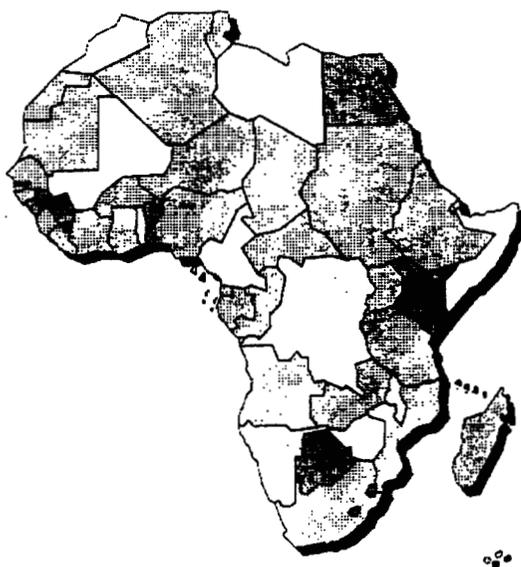


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**AFRICA
REGIONAL
ELECTORAL
ASSISTANCE
FUND**

ANNUAL REPORT
Cooperative Agreement No.AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
(Aug. 28 1993 - Aug. 28, 1994)



Submitted by:

The African-American Institute
The International Republican Institute
The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
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PREFACE

The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF) is a partnership of the African-American Institute, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the International Republican Institute, in collaboration with the Carter Center of Emory University. AAI as the managing partner orchestrates the communications with the AID/State ARAEF committee, the AID Project Officer and Agreement Officer.

AREAF is funded through a cooperative agreement with the Agency for International Development 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.

This report is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of activity during the reporting period. The second section provides country-by-country program summaries.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Throughout its second year of operation, the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF) has remained at the forefront of aid to democratic transitions on the African continent. Programming during the second year retained its rapid response capability, but the ARAEF partners focused increasingly on sustained programming earlier in the pre-electoral period. In addition, the partners broadened the scope of their programming by conducting regional programs and post-election consolidation programs.

Fewer elections were held during the second year of the project than during the first. While the process for many of the second-year elections was generally open and transparent — Uganda, Malawi, Guinea Bissau — other elections were flawed by poor administration — Gabon — and others were deemed to be flawed to the extent that international observation by partners was canceled — Togo, Guinea.

HIGHLIGHTS FROM PROJECT YEAR 2

RAPID RESPONSE

In general, the ARAEF partners had more lead time than in Project Year 1 to respond to requests for electoral assistance. However, some situations, such as Uganda, Gabon, Guinea and Togo, required rapid response to changing circumstances. In Uganda, both AAI and IRI had to adjust their program schedules and resource allocations when the Constituent Assembly elections were delayed from December 1993 to March 1994. In the case of Gabon, various factors led to a change in implementing partner from NDI to AAI. The election observation program proceeded as planned. In Guinea, IRI concluded that conditions were not conducive to a transparent presidential election, and it decided not to send an observer delegation. In Togo, NDI sent a joint observer mission led by President Carter to presidential elections. After receiving the pre-election assessment report from the advance team, and after President Eyadéma refused to agree with President Carter's urging that the vote be delayed, the delegation left the country rather than observe the clearly flawed elections.

INCREASED AFRICAN PARTICIPATION

Consistent with the project goal to increase African participation in the democratization process, the partners continued working closely with African organizations in implementing ARAEF programs. Three sub-agreements were concluded with African organizations during Project Year 2. The agreements were to conduct voter education in Namibia and Guinea Bissau, and a broader support agreement was signed with the regional organization, GERDDES (the Group for the Study and Research on Democracy and Social and Economic Development). In addition, the Ugandan Joint Christian Council received substantial assistance

in implementing a civic education program, a domestic monitoring program and a parallel vote tabulation. And GERDDES - CAR also received training assistance to field domestic monitors.

An additional means to increase African participation has been through regional programs. Three programs, the Africa Democracy Network, the African Election Administrators Colloquium and the African Women in Politics program, were designed to provide fora for a broad range of Africans to share lessons learned and to find strategies for improving the transparency and fairness of future elections. The agendas for these gatherings have been largely African-driven.

Additionally, AREAF has responded to African requests for post-election parliamentary training with two regional programs that brought legislators from three countries within a region together to discuss the means for being effective and responsive public officials.

Finally, the partners have maintained their commitment to African participation in international observer delegations. Africans were members of all the delegations fielded by the partners during Project Year 2. This has proven to be a cost effective means of promoting indigenous capacity building. African participation in international observer delegations provides those active in their own democratic transition a comparative perspective and provides a platform for fruitful exchanges on the continent.

INNOVATION

Post-election programs like NDI's parliamentary training in West Africa serve both to consolidate the steps toward democracy made during recent elections and serve to improve the pre-electoral environment for the next elections. The aim of the programs is to encourage members of parliament to incorporate the principles of transparency, responsiveness and public participation into their methods of conducting business and to expect these principles to be adhered to in future elections.

IRI's Africa Democracy Network brought together election officials, NGO representatives and political party representatives primarily from East and Southern Africa to discuss the means for improving the transparency and fairness of elections. The agenda included discussion of all phases of the election process.

In Uganda, both IRI and AAI engaged in innovative programming. IRI worked within the confines of the election law that called for a non-partisan election to train candidate agents to be effective representatives for their candidate. IRI incorporated and adapted themes and techniques from its political party training curriculum to implement the training. AAI worked closely with the Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC) and the National Organization for Civic Education and Monitoring (NOCEM) to develop a civic education program and an election monitoring program. AAI also provided training to conduct a parallel vote tabulation (PVT). Although PVTs have been conducted elsewhere in the world and even in Africa

(Zambia), this was the first PVT conducted under the auspices of AREAF. The training included the transfer of a customized database program and significant technical skills. The UJCC conducted a PVT during the March 28 Constituent Assembly elections. It is hoped that the UJCC can use these skills to conduct a PVT in future elections.

In Gabon, AAI Executive Vice President, Steve McDonald and Program Officer, Hillary Thomas, conducted a follow-up visit after the December 5, 1993 presidential election. The two met with President Bongo and senior government officials to discuss the recommendations in AAI's report on election, including the creation of an independent electoral commission. These recommendations have been incorporated into the Government's negotiations with the opposition to set the terms for legislative elections.

AREAAF PROJECT REPORT
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK SEMINAR:
Party Building, Civic Education and Election Administration
October 1993 to March 1994

IRI

Background

In the past year, ten African nations have held presidential, legislative, local elections or referenda. While very encouraging as a trend, democratic advances remain incomplete in a number of countries. In eastern and southern Africa, the focus of this IRI project, democratic experiences range from nations such as Botswana, which has developed a tradition of multi-party democratic elections, to Malawi, which has not yet made the transition from one-party control.

Project Activities

The goal of the program was to enable Africans to learn, from each other, the techniques of democratization in the most cost-effective manner. In February 1994, IRI initiated an African Democracy Network, beginning with a conference in Gaborone, Botswana. 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.

