entails a one-year program to consist of; seminars, video training materials and continuing networking mechanisms. The year's programs began with the ADN seminar on democracy that was held in Mombasa, Kenya on March 8-10, 1995. Nearly 60 ministers, parliamentarians, election commissioners, political party representatives, non-governmental organization officials and journalists attended this seminar. The purpose of the seminar was an attempt to create a definition of democracy in the African context, taking into account on how widely-accepted pillars of democracy could be embodied in a constitution. These pillars are: free and fair elections, equality before the law, constitutional limits on government, social, economic and political pluralism, due process of law, guarantee of basic human rights, minority rights, sovereignty of the people, and government based upon consent of the governed.

Project status, findings & evaluation

This phase of this year's activities was successfully completed. According to the responses on a questionnaire circulated prior to the conference and comments at the seminar, the more than 150 ADN members polled, generally subscribe to the principles of democracy, albeit with variations in interpretation. The pre-seminar questionnaire, the presentations and discussions of delegates confirm the belief that there is no such thing as "African democracy" distinct from anywhere else in the world.

AREAF Project Report
AFRICAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS' COLLOQUIUM:
ZIMBABWE
NDI & AAI

Background

The African Election Administrators Colloquium was held on November 15-18, 1994, in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe with the purpose of strengthening African electoral institutions. The sponsoring organizations, the African-American Institute (AAI), the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division (UN-EAD), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and the United Nations Department for Development Support & Management Services (UN-DDSMS), worked in cooperation to present a comprehensive program that combined interactive workshops with group plenary lectures. Drawing upon each others' strengths, the five organizations collaborated on a proposal that was approved and partially funded under the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF). Additional and supplementary funding was provided by UN-EAD, IFES, UN-DDSMS, and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

The idea for the colloquium grew out of the sponsoring organizations' experience in electoral assistance and in the African region. This experience led them to conclude that there is a need to improve the electoral process in the African region and that much of it needs to focus on improving support for election administrators, ministries charged with administering elections, and NGOs working to ensure greater transparency.

Project activities

The objective of the colloquium was to advance the democratization process in Africa through the strengthening of internal African electoral capacities and electoral institutions. Noting the limited opportunities for actors in African elections to share experiences, ideas, recommendations, and lessons learned, the sponsors saw this colloquium as a great opportunity to rectify this situation. The major goals for the colloquium were to discuss and disseminate lessons learned from recent African elections; to produce recommendations for strengthening election administration in Africa; and to establish important networks and lasting contacts among Africans involved in the electoral process. The organizers hoped that the colloquium would provide an opportunity to discuss the idea of establishing an independent association of African election administrators and to develop communications links among NGO and citizen participants.

The sponsors devoted a great deal of time and effort to devise a strong participant list for the colloquium. Care was given to balance the participants by region, job position, experience, and gender. Limiting the number of participants was also important to facilitate a manageable level of discussion.

Priority was given to election administrators, that is, those who had already been or were likely to be officially appointed by their governments to oversee an election. The goal was to attain a mixture of two-thirds election administrators and one third NGOs or political party representatives. The actual participants closely resembled the goals that the sponsors set forth: there were approximately 75 participants from 33 African countries, about 20 of whom were women, and there was roughly a two-thirds ratio of electoral administrators to all other participants.

Each sponsoring organization was responsible for developing workshops and plenaries. The plenaries provided a more formal structure where presentations were generally given with no planned time for discussion. The workshops were designed for discussion where the facilitators gave a brief (roughly 10 minutes) presentation and then concentrated efforts on facilitating discussion among the participants. The topics of the workshops and plenaries were carefully chosen by all the sponsoring organizations in order to include the most relevant issues in such a limited time. Effort was also made to balance the backgrounds of the presenters to ensure that there were both Africans as well as non-Africans; practitioners as well as academics; and women as well as men.

The sponsors felt that it was crucial that every participant be exposed to each colloquium workshop topic. Workshops were conducted simultaneously with repetitions. The participants were divided in small groups of 15-25 for the workshops (size depended on the number of workshops per day) and care was given to provide diversity in each workshop group to facilitate a more interesting discussion. This effort paid off, as feedback revealed retention of valuable information learned from other participants.

The colloquium conducted seven plenaries and eleven workshops. These activities opened with a keynote address by Andre Milongo, President of the National Assembly in Congo, followed by welcoming remarks by the sponsoring organizations. Plenary and workshop subjects included: an overview of the democratization process in Africa; computerization and electoral administration; election day case studies; the role of election observation; creation of an association of African election administrators; comparative electoral systems; organizational structure of electoral systems; electoral operations in a democratic system; civic and voter education; training of electoral officers; electoral campaigns and pre-election issues; voter registration and computerization of voter lists; requirements for election day logistics; vote tabulation and complaint resolution; election observation scenario; strengthening electoral institutions and defining a post-election role and structure for electoral commissions and authorities.

