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**Final Report on**  
**the Angolan Election Support Program of**  
**The National Democratic Institute and**  
**the International Republican Institute**

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## Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
I. Background	3
II. Program Methodology	10
III. Democracy and Elections in Angola	17
IV. Political Parties and the Campaign	25
V. Political Party Pollwatching	32
VI. Civic Education Program	39
VII. Conclusions and Recommendations	45
Table of Appendices	47

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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The cooperation and support of the Angolan National Electoral Council and the United Nations Angola Verification Mission were vital and are much appreciated. The Institutes also could not have completed our undertakings without the help of our interpreters, translators, facilitator, drivers and a host of others while in Angola.

This report was written principally by Carol L. Martin, NDI's Resident Representative in Angola during the program, and Clay Lowery, IRI Assistant Program Officer and Angola project coordinator. They were assisted by James Dunlap, IRI's Resident Representative in Angola during the program and Constance Street, NDI's Angola program officer based in Washington, DC. The report was edited by Patricia Keefer, NDI's Senior Associate for Political Party Programs, Thomas O. Melia, NDI Program Director, Sue Grabowski, NDI Director of Communication and Margaret Thompson, IRI Vice President.

Finally, we would like to thank the people of Angola -- the political party leaders, civic and church activists, government representatives, election officials, and especially the political party activists -- for their participation, and enthusiasm throughout this project.

We hope that the current hostilities will cease, and that the democratic aspirations that the September 29-30 elections reflected become a reality.

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

On September 29-30, 1992, the people of Angola voted in their first multiparty presidential and legislative elections, following 18 years of near constant civil war. When figures released from 90 percent of the polling stations indicated that the MPLA presidential candidate, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, was leading with 50.8 percent to UNITA's candidate, Jonas Malheiro Savimbi's 39.4 percent, and the MPLA with 55 to UNITA's 33.4 percent in the race for 220 parliamentary seats, Savimbi denounced the elections as being rife with fraud. A United Nations investigation into UNITA's allegations revealed no substantial or systematic irregularities, and certified that the Angolan elections were generally "free and fair." The United States concurred. The official results, which were finally released on October 16, 1992, indicated that dos Santos won 49.6 percent of the vote, earning just short of the 50 percent required to gain victory and to avoid a run-off with Savimbi, who finished second with 40.1 percent of the vote. In the legislative elections, the MPLA won 53.7 percent of the vote against UNITA's 34.1 percent. A total of 12 of the 18 parties that contested the elections won seats in the National Assembly, which was convened on November 26. UNITA's 70 deputies declined to participate. (See Appendix 1.)

Since the elections, Angola has descended into renewed civil war. Following the announcement of partial election results in early October, UNITA withdrew its generals from the newly constituted national army. Intense diplomatic efforts to persuade Dr. Jonas Savimbi to accept the results and to begin preparations for the second round of presidential balloting foundered. At the end of October, in circumstances that remain in dispute, UNITA troops launched a series of attacks in Luanda, and the MPLA retaliated in what has become known in the press as the "October Massacre," which left hundreds of people dead in Luanda. The fighting subsequently spread to major population centers around the country. It is estimated 2,000 Angolans have been killed per month since the resumption of hostilities.

Before the elections, from May to September 1992, the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) jointly implemented a program of pre-election advisory assistance for a wide variety of Angolan political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The Institutes administered the programs at the invitation of the participants and the government of Angola. The program comprised three three-day training seminars for political parties, five one-day regional workshops for political party pollwatchers, and a two-day seminar on the role of nonpartisan civic institutions in a democratic society. The Institutes also translated into Portuguese and distributed a variety of instructional materials regarding the election procedures, development of political parties and democratic processes. The Institutes prepared and distributed to all the parties guidelines and reporting forms to enable each party to scrutinize the conduct of the voting process. Moreover, when the Institutes invited representatives of the National Electoral Council to participate in the seminars to explain Angola's election law and procedures, it turned out to be that body's first such experience in providing information to the parties.

The Institutes held these seminars and workshops for all of the legally registered political

parties as well as a wide spectrum of civic groups and individuals interested in nonpartisan civic monitoring. Throughout the seminars, the fundamental tenets of a multiparty, democratic society -- such as tolerance, peaceful competition and compromise -- were emphasized and discussions were held concerning how they pertained to the specific Angolan environment. The agendas were organized to examine such issues as "What is democracy?" "What is the importance of an electoral framework?" and "How does one vote?"

During its three political party training seminars, the Institutes recruited a diverse international faculty from Europe, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and the United States to discuss a variety of technical skills that political parties use to compete effectively in democratic societies. Specific discussions were held on focus group research, campaign strategy, party organization and communications.

In August, the Institutes held a seminar on the role of nonpartisan civic organizations in a democratic society. More than 130 participants representing 30 Angolan non-governmental organizations attended the seminar. In particular, the participants tentatively organized a domestic election monitoring group. Soon after the seminar, however, the temporary organization failed to crystallize, as the numerous Angolans interested in participating were unwilling or unable to assume leadership responsibility. Despite several weeks of follow-on efforts by the two in-country representatives, who extended offers of technical, informational and financial assistance to the Angolans involved, no meaningful Angolan initiative to organize nonpartisan election monitors materialized.

In September, five one-day workshops for political parties on pollwatching were held in Luanda and provincial capitals. Presentations covered the specific articles of the electoral law on party pollwatchers, monitoring and the scrutiny of the counting. The Institutes emphasized that political party pollwatchers have the right to monitor the process as representatives of their party, that their participation as monitors helps to guarantee the transparency of the electoral process, and that their presence, with other pollwatchers from various parties, would help ensure the confidence of the voter. The Institutes also produced and distributed complementary written materials designed specifically for the Angolan training seminars.

After five months of intensive programming activities, the Institutes offer the following observations and recommendations for future democratic development assistance in Angola and elsewhere:

1. *An earlier start to the program would have enabled the Institutes to be more effective in transmitting to a greater number of Angolans both technical information and information about democratic values.* It was perhaps too ambitious to expect that four months of seminars would be adequate to overcome the suspicions and fear derived from two decades of violent conflict and a generation used to a one-party dominant society.
2. *Political party and civic organization training should not be limited to capital cities. The*

*Institutes believe that travel outside of Luanda from the very beginning would have enabled them better to implement the Angola program. Training conducted at the regional and local levels has the greatest impact because it allows for responses to specific needs and thus is most effective when concentrated there. It also would have enabled the Institutes' personnel and the international faculty better to understand the environment in which they were working.*

3. *The Institutes believe that individual party consultations and training in addition to all-party seminars would have allowed for more frank and open discussions of the problems faced by individual political parties. In a highly charged political environment, it is imperative to build trust between the international faculty and local political party activists. Individual party consultations and training generates this type of relationship. Without it, the impact of training on the operational activities of political parties and the attitudes of their principal activists significantly is diluted.*

The requirement that like numbers of activists from every legally registered party be included in every program activity meant that only a handful of persons were present from parties whose behavior would be crucial to the outcome of the process. Prior experience demonstrates that it is possible for NDI and IRI to work with political parties in a program that is broadly inclusive of all democratic forces, responsive to the various needs (real and imagined) of respective parties, and non-discriminatory at the same time that distinctions are made about the relative importance of competing political forces.

In conclusion, the Institutes' program assisted the political parties in developing organizational and communications skills. Moreover, the results of the political party pollwatching training could actually be seen on election day as many international observers were impressed by what an October 2, 1992 *Washington Post* article described as "... zealous human attention to verification procedures at the 5800 polling sites." Notwithstanding this success, the Institutes believe that the Angolan democratic development program could have generated a greater impact if the program had started earlier and if the Institutes had been permitted to be more responsive to the needs of the Angolans.

## I. BACKGROUND

### General Information

Angola lies on the west coast of southern Africa. Comprising 481,351 square miles, it is the third largest country south of the Sahara, after Sudan and Zaire. Angola is bordered by Congo and Zaire to the north, Zaire and Zambia to the east, and Namibia to the south. The terrain is flat along the narrow strip of Angola's Atlantic coast, but rises toward the interior to form a vast plateau that constitutes one of Africa's greatest watershed areas.

Estimates of Angola's current population vary from 10 to 13 million. The last general census, held in 1970 under Portuguese colonial administration, estimated the country's population to be between 5.8 and 6.5 million inhabitants. Luanda, the capital, is Angola's largest city, with well over a million residents. Other major metropolitan areas include Huambo, Bie, Malange, Lubango and Benguela.

### Pre-Colonial and Colonial Angola

It is believed that the southward expansion of the Bantu-speaking peoples during the first millennium A.D. drove out the original settlers of Angola and resulted in the creation of a number of prominent kingdoms in Angola between 1300 and 1600. The Angolan population is almost entirely Bantu. The largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundu, constitute approximately 35 percent of the population. Other significant ethnic groups include the Bakongo, the Herero, the Kimbundu and the Kwanyama.

The boundaries of Portugal's claim to Angola were established at the 1885 Berlin Conference. This, combined with the abolition of slave trading and the discovery of significant natural resources in the African interior (timber, diamonds, oil and gas, and substantial mineral reserves, especially iron ore), led the Portuguese to settle and develop the territory they had claimed. By 1915, Portugal had achieved *de facto* control throughout Angola. In 1926, a military coup established a one-party regime in Portugal. One of its major policy initiatives was to integrate Angola's economy into that of Portugal's. Until 1940, however, Portuguese residents in Angola still numbered less than one percent of the total population.

Following World War II, coffee sales confirmed the possibilities of an agricultural-based economy in Angola and coffee became Angola's major export crop. The new prosperity encouraged a dramatic influx of Portuguese colonists, who occupied a variety of urban professions ranging from civil servants to retail traders. Certain levels of education were

required for many of these positions and most, if not all, Angolan nationals were excluded from the educational process. In time, the influx of Europeans, the lack of educational opportunities for Angolans, and the continuation of forced labor (outlawed in 1961) led to increasing Angolan disaffection and conflict.

### **The Struggle for Independence**

The restrictive and sometimes inhumane policies of the Portuguese, coupled with the rise of nationalism across Africa in the late 1950s, escalated the conflicts into open rebellion. At this time, three primary movements emerged: the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional para a Libertacao de Angola [FNLA]), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (Movimento Popular para a Libertacao de Angola [MPLA]), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola [UNITA]). In 1961, the Portuguese mobilized a large army in an attempt to contain the rebellion, and intermittent armed conflict ensued throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s.

Although they fought for the same basic objective, namely independence, the three liberation movements were bitterly divided. One underlying cause of the disunity was ethnicity: the FNLA received significant support from the Bakongo in the north, the MPLA relied on support from the Kimbundu and *mestizos* (persons of mixed European and African parentage) of north-central Angola, and UNITA support was predominately from the Ovimbundu people of the central plateau. Other important distinctions arose from an urban-rural dichotomy and religious differences.

In 1974, military officers in Portugal ousted Lisbon's one-party regime and installed a new government that introduced a policy of decolonization. The *coup d'etat* somewhat halted the disunity among the Angolan liberation movements. In January 1975, the three movements signed the Alvor Agreement with the Lisbon government. It provided for a transitional coalition government, scheduled elections for October of that year, and set November 11, 1975 as the date of Angola's official independence.