In addition to forming a viable network of African democrats, the anticipated tangible benefits from this project will be the compilation of a database on the conduct of elections in the two regions from an African perspective, and a listing of African electoral experts in eastern and southern Africa. The latter will provide a pool of African talent to be tapped for future efforts to advance democratization on the continent.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
AFRICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS
An Africa-wide Consultation and Support Program for a Botswanan NGO
July 1994 to May 1995

AAI

At the close of Project Year 2, AAI is in the planning stages for an continent-wide consultation of African women in politics. The overall objective of the project is to promote women's participation in politics in Africa through an increase in the number of women elected to local, regional and national assemblies. More specifically, the project will provide an opportunity for 60 African women who are serving or have served in elected office to develop a strategic plan to meet this objective. Discussion sessions will focus on:

1. Sharing political experiences;
2. Devising effective strategies to increase the number of women on the ballot;
3. Increasing women's participation within political parties.
4. Reviewing country case studies that participants will prepare and distribute to draw conclusions with respect to women's political achievements;
5. Examining the strategies used since 1985, as reflected in the case studies of the participant's own countries and other materials;
6. Outlining a strategic five year plan to promote an increase in the number of women elected to public office;
7. Determining methods to implement such a plan through the organization of conferences, workshops, and international networking activities;
8. Establish a system for monitoring implementation of the five year plan.

Finally, the participants will be encouraged to begin an African Women's Political Network. The final sessions will focus on methods of sustained communications and information-sharing. In addition to devising a five-year plan, the Network may set itself a short-term agenda to accomplish in preparation for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995.

The program contains an additional element, focused on increasing women's participation in the Botswanan political process. At the close of the Project Year, AAI had provided trainers and logistical support to Emang Basadi for their candidate training and voter education programs.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
BENIN: STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
June 1994 to December 1994

NDI

In June NDI began a five-month program to help foster grassroots participation in the political process in Benin. This multifaceted program includes the presence of an NDI field representative with considerable political party organization experience and a series of seminars addressing party organization and constituency development at the popular level. The topics being addressed focus on a range of issues dealing with how political parties can broaden their appeal and strengthen popular participation in the management of parties.

The program content is aimed at helping political parties and civic organizations to better play their roles as Benin's democracy takes root in general and to help them prepare for the next round of national elections beginning in 1995 more specifically. This is especially important given the relatively early state of development of the multi-party system in Benin, and concomitant weaknesses in areas relating to party organization and message development. Benin is the first country, on the continent to have undergone a democratization process and thus serves as an important example for the region.

NDI anticipates that this project will improve bottom-up as well as top-down methods of communication between and within political parties; strengthen the grassroots organizing capabilities of political parties; facilitate the development of political party structures that are accountable to their members and to the public; demonstrate to political parties and civic organizations the utility of opinion-gathering methodologies in determining political attitudes; and provide expertise on how parties can disseminate their messages to the population in a campaign context.

In the first stage of the project, NDI's field representative established a field presence in Cotonou. He consulted with party leaders and activists, civic leaders, government officials and members of the international donor community in preparing for a series of seminars on political party organizational issues.

The first seminar, on how democratic political parties organize themselves internally, was held in Cotonou September 15-18. Approximately 50 political party organizers from 20 parties attended the program. Issues covered during this very successful seminar included: accountable and democratic party structures, selection of candidates and election of party leaders, defining and presenting party policies, membership building, external and internal communications, and grassroots organizing.

The next two seminars, to be held before the end of the year will deal with methods of determining public attitudes and opinion and campaigning for public office.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: POLLWATCHER TRAINING
July 1993 to October 1993**

NDI

Background

NDI programs in CAR during the quarter were designed to assist that country's transition to multiparty politics and civilian rule. In advance of presidential and legislative elections scheduled for October 25, 1992, a first trip by NDI Senior Program Officer Eric Bjornlund and adviser Jill Pilgrim visited Bangui in October 1992 to advise U.S. embassy personnel on issues related to election observation. The trip also provided an opportunity for a pre-electoral assessment. NDI's team was reasonably encouraged about the ultimate prospects for democratization in CAR and returned with the impression that NDI involvement could make a difference. Unfortunately, on election day, incumbent President (and candidate) Andre Kolingba abruptly halted the electoral process and annulled the elections apparently because early returns indicated he was losing. When it appeared that the elections would take place in the spring of 1993, NDI's Michael Stoddard, associate counsel for electoral processes, conducted a preelection assessment from February 17 to 22, 1993. After extensive consultations with election officials, government and political party leaders, and representatives of various civic organizations, specific objectives were identified for further NDI involvement, including election-related training.

Recommendations from these two missions formed the basis for NDI's programs in CAR, which were timed to coincide with the elections, finally scheduled for August 22 and September 19, 1993.

Project Activities

The training model adopted for CAR was a pyramid approach in which experts from NDI and GERDDES-Afrique would train prospective trainers and senior officials from political parties and civic organizations in pollwatching and election monitoring techniques. Those trained were then to organize other seminars at the grassroots level of their respective organizations. The political situation in CAR and the lack of previous experience by polling officials in administering competitive elections led to an expansion of the list of participants and the program subject matter to include topics of particular concern to election administrators. Members of the Election Commission at the national level as well as supervisors from the provinces were invited to attend in anticipation that they would further share their knowledge with members of the local committees at the level of electoral districts and polling stations.

Some 120 delegates participated in the three-day core seminar in Bangui, 46 of whom were representatives of political parties and independent candidates, 40 members of the Mixed

Electoral Commission, and 34 from GERDDES-CAR and other civic groups such as the Association of Women Jurists. The 46 seats reserved for political party representatives were allocated through a weighted system in which the "major" parties such as the Mouvement de Liberation du Peuple Centrafricain (MLPC), Rassemblement Democratique Centrafricain (RDC), Front Patriotique pour le Progres (FPP), and Mouvance Dacko had three seats each while the rest received one or two.

After a one-half-day plenary session, participants were divided into three workshops for smaller practical exchanges. Discussions in each of the workshops were moderated by one of the foreign experts assisted by a Central African facilitator. The three Central African facilitators had been participants at an election observation training seminar organized by NDI in Benin in 1991. An election day simulation was organized in plenary session at the end of the seminar.

At the close of the seminar, evaluation forms were distributed and the 120 participants were requested to critique the program. It was intended that their comments would help in the planning or design of future NDI programs.

Twenty-four of the 34 participants from civic organizations became trainers in the provinces of the country. Three of these 24 participants were alumni of the 1991 NDI training seminar in Benin. The 24 CAR instructors were divided into seven teams and deployed to cover 14 of the 16 divisions of the country for a two-week period beginning July 27. Two divisions in the eastern and northeastern part of the country bordering Sudan (Haut Mboumou and Vakaga) were inaccessible by road from Bangui at the time. Before departing Bangui for the provinces all 24 participants attended an extra day of training and thereafter were given an opportunity in the presence of the international faculty to train 96 election administrators from the eight districts of Bangui. A field trip was also organized to the Lobaye Division (Mbaiki and Zanga) where NDI and GERDDES-CAR instructors conducted training and simulation in French and Sango (the national dialect of CAR).

As was the case during the core training program in Bangui, NDI provided the logistical support and all documentation required for training in the countryside. The documentation included copies of the electoral code, a voter's guide, a guide for polling officers and NDI publications on election monitoring. Specific guidelines were drawn up underscoring the objectivity and neutrality required of the instructors. The CAR trainers presented team reports upon return at a debriefing session organized on August 10, 1993. These reports were based on data collected on questionnaires designed to determine the numbers and diversity of participants at the training sessions in the countryside.