Project status, findings & evaluations

The program was successfully completed. Overall, it has been concluded that the objective and goals of the colloquium were met and that this was achieved by the careful planning of the colloquium. Overall these goals were achieved, except for the efforts to include a gender representative speaker list.

Although having women presenters was an important goal, the sponsors fell short of this goal and in follow-up discussions about the conference it has been noted that better efforts need to be made in achieving a gender balance in future events, understanding that at this point there are a limited number of women who have been called upon to serve in this area.

Organizing a colloquium for election administrators provided the best forum for the administrators to learn more about the process, and more importantly, share experiences. Feedback from colloquium participants was positive, and as a result of formal and informal discussions at the colloquium, a study committee was formed to explore the possibilities of establishing an association of African election authorities, including associated professionals.

AREAF Project Report
AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ELECTION AUTHORITIES:
SOUTH AFRICA
NDI & AAI

Background

The African Association of Election Authorities (AAEA) was established as a direct result of the African Election Administrators' Colloquium held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, November 15-18, 1994. The purpose for establishing the AAEA was to create an instrument that could play an essential role in strengthening support for African election administrators who are directly responsible for the organization and implementation of elections in Africa. These administrators will not only learn from each other, but can also share resources and technical support.

At the colloquium, which brought over 70 participants, it was decided that there was a strong need for a standing African Association of Election Authorities to serve a number of functions related to the consolidation of transparent and efficient election administration in Africa. The participants appointed an eight-member Working Committee, chaired by Dr. Amare Tekle from Eritrea, to conduct a feasibility study for the Association. The United Nations committed to supporting the Working Committee's efforts. After three months of study, the Working Committee concluded that the Association is feasible, viable and greatly needed.

Project activities

AAI and NDI supported the founding meeting at which delegates represented at the colloquium, officially establish the AAEA. NDI and AAI conducted a three-day meeting for the Working Committee to prepare a finalized Charter and work on other details of founding the Association.

The objective of this assistance was to advance the democratization process in Africa through the support of the establishment of an independent association of African election administrators. The establishment of a Charter is the first and most essential step in achieving an independent AAEA. The support also provided the funds for the Association's Charter Drafting Committee to meet, review and adopt a Charter, as well as develop a plan and program of action that will advance the democratization process in Africa.

The major goals of partners' support were:

To provide the opportunity for the Charter Drafting Committee of the AAEA to meet in order to establish a Charter for its Association;

To provide technical assistance and advice to the Charter Committee, while appreciating its need to remain independent; and

To encourage membership of the AAEA by facilitating information about its Charter.

Project status, findings & evaluation

The program was successfully completed. The Drafting Committee submitted a final report in May 1995. AAI and NDI plan to conduct short-term and long-term evaluation of association. Short-term evaluation of this program will entail measuring the level of participation in the founding meeting, evaluating the degree to which the Committee accomplishes its goals for founding the association and evaluating the role of American NGOs in striking the appropriate balance between support and respect for the independence of the Association. Long-term evaluation will include continuing dialogue with the Association about its work, while respecting the independence of the association.

AREAF Project Report
CONSULTATION FOR AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS:
BOTSWANA
AAI

Background

AAI organized the first "Africa Wide Consultation for Women in Politics", in May 1995 to provide women elected to political office and women activists with a forum to: share political experiences; develop strategies to increase the number of women in elected office; construct a five year plan for more gender balanced participation of men and women in political leadership; and decide upon the next steps for implementing such a plan. This program was co-sponsored by Emang Basadi of Botswana, the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF).

The African women who attended the event were an extraordinary and powerful group. Twenty five of the participants were deputies in National Assemblies and Members of Parliament and three were mayors or city councilors. Eight represented women's leagues, commissions or organizations, and eleven were working with centers or similar organizations for democracy, political activity and/or human rights.

Project activities

The three-day meeting was planned as a consultation rather than a conference. As a result 1) much of the action occurred in three breakout groups, each of which reported back in plenary sessions and 2) the agenda was flexible and open to change if participants identified alternate major concerns they wished to see addressed. The program included two speeches, a keynote address by Ms. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, African Regional Administrator of UNDP, and an evening talk by Ambassador Geraldine Ferraro. Participants also made presentations in two panels, one on the first day providing case studies of women's political activity in Uganda, South Africa, Benin, and Botswana, and a later session of successful political strategies. The latter panel included contributions from Mali, Kenya, and Zambia as well as two presentations from outside of Africa by Ms. Geraldine Ferraro of the U.S.A. and Ms. Aud-Karen Reigstad of Norway. A plenary session was devoted to women's visions of politics in the future. The agenda of the last two days was revised to include two additional sessions on the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing and presentations by women from the war-torn countries of Eritrea, Angola and Mozambique.