### **Civil War**

The transitional government, however, soon collapsed. Periodic conflicts flared among the three liberation movements, and increasing interest in Angola by foreign powers exacerbated these tensions even further. The FNLA received covert funding from the United States, while arms from the former Soviet Union and Cuban trainers reached the MPLA. Before independence day (November 11, 1975), South African forces entered Angola in support of the FNLA and UNITA while the MPLA received increased military supplies from Moscow and thousands of troops from Cuba.

Within months, Angola's opportunity to construct a government and to exercise the right of self-determination had been transformed into a full-scale civil war. The elections scheduled for October never occurred, and in November the Portuguese simply departed Angola without recognizing any succession authority or government. The FNLA claimed control of Angola's northern region, the MPLA claimed the capital, Luanda, and surrounding areas, and UNITA seized the central and southern regions. Subsequently, the MPLA declared itself the government and established a Marxist-Leninist regime with close ties to Moscow. Meanwhile, the FNLA and UNITA joined forces in Huambo and announced that they constituted "the representative government of Angola."

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognized the MPLA government on February 11, 1976. Later, other countries followed suit (not including the United States). The MPLA, however, continued to face resistance from the FNLA and UNITA. Supported by Soviet-trained Cuban troops and Soviet military hardware, the MPLA government was able to devastate the FNLA.

In 1978, the South African government increased its presence in Angola to escalate its guerilla war against Namibia's primary liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and used the opportunity to strengthen its ties with UNITA. As a result, UNITA emerged as the main resistance movement, and the substantial support it received from the South African government allowed it to sustain guerilla operations against strategic economic and military targets. In August 1985, at the behest of President Ronald Reagan, the United States Congress repealed the January 1976 Clark Amendment (a prohibition on US military or paramilitary assistance to groups in Angola). Congress thus permitted the administration to channel covert financial and military aid to UNITA. The Reagan administration announced the resumption of "covert" aid to UNITA in February 1986.

### **The Road to Peace**

A series of meetings resulted in the signing of two accords at the United Nations headquarters in New York in December 1988: a tripartite agreement between the Angolan, Cuban and South African governments; and a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba. These agreements, witnessed by the United States and Soviet Union and arbitrated by the UN, obliged the signatory countries to implement a number of actions. The Luanda government agreed to the UN-monitored redeployment of Cuban military troops to the north of Angola; the Cuban government agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola under United Nations verification; and the South African government agreed to accept the United Nations Security Council Resolution 435,<sup>1</sup> to withdraw its troops from Angola and Namibia, and to cease military assistance to UNITA. Conditionally, the United Nations and the South African government

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<sup>1</sup>UN Resolution 435 (1980) established a framework for Namibia to become an independent nation following UN monitoring of elections to be administered by South Africa.

would then proceed with elections in Namibia to secure a new constitution and independence.

In an effort to capitalize on the above agreements to end the war in Angola, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire invited José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, President of UNITA, to Gbadolite, Zaire on June 22, 1989. It was the first time the two leaders had met. The immediate understandings arrived at by the two parties created an impression that they were ready to sit at the peace table. The ceasefire that was agreed to, however, was subsequently derailed, leading to the resumption of fighting between the two sides in 1989.

During the summer of 1990, Portugal's Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, José Durao Barroso, convened a series of meetings with the MPLA and UNITA. The US and USSR, long-time supporters of the two factions, also became involved in furthering the Portuguese mediation efforts. These meetings yielded substantial progress, with UNITA agreeing to a cease-fire and the MPLA sanctioning multiparty rule. These measures were to be implemented by December 1990.<sup>2</sup>

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM) was deployed in January 1989 pursuant to UN Resolution 626 (1988). UNAVEM's 31-month mandate was to verify the withdrawal of the 50,000 Cuban troops and concomitant military encampment of the two armies in Angola by July 1, 1991. At its height, the Mission consisted of 70 military observers. The withdrawal of the Cuban troops was completed on May 25, 1991.

On April 28, 1991, the MPLA-controlled National Assembly enacted an amendment to the Angolan constitution ending the one-party Marxist-Leninist state. On May 1, Lopo do Nascimento and Jeremias Chitunda, respectively representatives of the MPLA and UNITA, initialed the peace agreement. Finally, on May 31, 1991, President José Eduardo dos Santos and Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi signed the Bicesse Accords (also known as the Estoril Accords), formally ending 16 years of civil strife.

The destruction of the country and the toll on Angolan citizens during the civil war is dramatic. The war absorbed more than 70 percent of the government's budget, and damage to the country's essential transport, communications, and human subsistence infrastructure (roads, telephone, electricity, housing, food and water) was estimated at \$25 billion (USD). The population of Luanda reached epic proportions as people sought to escape the war in the countryside. More than 2.5 million people were displaced, with many going into exile in

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<sup>2</sup>The concessions were made for a number of reasons. The MPLA government had begun to lose its support from the Soviet Union, which was discontinuing material and political support from clients states worldwide, as its own transformation and dissolution accelerated. In 1990, the USSR decreased its military assistance to Africa from 22 countries to just seven. UNITA was also close to losing its assistance from the US. An amendment proposed by Representative Stephen Solarz to prohibit covert aid to UNITA narrowly passed the US House of Representatives, but was vetoed by President George Bush.

neighboring countries or overseas. Relief agencies estimate that more than half a million people died during the 16-year war.

### **The Bicesse Peace Accords**

The Bicesse Accords called for: the demobilization of both MPLA and UNITA armed forces; the formation of a new joint national army composed of 40,000 members recruited from both armed wings of the parties, the MPLA's People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (Forcas Armadas Populares de Angola [FAPLA]), and UNITA's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (Forcas Armadas da Libertacao de Angola [FALA]);<sup>3</sup> an immediate opening of the political process to all legally registered political parties; and the organization of national elections for a new government by November 1, 1992.

The Bicesse Accords created a Joint Political and Military Commission (Comissao Conjunta Politico-Militar [CCPM]) that possessed full responsibility for all aspects of the implementation of the cease-fire. The CCPM consisted of representatives from the Government of the PRA and UNITA, as members, and Portugal, the US, and the Soviet Union as observers. The UN would be invited by the government of the PRA to send monitors to the meetings. The meetings of the CCPM would be presided over by the government of the PRA and UNITA alternately in accordance with the principle of rotation, and without prejudice to the principle of consensus in the decision-making process.

A Joint Verification and Monitoring Commission (Comissao Mista de Verificacao [CMVF]), composed of representatives of the PRA and UNITA as members, and Portugal, the US, and the Soviet Union as observers, would report to the CCPM. The CMVF possessed the authority to create any structures it considered appropriate to monitor the full observance of the cease-fire. A UN representative also would be invited to CMVF meetings. The CMVF would be headquartered in Luanda, with a delegation in Jamba (UNITA headquarters in southern Angola). In the event that the CMVF proved unable to make a decision, or the CCPM objected to that decision, the final decision rested with the senior body, the CCPM.

Beyond its role in the CCPM and the CMVF, the UN was requested to participate in verifying the implementation of the Bicesse Accords. The Security Council adopted Resolution 696 (1991) entrusting a new mandate to UNAVEM, which thereafter became UNAVEM II. UNAVEM II's mandate involved verifying the arrangements agreed to by the Angolan parties concerning the cease-fire, the demobilization of FAPLA and FALA, and the formation of the new unified FAA. UNAVEM II initially consisted of 350 military observers and 90 police

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<sup>3</sup>The Air Force would consist of 6,000 members, and the Navy 4,000 troops. The first troops would be recruited from the respective branches of the FAPLA, inasmuch as the FALA does not possess such units. These units would be subordinated to the jointly established Angolan Armed Forces (Forcas Armadas Angolanas [FAA]), bringing the total number to 50,000 troops.

observers. In May 1992, UNAVEM II's police unit was increased from 90 to 126 officers. In addition to the peacekeeping force, UNAVEM II's mandate was expanded to include providing technical assistance in the organizing of the vote, observing the voter registration process, and coordinating international observers for the elections.

## **II. PROGRAM METHODOLOGY**

During the months following the signing of the Bicesse Accords, the IRI and the NDI conducted five separate assessment trips to Angola to observe the evolution of political parties and civic institutions, monitor the conditions under which the peace accords were being implemented, and explore options for democratic development projects in Angola. The IRI conducted its surveys in the provinces of Luanda, Malange, Benguela, Huambo, and Kuando Kubango in May, August and November 1991. The NDI conducted a survey mission to Luanda in July 1991 and sponsored a regional conference on advancing and strengthening democratic elections in southern Africa that was attended by Angolan political parties in Namibia in January 1992. As a result of the experiences gained, the two Institutes concluded that a fundamental lack of knowledge existed among Angolan political activists concerning even the most rudimentary cornerstones of a democratic society. This lack of knowledge ranged from the functions of and the relationship between political parties to the importance of creating nonpartisan institutions that support the democratic process.

Taking into account the mandate and activities of UNAVEM II, with which the Institutes sought to collaborate at every point, the Institutes designed a program to strengthen political parties and civic organizations, institutions that bear principal responsibilities for the conduct of free and fair elections and for increasing the confidence and participation of the voters in the electoral process. The Institutes established the following objectives for the training for political parties and civic organizations.

### *Political Party Training*

1. Encourage tolerance and minimize destabilizing tensions among political parties competing in the election process;
2. Enhance the practical political expertise of the parties at the national, regional, and local level -- particularly in terms of organization and management, election preparedness and voter contact;
3. Enhance the potential of the political parties to become truly long-term viable institutions and constructive players in the development of a democratic society;
4. Train local partisan activists in election monitoring and pollwatching; and
5. Train parties to conduct parallel vote counts at the provincial and national levels.

### *Civic Organization Training*

1. Train and encourage civic organizations to conduct nonpartisan voter education programs

at the grassroots level; and

2. **Train civic organizations** in election monitoring, pollwatching and a parallel vote count.

### **Joint Pre-Assessment Mission and Program Design**

In order to establish the parameters for the training of Angolan political parties and civic organizations, the Institutes sent a seven-member international delegation to Luanda from May 21 to 27, 1992. The team met with UN officials, election administrators, political party leaders, heads of civic organizations, domestic media representatives and members of the diplomatic community. (See Appendix 2.) The meetings sought to solicit input concerning the timing and content of the proposed joint program as well as the perceived needs of the political parties and civic organizations. Based on this information, the Institutes designed a series of three training seminars for political parties: "Political Parties and the Electoral Campaign," "Political Parties and the Electoral Process," and "Political Parties and Monitoring the Election," and three training seminars for civic organizations: "Civic Organizations and Elections," "Civic Organizations and Monitoring the Campaign," and "Civic Organizations and Monitoring on Election Day." (See Appendix 3.)

The Institutes' program activities responded to the evolving circumstances in Angola. In the end, the Institutes organized and conducted three three-day training seminars for political parties, five one-day regional workshops for political party pollwatchers, and a two-day seminar on the role of nonpartisan civic institutions in a democratic society. (See Appendix 4.)