The report summary indicates that well over 4,000 Central Africans participated directly in these training sessions, a majority of whom were members of the local committees charged with supervising or administering elections at the district level. Organized chapters of civic organizations did not exist outside of Bangui, but an effort was made to invite local leading opinion-makers who could later play a role in the upcoming elections, to participate in the two-week training seminars in the countryside. Many of those trained were later called upon

by the electoral commission to serve as polling officers, others served as political party pollwatchers, while some conducted informal observation missions on election day.

NDI Presence During the Second Round

At the request of the U.S. embassy in Bangui, NDI sent a team to evaluate the impact of the training program. To facilitate the sampling of opinion on the impact of the July/August training seminars, a questionnaire was designed and distributed with the help of Central African trainers to some of the former seminar participants who played a role in administering or supervising the elections of August 22, 1993.

The duration of the evaluation mission coincided with the second round of elections on September 19, 1993. The three-person NDI team then took the opportunity to interact with the other 86 international observers present in the CAR to monitor the elections. At the request of the coordinator of international observers, the team took part in various meetings and Chris Fomunyoh briefed international observers on the pre-electoral political climate.

On election day itself, the three NDI delegates travelled to two electoral districts (Bimbo I and II) in the Ombella Mpoko Division. At the debriefing session organized for international observers on September 21, 1993, NDI delegates participated, made oral remarks and helped in drafting the press release later issued by the international observers. Since the three person evaluation team did not constitute an observation delegation, NDI did not issue any pre- or post-election statements.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
CHAD: PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT
December 1993**

AAI

In December 1993, AAI sent a two-person assessment team to Chad. The team met with representatives of the Government of Chad, political party leaders, NGO representatives, religious leaders as well as officials at the U.S. Embassy and USAID. The team found some indicators that a genuine democratic transition was underway in Chad, such as an increase in freedom of expression. Independence of the media has increased markedly and most people the team met with were willing to express their views candidly.

However, the team found that most of the necessary steps for holding democratic elections according to international standards have yet to be taken. In particular:

- The army is not under civilian control and is extremely undisciplined. Most Chadians perceive the military to be a threat to their own security. In addition, the military has shown resistance to acceptance of civilian control and transition by election.
- No constitution is in force in Chad nor are there laws governing electoral procedures, the rights of political parties, and the rights of citizens as voters.
- No electoral commission, codes or regulations guiding the anticipated presidential election have been established.
- Respect for human rights is questioned by many Chadian organizations and individuals. Human rights concerns include the treatment of political opponents and of citizens in general.

Electoral Framework

The team found that the government capacity to address these serious issues, particularly the role of the military, to be lacking. The National Conference established a tri-partite transitional government composed of President Idriss Déby, who took power in a coup in 1990, the Prime Minister and the Conseil Supérieur de la Transition (CST), which is the primary governing and sole legislative organ. All governance decisions are made through the CST.

President Déby is to serve for a specific period based on an election timetable established during the National Conference. According to the terms of the Cahier de Charges, the transitional work task list, the presidential election was to take place in April 1994, precisely

one year after the National Conference. The transitional period has been extended for an additional year.

The tripartite transitional government relationship seems to work and is accepted by all parties. The President has a majority in the CST that in principle controls and mediates conflicts with the Prime Minister, who runs the day to day government of the country.

In reality, the President has a "majorité mécanique," or in other words, a majority that does not obstruct the Prime Minister in his decision-making and governance. High ranking government officials have characterized the relationship as an easy one, noting that it is unusual to have a Prime Minister who follows the president's directives so easily. It is noteworthy that the current Prime Minister, Nouredine Kassiré, has only been in office for a short time, following the President's dismissal of former Prime Minister Fidel Mounzar.

The real issue is the degree to which the CST is free to carry out its legislative or parliamentary tasks. Many decisions taken by the CST have been disregarded by the military and other affected elements. In addition, the Transitional Government lacks resources to carry out its mandate and the country is suffering an intense economic crisis.

Outlook for Elections

In addition, there are no laws governing pre-electoral activity such as registration, candidate nomination and campaigning, nor are there laws governing the election. The Conference called for the establishment of a committee to draft a constitution, an electoral code and a charter for political parties. The committee was not named until December 18 and they were given an impossible two-month deadline in which to draft all three documents.

Despite the lack of preparation, most parties consider the spirit of the National Conference to be alive and that elections will eventually take place. Under the terms of the Charte de Transition (transitional charter), the interim parliament could extend presidential elections from April 1994 to October 1994. However, on April 5, 1994, the CST acknowledged the lack of progress in preparing for elections and extended the transitional period until April 9, 1995.

AAI has communicated to the Chadian government its readiness to assist the process in Chad as soon as conditions are ripe for AREAF to provide an effective program.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
COTE D'IVOIRE: PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT
DATE TO BE DETERMINED**

AAI/NDI

At the close of Project Year 2, AAI and NDI have proposed to send a joint 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. Final approval for the program is dependent upon whether Cote d'Ivoire meets the conditions of the Brooke Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act.

The team will meet 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. Based on this pre-electoral assessment, the AID/State Committee and the AREAF SPC will be able to determine the type of assistance, if any, that would be suitable for Côte d'Ivoire.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
REGIONAL LEGISLATIVE TRAINING PROGRAM:
BENIN, BURKINA FASO AND MALI
January 1994

NDI

In January 1994 NDI conducted a three-day legislative training seminar in Niamey, Niger on Parliaments in emerging democracies. The seminar was designed to bring together parliamentarians from Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger. NDI had previously been involved in the democratic transition process in Niger in 1993 through various election related activities.

Sixty six deputies participated in the three day seminar. Four representatives of civic organizations (Gerddes-Afrique and the Association of Women Jurists of Niger) were invited to attend the seminar as observers. A concerted effort was made to insure that the various country delegations included both male and female deputies from all political groups represented in each of the parliaments. The international team of NDI experts assembled for the seminar included present and former legislators from Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Mauritius and the United States.

The primary objective of the seminar was to assist the national assemblies of Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to increase their effectiveness in assisting the process of consolidating democratic governance in these countries. Another objective was to provide a forum for parliamentarians from these national assemblies to exchange information and experiences with one another and benefit from the broad comparative experience of international NDI experts.

Through a series of workshops and plenary sessions participants were given the opportunity to exchange experiences and develop skills. International experts made comparative presentations on the functioning of their respective parliaments and their responsibilities as members and how that relates to parliamentary activity in emerging democracies. The program was designed to encourage active interaction by the participants. Each day's program included presentations in plenary session and interactive exercises in smaller workshops. These presentations focused on the following topics: Political parties in parliament; Legislative relations with the Executive and Judiciary branches of government. Legislative oversight and access to information; and Public representation and constituency servicing.

After the plenary sessions, participants were divided into three workshops. In these smaller groups, members discussed in further detail issues raised during the plenary sessions. They also took part in a simulation exercise designed to provide a more pragmatic approach to the training program. The main thrust of the simulation exercise was on the formulation of a national budget and how legislators could approach and influence the process in a constructive

manner. Groups were set up to represent the parliamentary majority, the loyal opposition and in one of the workshops, a multitude of small moderate parties. Participants were then assigned specific roles and presented with different fact and thought provoking scenarios designed to stimulate debate.