The Consultation's discussions raised many issues which were reiterated during the final plenary session and which provided a check list for further examination.

For example, the quota system, its merits and its operation in various African countries as well as world wide, was one of the topics that demands both research and further discussion. Programs of political education, candidacy, campaign management, and advocacy were also of keen interest. Participants stressed the importance of support programs with skills and information for women once they gain political office.

There was also considerable discussion during all meetings about how to engage men in the struggle, what types of coalitions might be developed, how to win against corrupt politicians, how to raise money, maintaining effective constituency relations, how to gain an understanding of global issues and their national implications, and how to monitor women's progress in politics. Although the mandate of the Committee was not fully determined, investigation and action on some of these issues and strategies are certain to be included among the new committee's mandates.

Project status, findings & evaluation

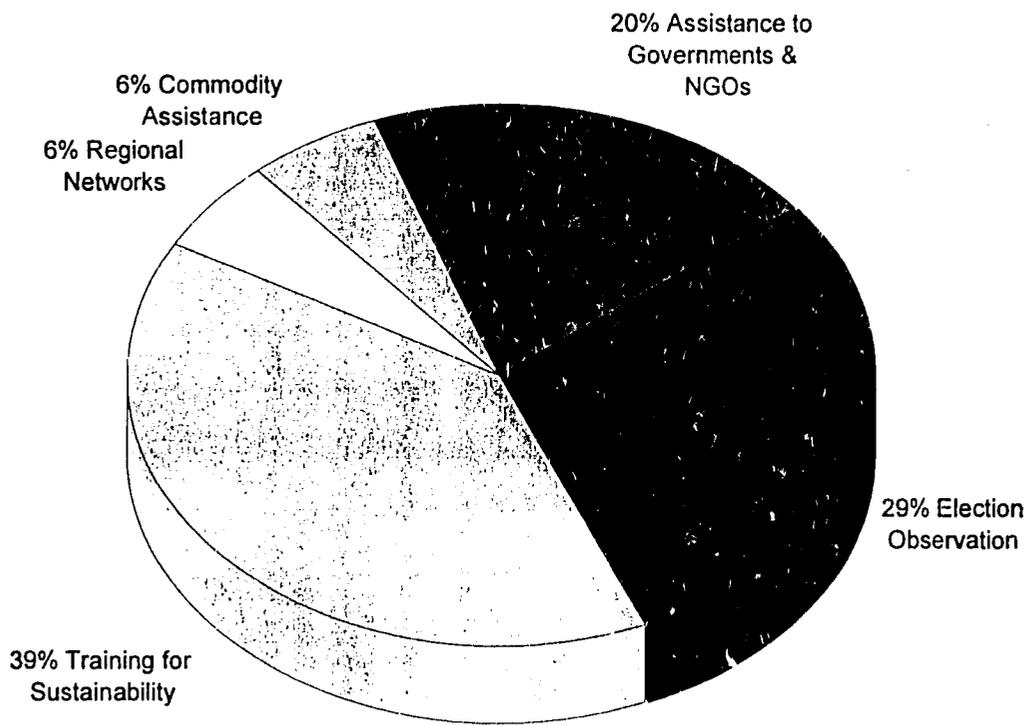
The program was successfully completed. The work on the plan of action was superseded by discussions on the importance of institutional arrangements. Participants used the final group meetings to discuss the existence and development of organizations that work to increase women's political power. In the final plenary, participants agreed on the formation of a committee consisting of eight members, two from each of the Central, East, Southern and Western regions of the continent, with ex officio representation from each of the co-sponsors. Several of the committee members selected by the participants of each region represented established centers and institutions. WILDAF was nominated and agreed to serve as the African base, for the committee.

The Committee formed by participants at the end of the Consultation provides an important vehicle for further action which can harness the participants' serious commitment, and enthusiasm for the service of women's political empowerment. AAI has also developed a data base of African women in politics as well as a list of centers and organizations working to increase African women's participation in politics. This data base will serve as a foundation for further networking.