### **The Training Seminars**

The most important aspect of the training seminars was the interactive involvement of the Angolan participants. Before each seminar, the Institutes distributed draft agendas to the political parties and the civic organizations. The advance distribution of the agendas served two purposes:

1. It allowed the Angolans to provide feedback about the particular seminar; and
2. It provided the Angolans with the ability and the incentive to designate appropriate representatives from their respective groups who would perform the tasks that the seminars addressed.

For example, two major topics of the first political party training seminar were campaign planning and grassroots party development. Accordingly, the Institutes requested that the various parties invite activists who would be in charge of designing national plans for the party

as well as activists at the provincial or municipal levels who would be responsible for party organization and volunteer recruitment. Therefore, political parties and civic organizations did not simply invite participants for a conference; rather, they were requested to make personnel decisions which would in turn affect their future operational strategies.

Invitations to participate in the training seminars in Luanda were extended on an identical basis to all of the legally registered political parties. (See Appendix 5.) For the first three political party seminars, held June 19-21, July 3-5, and July 31-August 2, each party was permitted to send eight representatives. Invitations for the September regional seminars held in Benguela, Lubango and Luanda provided that all legalized political parties could send two members from each municipality in each province. Invitations to the civic organization seminar were determined through extensive meetings and discussions during which the Institutes identified a wide spectrum of groups and individuals who were interested in nonpartisan monitoring of the elections. (See Appendix 6.)

The designation of individual participants remained largely the responsibility of the political parties and civic groups. The Institutes' primary responsibility consisted of providing a curriculum and a training methodology for each seminar and recruiting international faculty to communicate specific information effectively as well as to solicit audience input. Since the goal of the seminars was to promote more competent activists, the Institutes designed a format of workshops in addition to plenary sessions to facilitate greater interaction between the participants and the trainers, and to allow individuals to receive personalized attention specific to their needs.

The seminars were conducted with the aid of consecutive translation between English and Portuguese. The Institutes relied on a core of interpreters, the majority of whom attended most or all of the seminars and thereby became familiar with the terminology and concepts, and reasonably adept at facilitating the interactive, participatory style of workshops.

A by-product of the seminars was increased trust amongst the participants. For the legally constituted political parties, the seminars provided the first opportunity to participate in the same activity -- indeed, to be present in the same room. Many participants marvelled that institutes representing the Democratic and the Republican parties of the United States could work together on the project despite 1992 being a presidential election year. As a result, in the words of many of the participants, political activists began to see one another as "political adversaries, not personal foes." Moreover, each seminar concluded with a press conference to which all Angolan participants were invited. During the first two political party seminars, each party chose a representative to speak on its behalf concerning the proceedings of the seminar. At the third political party seminar, the parties collectively selected representatives for the entire group. The seminars thus allowed political parties valuable access to the media, the opportunity to initiate contacts with journalists for future purposes and a chance to gain some experience in public speaking.

The Institutes selected faculty for the seminars on a multinational, multipartisan basis

from their respective international networks of party trainers. Angolans would thereby interact with faculty who had different national perspectives and experiences concerning democracy and whose personal expertise was appropriate to the particular topics to be discussed. (See Appendix 7.) Sometimes, that expertise was based on an individual's knowledge of a specific provision of the Angolan electoral law. For example, Martin Krause of Argentina discussed the D'Hondt system of proportional representation that is used in Argentina and that had been selected for use in Angola. Other faculty members were chosen not only for their practical expertise, but to add a cultural and historical context to the proceedings, such as Basilio Ramos of Cape Verde, a Lusophone African nation that had recently held multiparty elections. In general, much of the responsibility was placed on the faculty to involve the seminar participants while conveying their particular message. For example, Dr. Fred Hartwig of Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., in the United States demonstrated the methodology of political research and the importance of such research by engaging the Angolan participants in a demonstration focus group.

Another advantage of the international faculty was that their very presence demonstrated support by the international community for the Angolan process and presented the possibility for parties to develop sustained future contacts with similar organizations elsewhere in the world. In addition, the Institutes included in the seminars UN personnel based in Luanda who explained the UN's mission in Angola and described the role of international observers in the electoral process.

Finally, some of the best faculty were Angolans who could explain nuances of the Angolan electoral process as well as generate enhanced interaction with the seminar participants. In fact, one of the most effective training activities was the Angolan National Electoral Council's (Conselho Nacional Eleitoral [CNE]) civic education team's demonstration of the voting procedure to the Angolan political parties and civic organizations. The interaction between the CNE and the parties was, in fact, initiated by the NDI and IRI program.

In addition to the dialogue, the Institutes developed and/or distributed written materials to seminar participants that could be used to train other Angolans. For example, to emphasize the extreme importance of the electoral law, the Institutes distributed more than 600 copies of the code to political parties and civic organizations. The Institutes also used the seminars to assist in the dissemination of civic education materials provided by the UN, the CNE, and the U.S.-based International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES). Finally, the Institutes created pollwatcher training materials that were distributed to the political party pollwatchers. (See Appendix 8.)

Many of the ideas for seminar topics, international faculty and written materials came from the Angolans. Three different methods were used to solicit these ideas. First, during each seminar, the respective working groups elected rapporteurs to relate their opinions and recommendations to the faculty at the end of each day. The practice allowed the Institutes to make ongoing adjustments to the seminar's agenda as well as to incorporate these suggestions into future seminars. Second, the Institutes distributed written questionnaires to the participants at the end of each seminar, providing the participants with an opportunity to evaluate the

seminars and to furnish feedback concerning the relevance of the topics. Finally, the Institutes' in-country staff held follow-up interviews with the Angolan participants to evaluate the effect of the seminars once participants had the opportunity to test the skills that they had acquired.

The Institutes modified the seminars in response to participant critiques. An illustrative list includes:

- "Provide information on coalition building."

The topic was incorporated into the second seminar.

- "Provide training on how to reach populations in areas without radio/TV, and how to make the most effective use of the radio/TV time allocated to each party."

The Institutes invited several media specialists to participate in the subsequent program.

- "Provide written materials that could be used for reference for future training activities."

The Institutes developed a political party pollwatcher training manual, a standardized form on which to report activities and law violations on election day, and a list of common election-related irregularities compiled from experiences in various countries around the world. The Institutes also distributed copies of the electoral law and civic education materials provided by the CNE's Civic Education team.

- "Provide training at the local level."

In September, the Institutes travelled to Lubango and Benguela to train political parties on pollwatching duties. The intent was to provide regional seminars in Benguela, Huambo, Luanda, Lubango, and Uige. By September, however, the program had to be modified due to security considerations, and the regional seminars for Huambo and Uige were held in Luanda.

- "Provide faculty from Africa and/or who could communicate in Portuguese."  
Six faculty participants were from African nations, five faculty were fluent in Portuguese, and three faculty were native Spanish speakers who understood Portuguese fairly well.

### **Resident Representatives**

The myriad of logistical, communication and program-related difficulties required each

Institute to have a representative based in Luanda. The Institutes selected individuals with knowledge of the Portuguese language and prior experience in Angola. Carol Martin (NDI's resident representative) and James Dunlap (IRI's resident representative) were members of the May pre-assessment mission and remained in Angola from June until just after the September 29-30 elections. The primary responsibilities of the resident staff were: to maintain communication with Angolans, other international organizations involved in the electoral process, and the Institutes' staff based in Washington, DC; to provide analysis of the evolving political situation in Angola; and to organize the seminars. Liaison work with the CNE, political parties, civic institutions and the international community was critical to obtaining valuable information as well as garnering understanding and support for the Institutes' program.

The success of the program rested on the imperative to sustain a dialogue with the CNE. Excellent relations were established and maintained with CNE President Dr. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, and CNE Director General of Elections Dr. Onofre dos Santos, who briefed each of the teams of the international faculty, discussed the electoral process with the Angolan participants, and helped to expedite answers to new questions that arose regarding the electoral code.

The resident staff contacted each of the legalized political parties before and after each seminar. The meetings enabled the party leadership to comment on the Institutes' program as well as to voice their concerns regarding the electoral process. These concerns and comments were then used to make adjustments to the design and implementation of the program, in addition to being communicated to the CNE, UNAVEM II and the US Mission.

The resident representatives met with a host of NGOs, religious leaders and individuals on a regular basis to discuss the need for and the feasibility of a nonpartisan pollwatching effort. The results of this activity were seen when more than 130 representatives from 30 different organizations participated in the Institutes' civic organization seminar in Luanda.

The Institutes' resident staff also exchanged information on a regular basis with representatives from the United Nations, the United States Liaison Office (USLO), and the international NGO community. The staff regularly met with representatives of the electoral unit of UNAVEM II to keep abreast of its activities and to ensure that the seminar program complemented the workings of that unit. The electoral unit also solicited advice from the staff concerning election-related aspects of projected UN programs in Angola, *e.g.*, the format for training seminars for election officials at the polling stations and the identification of participants for the UN-sponsored human rights seminar that took place in August. These meetings ensured the UN's continued participation in the seminar sessions and served to arrange briefing sessions by the UN for the international faculty.

Periodic meetings were held with Jeffrey Millington, Tony Newton, and other USLO staff, and weekly briefings were held with the USAID representative, Gussie Daniels. International NGOs such as Catholic Relief Services, CARE International, OXFAM and others exchanged information with the resident staff regarding the indigenous NGO community. The

Institutes also maintained contact with the resident IFES representatives.

The resident staff prepared weekly joint reports containing information garnered from liaison work, media analysis and on-the-ground observations. After the USAID-imposed ban on travelling outside of Luanda was lifted on July 31, the resident staff visited the following provincial capitals to assess political developments outside of Luanda: Benguela (August 5), Huambo (August 20), Lubango (August 5 and August 11-14) and Uige (August 19).

Finally, the resident staff was responsible for arranging and organizing the seminars and related logistics. The absence of a viable communication system, the disintegration of the country's transport, water and electrical infrastructures following 16 years of civil war, and the inefficient bureaucratic legacy of a one-party state combined to make logistical arrangements one of the most constantly challenging aspects of the Institutes' program. The unreliability of postal and telephone connections made it necessary to conduct the bulk of communications in person, a practice which enhanced and facilitated the interactive nature of the Institutes' ongoing program. In addition, the CNE offered its logistical assistance, notably during the Institutes' travel to the provinces, and the US government's election assistance permitted the Institutes' access to UN planes for this travel.

### III. DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONS IN ANGOLA

Throughout all of the seminars, the Institutes emphasized the fundamental tenets of a multiparty, democratic society and generated discussions concerning how they pertained to the specific Angola environment. The agendas were organized to include such issues as what is democracy, what is the importance of an electoral framework, and how one votes.

#### Democratic Culture

After remarking that democracy is preserved by social institutions and organizations which provide citizens with an opportunity to define and pursue their interests and to participate actively in making decisions which affect their lives, the faculty explained that Angolan political parties, the NGO community, and individual Angolan citizens would all have to be participants in the process if they were successfully to foster a democratic culture.