In preparing for the simulation, a deliberate effort was made early on to interchange roles so that participants who were members of the parliamentary majority in their various assemblies played the role of opposition party leaders and vice versa. Fact sheets were given to participants at the end of each day in preparation for the next day's discussions. The facts were different in many respects depending on the role assigned to each group of participants. An overwhelming majority of participants found the simulation exercise to be both instructive and useful in improving negotiation skills, promoting mutual understanding and the tolerance of opposing view points.

Evaluation

Questionnaires were distributed as part of the briefing participants at the beginning of the seminar. In an overwhelming majority of the participants were pleased with the overall effectiveness of the seminar and felt that the plenary and workshop sessions were interesting and beneficial.

Fifty-six (56) evaluation forms were returned by participants. The respondents described the program as instructive, enriching and useful but charged. The group did feel that the duration of the seminar should have been extended over a longer period of time. There was an mark of approval with respect to the usefulness of the workshops and the simulations/hypothetical cases, as well as the selected articles that were distributed at the seminar.

In the following weeks NDI intends to send a resource person on a follow-up project to observe the parliaments of Mali and Niger when they next reconvene. He/she will serve as an NDI resource person to the participating national legislature and will spend sometime in each country evaluating the project's effectiveness and identifying other areas of follow-up assistance.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
AFRICAN ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS COLLOQUIUM
January 1993 to December 1994

AAI/NDI in collaboration with UN/EAU and IFES

At the close of Project Year 2, two AREAF partners, the African-American Institute (AAI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI), were engaged in the final planning stages for an Africa-wide colloquium on election administration. The colloquium is co-sponsored by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, Electoral Assistance Unit UN/DPA/EAU).

The three-day colloquium is to be held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe in mid-November 1994. The colloquium will bring together African election administrators, and key representatives of NGOs, as well as national and regional monitoring groups to review and explore common challenges to the organization and execution of transparent elections. Not only is it hoped that the foundation for a structurally sound inter-African association of election administrators will be established, but that the participants will have the opportunity to exchange information and experiences openly about their failures and successes, and begin to lay the strategy for the institutionalization of election procedures that have proven successful.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
GABON: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
August 1993 to March 1994**

AAI/NDI

NDI conducted a pre-electoral assessment in Gabon during Project Year 1. Following the assessment, NDI received approval to train local observers and provide an international observer delegation for presidential elections in December 1993. Shortly after the program had begun, NDI concluded that conditions were such that it would be difficult for it to complete the program. AAI agreed to take over the program approximately 90 days prior to the election.

AAI fielded a 17-person international delegation to observe the final days of campaigning, the voting and the vote count for the presidential election. A pre-election assessment team arrived on November 16, 1993 and was joined by the full team several days before the vote. The team remained in country through the ballot casting, the vote count, and the Constitutional Court's validation of the results on December 13, 1993. The observer team traveled extensively throughout the country to more than 140 bureaux de vote (polling stations) and attended the vote tabulation in 14 different bureaux.

Conclusions

AAI made a preliminary statement on the conduct of the December 5, 1993 presidential election on December 15, 1993. This report commented on conditions before the election, during the election, and after the election. Chapter 5 details these observations. The general conclusions of the report are the following:

- This election marked an important phase in the country's ongoing transition to pluralistic democracy; it was the first multi-party presidential election in the thirty-three years since the nation achieved independence.
- Election day was relatively peaceful and voter turnout was quite high.
- The election was poorly organized, and as a result, poorly executed.
- Chaotic electoral conditions caused Gabonese citizens to question the results.
- The arbitrary and ad hoc administration of the election provided multiple opportunities for the process to be manipulated in a fraudulent manner.
- Team members did not make a judgement as to whether these conditions were calculated or purposeful. It appeared that different candidates benefited from the misadministration in different locations.

Pre-election Observations

On December 3, 1993, the AAI observer team issued a pre-election statement noting widespread concern throughout the country about the preparations for the election and the condition of the voters' list. This statement was issued because of the gravity of the number of voters that could have been affected by inadequate preparation, training and distribution of materials. The following observations were also borne out in the AAI Preliminary Statement:

- The national administration of the electoral process was both disparate and uncoordinated.
- The national electoral registration system was not completed in time to allow ample inspection and review, thereby rendering electoral lists worthless.
- Election administrators did not use uniform methodology and did not adequately train polling station officials, thereby falling below credible international standards.

Observations on the Voting Process

- There was widespread general confusion over the necessity of the voter card and its usefulness. Barely 50% of the nation's voters had received voter cards by election day.
- Polling station officials received no standard guidance on the use of voter cards.
- Polling stations in Libreville - where nearly one third of the nation's registered voters are found - had no electoral registration lists, or, if these lists were present, they were illegible or incomplete.
- Election materials were not delivered in a timely manner.
- The Electoral Code was not applied consistently throughout the country. This practice occurred, in the experience of AAI observers, both to the detriment of the opposition candidates and the incumbent.
- In various areas of the country, officials either did not include or arranged particular candidates' ballots in a manner that could influence choice. In most of these reported instances, various candidates benefited from the actions of the officials.
- There was general ignorance of technical procedures.

Observations about the Vote Tabulation

- There were precise national electorate totals but polling stations did not have local register lists.

- There were no provisions for segregating and validating the tabulated vote at the local polling station level, providing ample opportunity for mishandling or fraud.
- Observers were not able to witness the transmission of procès-verbaux (report of the signed, official polling station results) from voting stations to the National Commission for the Centralization of Voting Results.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
GERDDES:
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT FOR ELECTION OBSERVATION PROGRAMS
March 1994 to March 1996**

NDI

Background

In February 1994, the AREAF Senior Project Council and the joint AID/State Committee approved the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (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 monitor sand to observe elections. The sub-grant includes funding for a regional training seminar, two country-specific training seminars, and five 10-member election observation missions. An NDI grant management sub-grant is also included.

Program Activities

From May 5 to 7, GERDDES conducted a regional conference on lessons learned from African elections. The purpose of the seminar was to review the conduct of competitive election in Africa since the beginning of the democratization process and the creation of GERDDES-Africa in 1990. Participants included leaders of various country chapters of the organization, as well as political party representatives and a few election administrators. A total of 107 participants from 15 African countries took part in the seminar. The sub-grant funded the seminar. NDI was represented at the seminar by Senior Program Officer Chris Fomunyoh, who played a lead role in facilitating the discussions in plenary sessions and also moderated a workshop on monitoring election campaigns.

NDI Senior Program Officer and Regional Director for West and Central Africa Edward McMahon and Grants Officer Laura McQuade made arrangements for an early July visit to GERDDES-Africa offices in Cotonou, Benin, to review GERDDES's accounting and financial management systems and evaluate GERDDES' management of the cooperative agreement.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
GUINEA:
Party Building, Civic Education and Pollwatcher Training
January 1993 to April 1994

IRI

Background

Guinea's political conditions are a direct outgrowth of the post-independence, single party government of President Ahmed Sekou Toure. Since the post-independence expulsion of the French, Guinea has relied primarily upon foreign assistance - first from the former Soviet Union, then, after 1961, from the United States. Upon the death of Sekou Toure in 1984, the Military Committee of National Redressment (CMRN), led by Colonels Lansana Conte and Diarra Traore, staged a successful coup. Thus began a political and economic liberalization program that has continued to date.