APPENDIX A

Breakdown of AREAF Project Activities
& Commodity Assistance - since 1992

Breakdown of AREAF Activities & Commodity Assistance



APPENDIX B

AREAF Project Summaries
with Associated Funding



AREAF Project Summaries with Associated Funding

AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK (IRI) \$300,144

AREAF provided a training seminar on practical methods for the conduct of elections, involving representatives of indigenous election-related organizations from eastern and southern African nations. AREAF aims to provide assistance in establishing an African Democracy Network (AND) to continue such training. The seminar took place on February 2-4, 1994 in Gaborone, Botswana.

AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK II (IRI) \$249,101

On October 3, 1994, AREAF began a one-year program to consist of seminars, video training materials and continuing networking mechanisms. IRI will encourage the active participation of women and an examination of the role of women in democracy.

AFRICAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS' COLLOQUIUM (AAI/NDI) \$212,104

From November 15 - 18 1994, AREAF, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), and the U.N. Department of Political Affairs, Electoral Assistance Unit (UN/DPA/EAU), held a three-day colloquium on the organization of elections that considered the roles played by election administrators, NGOs, and developing African elections expertise. The colloquium began the process to establish an inter-African association of election administrators. Representatives of 38 countries participated in the colloquium.

AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS (AAI) \$366,959

AREAF funded a two-step project to promote the political participation of women in Africa. The first step provided for a training workshop for Botswanan women in politics. The workshop, organized in conjunction with the Botswana-based NGO, Emang Basadi, was held in October 1994, just before the national elections. The second-step consisted of an African-wide consultation for women in the political process which was convened from May 6 - 9, 1995, in Botswana. The consultation, co-sponsored by AAI, Emang Basadi, UNIFEM and Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF), provided a forum for women in politics to discuss effective strategies for increasing women's political participation in Africa.

BENIN (NDI) \$259,585

AREAF provided a program to train political parties and civic organizations in anticipation of local elections in 1994 and national elections in 1995. Training addressed political party organization, grassroots organizing and communicating party policies.

BENIN (NDI) \$190,009

From December 1994 through March 1995, AREAF provided a series of three training seminars for political parties. The first seminar focused on how democratic political parties organize themselves internally; the second seminar focused on opinion-gathering methodologies, including organization of a sample focus group; and the third seminar focused on campaign techniques.

BENIN (AAI) \$52,987.18

At the request of the U.S. Embassy in Cotonou, AREAF sent a five-person delegation to observe the March 28, 1995 legislative elections.

BURUNDI (NDI) \$154,000

AREAF provided training to political parties and party pollwatcher training in preparation for the June 1993 elections.

BURUNDI (NDI) \$277,021

AREAF provided election observers to presidential and legislative elections in June 1993 and technical assistance to domestic monitors and the National Election Commission (NEC). On October 21, 1993 rebel forces attempted a coup d'état and murdered Burundi's first democratically-elected president, Melchior Ndadaye and several members of his cabinet and parliamentary leadership. Subsequently, the remnants of Burundi's elected officials returned to office, despite continued ethnic conflict. Further consolidation work is anticipated.

CAMEROON (NDI) \$249,515

AREAF provided training for civic associations in election monitoring and international observation of the presidential elections in October 1992.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (NDI) \$7,248

AREAF provided technical assistance and a debriefing of the diplomatic community on the methodology of election observation in October 1992.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (NDI) \$154,748

AREAF trained political party pollwatchers, civic organization members and international observers in election monitoring techniques and for the legislative and presidential elections in August 1993.

CHAD (AAI) \$20,000

In December 1993, AREAF conducted an assessment mission in preparation for the 1994 elections. National elections have since been postponed indefinitely.

CHARTER DRAFTING COMMITTEE MEETING (AAI) \$46,297.05

From April 28 - 30, 1995, AREAF supported the Charter Drafting Committee of the African Association of Election Authorities (AAEA). The AAEA's objective was to establish a Charter for its Association and provide technical assistance and advice to the Charter Committee, while appreciating its need to remain independent.

CONGO (AAI) \$97,727

AREAF provided an observer delegation to the legislative elections of May (first round), June (second round) 1993 and October 1993 (repeat of aborted second round elections). In December 1993, following a spate of political violence, the Constitutional Court and the International Arbiters' College recommended a revote of twenty-four contested districts from the first round of elections.

CONGO (AAI) \$31,158

Responding to a request from the US Embassy in Brazzaville, AREAF provided a three person delegation to observe the April 23, 1995, re-run legislative elections, in which the nine seats that were ruled unlawful from the last round of elections were decided, and to collaborate efforts with other international observers to provide a coordinated international presence.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE (AAI/NDI) \$62,486

AREAF sent a survey mission to Côte d'Ivoire to assess the state of preparations for upcoming national and local elections in 1995 and to determine possible program activities in support of the electoral process. The team met with government officials, political party leaders and activists, civic organization representatives and other observers to assess the best approach in developing and implementing overall election support activities.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE (NDI)

\$252,361

From April 15 to October 15, 1995, AREAF will fund a program to assist Ivorian parties to expand their bases of support by encouraging them to promote the involvement of women and other neglected constituencies in the electoral process, and to share with Ivorian political leaders candidate-selection methods used in advance of elections to improve party electoral chances.

DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGER, MALI, BENIN (NDI)

\$177,602

From November 1993 to March 1994, AREAF provided a legislative training program in Niamey for members of the Nigerien, Beninese and Malian national assemblies, assisting these assemblies to increase their effectiveness and to assist the process of consolidating democratic governance in these countries.

**DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN
CAR, BURUNDI, GABON, CONGO (NDI)**

\$246,503

From April to September 1994, AREAF provided a legislative training program for deputies of the National Assemblies of Central Africa Republic, Congo, Gabon and Burundi. The seminar focused on institutional procedures that would be essential to the enhancement of the participating countries' national legislatures. Some topics that were addressed included legislative oversight functions, floor debate and voting procedures, and legislative relations with the executive branch.

**DEMOCRATIZATION IN AFRICA:
THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY (AAI)**

\$123,156

AREAF provided a planning grant to conduct a regional conference to examine the evolution of the role of the military in pluralistic democratic governance. The conference, held in Benin in May 1995, was a follow up to the highly successful conference on the role of the military in the democratization process held in Burundi in February 1993.

DJIBOUTI (AAI)

\$35,240

AREAF provided an observer mission to the December 1992 legislative elections.

ERITREA (AAI)

\$20,043

AREAF provided a program for a project design mission in December 1992 in preparation for the referendum on independence in April 1993.

ERITREA (AAI) \$445,427

AREAF provided an assistance program which included civic education, commodity support, training of domestic monitors, and international observers for the referendum of April 1993.

GABON (NDI) \$41,448

AREAF provided an assessment of the state of preparations for the presidential and legislative elections scheduled for December 1993.

GABON (NDI/AAI) (NDI) \$31,490
(AAI) \$292,728

AREAF provided an international monitoring delegation for the presidential elections on December 5, 1993. At the request of NDI, AAI completed the NDI project in Gabon by providing a pre-electoral assessment and sending an international delegation to observe the Presidential elections. The presidential election results were announced on December 9, 1993 confirming President Bongo to another five years in office with 51.07% of the vote.

GAMBIA (NDI) \$59,401

AREAF funded a program to gather relevant information to facilitate a better understanding to the political environment and assess the commitment to democracy in the Gambia. The program was scheduled for the period March and April 1995.

GERDDES (NDI) \$55,000

From February 1 to June 31, 1993, AREAF together with the State Department Human Rights Fund provided democratic development seminars and training in civic organization administration to GERDDES and other West African democratic development organizations.

GERDDES (NDI) \$287,961

From December 1993 to July 1995, AREAF provided a subgrant to the regional NGO, GERDDES, to provide organizational support for training workshops and other activities associated with election observation.

GHANA (CARTER CENTER) \$400,000

AREAF provided an assessment of the electoral environment, training of domestic monitors and observers of the presidential elections which were held in November 1992.

GHANA (NDI) \$53,822

In November 1992 to January 1993, AREAF began a program to train Ghanaians to conduct a parallel vote tabulation for second-round presidential elections, which were never held because of the first round results. A portion of the remaining funds are to be reprogrammed.

GUINEA (IRI) \$55,424

AREAF provided an assessment of the political environment in October 1992 in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

GUINEA (IRI) \$95,604

From November 28 to December 12, 1992, AREAF provided a civic education program in Guinea in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

GUINEA (IRI) \$307,876

From January 24 to October 30, 1993, AREAF provided political party training and party pollwatcher training in preparation for legislative and presidential elections. After an extended assessment of the electoral environment in Guinea, IRI determined that it was not possible to hold an open, transparent and meaningful presidential election on the scheduled date of December 19, 1993. Consequently, IRI declined to send observers to the elections.

GUINEA (AAI) \$127,935.14

Responding to a request by the US Embassy Conakry, AREAF provided a 16 person international observation delegation to observe the June 11, 1995 legislative elections. In spite of some hitches in the organizational process, AAI assessed the elections as satisfactory. Future programming to help the Guineans establish an independent electoral commission is anticipated.

GUINEA-BISSAU (IRI) \$11,456

In April 1993, AREAF provided an assessment in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

GUINEA-BISSAU (IRI) \$226,149

From November 1993 to March 1994, AREAF provided an assistance program that included civic education training through a non-partisan human rights group. IRI also developed a broad voter education program and provided political party poll watching training for all the legalized political parties.