Civic education was stressed as an important component in democratic life and the first step in ensuring confidence in the electoral process and encouraging responsible participation. The plenary sessions emphasized that Angolans must learn to be responsive to the political process and that they must take an active part in constructing a democratic society in Angola. During a discussion period, Angolans spoke about the state of democracy in their country and observed that after many years of one-party rule and civil war, it was very difficult for Angolans to get used to democracy.

The Institutes' faculty explained that in a democracy the majority rule, but there must also be respect for the rights of minorities. One faculty member provided the example that democracy is like a sports competition: democracy is *not* natural competition, as when a bigger fish eats a smaller fish; instead, democracy is similar to a football game where team X defeats team Z, but the next time, team Z has the chance to defeat team X. Moreover, democracy, just like sports, must involve competition that follows a set of both formal and informal rules. Given the tenuous nature of the Angola political situation and the factionalism of Angola's political parties, the first political party seminar included a discussion of the value of a code of conduct, a device used to formalize some of the informal rules of political competition. Participants received a copy of the code of conduct endorsed by the Namibian political parties in 1989 as a point of reference for the discussion. (See Appendix 9.) This allowed the participants to discuss with the faculty issues of negative campaigning and how to respond, as well as inter-party ethics. During the same seminar, the Partido Democratico Angolano (PDA) distributed a document dated May 29, 1992 that contained a proposed code of conduct, but which the PDA had not yet widely disseminated. (See Appendix 10.)

Despite repeated attempts by the CNE and UNAVEM II, Angolan political party representatives did not manage to agree on a code of conduct to govern the campaign period for the September elections. Neither the MPLA nor UNITA attended an August 7 meeting with UN Special Representative Margaret Anstee and 18 other political parties to discuss a draft code of conduct. Discussions took place between the CNE and political party representatives concerning

a proposed code continued throughout the month of August, but the parties could not reach agreement. Representatives of the MPLA refused to accept the inclusion of a point that explicitly prohibited the government and its members from being involved in the dissemination of political or election propaganda or the use of state property for campaign purposes. The FNLA and UNITA representatives refused to accept an article stipulating that the political parties should respect and uphold the existing constitutional order. In the end, the talks simply disintegrated, demonstrating the legacy of tension and suspicion of 16 years of civil war.

## **The Electoral Framework**

### *The Electoral Law*

The formal rules of a democratic electoral competition are contained in laws governing the electoral process and the qualifications of political parties. They are implemented by the appropriate authorities. The Institutes emphasized the importance of the legal framework as the foundation for the development of political expertise. The Angolan electoral code outlined the organs that were involved in the electoral process and provided the parameters for the obligations and responsibilities of political parties in Angola's new multiparty system. The law on political parties stipulated the process by which established and emergent political organizations become legally constituted and thereby eligible to compete for power in the political arena.

The Institutes' faculty presented various analyses of the electoral law. Faculty from Portugal in particular pointed to the many similarities between Angola's law and that of Portugal, on which it was modeled. Other faculty provided interesting comparisons between the Angolan electoral law and other countries' laws and commended the comprehensiveness and detail of the Angolan code. The Angolan electoral law sought to discourage the formation of regionally or ethnically based parties. The law also outlined electoral procedures designed to ensure that the elections would be conducted freely and fairly. Moreover, the law stipulated that sanctions for irregularities discovered during the voting process would be applied speedily. Indeed, the international participants noted that the Angola law was so thorough that it incorporated the basic tenets of an electoral code of conduct among political parties. (See Appendix 11.)

## *The CNE*

The CNE, constituted on May 9, 1992, was charged with the coordination of all aspects of the electoral process. For this reason, the Institutes devoted significant time to the structure and responsibilities of the CNE during the seminars. The CNE was presided over by Dr. Antonio Pinto Caetano de Sousa, a judge of the Supreme Tribunal. (See Appendix 12.) Dr. de Sousa was elected to the post by the Court. The selection of a judge was intended to ensure the neutrality to the CNE. Onofre dos Santos, who was politically affiliated with the FNLA (he had been a member of the FNLA since 1974), and who had been living in Portugal for the previous seven years, was appointed to serve as the director general of elections. Dr. dos Santos was designated by the President of the Republic (the two are not relatives) following consultations with the legally constituted political parties. It was significant that Onofre dos Santos received the unanimous support of the political parties since the position depended on the confidence of all parties in order to carry out the functions of the office. During the course of the NDI-IRI seminars, participants regularly received information concerning the composition, duties and responsibilities of the CNE from these two officials and/or their representatives.

The organs of the CNE resembled a pyramid that reached down to the local municipalities, with supreme decision-making authority residing in the CNE. The national Directorate General of Elections coordinated the activities of each of Angola's 18 provincial electoral councils. The composition of the provincial electoral councils paralleled the structure of the CNE at the national level: it was presided over by a provincial judge with a provincial director of elections and provincial government and party representatives. The provincial electoral councils comprised the provincial directorate of elections and the municipal electoral offices. In cases of uncertainty or dispute, the issue passed successively from the municipal, to the provincial, to the national council, until it was resolved. Again, the CNE officials repeatedly stressed the importance of this redress procedure. Indeed, their response to participants' complaints about different aspects of the electoral process was to encourage them to make the complaints official by providing written documentation that the CNE or one of its local organs could investigate.

Dr. de Sousa, Dr. dos Santos and the international faculty repeatedly emphasized during the course of the seminars that the Angolan electoral law provided that each of the legalized political parties or coalition of parties had the right to a representative on the CNE. Despite this clear provision, party leaders, many of whom were also seminar participants, expressed doubt that they could attend the meetings without an official invitation or ceremony. Unfortunately, many parties continued to neglect the important avenue of the CNE to address concerns and to receive information about issues relevant to the electoral process.

## **The Electoral Process**

### ***Voter Registration***

Voter registration in Angola was a particularly daunting task given the vastness of the land, the communications and transport infrastructure weaknesses of the country, and the presence of an indeterminate voting population, complicated by the movement within the country by refugees returning from abroad or to their home regions from other parts of the country.

The CNE organized Electoral Registration Brigades whose duty it was to register eligible voters. Each brigade was composed of five to seven members who received instruction and training concerning the registration process. A total of approximately 8,000 brigade members were enlisted to register the population of eligible voters. Political parties had the right to monitor the brigades, though they could not legally participate in registering voters.

The CNE director of elections emphasized that brigade members were expected to behave in a politically neutral manner, and, therefore, had not been recruited solely from within the ranks of government. The issue was a particularly contentious one since many political parties accused the brigades of being constituted entirely of MPLA members. Moreover, though parties had the right to monitor the brigades, the reality was that many of them lacked the financial and personnel resources to do so. Dr. dos Santos explained that in order to initiate an investigation, political parties were required to provide written reports of observed registration abuses. Despite numerous verbal complaints, however, the CNE received only one written complaint during the entire process.

Seminar participants expressed concern about numerous possibilities of fraud, including: the use of false voter registration cards, persons registering more than once, registration by minors, and the registration of non-Angolans. The CNE director of elections responded to each of these concerns in turn. The sophisticated nature of the registration cards, which were being produced by the British firm Thomas de la Rue (the company prints currency for many African countries), was such that it would be impossible for anyone to duplicate them. Possession of multiple registration cards was pointless, since indelible ink would identify those who already had cast their vote. The registration of minors and non-Angolans could happen (and did). In the end, registration depended on the trained registration brigade members whose discretion it was to determine voting eligibility based on the individual's possession of the appropriate documentation.

The Institutes' faculty shared their experience regarding the voter registration process in other countries and offered suggestions as to how political parties could effectively intervene in the process. They explained that by petitioning for a preliminary list of potential voters, political parties could better understand who had been registered and who had not been registered. Parties could then target those voters who seemed to be sympathetic to them, but who had not yet registered. Parties could then dispatch activists to encourage the unregistered to register and to vote. (See Appendix 13.)

## *The Balloting Process*

One of the most effective sessions in the seminar program was the CNE's civic education team's demonstration of voting procedures to the Angolan political parties as well as the civic organizations. The procedures as presented at the seminars are explained in the following discussion.

The demonstration painstakingly simulated each step of the voting process, which would take place between the hours of 7 am and 7 pm on the days of September 29 and 30. No political propaganda was permitted within the polling station or within 500 meters of it. Media and international observers would be required to present their credentials for access to the polling station. The presence of armed forces within 500 meters was prohibited, although the president of the polling station, whenever necessary and following consultation with the co-election officials, could request that presence. Citizens who were non-voters or who had already voted were prohibited in the polling station.

The election officials at the polling site could not refuse complaints or protests concerning the balloting process; these complaints had to be duly entered into the report of the proceedings at the polling station. Polling site officials would make all decisions by majority vote, with the president having the deciding vote in the event of a tie.

The individual entering the polling site would present his or her voter registration card. The card would be punched to prevent the possibility of its being used again elsewhere, and the voter would receive two ballots, a pink ballot for candidates for the president and a blue one for candidates for the national assembly.<sup>1</sup> To assist voters, particularly the illiterate, the presidential ballot would contain the following: the name of the party, the party acronym and a picture of the candidate. The legislative ballot would indicate the name of the party, and the party acronym, symbol and flag. Unfortunately, no sample ballots were provided to the CNE by the Thomas de la Rue company for use in civic and voter education. Seminar participants wanted a sample ballot so that they could familiarize themselves with it and thereby better prepare their explanations to others. The Institutes concur that the availability of sample ballots positively complements voter education efforts.

Each voter would choose the candidate and party of his or her preference by marking an "X" in the desired space with a pen or, in the case of illiterate voters, by daubing the thumb on the provided inkpad and marking a thumbprint in the desired space on each of the ballots. The voter would then fold the ballots twice and place them in the appropriate ballot box: the pink

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<sup>1</sup>The Angolan election law stipulated that should no presidential candidate receive a majority of the votes cast, a presidential runoff election would be scheduled within 30 days between the two candidates with the highest number of votes. The registration card would be used again, though it would be punched with a different type of pattern to indicate that the voter had participated in the second round of the voting process.

box for the presidential election and the blue box for the national assembly. Ballots cast by voters who had forgotten their registration card, but who could remember its number, would be deposited into a third box, which was white. After casting his or her ballots, the voter's index finger would be dipped in visible indelible ink, indicating that the person had voted.

Throughout the simulation, the CNE representatives emphasized that the vote is secret: only one person at a time would be allowed access to the voting booth and each voter would emerge from the booth only after having folded each of the ballots to conceal their contents.

The seminar demonstrations also simulated the process of counting the ballots. The count would take place at the close of voting on the second day. In the presence of the political party pollwatchers and international observers, the election officials would separate the ballots by candidate and by party, and the ballots for each would be counted and recorded on the tally sheets that had been included in the balloting materials provided to each polling site. Once the count was complete, everyone present would initial the tally sheet, and receive a copy of the final results to prevent the possibility of fraud at a later time.

Seminar participants repeatedly remarked on the value of the voting demonstrations, which allowed them the opportunity for role playing, thus imparting significant experience to people who never before had participated in an electoral process. Participants volunteered to portray potential voters, election officials and election police. The hands-on experience generated a variety of questions which rendered the actual voting experience far less abstract and mysterious. Participants thus gained confidence in their ability to explain the voting process to others.