A new constitution was adopted in 1990, and in 1991, a predominantly civilian Transition Council for National Recovery (CTRN) was established that has continued political reforms. Legislative and presidential elections, originally scheduled for 1992, were postponed until spring 1993. However, with another postponement and a government switch in the order of elections, presidential elections are now set for December 1993, with legislative elections tentatively scheduled in early 1994.

An October 1992 IRI assessment revealed a great need for assistance in the transition to multiparty rule. Through IRI's work with 42 Guinean political parties and 12 civic organizations, vital information has been disseminated to trainers throughout the country. This information consisted of civic education training on the basis of democracy, political party building training focusing on organization structures and theme development, poll watcher training, and proper tallying of votes.

Project Activities

Democracy-Building Program
January 24 to October 30, 1993

IRI took advantage of the new opportunity created by the postponement of the December 27 elections in Guinea and further developed the program of electoral assistance. The objectives of the program remained to assist in ensuring a more viable election environment and to increase the likelihood for electoral transparency and a peaceful voting process.

The IRI delegation advanced these goals through projects in civic education and political party training. Civic education projects focused on explaining the basic theory of democracy and the general practice of voting procedures to political party and civic group representatives. Delegates also trained trainers in poll-watching to assist in creating a body of domestic observers capable of judging the transparency of voting and vote-tabulation procedures. Delegates further supported political party development by providing party leaders with training in party organization and communication with the electorate.

Civic education and poll-watcher training was conducted in five cities and allowed two-week sessions for each project. Two teams of four trainers conducted sessions for up to 75 participants in Conakry and four surrounding regional centers. Training was followed by a distribution of evaluations to participants regarding the effectiveness of training sessions.

Poll-Watcher Training Program **November 28 to December 12, 1993**

IRI deployed a second mission comprised of six members to assist in ensuring that the upcoming elections would be as transparent and as peaceful as possible. The mission aimed to increase voter confidence in and acceptance of the democratic process by training trainers in the principles of poll watching and transparent elections and by fostering a basic understanding of the democratic process.

Upon their arrival in Guinea, the six member delegation divided into two teams to conduct training sessions in Conakry and surrounding regional centers. The training consisted of basic lessons on the democratic process and detailed explanations of techniques in poll-day activities, voter registration, vote tabulation and vote-fraud prevention. Training sessions targeted primary actors in the election process, focusing on representatives of political parties and civic associations designated by those groups.

International Observers **December 1993**

During the last quarter of 1993, IRI closely monitored the campaign and the administrative and logistical preparations for the presidential elections. After several postponements of the election by the government, the election was finally carried out in mid-December. Although IRI had planned to send an international observer mission to the elections, IRI advance observation teams concluded several days before the election that the administrative and logistical procedures were flawed to the extent that meaningful elections could not take place. Therefore, no observers were deployed, though a small monitoring team was left in place.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
GUINEA-BISSAU: VOTER EDUCATION AND POLLWATCHER TRAINING
August 1993 to April 1994

IRI

Background

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinee e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) directed a military campaign against Portuguese colonists. On September 25, 1973, the PAIGC won independence and declared the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of revolutionary leader Luis Cabral.

Since independence, Guinea-Bissau has been struggling to achieve a viable democracy. One of the poorest nations in the world, Guinea-Bissau's low literacy rate and the absence of any institutions of higher learning have resulted in a serious deficiency of technically, academically or civically educated citizens. Economic depression precipitated a coup in 1980, leaving Major Joao Bernardo Vieira, the undisputed ruler of Guinea-Bissau, and the legislative body, with only slight power. In early 1991, the PAIGC concluded that it would have to open Guinea-Bissau's political system if the nation was to receive additional foreign assistance. Despite legalizing other political parties and scheduling elections for 1993, the PAIGC failed to create the conditions necessary for free and fair campaigning.

Project Activities

Following the recommendations of the April pre-election assessment team, the International Republican Institute continued its election assistance program to Guinea-Bissau. The IRI sent a training team to support the development of democratic institutions in preparation for upcoming multi-party elections. The team conducted a civic education program concentrating on three areas integral to promoting participation in the elections process: voter education, radio voter education and political party pollwatcher training.

The objectives of the voter education project were to increase the knowledge about the rights and responsibilities of citizens under democratic governance, improve informed political participation and strengthen indigenous organizations involved in civic education. The radio voter education pursued similar goals through a different means in addition to encouraging a conducive working relationship between the National Radio and the National Election Commission (CNE). Finally, training political party pollwatchers aimed to develop the capacity of independent election monitors in order to increase transparency and voter confidence.

The three programs were implemented in a fair and objective manner without bias to any party or individual.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
NAMIBIA: VOTER EDUCATION
July 1994 to January 1995**

NDI

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has two programs currently operating in Namibia under the AREAF Fund. The first program, "Voter Education in Namibia", proposes to conduct an election education project in Namibia that will focus on using broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, political parties competing in the elections and key campaign issues. It operates from July 1994 to January 1995.

The project aims to promote greater involvement by the electorate, and to enable citizens to cast a more informed ballot in presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled for late 1994. Through the production of broadcast materials to educate the public about the positions being contested, interactive programming, public fora, radio dramas, documentaries, advertisements, and live coverage, NDI hopes to educate voters about the upcoming election. The project will also provide media training for political parties to assist them in message development and communication. The project incorporates a subgrant to the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (the NBC) for the purpose of facilitating the use of broadcast media to conduct voter education. The project also provides technical assistance to political parties in their development of their message to voters on issue positions and how to use the media as a vehicle for mass communication.

The second AREAF grants seeks to work with all parties competing in the elections to enhance their capacity to communicate with voters and mobilize participation in the election. The "Pre-Election Political Party Training Program" will concentrate on regional and local structures and candidate training. It lasts through September 1-December 31, 1994.

The elections in Namibia, planned for the first week in December 1994, include presidential and parliamentary contests. NDI believes that its program will help strengthen the Namibian democratic process by enhancing political party competition in the elections. To achieve this goal, NDI plans to have each party develop an election plan in which resources are targeted and electoral strength is maximized; to establish internal channels of communication within parties; to train party spokespersons in the use of the media and election communications; to introduce to the parties voter contact programs for the rural electorate and help them establish such programs; and to organize debates among the parties to focus parties on addressing national and regional issues of concern to the voters. NDI proposes to conduct a series of workshops, training, and individual consultations for political parties in Namibia in support of the December election.

NDI has been active in Namibia since 1989 following the signing of the Tri-Partite Accords and the prospect for holding elections in accordance with the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435. During its five years of activity in Namibia, NDI has conducted projects in voter education, monitoring the broadcast media's coverage of elections, critiquing the electoral process, technical assistance to the members and staff of both houses of parliament and training political parties.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
TANZANIA: PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT
December 1993**

IRI

IRI sent a pre-election assessment team to Tanzania in preparation for municipal elections in 1994 and national elections in 1995. The team met with representatives of the Government of Tanzania, political parties, NGOs, civic groups and the U.S. Embassy and USAID.