KENYA (IRI) \$85,258

AREAF provided a pre-election assessment in November 1992 in preparation for general elections in December 1992.

KENYA (IRI) \$849,268

AREAF provided international observers, training and coordination of election observers and commodity support (provided by AAI/AMEG) for the presidential and legislative elections of December 1992.

KENYA (IRI) \$36,292

AREAF provided an observation team for the Kenyan parliamentary by-elections in May 1993.

KENYA (IRI) \$69,007

In February, 1995 AREAF provided a program to allow the League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV) to conduct its mission of promoting democratic change in Kenya and to provide limited technical assistance to enhance the League's ability to effectively operate its headquarters and conduct successful outreach programs.

LESOTHO (IRI) \$149,756

AREAF provided an assessment of the electoral environment and an election observer mission for the legislative elections of March 1993.

MADAGASCAR (AAI) \$160,000

AREAF provided international observers to both rounds of presidential elections (11/92 and 2/93) and legislative elections (6/93). Additionally, AAI supported civic education and the domestic monitors for the legislative election.

MADAGASCAR (AAI) \$98,874

AREAF provided an assistance program that included civic education and training assistance to Malagasy election monitoring groups and a small international observation delegation for the legislative elections of June 1993.

MALAWI (NDI) \$61,733

AREAF provided assistance to Malawian groups in the development and implementation of a referendum monitoring operation for the multiparty referendum of June 1993.

65

MOZAMBIQUE (AAI) \$175,892

AREAF sent an eight-person team to Mozambique for the 1994 Presidential and Legislative elections, to provide technical and logistical support to the national electoral commission, including interpretation/translation staffing for the press room of the National Electoral Commission during its sessions with the international press. AAI also provided technical support for the computerization of vote reporting.

NAMIBIA (NDI) \$145,000

AREAF provided civic education programs and commodity support for the legislative elections of November (first round) and December (second round) 1992.

NAMIBIA (NDI) \$250,000

AREAF provided a political party training program in preparation for general elections in December 1994. The program assisted each party in developing an election plan to strengthen resources. Communications skills and voter participation schemes were emphasized.

NIGER (NDI) \$141,414

AREAF provided political party training seminars in October and November 1992 in preparation for presidential elections.

NIGER (NDI) \$155,786

AREAF provided international observers and coordination of all international observers for the presidential elections of February 1993 (first round) and March 1993 (second round).

NIGER (NDI) \$142,035

AREAF funded a program to provide technical assistance during the upcoming legislative elections being held on January 12, 1995, in Niger through a program designed to train domestic observers and political party pollwatchers.

OAU (AAI/NDI/NED) \$29,874

On September 14 through 18, 1992, AREAF, together with National Endowment for Democracy (NED), provided observer training for the OAU to develop election assistance capability and to support credible election monitoring efforts.

PAN AFRICAN DESIGN OF DEMOCRACY MATERIALS SEMINAR (NDI)
\$99,633

From May through July 1995, AREAF funded a program to sponsor a working group of 10 African civic organizers involved in the design of democracy materials from across the continent. The group met in Abidjan to examine methods of developing democracy materials, and effective dissemination. While NDI served as a "convener" of the participants, the seminar was designed to allow Africans to take the initiative in leading the proceedings.

RWANDA (NDI) \$125,000

In November 1992, AREAF had planned training seminars to strengthen political parties in Rwanda for the legislative and presidential elections which were to be announced. However, the recent outbreak of civil war has precluded foreseeable completion of the project.

SENEGAL (NDI) \$188,492

AREAF provided an assessment of the electoral environment and training of political parties in December 1992 to monitor presidential and legislative elections.

SENEGAL (NDI) \$266,703

AREAF provided international observers for the presidential elections of February 1993 and an assessment mission for the legislative elections in May 1993.

SENEGAL (NDI) \$102,040

AREAF provided a post-election roundtable to explore recommendations to evaluate the February 1993 presidential and legislative elections.

TANZANIA (IRI) \$49,657

AREAF provided an assessment mission in preparation for the 1994 local elections and 1995 national elections.

TANZANIA (AAI) \$60,098

In November 1994, AREAF sent a team to design a civic education program focussing on voter education in preparation for the country's first multi-party national elections. The team traveled throughout the country in an effort to design a program to support and further develop the civic education efforts of Tanzanian NGOs and the National Electoral Commission.

TOGO (NDI) \$420,000

AREAF provided training for GERDDES-Togo and international observers for presidential elections held in August 1993. The observers left shortly before the elections because they concluded that conditions were not conducive to free and transparent elections.