In addition, the simulations raised practical issues that had not yet been considered and that were therefore presented to the CNE for consideration. These issues underscored the fact that the civil war has given Angola the highest per-capita rate of amputees in the world. For example, people asked how voters without fingers or arms could be identified as having had voted. The CNE later determined that such individuals would have visible indelible ink placed on a prominent location, such as the ear, nose, or forehead. A great deal of concern was also expressed regarding the secrecy of the vote of a blind individual. In such cases, citizens were allowed to select a registered voter to aid them as they voted.

One of the major concerns raised during the seminars was the security of cast ballots, given that the voting process would take place over two days. A two-day voting period was necessary given the number of polling sites (almost 6,000), the length of time it would take for each person to vote (the CNE estimated five minutes per individual), and the number of persons expected to vote at each site (up to 1,000). Other concerns involved the requirement that a citizen be in possession of his or her voter registration card in order to vote, and the revelation that logistical difficulties would prevent voter registration lists from being available prior to or on election day. The CNE representatives explained that people who had lost their voter registration cards or who otherwise failed to bring them could vote if they remembered their registration number. People were urged to make a photocopy of their card and to commit the

number to memory. As for the absence of the voter registration lists, the political party pollwatchers would be required to be extra vigilant to ensure that only qualified voters were allowed to cast ballots.

The fact that the most politically engaged Angolans, sent to these seminars by their political parties, found the simulations and discussions so enlightening suggests that similar education could usefully have been provided to all eligible voters. Future democratic development programs should consider early-on the logistics of mass participation in voter education programs.

### *Security Issues*

Of major concern to participants was that voting would take place over a two-day period. Participants particularly were concerned about the security implications during the night following the first day of voting. The two-day balloting process necessitated extraordinary security, requiring safeguarding the ballot boxes over an extended period of time.

During the course of the seminars, CNE officials stressed that the political party participants, in their capacity as pollwatchers, would be responsible for much of the security at the polling site; thus, political party pollwatchers were advised to stay overnight along with the five polling station officials in order to provide security for the ballot boxes. This, in turn, would require parties to make advance preparations for the overnight monitoring.

"Election police," specially constituted for the purpose of elections, would also be present at the polling stations. It was unfortunate that the CNE used this terminology, as it suggested to many party activists and voters that armed government agents (i.e. MPLA) would be supervising the voting sites. The election police in fact were not military in nature, but were locally recruited civilians who were assigned to help to maintain order at the polling site.

Participants expressed grave concern regarding the provisions for guaranteeing the integrity of the ballot boxes. Participants also were concerned that the regular police officers might be unfamiliar with the rights of citizens, or might decline to respect those rights. Despite CNE assurances that the police would be briefed properly about their role on election days, the issue remained a popular concern. The Institutes, therefore, incorporated a panel on the issue into a later seminar in order to address this concern more directly.

### *The United Nations*

The Institutes made it a priority to include the representatives from United Nations Mission in the political party and civic organization seminars. UNAVEM II representatives explained that during the pre-election period, their teams consisted of a military or police representative paired with a civilian and deployed throughout the country. In total, UNAVEM II deployed teams averaging five observers apiece in each of Angola's 18 provinces, placing

more observers in provinces where the population densities were greater.

During presentations to the seminars, the UNAVEM II representatives generally explained their role as follows:

1. Verify that the registration process took place and that no eligible person was denied the right to vote;
2. Verify that the political parties and political forces could function without intimidation of any kind;
3. Verify that all political parties received access to radio and television; and
4. Observe the different phases of the voting process and inform the electoral authorities of irregularities.

## IV. POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE CAMPAIGN

### Introduction

Given that the Angolan elections would be held on September 29-30, 1992, Angolans particularly wished to discuss the importance of organizing for the upcoming elections in addition to discussing political parties as ongoing organizations. Participants were keenly interested in the practical aspects of managing a campaign, notably: designing a campaign plan and strategy, developing a message, recruiting volunteers, monitoring the campaign environment, fundraising, candidate recruitment and encouraging high voter turnout.

The Institutes' faculty explained that campaigns require a disciplined and organized effort. At the same time, political parties must be seen as permanent institutions -- not *ad hoc* campaign organizations. The first step in developing a political campaign is to set up the goals to be achieved by the political party in the upcoming elections. These goals should be organized into a written campaign plan. In order to develop such a plan, a political party must know the following: who the voters are, where they vote and why they vote. Most critically, a party must understand how many votes are needed to win an election or to achieve the results that have been set as party goals.

### *Understanding the Electoral System*

The international faculty found it necessary first to establish a rudimentary understanding of the Angolan electoral process before proceeding to explain the process of developing a campaign strategy. Indeed, the faculty found a surprising lack of knowledge among the participants regarding the electoral system, particularly about how votes are transformed into seats in the National Assembly. According to the electoral law, the allocation of votes into legislative seats would be based on the D'Hondt system of proportional representation. The Institutes recruited faculty who possessed fundamental as well as practical knowledge of proportional representation systems, including the D'Hondt system. (See Appendix 14.) Their opening discussions emphasized that only by understanding the electoral procedure would political parties be equipped to decide on the goals of the political campaign and to devise a plan in order to reach those goals.

The Angolan law provided for a mixed electoral system in which each party would prepare a national list of candidates to contest 130 legislative seats and provincial lists of candidates to contest five seats in each of Angola's 18 provinces. The international faculty explained that proportional representation systems usually do not result in clear majorities. As a result, such systems often lead to much compromise, negotiation and alliances between political parties after the election -- and sometimes before.

Unlike the legislative seats, the presidential race would be decided by a national majority vote. If no majority was reached, a second round of elections would take place between the two top vote-getters from the first round. Consequently, the potential existed for the formation of

coalitions for the Angolan presidency before the elections, and, in particular, before a second round.

### **Developing a Campaign Plan**

The international faculty stressed that structuring an election plan requires consideration of such issues as the availability of human and material resources, the timing of the campaign, and expected voter turnout (the number of people voting as a proportion of the number of people eligible to vote). The concept of turnout is important because if participation is expected to be high, then parties should concentrate resources on communications. In low turnout areas, parties should learn why people vote and how to find voters as well as how to communicate with them.

In brief, a successful plan takes into consideration the following points:

1. Unless a plan is written, it might as well not exist;
2. Human and material resources must be allocated according to campaign priorities, which must be defined clearly;
3. Time is an invaluable but diminishing resource; and
4. The party must distinguish between serious sympathizers, serious opponents, and the undecided, who are open to persuasion.

### *Research*

The international faculty explained that the first step in developing a written election plan is to conduct research. Political research helps provide a party with an understanding of the issues important to voters, the strengths and weaknesses of particular candidates or particular parties, and an understanding of the environment in which the election is taking place. The international faculty demonstrated that this research could then be analyzed to develop the strategy which identifies each political party's respective central theme and how to present that theme to the voter. Although many of the different political research techniques were touched upon, the international faculty focused on two types: research on issues and techniques.

The faculty pointed out that issue research is necessary to develop positions about the concerns of the voters. Furthermore, issues can be exclusive to a local area, or they can be shared issues of national concern. In order to refute speculation that issue research is difficult in a political environment such as that existing in Angola, or too technical a process, the faculty conducted simple interactive tests among the participants. To demonstrate the importance of research, Fred Hartwig asked participants to quote the most frequently cited words in their

party's political manifesto. All the participants mentioned "democracy," "solidarity" and "freedom." Fred Hartwig pointed out that an effort should be made to develop these core concepts to address the "values" which the majority of the participants considered to be most important, and then translate them into proposals to solve the populace's perceived problems.

In addition, Fred Hartwig defined "value" as something people really care about, then asked all the participants to write down what they considered to be the three most important issues they cared about in their own lives. As issues were noted and tallied on the blackboard, "health," "education" and "food" frequently emerged as the three most significant concerns. Emphasizing that these preferred issues were similar in many nations, he noted that since these were the issues voters found to be most important, they were exactly the issues which should be addressed by the party leaders and its candidates.

Focus group research, explained as an organized discussion group, was presented as a methodology for determining the extent to which the electorate understands a party's message. As opposed to public opinion polls, which are a way a finding out what people think, focus groups attempt to reveal why people think as they do. For example, focus groups can reveal what voters think of a particular party, its symbols and manifestos by understanding the dynamics involved in how people approach a particular issue, the way in which they think about it, and the way in which they incorporate new information. By conducting focus groups and incorporating information gained from that experience, a political party is better able to refine its message and focus on the important issues of concern to the electorate.

The focus group training was introduced with an actual focus group simulation during a plenary session. The focus group participants were presented with issues related to the future of Angola. Participants were asked which parties cared more about them, which parties cared about the problems that they cared about, and which party would do the best job of governing Angola in the future. Additional concepts were explored by reading a series of sentences from political party manifestoes and asking participants whether the information presented was a good reason to vote for that party, whether it was something to distinguish the party from others, and to detect the issues in a manifesto that voters might prefer.

Following the focus group simulation, detailed explanations of a focus group were presented in workshop sessions. Participants received information about how to convene a focus group: how to recruit people for a group; how to choose a neutral and comfortable site for conducting a group; and how to record the event so that revelations are carefully noted and answers to questions are rated. Equipped with information from a focus group, parties are in a position to understand better the extent to which the electorate perceives its main themes and messages, and the extent to which they agree with them and, therefore, are likely to vote for that party. (See Appendix 15.)

## *Strategy*

After information has been carefully gathered and evaluated in the research effort, the next step in writing a plan is to develop a strategy. The importance of the strategy is that there is a strictly defined period in which the electoral competition takes place: it is during this period that parties have the opportunity to present their ideas and proposals and attempt to persuade the undecided voters. The international faculty stressed that one of the key components of an election strategy is a unified message which the party can present to the public. The strategy is derived by evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the party's message and its individual candidates as well as the strengths and weaknesses of opponents' messages and candidates. The research formulates answers to the questions of who the voters are, why they vote, and where they vote, strategy determines how to make optimum use of resources in order to reach the level of votes needed to achieve party objectives.

The international faculty discussed various components of election strategies: creating a clear difference between a particular party and its opponent(s); creating a positive image for one's candidate or party; championing a single issue or cause; building coalitions; and engaging the voters in election activities.

Many political party leaders complained consistently about the lack of finances required to make their message known to the general public. The electoral law stipulates that the general budget of the state would include an annual sum for financial assistance to political parties for election-related activities. The terms of assistance and the criteria for distributing the funds were determined by the CNE. In the case of the legislative elections, the proportion of nominated slates was taken into consideration. Nevertheless, political parties would be expected largely to finance their activities from dues and contributions from individual members, income from the party's own assets and activities, donations, and bequests by Angolan citizens.

Many of the parties conducted their activities in difficult circumstances and with limited material resources. Party headquarters typically consisted of a room in the home of one of its senior members, and one party even had its headquarters in a local bar. Few of the parties possessed more than a typewriter, and most did not have a vehicle regularly at its disposal.

As a result, many of the more recently formed parties were anxious to receive information about the alternatives available for parties with limited resources to reach their constituents, and, most urgently, how to generate funds. They were most concerned about how to allocate scarce resources to different aspects of the election strategy.