The team traveled outside Dar es Salaam to gauge the commitment to democratization throughout the country. The team concluded that conditions were such that assistance to the process was warranted.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
TANZANIA: CIVIC EDUCATION PROJECT DESIGN MISSION
October 1994

AAI/NDI

Tanzania is a country that the SPC envisions multiple partners working over an extended period of time. AAI and NDI have received approval to conduct a survey mission to prepare a civic education program for the 1995 national elections.

The team will meet with government officials, political party leaders and activists, civic organization representatives, religious leaders and other observers to determine the civic education needs and to gauge the institutional capacity of local groups to conduct a civic education campaign.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
TOGO: MONITORING PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS
September 1992 to September 1993

NDI

Background

With the signing of the Ouagadougou Accord on July 11, 1993, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) moved to renew its programming in support of presidential elections and subsequent parliamentary elections in Togo. NDI's planned observation program included the following elements:

- maintaining an international assessment mission in Togo in the period leading up to the presidential elections to collect information on the pre-election environment and to recommend solutions for problems in the electoral process;
- providing financial and technical support for a large-scale domestic monitoring mission;
- deploying international observer delegations for the presidential elections and the legislative elections.

Recognizing that previous agreements had not succeeded in establishing the necessary political climate for meaningful elections, NDI made full implementation of its program contingent on the establishment of minimum conditions for legitimate elections.

Project Activities

A team initially composed of two NDI staff members and two international experts arrived in Togo in early August 1993 to conduct a pre-election assessment. The team was supplemented by additional staff as the election date approached. In addition to NDI staff members, the team included Therence Sinunguruza, former president of the National Election Commission of Burundi (who had played an instrumental role in organizing that nation's successful elections in June 1993); and Maxime Faille, legislative assistant to the Canadian House of Commons. The team focused on election administration; material preparations; electoral lists; access to media; political party concerns and preparations; the role of domestic monitors; and security and refugee issues. The team's assessment was to form the basis of NDI's decision on whether or not to observe the election.

As the August 25 election date approached, however, the possibilities for meaningful elections in Togo began to diminish. Concerned about administrative preparations, the principal opposition candidates withdrew from the race, demanding a postponement. The president of

the National Election Commission (NEC) raised similar concerns in a letter to the prime minister.

On August 23 and 24 President Carter, who had arrived in Togo, attempted to persuade President Eyadema to postpone the election for a sufficient amount of time to resolve at least the most pressing election-related problems. Despite Carter's urging in an 11th-hour diplomatic effort, Eyadema refused to delay the vote. On August 24, when it became clear that the election would proceed as scheduled, Carter made a public announcement in Lome of NDI's decision not to deploy international observers for the election. Carter and the NDI team immediately left Togo.

The mission findings that led to NDI's decision not to deploy international observers include the following:

Voter registration lists contained 300,000 to 600,000 more names than suggested by demographic indicators. In addition, the lists were not posted in a timely manner to allow for verification by voters, political parties and civic groups. Also, analysis of voter registration data detected a concentration of surplus names in remote border areas, raising concerns about the possibility of voting by citizens of neighboring countries.

- The president of the bipartisan National Election Commission (NEC) wrote a letter to the prime minister on August 20 requesting a delay in the election because of insufficient time to finish election preparations. This request was refused.
- There were about 430,000 more voting cards in-country than there were registered voters. Additionally, a large percentage of voter cards had not been picked up by voters.
- Basic information regarding the quantity of and location of polling stations had not been made public two days before the elections, despite a 30-day advance notice requirement in the electoral code.
- The government violated a number of clauses of the electoral code relating to: the distribution of electoral cards (Article 18, paragraph 2); the time frame required for revising the electoral lists (Articles 22 and 23); the declaration of the opening of the campaign (Article 36); the use of public institutions for the campaign (Article 41); and the public dissemination of the list of polling stations (Article 46, paragraph 2).
- Election administration officials failed to complete training of polling place officials before the August 25 election date thus creating confusion in the electoral process.
- Ink intended to prevent multiple voting was tested and found not to be indelible.

- In some areas of the country, the recent history of violence and intimidation inhibited opposition candidates from campaigning.

In addition, during the period between the signing of the Ouagadougou Accord on July 11 and the August 25 elections, several serious problems increased doubts about the government's commitment to free and fair elections. These problems included:

- The government's refusal to allow participation by national, nonpartisan observers despite earlier statements that they would be accredited.
- The government's attempt to limit the number of observers that international organizations could send to the election. NDI, for example, was initially asked to send only two observers.
- Despite repeated urging from the international community, the posting of the electoral lists was not completed until a few days before the election and thus severely limited the possibility of correcting problems on the list.
- The government showed little interest in allowing the National Electoral Commission (NEC), the only national administrative organ with multipartisan participation to fully play its assigned role. NEC requests for copies of the voter list, for example, were met with inordinate and unjustified delays.
- There was a lack of government-organized voter education programs to help voters collect electoral cards or to encourage the return of refugees to vote or to make provisions for refugees to vote abroad.
- The government refused to investigate and correct inaccuracies in the voter registration lists.
- Government leaders refused to account for or investigate the existence of additional electoral cards.

Legislative elections were subsequently held on February 20, with run-off polls on March 6, 1994. Less than a week before the legislative elections the government of Togo requested that NDI send two observers to monitor those elections. NDI declined to observe the elections because of the limited number of observers requested and because without a presence in Togo before the elections NDI could not assess the conditions under which they would be held. Although NDI provided funding for GERDDES-Togo to observe the elections, the government despite earlier promises refused to grant observer status to any domestic organizations. Despite the government position and the negative response to GERDDES' efforts to deploy domestic observers, this civic organization gained valuable experience organizing on a nationwide basis and expanding its membership.

Assessment

Successful elections depend on the contributions of a variety of people and institutions. The government of Togo, as the body responsible for organizing elections, had a paramount duty to organize elections worthy of the trust and confidence of the Togolese people. This standard of credibility was heightened by the divisive environment in which national reconciliation was being undertaken. In the days before the election, leaders of Togo's major opposition parties did little to mobilize their supporters for the election. Eventually, the major opposition parties suspended their participation in the election because they did not trust the system. Whether abstention was the wisest course of action is debatable, but withdrawal of the opposition was one of the factors weighed by the international community.

Clearly the ultimate responsibility for the failed election fell to the Togolese government. Instead of delaying the elections in order to build the trust necessary for an event of constitutional magnitude, the government persisted in holding elections that offered no choice to the people and no possibility for resolution of the political crisis in the country.

The result of the elections was a new, five-year term for a president who had won neither the trust of his fellow Togolese nor that of the international community.

NDI's role

NDI's participation in Togo was not an easy or simple project. Difficult decisions for which there were no precedents had to be made quickly and in a hot-house political environment. However, the decision to terminate the project was neither complicated nor controversial given the overwhelming weight of evidence that had developed concerning the direction in which the elections were headed.

It is always difficult to establish a single yardstick by which a project of this nature with many different facets could be measured. Certainly, it is not realistic under the circumstances described earlier to expect a legitimate presidential election to have been the outcome of this project. To expect as much, however, is to probably have unattainable expectations about how much NDI could have achieved given the circumstances. The project did accomplish a number of more modest, but important, objectives. The project facilitated a clear understanding on the part of the international community of the lack of legitimacy of the presidential elections and contributed to the development of internationally accepted norms regarding legitimate elections.