UGANDA (AAI/IRI) \$85,556

AREAF provided an assessment in preparation for Constituent Assembly elections scheduled for December 1993, and national elections anticipated in 1994.

UGANDA (AAI) \$636,150

AREAF provided an assistance program that included training Ugandan election monitors and civic education trainers, technical assistance to the election commission, and commodities for Constituent Assembly elections on March 28, 1994. In addition, AREAF provided Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) training to local monitors, technical assistance to the Election Commission, and sent international observers to the elections. Due to delayed registration, the Constituent Assembly elections were postponed from December 1993 to March 28, 1994.

UGANDA (IRI) \$187,323

From July through December 1993, AREAF provided training of candidates' agents pollwatchers for the Constituent Assembly elections.

UGANDA (AAI) \$42,390.61

In March 1995, AREAF funded a program to provide funding to enable the Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC) to plan and effectively implement seven workshops addressing constitutional issues and provide limited technical assistance to the UJCC to enhance the Council's ability both to implement and evaluate the workshops.

ZIMBABWE (IRI) \$125,000

From August 1994 through September 1995, AREAF is providing a 14-month civic education program targeted at Zimbabwe's rural and urban poor populations. The program will be executed primarily through a cooperative agreement with ZimRights, an indigenous human and political rights group with which AREAF has a working relationship.

APPENDIX C

AREAF Assistance by Country & Region

AREAF Assistance by Country and Region

COUNTRY	ASSIST.	DATES	INST.	PROGRAM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
OAU	Regional	14 - 18 Sep 92	AAI,NDI	OBSERVER TRAINING	OAU 9-14 9-18				
CAMEROON	Presidential	11 Oct 92	NDI	TRAINING OBSERVERS	CAMEROON 10-11 10-18				
GUINEA	Pres. & Leg. Leg.	19 Dec 93 11 June 95	IRI,AAI	ASSESSMENT, CIVIC EDUCATION, OBSERVERS, ASSESSMENT AND OBSERVER MISSION	GUINEA 10-9  12-25				
NIGER	Pres. #1 Pres. #2	14 Feb 93 26-28 Mar 93	NDI	TRAINING OBSERVERS	NIGER 9-28  3-21				
TOGO	Pres. & Leg.	25 Aug 93	NDI	OBSERVERS	TOGO 10-15  8-31				
CAR	Pres. & Leg.	17 Oct 93	NDI	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE ELECTIONS ASSISTANCE	CAR 10-17  11-15				
RWANDA	Pres. & Leg.	TBD	NDI,IRI	PARTY TRAINING	RWANDA 10-17  6-29				
GHANA	Pres. & Leg.	03 Nov 92 29 Dec 92	CCEU	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING OBSERVERS	GHANA 9-22  12-23				

AREAF Assistance by Country and Region

COUNTRY	ASSIST.	DATES	INST.	PROGRAM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
NAMIBIA	Reg & Leg Pres. & Leg.	30 Nov 03 Dec 92 Dec 94	NDI	CIVIC EDUCATION, COMMODITIES, POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING	NAMIBIA				
					10-15			12-31	
KENYA	Pres. & Leg. Regional	29 Dec 92	IRI,AAI,IRI	ASSESSMENT, OBSERVERS, COMMODITIES, TRAINING, FUNDING & TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE	KENYA				
					10-31			12-31	
ERITREA	Referendum	23 - 25 Apr 93	AAI	CIVIC EDUCATION, LOCAL MONITORS, COMMODITIES OBSERVERS	ERITREA				
					11-19		4-28		
DJIBOUTI	Pres. & Leg.	18 Dec 92 07 May 93	AAI	OBSERVERS	DJIBOUTI				
					12-13		12-20		
SENEGAL	Pres. & Leg.	21 Feb 93 09 May 93	NDI	TRAINING ASSESSMENT, OBSERVERS, POLITICAL PARTY ROUNDTABLE	SENEGAL				
					12-6		7-31		
MADAGASCAR	Pres #1 Pres #2 Leg # 1	25 Nov 92 10 Feb 93 16 Jun 93	AAI	OBSERVERS, CIVIC EDUCATION	MADAGASCAR				
					11-15		6-30		
GERDDES	Regional	Feb - Jun 93	NDI	TRAINING	GERDDES				
					1-31		6-29		
LESOTHO	Legislative	27 Mar 93	IRI	ASSESSMENT, OBSERVERS	LESOTHO				
					2-27		3-31		