The international faculty revealed the financial obstacles they faced in their own parties and encouraged Angolans to think of innovative ways of raising funds. The faculty also discussed the value of attracting volunteers to support a party's activities, and to provide in-kind assistance to achieve the party's goals. For example, artists and musicians could donate their talent to designing campaign posters or composing party election slogans and people with transportation could donate their vehicle to the party for a critical afternoon of activities, or even

on a more regular basis. Moreover, the faculty emphasized that scarce resources present all the more reason for a party to prepare a written plan in order to allocate its financial and human resources wisely.

### *Party Organization*

Throughout each seminar, the faculty underscored the importance of political party organization. Various levels of party organization were stressed: local party building, personnel management, scheduling, election day activities, and post-election day activities.

The political parties were encouraged not only to concentrate on organization at the national level, but also to build and sustain party organizations which were coherent and effective at the grassroots level. The faculty argued that since it is at the local level that political parties have the most direct contact with the populace, it therefore is at the local level where democracy is truly brought to the people. The faculty provided examples of typical organizational structures and explained that an organizational structure which clearly defined titles and responsibilities and that established a division of labor helps a party to operate more efficiently.

Timelines were highlighted as a key to managing the organization required for competing in an election. Timelines enable political parties to allocate their resources according to the priorities and goals they have established. Examples of timelines were presented for managing the limited resources of a political party in an election as well as in a pollwatcher training program.

The challenge for political parties is to identify ways by which to persuade their voters to go to the polls on election day and vote for their presidential and/or legislative candidates. A political party can motivate supporters to vote but it also must remind them to vote. Therefore, the faculty discussed the importance of party organization in mobilizing a high voter turnout on election day. The Angolan electoral code forbids campaigning on election day but permitted election day reminders for voters. Thus, it was emphasized that leaders of political parties must organize people to vote and make arrangements to help them vote (and not simply tell them for whom they should vote).

The international faculty emphasized that an election is just the first step on the road to democracy. Accordingly, some faculty members discussed post-election party building activities. In a democratic society, a party that loses an election must maintain vigilance over the actions of the president and the national assembly in order to be a loyal opposition; simultaneously, it must continue organizational activities to prepare for future elections. In fact, the very make-up of the Institutes' delegation (Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, Social-Democrats, Conservatives, members of ruling parties and parties in the opposition) impressed upon the participants that democracy is not a zero-sum game and that elections are neither the beginning nor the end of the democratic process.

## *Communications*

To be effective, a political party must motivate voters to support its candidate or list of candidates. In order to achieve this result, a party must take its appeal to the public by communicating its values, ideas, and message.

The faculty discussed the importance of an unimpeded flow of information within a political party and how a lucid organizational structure at the national and local level can help achieve this objective. Good internal communications constitute a key building block to productive external communication. The faculty emphasized the different stages of communication between the party and the voter: name recognition of the party's candidate; the candidate's qualifications, opinions, and proposals on various issues; differences between parties and candidates; and defenses against criticism by other parties. The faculty pointed out that a credible candidate will address issues, and any negative campaigning should attack programs, not individuals. Defensive tactics to be employed can include: denying the charges; admitting the truth of the charges but emphasizing either that they are not as bad as they sound or that the error is not expected to be repeated; or asserting that the charges are irrelevant.

Presenting the message to the public was probably the most popular and perhaps the most vital aspect of the political party training program. As mentioned above, the faculty explained that the key to presenting a message is to develop that message: find the issues that voters are concerned about, develop methods in which to address these issues, and state the problem in terms which the audience can understand. Participants were engaged in a presentation on how to give a public speech during which everything from body language to content of the conclusion of the speech was discussed. Volunteers were then given topics to discuss in front of the workshop while the other participants provided critiques on delivery, demeanor, substance, and the general impact of the speech.

In addition to direct interaction with the public, a political campaign can reach the voters through the mass media. The Angolan electoral law allocates to each presidential candidate and political party 20 minutes of radio time (between noon and 10 p.m.) and 10 minutes of TV time (between 6 and 10 p.m.) daily throughout the 30-day campaign period. The broadcast time was provided without charge, with political parties financing the cost of producing its materials. Parties would use the time on alternate days for the presidential election competition and for the simultaneous legislative elections. The time slots were assigned by lottery. Moreover, the *Jornal de Angola* (the state-owned national newspaper) reserved one-page daily in alphabetical order for the contributions of three political parties and one presidential candidate beginning August 30.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The Angolan law provided for a National Media Council (Conselho Nacional de Comunicacao Social [CNCS]) to ensure the objectivity of information, to safeguard the freedom of the press, and to settle any disputes. Presided over by a magistrate and composed of one representative from each of the legalized political parties, three journalists and two government appointees, the CNCS was formally invested on August 13 and sent a representative to the CNE on August 21.

Party representatives repeatedly raised the issue of the access of the ruling party to state organs for propaganda and campaign purposes. The international faculty pointed out that such a concern is a perennial one, and one that exists everywhere: when does a head of state make pronouncements in the capacity of head of state, and when does that same individual function as a leader of a party? Similarly, when is media coverage reflective of the activities of a head of state or of the activities of a politician? The international faculty observed that the issue could be resolved in later legislation that stipulates, for example, that a head of state must declare the purpose of an activity as national or partisan before engaging in whatever the activity may be - dedicating a hospital or addressing a political rally.

The international faculty strongly advised the parties not to waste their broadcast time. Television and radio allow the party to convey its message directly to the listener copiously and without edited distortion. Role playing exercises were developed in which one seminar participant would act as an interviewer and another would answer questions. The faculty and remaining participants then discussed the clarity and smoothness of the delivery, voice inflection, dramatic pauses, body language, and content of the answers.

## Conclusions

The Institutes' series of political party seminars was structured to yield a cumulative program intended to highlight different aspects the Angolan electoral law and their relevance to how political parties would participate in Angola's first multiparty electoral process. Each session attempted to reflect a fundamental theme: an introduction to the electoral process, campaign preparations, communications, election-day activities, political party pollwatching, etc. Although there was redundancy in some of the background material, there was limited overlap in the political party participants: about 30 percent attended two or more seminars. For many of the political parties, and certainly for the majority of Angolans, registering and participating in elections were novel experiences.

Indeed, many parties experienced difficulties in putting into practice the themes discussed during the seminars. For example, many parties did not take maximum advantage of the broadcast time allocated to them. Particularly during the beginning of the campaign period, many parties forfeited especially their television slot because they had not prepared a presentation. Over time, however, the transmissions employed more of the communications techniques discussed in the seminars: a focus on such specific issues as housing, jobs, and the state of the economy; repetition of key phrases; and theme music that immediately identified a party to listeners. In addition, featured political leaders became noticeably more comfortable.

The fact that Democrats and Republicans from the U.S., alongside representatives from Portugal's principal parties on the left and right, were able to cooperate easily in this program sent an important message to the Angola participants, and one they frequently remarked on. In retrospect, it seems clear that it would have been valuable to place greater emphasis on inter-party consensus, especially for activists from the largest parties.

## V. POLITICAL PARTY POLLWATCHING

Political party monitoring of the election process and voting day was an early and consistent focus of the Institutes' pre-election program in Angola. Typically, the recruiting, training and deployment of pollwatchers provides new political parties with their only easily understood mobilization task (after candidate nomination and before election day). Thus, the ability of a party to deploy, in the case of Angola, pollwatchers to 5,800 polling sites would provide an important benchmark, for the parties and for the observers, of the organizational strength of each party. A party that cannot organize pollwatchers in a given town or region is seen by all to have minimal support in that area and thus has less standing to complain of fraud when votes do not materialize there on election day. The importance of familiarity with the electoral law, the role of international observers and the value of domestic monitoring were issues repeatedly addressed in seminar discussions as well as during meetings with individual party representatives, the CNE and representatives of UNAVEM II. In fact, during the third political party training seminar, the Institutes focused a large part of the program on political party pollwatching.

As the election drew near, it became increasingly clear that this non-campaign related activity needed to be emphasized, and discussed further with the political parties. Some of the parties clearly had unrealistic expectations about their electoral prospects. Two of the parties still controlled large armed forces. In order for the parties to be at ease with the post-election situation in which virtually all these parties would be disappointed with their electoral success, it was necessary that they have the capability to satisfy themselves that the votes had been counted accurately.

The program of seminars dedicated to political party pollwatching was refined and focused to reflect the actual electoral situation, including the number of parties contesting the elections and the CNE decisions as to the appearance of the ballot, the number of polling sites, and the constitution of an election police force. This information guided both the political parties and the Institute's resident staff in the development of a party pollwatching program.

### Monitoring by Political Parties

Given their centrality to the electoral process, especially in political environments not rich with other intermediate social organizations, it is important that political parties possess the requisite skills with which to monitor the entire process. Thus, Angolan political party representatives needed to understand thoroughly the electoral process and their role in election monitoring. The relevant articles of the electoral law were discussed in detail, emphasizing the rights and duties of pollwatchers, the functions of the pollwatchers during the counting, and the certification of the counting by pollwatchers. It was also emphasized that political parties have a major responsibility to ensure the security of the vote.

Representatives of the national and provincial electoral councils participated at opportune moments during the course of each seminar to provide information concerning political party monitoring for party representatives. CNE President Dr. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, or CNE Director General of Elections Onofre dos Santos -- and sometimes both -- participated in each seminar held in Luanda. CNE representatives discussed political party monitoring functions during the voting process, the counting process, and the recording of the results of the vote, as delineated in the Angolan electoral law.

### *Developing a Political Party Pollwatcher Program*

In mid-September, the Institutes sponsored a series of one-day seminars addressing political party members designated as pollwatchers or organizers of pollwatching activities for the September 29-30 elections. The premise was that participating party representatives could in turn train additional pollwatchers.

The Angolan electoral law allowed each party to have a pollwatcher and an alternate at each of the nearly 6,000 sites throughout the country. Seminar presentations covered the specific articles of the electoral law on party pollwatchers, on monitoring, and on the scrutiny of the counting. The presentations emphasized that political party pollwatchers have the right to monitor the process as representatives of their party, that their participation as monitors helps to guarantee the transparency of the electoral process, and that their presence (along with party pollwatchers from other parties), would help promote voter confidence.

As mentioned earlier, a simulation of the voting process was conducted in each session to demonstrate the entire voting process. Representatives of the CNE conducted these demonstrations and emphasized that a voter is free to cast a ballot for the candidate of his or her choosing, and that such a vote is cast in secret.

Participants raised numerous questions about security at the polling site, the possibility for election fraud, and the secrecy of the vote. Other questions included the protection of the ballot boxes overnight and the counting process. Finally, despite the extensive presentations by the CNE, confusion still existed as to the differing roles of officials at the polling station and the party pollwatchers.

In addition to providing Angolan party members with opportunities to understand their electoral system, the workshops also gave international participants a chance to share with Angolans the operations and experiences of other countries in the electoral process. The international participants provided detailed presentations about how to develop a political party pollwatching program at the provincial and municipal levels, including the preparation of materials to train the trainers at the provincial level and to train pollwatching volunteers at the municipal level.