The project accomplishments arguably influenced the outcome of the legislative elections by demonstrating to the Togolese government that illegitimate elections would not go unnoticed by the international community.

AREAF PROJECT REPORT
UGANDA
Civic Education, Domestic Monitor Training,
Parallel Vote Tabulation, Commodities, and International Observers
October 1993 to April 1994

AAI

Background

After the National Resistance Movement took power in Uganda in 1986, it put in place a process for democratic transition. After a lengthy process, a Constitutional Commission presented a draft constitution to the President in late 1992. The National Resistance Council (legislature) then passed a statute providing for the non-partisan election of a Constituent Assembly that would consider and adopt a new constitution. Political parties would not be able to participate in the election. National elections were anticipated to follow in 1994 and 1995. The U.S. Embassy and USAID Mission jointly requested AREAF assistance to the planned Constituent Assembly elections.

Following passage of the CA statute, AAI and IRI sent a joint assessment team to Uganda in May 1993. The team agreed with the Embassy's recommendation that substantial electoral assistance be provided for the Constituent Assembly election in order to support local efforts — particularly civic education and domestic monitoring. This support would provide a foundation for further civic education and election monitoring for the national elections.

Project Activities

AAI provided an assistance program that included training Ugandan election monitors and civic education trainers, providing technical assistance and commodities to the independent election commission, sending an international observer delegation and training local monitors to conduct a parallel vote tabulation (PVT). Due to delayed voter registration, the Constituent Assembly elections were postponed from December 1993 to March 28, 1994.

To support civic education and domestic monitoring, AAI worked with two umbrella groups, the Uganda Joint Christian Council (UJCC), composed of the Catholic Church and most of the Protestant denominations, and the National Organization for Civic Education and Monitoring (NOCEM), composed of approximately 13 NGOs. Following an incident in which a NOCEM member departed from the group's principle of impartiality, the National Resistance Movement banned NOCEM from continuing its civic education campaign.

To coordinate its assistance program, AAI placed a field coordinator in Uganda. The field coordinator worked with the UJCC and NOCEM to recruit and organize civic education and

election monitoring trainers, who were trained by international trainers sent by AAI. AAI also worked with NOCEM and UJCC to develop the training materials. In addition the field coordinator worked with the United Nations' representative and the Commission for the Constituent Assembly to avoid duplication in the area of civic education.

Following training of trainers workshops in Fall 1993, the UJCC trained a total of 16,000 local election monitors and approximately 4,000 civic education trainers, who conducted weekend workshops until the March 28 election. Election monitors were deployed during the campaign, at candidates' meetings (the only sanctioned forums for campaigning), as well as at the polls for voting and vote counting.

AAI also worked closely with the Commission for the Constituent Assembly, an independent body created to administer the election. AAI provided technical assistance to the Commission as well as fax machines and two-way radios to aid in rapid transmission of the election results. The fax machines and radios remain in Uganda to be used for national elections in 1995.

Approximately two weeks prior to the election, AAI trained UJCC monitors to conduct a parallel vote tabulation (PVT). This was the first PVT conducted under AREAF. A PVT is conducted by compiling the election results from a representative sample of polling stations to project the likely outcome of the election. A PVT is a means of deterring and/or detecting possible fraud in compiling the cumulative vote totals. If the official results vary significantly from the PVT projection, it provides grounds for further investigation and possibly a recount. The UJCC conducted the PVT in 13 of the 214 elections for the Constituent Assembly. There was a 100 percent correspondence between the PVT projected winner and the official winner in all 13 elections. The UJCC intends to conduct a PVT in the upcoming national elections.

Approximately 10 days prior to the election, AAI sent its advance team of international observers to conduct a pre-election assessment. The advance team concluded that conditions were conducive for a fair and transparent election. Voters had been given sufficient opportunity to register. In some areas, there had been problems with posting the voter register, but the team concluded that these problems were not grave enough to disturb the overall process. The campaign had been conducted in a controlled manner, but it was free from intimidation. Voters would have a real choice from among the 1,122 registered candidates to sit in the 214 seats available.

The entire international observer delegation was deployed by AAI, acting in cooperation with the United Nations, which was coordinating all of the international observers. The AAI delegation concluded in its statement that:

The CA elections were not without flaws. While there were some problems related to voter registration, registration certificates, the late announcement of the polling places and the failure to display voter registers before the election in some areas of the country, there was no evidence of any systematic attempt

to manipulate the outcome of this exercise. The AAI delegation further notes that these administrative weaknesses did not affect the election results and can be easily remedied before future elections are held.

Based on sustained observations during the entire CA process, the African-American Institute international observer delegation finds that the Constituent Assembly elections held on March 28, 1994 were organized, conducted and tabulated in a manner that affirms the will of the Ugandan electorate.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT
UGANDA: POLLWATCHER TRAINING
July 1993 to September 1994**

IRI

Background

Since gaining independence from Britain in 1962, Uganda has alternated between civilian and military governments. Many of these governments, particularly those of Idi Amin and Milton Obote, were notorious for their genocidal practices that created instability for the entire region.

The most recent military regime was established by a 1986 National Resistance Movement (NRM) coup. Upon taking power, President Yoweri Museveni invited members of existing major political parties to join a new "broad-based government," and proposed a time period of four years to draw up a new constitution and hold elections. In November 1989, Museveni and his NRM government extended NRM rule another five years. Museveni asserted that delaying elections was necessary "to complete the task of building institutions that would guard democracy."

Constituent assembly elections in March 1994 signalled the possibility for a return to more democratic rule, but their legitimacy has been damaged by Museveni's suspension of party political activity "to consolidate the peace ushered in by the NRM government."

Project Activities

To assist the political parties, IRI conducted a Kampala workshop with representatives from the parties, the NRM, and nongovernmental organizations to discuss how Uganda should move towards democracy. Workshop training concentrated on how political parties can more effectively use the avenues open to them under the current government restrictions to engage in political debate. IRI also conducted regional candidate pollwatcher seminars to train candidates and their agents to cover the monitoring and pollwatching provisions of Uganda's electoral law, and to provide organizational support to the parties to coordinate pollwatching activities.

ELECTORAL CALENDAR
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND (AREAF)

COUNTRY	ELECTION	DATES	APP	INST.	RESPONSE	991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	19
OAU	Regional Activity	14-18-Sep-92	\$29,874	AAI/NDI	OBSERVER TRAINING		OAU 9/14 9/18					
CAMEROON	Pres.	11-Oct-92	\$249,515	NDI	TRAINING, OBSERVERS		CAMEROON 9/24 10/18					
GUINEA	Pres Leg	19-Dec-93	\$447,519	IRI	ASSESSMENT, CIVIC EDUCATION, OBSERVERS		GUINEA 10/9  12/25					
NIGER	Pres. #1 Pres. #2	14-Feb-93, 26-28-Mar-93	\$297,200	NDI	TRAINING, OBSERVERS		NIGER 9/28  3/21					
TOGO	Pres Leg	25-Aug-93 Jan 94	\$420,000	NDI	OBSERVERS		TOGO 10/15  8/31					
CAR	Pres. & Leg.	17-Oct-93	\$154,748	NDI	TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, ELECTIONS ASSISTANCE		CAR 10/17  11/15					
RWANDA	Leg & Pres	TBD	\$125,000	NDI,IRI	PARTY TRAINING		RWANDA 10/17  6/29					
GHANA	Pres. Leg.	03-Nov-92 29-Dec-92	\$412,314	CCEU	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING, OBSERVERS		GHANA 9/22  12/23					
NAMIBIA	Reg & Local	30-Nov - 03-Dec-92	\$145,000	NDI	CIVIC EDUCATION, COMMODITIES		NAMIBIA 10/15  6/29					