AREAF Assistance by Country and Region

COUNTRY	ASSIST.	DATES	INST.	PROGRAM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
BURUNDI	Pres. & Leg.	01 Jun 93 29 Jun 93	NDI	POLITICAL PARTY, TRAINING OBSERVERS		BURUNDI 3-1  7-31			
GUINEA BISSAU	Pres. & Leg.	07 July 94	IRI	ASSESSMENT, VOTER EDUCATION, OBSERVER TRAINING		GUINEA BISSAU 4-1  12-31			
CONGO	Leg #1 Leg #2 Leg #2 repeat Leg	02 May 93 06 June 93 03 Oct 93 23 Apr 95	AAI	OBSERVERS, OBSERVER MISSION		CONGO 4-28  6-15			
MALAWI	Referendum	14 Jun 93	NDI	TRAIN DOMESTIC MONITORS		MALAWI 5-14  6-30			
GABON	Pres. & Leg.	05 Dec 93	AAI,NDI	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING POLL MONITORS, INT'L OBSERVERS		GABON 5-3  12-31			
UGANDA	Cons. Assmby Regional	28 Mar 94	AAI,IRI,AAI	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING, CIVIC ED. COMMODITIES, POLLWATCHER TRAIN.,CITIZEN DISCUSSION		UGANDA 4-1  4-1			
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK I & II	Regional	Sep 93 - Mar 94	IRI	SEMINARS TO BUILD DEMOCRACY NETWORK		AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK I & II 9-1  3-31			
AFRICAN ELECTION ADMIN. COLLOQUIUM	Regional	15 - 18 Nov 94	AAI,NDI	ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS COLLOQUIUM		AFRICAN ELECTION ADMIN. COLLOQUIUM 2-2  12-31			

AREAF Assistance by Country and Region

COUNTRY	ASSIST.	DATES	INST.	PROGRAM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLID: NIGER, MALI, BENIN	Regional	Nov 93 Mar 94	NDI	LEGISLATIVE TRAINING: NIGER, MALI, BENIN	DEMOCRATIC CONSOLID: NIGER, MALI, BENIN 11-1  4-1				
TANZANIA	Municipal Legislative	Oct 94 Oct 95	IRI	ASSESSMENT PROJECT DESIGN	TANZANIA 10-1  10-1				
CHAD	Pres. & Leg.	Apr 95	AAI	ASSESSMENT	CHAD 12-1  2-1				
GERDDES	Regional	Dec 93 - July 95	NDI	COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH GERDDES - ELECTION OBSERV. PROGRAMS	GERDDES 12-1  7-1				
AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS	Regional	Mar 95	AAI	CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS	AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS 5-6 5-9				
BENIN	Local National Legislative	1994 1995 1995	NDI,AAI	PARTY TRAINING OBSERVER MISSION	BENIN 3-1  3-12				
MOZAMBIQUE	Presidential	28 Oct 94 31 Oct 94	AAI	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO COMMISSION, OBSERVER TRAINING	MOZAMBIQUE 10-1  12-31				
COTE D'IVOIRE	Pres. & Leg. Regional	15 Apr - 15 Oct 95	AAI,NDI	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING PROGRAM FOR IVORIAN POLITICAL PARTIES	COTE D'IVOIRE 10-3  12-31				

As of: 8/28/95

Duration  Progress 

AREAF Assistance by Country and Region

COUNTRY	ASSIST.	DATES	INST.	PROGRAM	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
ZIMBABWE	Pres. & Leg.	Aug 94 - Sep 95	IRI	COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH ZIMRIGHT'S	ZIMBABWE 8-1  9-30				
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLID: BURUNDI CONGO, GABON	Regional	10 Oct 94	NDI	LEGISLATIVE TRAINING: BURUNDI, CONGO, GABON	DEMOCRATIC CONSOLID: BURUNDI CONGO, GABON 8-1  11-30				
CIVIL/MILITAR CONFERENCE	Regional	10 - 13 May 95	AAI	ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN DEMOCRACY	CIVIL/MILITARY CONFERENCE 5-1  5-31				
AAEA	Regional	May 95	AAI	FOLLOW-ON TO AFRICAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS COLLOQUIUM HELD IN VICTORIA FALLS,	AAEA 5-28 5-30				
THE GAMBIA SURVEY MISSION	Regional	Apr 95 - May 95	NDI	ASSESSMENT, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE	THE GAMBIA SURVEY MISSION 4-1  5-1				
PAN AFRICAN DESIGN	Regional	May - July 95	NDI	TO CONVENE A WORKING GROUP OF 11 AFRICAN CIVIC ORGANIZERS TO DESIGN DEMOCRACY	PAN AFRICAN DESIGN 5-1  7-31				