The example of Luanda provided a perspective on the task of organizing pollwatchers. With at least 860 fixed polling sites, a political party would have to train 1,720 volunteers as

party pollwatchers and alternates in order to assure representation at each site. Although a daunting task, the faculty stressed that it could be a manageable one for which planning is key. A written plan with timelines and checklists would help maintain organization and communication within the political party.

Presenters also stressed the necessity of being prepared for election day, especially by getting sufficient rest the night before, and ensuring that party pollwatchers know the location of the site they are assigned to monitor. In addition, and most critically, pollwatchers must be trained to understand the electoral process, specifically the electoral law. Participants were warned that pollwatchers must be reliable activists who are disciplined and will look out for the best interest of the party. As one faculty member put it, pollwatchers are "the eyes, ears and nose of the political party" on election day.

Each seminar concluded with a summary of election-day activities and a sharing of the experiences of the international participants. The faculty from Cape Verde, Mexico, Paraguay, the United States and Zambia were all able to provide numerous examples of what can go wrong when party communication breaks down, when plans are not developed, or when pollwatchers do not fulfill their commitment to the party.

## **Materials Distributed**

An important component of the pollwatching sessions was the distribution of materials for political party pollwatchers developed specifically for the Angolan training seminars. These materials, which complemented the international faculty's presentations, included an eight page model training manual for pollwatchers, a model report form for election day monitoring, a sample of a violations report form to the presiding officer, and an overview of typical electoral irregularities culled from experiences in various countries. (See Appendix 16.)

In addition, each participant received a copy of the electoral law and extensive CNE materials on the voting process, including a voter manual, a voter guide, a guide for the electoral police and civic education material. The distribution of these materials at the seminars facilitated their dissemination to provinces other than Luanda, which for reasons of logistics and organization had received very little material from party representatives or from the provincial electoral councils.

### *Pollwatcher Training Guide*

The Pollwatcher Training Guide explained the importance and purpose of a pollwatching program in addition to spelling out the preparation of activities prior to election day. The guide incorporated significant parts of the electoral law such as the presence and functions of officials at the polling site, and the rights and duties of the pollwatcher. Furthermore, it included a description of the activities on election days such as the materials a pollwatcher should have, the materials needed by the polling officials, the election day procedures, and most importantly, the voting procedure. In addition, the beginning and ending periods of voting were highlighted as well as electoral procedures for the opening of ballot boxes and the counting of ballots.

The faculty stressed that written information at a polling site documents a pollwatcher's complaint. Accordingly, the Institutes created and distributed two reporting documents that political parties could use as a model to develop their own forms: a report of the electoral operations to record occurrences at a polling site by a party pollwatcher on elections days, and a report form to record any violations at the polling site to give to the president of the polling site.

A separate document contained examples of electoral irregularities. Examples were given of irregularities occurring before, during and after the voting as well as irregularities during the count. Examples of irregularities were discussed because Angolan political parties had never before experienced the electoral process on a national level, or in a multiparty setting. As a result, parties were particularly anxious to capitalize on the experience of other countries in order to prevent similar occurrences in Angola.

## **Relationship to International Observers**

Throughout the political party seminars and the seminar for civic organizations, Angolans seemed to concur that international verification of election results was critical. Participants repeatedly extolled the virtues of international observation, despite attempts by faculty and UNAVEM II representatives to describe how the three categories of monitoring - international, nonpartisan civic group, and political party - are interrelated, and how they complement one another.

UN representatives emphasized that the UNAVEM II mission in Angola, an independent and sovereign nation, was significantly different from the operations undertaken in Namibia in 1989, where the UN supervised and controlled the electoral process. In Angola, UNAVEM II's mandate was to observe the electoral process and to provide technical advice and assistance as requested. Ultimately, the responsibility to respect the law of the country resided with the Angolan authorities. In short, UNAVEM II had a mandate to support the elections, and not to organize them.

The UNAVEM II representatives explained that during the polling itself, UNAVEM II would constitute 200 two-member observation teams (*i.e.*, 400 people) and deploy them throughout Angola. Teams would be free to choose to remain at one polling site throughout the voting, or to circulate in order to observe several polling sites. Only domestic groups such as political parties could monitor the process in every polling site in Angola. Thus, the UNAVEM II observation mission would be the "second line" of observation while the first line of observation would be carried out by political party monitors.

## **The Party Pollwatcher Seminars**

Close to 500 political party members attended the five one-day sessions on election day activities and political party pollwatching from September 12 to 17. On September 12, simultaneous pollwatching training sessions were conducted in Benguela for participants from Benguela and Kwanza Sul, and in Lubango for participants from the provinces of Huila, Cunene and Namibe; 129 participants attended the Benguela seminar while 111 attended the seminar in Lubango. Three regional seminars took place in Luanda. The first seminar, held on September 15 for the provinces of Bengo, Cabinda, Luanda, Moxico and Zaire registered 129 participants. The next day's seminar, for political party activists from Bie, Huambo and Kuando Kubango registered 39 participants. The last seminar, for political party representatives from Uige, Kwanza Norte, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul and Malange provinces, registered 80 participants. Political party pollwatchers from all of Angola's eighteen provinces participated in the training seminars, and approximately nine of the political parties participated, including representatives of the Angola Democratic coalition. Less than a quarter of the pollwatcher participants who attended the sessions were women.

The Institutes envisioned that the seminars would have a ripple effect: that, at the very least, each participant designated to be a pollwatcher would share the knowledge gained during the seminar with his or her alternate, or with teams covering a particular area. At best, the Institutes anticipated that seminar participants could impart the experience gained to colleagues at the provincial or even the municipal level to train teams of pollwatchers for their respective political party.

### **Evaluation of the Pollwatching Seminars**

The Institutes' original intention was to hold regional seminars in five provincial locations: Benguela, Huambo, Huila, Luanda and Uige. The ideal situation would have been to hold seminars in each of the 18 provinces, thereby facilitating access to the seminars by reducing the logistical, financial and time restraints presented by the necessity for participants to travel to a regional capital or to Luanda. Given mounting tensions in Uige and Huambo, however, the seminar for these regions was held in Luanda.

Though the seminars were open to all political parties, only the MPLA and UNITA actually had the capacity to place monitors and alternates at all or nearly all of the polling sites. No other party possessed the organizational capacity to place pollwatchers at even half of the polling sites around the nation.

Generally, the participants indicated that the program offered them a great deal of useful information. Still, participants found a one-day seminar to be too short and felt that the seminar should have comprised at least two days. Some suggested that the materials distributed at the seminar should have been provided to the political parties at least a week prior to the seminar in order to afford participants the opportunity to familiarize themselves with them. Participants also suggested that films of other electoral voting experiences (from Africa, in particular, but also from other parts of the world) would have been useful.

It also would have been useful had the Institutes been able to convene meetings with the leadership of all the political parties before the seminars to share with them the material and to incorporate their views as to whether the material was readily understandable or addressed the purposes for which it was intended. Time restrictions, however, prevented such an activity from taking place. This series of regional seminars, it should be recalled, was an additional, unforeseen activity the Institutes initiated in August as a result of requests from various political parties. Inasmuch as lengthy discussions with AID were necessary before permission was obtained to hold training activities outside Luanda, and after August 29, this part of the program clearly was not as well prepared as it could have been.

These seminars probably would have had greater effect had they been held earlier, as opposed to during the official campaign period when the parties' attention was diverted

elsewhere. Moreover, the seminars could have been more specifically targeted to trainers of pollwatchers and to the leadership of political parties, instead of to actual pollwatchers. Such an occurrence would have been more suited to the idea that the experience gained in the seminar should be modified to support the specific needs of the Angolan context.

Nonetheless, according to press accounts and reports from officials of these groups, some political parties including the MPLA, UNITA and the PDPA trained additional pollwatchers following the Institutes' seminars.

Moreover, the participation of prospective pollwatchers in a common training session served to identify to party representatives those people who would probably be working together on election day, thus facilitating ease of communication, and, to some extent, promoting an atmosphere of mutual trust during the two-day election period.

Political parties also received information concerning the utility of a comprehensive parallel vote count, although, once again, it appeared that only the MPLA and UNITA had the capacity to perform one. Indeed, representatives from both parties stated to the Institutes' resident representatives that they intended to conduct such a count. The post-election assessment that was envisioned would enhance the evaluation process concerning the efficacy of party pollwatchers and the results of any parallel or quick vote counts but it has not yet been feasible given the resurgence of violence throughout Angola.

## **VI. CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM**

Vigorous domestic civic organizations and individual citizens can play a key role in strengthening democratic processes at the local level, thereby facilitating the consolidation of a transition to a more democratic political system. In Angola, the Institutes' objective was to identify nonpartisan groups and individuals to participate in civic education seminars, then to assist efforts to implement a domestic monitoring program if the interest and appropriate personnel were present.

### **Developing Contacts with Civic Groups**

Contacts with Angolan associations were developed from the time of the Institutes' pre-assessment mission in late May. The pre-assessment report noted that "the observable degree of organization and readiness of civic institutions in Angola for participation in the electoral process and the new democratic society was significantly less defined than that of the political parties." Not surprisingly, civic institutions in Angola, as in many transitional societies, were largely embryonic. There did exist in Angola, however, inclusive umbrella organizations for NGOs, such as the Technical Unit for the Coordination of Aid (Unidad Tecnica para a Coordenacao de Ajudas [UTCA]) and the Forum of Angolan Non-Governmental Organizations (Foro de Oranizacoes Nao-Governamentais Angolanas [FONGA]). The Institutes hoped that these groups might facilitate civic education in Angola, and provide the backbone of a domestic monitoring effort.

The resident representatives maintained contact with the international and national NGO community on a weekly basis. Additional contacts and mini-consultations were carried out with representatives of civic groups when the Institutes' Washington-based staff and international participants arrived in Angola to conduct the political party seminars. The role that civic groups could play in the electoral process and the idea of developing a domestic monitoring group was discussed at each of these encounters.

In addition, the resident staff undertook an observation/advance field trip to Benguela, Huambo, Lubango and Uige to observe the activities of NGOs outside Luanda and to gather information about locally based groups and their infrastructure and communications capacities, and to assess the prospects that a quick count or parallel vote count could be undertaken by established NGOs.

### ***Contacts with the Religious Community***

As is the case in many countries, leadership provided by the churches is crucial in Angola. The most significant churches include: the Roman Catholic Church, headed by Cardinal Alexandre do Nascimento; the Methodist Church, headed by Bishop Emilio de Carvalho; the Council of Christian Churches (formerly the Angolan Council of Evangelical Churches: Conselho Angolano das Igrejas Evangelicas [CAIE]), headed by the Rev. Augusto

Chipesse; and the Kimbanguist Church, led by the Rev. Wanani Nunes Garcia.

The pre-assessment mission met with Cardinal do Nascimento, who received the delegation with great warmth and candor. During the course of the meeting, the Cardinal pledged the prestige and the personnel of the Catholic Church to playing a positive electoral role over the next four months, including election day activities, if necessary. His commitment was significant because the Catholic Church is one of the most organized NGOs in Angola, possessing an organizational infrastructure that extends throughout the country and sufficient clergy and lay workers who could be extremely instrumental in voter education and ensuring the security of the ballot.