As of: 9-28-94

DURATION  Progress 

Total Approved: \$8,195,634

**ELECTORAL CALENDAR
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND (AREAF)**

COUNTRY	ELECTION	DATES	\$ APP	INST.	RESPONSE	991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	19
KENYA	Pres. & Leg	29-Dec-92	\$970,818	IRI,AAI	ASSESSMENT, OBSERVERS, COMMODITIES, TRAINING			KENYA 10/26 5/31				
ERITREA	Referendum	23-25-Apr-93	\$465,470	AAI	CIVIC EDUCATION, LOCAL MONITORS, COMMODITIES, OBSERVERS			ERITREA 11/19 4/28				
DJIBOUTI	Leg Pres	18-Dec-92 07-May-93	\$35,240	AAI	OBSERVERS			DJIBOUTI 12/13 12/20				
SENEGAL	Pres Leg	21-Feb-93 09-May-93	\$557,235	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	\$258,874	AAI	OBSERVERS, CIVIC EDUCATION			MADAGASCAR 11/15 6/30				
GERDDES	Regional	Feb - Jun -93	\$55,000	NDI	TRAINING			GERDDES 1/31 6/29				
LESOTHO	Leg	27-Mar-93	\$149,756	IRI	ASSESSMENT, OBSERVERS			LESOTHO 2/27 3/31				
BURUNDI	Pres Leg	01-Jun-93 29-Jun-93	\$431,021	NDI	POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING, OBSERVERS			BURUNDI 3/1 7/31				
GUINEA BISSAU	Leg & Pres	07-Jul-94	\$237,605	IRI	ASSESSMENT, VOTER EDUCATION, OBSERVER TRAINING			GUINEA BISSAU 4/1 12/31				

As of: 9-28-94

DURATION Progress

Total Approved: \$8,195,634

**ELECTORAL CALENDAR
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND (AREAF)**

COUNTRY	ELECTION	DATES	\$ APP	INST.	RESPONSE	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	19
CONGO	Leg #1 Leg #2 Leg #2 repeat	02-May-93 06-June-93 03-Oct-93	\$97,727	AAI	OBSERVERS			CONGO 4/28  6/15				
MALAWI	Referendum	14-Jun-93	\$61,733	NDI	TRAIN DOMESTIC MONITORS			MALAWI 5/14  6/30				
GABON	Pres & Leg	05-Dec-93	\$365,666	AAI,NDI	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING POLL MONITORS, INT'L OBSERVERS			GABON 5/3  12/31				
UGANDA	Cons. Assmby	28 Mar 94	\$909,029	AAI,IRI	ASSESSMENT, TRAINING, CIVIC EDUCATION, COMMODITIES, PARTY POLLWATCHER TRAINING			UGANDA 4/1  4/15				
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK	Regional Activity	Sep-93 March-94	\$300,144	IRI	SEMINARS TO BUILD DEMOCRACY NETWORK			AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK 9/1  3/31				
ELECTION ADMIN. COLLIQ.	Regional Activity	Nov-94	\$224,341	AAI,NDI	ELECTION ADMINISTRAT. COLLOQUIUM			ELECTION ADMIN. COLLIQ. 1/3  11/30				
PARLIAMENTARY TRAINING	Regional Activity	Nov 1993- March 1994	\$177,602	NDI	LEGISLATIVE TRAINING: NIGER, MALI, BENIN			PARLIAMENTARY TRAINING 11/1  4/1				
TANZANIA	Municipal Legislative	October 1994 October 1995	\$49,657	IRI AAI/NDI	ASSESSMENT PROJECT DESIGN			TANZANIA 12/1  12/1				
CHAD	Pres. Leg.	April 1995	\$20,000	AAI	ASSESSMENT			CHAD 12/1  2/1				

As of: 9-28-94

DURATION  Progress 

Total Approved: \$8,195,634

**ELECTORAL CALENDAR
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND (AREAF)**

COUNTRY	ELECTION	DATES	\$ APP	INST.	RESPONSE	991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	19
GERDDES	Regional Activity	June 1994 - June 1996	\$287,961	NDI	COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT WITH GERDDES-ELECTION OBSERV. PROGRAMS				GERDDES 6/7  7/1			
BENIN	Local Leg Pres	1994 1995 1996	\$259,585	NDI	PARTY TRAINING				BENIN 3/1  7/31			

As of: 9-28-94

DURATION  Progress 

Total Approved: \$8,195,634

AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND

PROJECT NARRATIVE

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 (ADN) to continue such training. The seminar took place on February 2-4, 1994 in Gaborone, Botswana.

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

AREAF, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), and the U.N. Department of Political Affairs, Electoral Assistance Unit (UN/DPA/EAU), will hold a three-day colloquium on the organization of elections, which would consider the roles played by election administrators, NGOs, and developing African elections expertise. The colloquium aims to establish an inter-African association of election administrators, to provide an opportunity to exchange information and experiences, and to create a strategy for the institutionalization of election procedures that have proven successful.

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.

BURUNDI (NDI) \$154,000

AREAF provided training to political parties and party pollwatcher training in preparation for 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) \$5,488

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

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC (NDI) \$181,366

AREAF provided training of political pollwatchers and civic organization members in election monitoring techniques and international observers for the legislative and presidential elections in August 1993.

CHAD (AAI) \$20,000

AREAF provided an assessment mission in preparation for the 1994 elections. National elections have been postponed until April 1995.

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). Political violence has erupted in the capital city between government supporters and opposition militants. Reports indicate that over 100 people have been killed in the fighting. In December of 1993, the Constitutional Court and the International Arbiters' College recommended a revote of twenty-four contested districts from the first round of elections.

DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGER, MALI, BENIN (NDI) \$177,602

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

DJIBOUTI (AAI) \$35,240

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

ERITREA (AAI) \$20,043

AREAF provided 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.

GERDDES (NDI) \$55,000

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

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

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

AREAF provided a civic education program in Guinea in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

GUINEA (IRI) \$296,491

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-BISSAU (IRI) \$11,456

AREAF provided an assessment in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

GUINEA-BISSAU (IRI) \$226,149

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.

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.

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.

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).

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

AREAF together with NED provided observer training for the OAU to develop election assistance capability and in implementing credible election monitoring efforts.

RWANDA (NDI) \$125,000

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.

**STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BENIN:
POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING AND GRASSROOTS INPUT (NDI) \$259,585**

AREAF provided a program to foster grassroots participation in the political process in Benin. The program was designed to help political parties and civic organizations prepare for the 1994 local elections and for the next round of national elections in 1995. Topics addressed included accountable and democratic party structures, grassroots organizing and public opinion measuring methodologies.

TANZANIA (IRI) \$49,657

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

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 for 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, 1993. 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

AREAF provided training of candidates' agents pollwatchers for the Constituent Assembly elections.