The Rev. Chipesse of the Council of Christian Churches, coincidentally, was a member of the CNE. The Council of Churches was established in 1977 to foster unity and cooperation among Evangelical churches. It is comprised of 16 churches and church organizations representing about a million persons. Beginning most significantly in 1989, the Council has been involved in encouraging the processes of peace and democratic liberalization in Angola. The Council has published a series of three pamphlets containing Bible studies concerning peace and reconciliation. The Council possesses a strong infrastructure in 12 of Angola's 18 provinces. The Rev. Chipesse indicated his willingness to have the Council participate in a domestic monitoring effort.

The Methodist Church is strong in the northern half of the country. Bishop Emilio de Carvalho indicated that the Church has approximately 125,000 members, and is the second largest Protestant church in Angola. He remarked that churches are an important entity because their members include people of every political party.

The Kimbanguist Church is a charismatic Christian religion that arose in Zaire at the beginning of the century. Presently, about 2 percent of the Angolan population is considered to be members. The Rev. Garcia believed that a nonpartisan domestic monitoring program presented a great opportunity because he did not believe that the desires of the Angolan people to participate actively in the democratization process were adequately expressed by political parties.

#### *Contacts with National NGOs*

The Technical Unit for the Coordination of Aid originally was set up as a government liaison office to coordinate emergency and relief programs funded and implemented by international NGOs. The UTCA leadership, Carlos Eloy and Maria Assis extended a gracious welcome to the Institutes and allowed the Institutes the use of UTCA offices to hold meetings with NGOs in a familiar setting, and to distribute as well as to receive information from the national NGO community.

FONGA comprises approximately 30 Angolan NGOs. Early on, FONGA representatives expressed a desire to be granted some form of status and non-voting participation by Angolan

associations in the CNE in order to keep abreast of electoral developments and to participate in helping to ensure the success of the process. As noted below, such recognition, however, was not granted by the CNE.

### *NGOs and the CNE*

Unlike political parties, for whom the law specified a clear role in the election monitoring and vote counting procedures, the Angolan electoral law does not include specific provisions regarding the role of domestic organizations in the electoral process or in pollwatching activities. No specific mechanism enabled NGOs to participate in the CNE or to receive credentials for access to the polling site on election days. Consequently, an early objective of the Institutes' civic organization program was to encourage Angolan groups to contact the CNE to negotiate for participation in its proceedings and to work with the CNE to receive credentials in order to monitor the election and to conduct a parallel vote or quick count, if civic groups developed the capacity to do so. CNE representatives proved sympathetic to the idea and indicated that they would be supportive should such requests be presented by Angolan NGOs, but it was clearly not a CNE priority.

Rev. Chipesse, however, indicated that although the NGO issue could have been discussed at a number of CNE meetings, this had not occurred because NGOs had not directly approached the president or the director general to express their desire for participation or to request that they be the recipient of CNE information. Moreover, Rev. Chipese noted that although he is a member of the CNE as well as of FONGA, FONGA representatives had not approached him for specific information about CNE deliberations.

It is important to note that NGO representatives strongly desired the support of the CNE for their participation in the Institutes' program. Though such support seemed forthcoming (it was never extended in an official manner), it was difficult to allay fears of recrimination in a society long-accustomed to a bipolarized situation of war. NGO representatives themselves found it difficult to believe that Angolans could be capable of nonpartisan activity or that patriotism itself could be apolitical. As such, it proved difficult for them to arouse the enthusiasm or

support of others to participate in voter education or pollwatching activities.

### **The Seminar: "The Role of Civic Organizations in a Democratic Society"**

The August 7-8 seminar registered over 130 participants from 30 Angolan NGOs. For most of the groups, the seminar offered the first opportunity for people to consider the possible role that they could play in strengthening Angola's democratic culture.

Of the various groups represented, there was a preponderance of religious representatives, with affiliations from at least six different church groups that included the major

denominations in Angola. Also represented were the YWCA/YMCA, humanitarian groups, health groups, women's groups including national and provincial representatives from the Angolan Women's Organization (previously the Organizacao das Mulheres Angolanas [OMA], the women's wing of the MPLA), and the professional teacher and journalist associations. The group's professional range was impressive, comprising 22 teachers along with university students, civil servants, secretaries, pastors, journalists, jurists, nurses, accountants, language teachers of French and Russian, a locksmith, a dressmaker, an economist, an artist, an oceanographer, a psychologist and an individual who worked in public relations. More than a third of the participants were women, and almost half were members of the board of their respective organizations. The vast majority of participants were from Luanda; only 11 participants arrived from areas outside, including seven from the province of Uige, two from Kwanza Sul, and one each from Kwanza Norte and Cabinda. All participants indicated that they had registered to vote.

The seminar provided the first opportunity for many participants to meet someone from the CNE civic education program (who performed a voting demonstration and answered questions) or to hear from a representative of UNAVEM II about the role of international observers in the elections. The international faculty, from the US and Grenada with experience in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, and Latin America explained the various roles that civic organizations can play in the democratic process. Moreover, the international faculty and particularly the UNAVEM II representative, emphasized that it is ultimately up to Angolans to satisfy themselves that the electoral process is acceptable.

The faculty presented the idea that a nonpartisan volunteer group to monitor Angolan elections could be conceived as a temporary action that would depend on volunteers' time and energy. Such an effort would have to be genuinely nonpartisan, and its activities would have to be transparent so as not to be construed as assisting any particular political party. Moreover, if such a group were to conduct a parallel vote count, its tabulation of the votes would have to be honest and accurate. Finally, such a group would not be inconsistent or in conflict with any political party, nor would it be inconsistent with any existing organization.

To get seminar participants focused on the workings of a domestic monitoring effort and the effort involved, seminar participants selected one of four working groups: volunteer recruitment; the production of printed materials; coordination with international observers; and public/media relations. The faculty exhorted the working groups to devise a plan of action for organizing a domestic monitoring effort and for mobilizing the necessary volunteers and provided advice for doing so.

After the larger group was reconvened, seminar participants selected an ad hoc executive committee of five individuals who would continue the work begun in the seminar sessions. The committee would assist a project director responsible for the overall program design and implementation. The director would provide coordination and be responsible for day-to-day activities. Seminar participants also ascertained the importance of a national volunteer coordinator to recruit a network of volunteers; legal experts to ferret out the requirements of the

CNE and to make sure that all documents that the groups produced were in order; a public relations coordinator to communicate with the media; an information coordinator to establish and maintain the communications network; and an intermediary liaison for political parties. Other important coordinating functions included a logistics officer and a coordinator if a quick count were to be undertaken.

Among the first steps for the committee would be to:

1. Identify additional volunteers;
2. Develop a communications network; and
3. Design simple instructions so that volunteers could independently verify the election results.

In addition to being charged with developing a plan of action, the committee would serve as the Institutes' contact persons in the subsequent weeks.

The Institutes remained committed to providing technical advice and expertise in the event that the Angolan NGOs demonstrated the ability to commit personnel and to act in a nonpartisan fashion.

### **The Aftermath of the Seminar**

As a result of the seminar, the assembled collection of NGO leaders resolved to cooperate in the launching of a civic effort that would educate their memberships about the election process using printed materials developed under the auspices of the CNE, including those developed by IFES. The group would also examine the feasibility of mobilizing 15,000 volunteers to monitor the September 29-30 elections.

The Institutes committed themselves to organizing a follow-up training session for volunteer coordinators that would occur at the end of August. It was anticipated that a two-day program for regional/provincial volunteer coordinators would take place in Luanda, followed by additional training for larger numbers of coordinators for volunteer recruitment in several of the country's provincial capitals. In addition to the training sessions, material assistance such as printing handbooks and communications equipment would be provided to the civic monitoring effort.

Within days of the seminar, however, the initiative had collapsed. A number of reasons account for the failure. The most important reason was that the executive committee did not meet to carry out the functions necessary for establishing a domestic monitoring group. Although the level of enthusiasm for the activity appeared to be high at the seminar, and despite the consensus that there was a dire need for a nationwide civic education program, certain issues such as the legality of NGO pollwatching and the relationship of domestic NGOs to the CNE

emerged as insurmountable constraints that remained unresolved.

Several additional reasons may also explain why a domestic monitoring group failed to evolve. The Institutes' grant agreement initially precluded program activity outside of Luanda. This limitation hampered the Institutes' ability to assess the impediments to the formation of a nationwide group and how to overcome them in order to structure an effective voter education and/or domestic monitoring entity. In addition, Angola lacks a tradition of nonpartisan volunteers because the country's civic culture embodies little experience about how individuals could become involved in political change or reform. As a result, there was marked ambivalence towards involvement in what largely was construed as partisan activities. For example, the Associacao Humanitaria Angolana Lwei (AHALw) initially expressed opposition to participating in the civic program seminars, and the group voted against it, although individuals would be free to attend. The reason given for not participating was the concern that AHALw would compromise its status as a humanitarian organization, and that it would be transformed into a "political" if not a partisan group. AHALw also seemed to fear political recriminations. In the end, however, after discussions about civil society and the importance of civic groups in the democratic process, AHALw was persuaded to participate. Indeed, the group later organized volunteers to be election police in Luanda province, and distributed civic education material and copies of the electoral law.

Other individuals who participated in the seminar also managed to make contributions to the electoral process in various ways. Some, including the Catholic Boy Scouts, developed a working relationship with the UN technical assistance team and distributed voter education materials. One group was invited to attend the UNAVEM-II-sponsored seminar on Human Rights at the end of August. These activities derived from the enthusiasm that Angolan NGOs possess to play an active role in the democratic society that would emerge from the transitional process. Indeed, a frequent observation by NGO leaders was that the very opportunity to meet and to discuss common interests in peace, democracy and the modalities of voting proved to be a valuable activity.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS AND PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

The Institutes originally budgeted and planned a post-election evaluation mission to evaluate the impact of the program and to make recommendations for future democratic assistance work in Angola. The mission would have included consultations with the political parties, civic groups, election administrators, UN officials, and representatives of the international diplomatic corps about the efficacy of the training seminars as they pertained to the 1992 elections, and what remained to be done to promote democratic development in the country. The return to civil war in Angola has made this mission impossible. As a result, this final report constitutes the Institutes' assessment from afar.

The positive contribution provided on election days by the political party pollwatchers and representatives of civic groups who were associated with the Institutes' seminars attests to the utility of this project. The aftermath of the September elections, however, basically has rendered difficult any truly effective evaluation of the program. From their five months of programming activities, the Institutes are able to offer the following observations and recommendations for future democratic development assistance in Angola and elsewhere.

- *The program should have started earlier and continued later -- up to and past election day.* If financial and programming authorization had been received even two months prior to the actual start of this program, the program would have been of much greater usefulness to the political parties and to the civic groups of Angola.

In addition, the initial proscription on programming during the 30 days proceeding voting meant that the Institutes were to remove themselves from the program just as most Angolans focused on the elections. It is during these 30 days that vital work ought to be done to mobilize pollwatchers (whether from parties or civic groups). This is the time when tensions, anxieties and rumors are exaggerated and when the calming influence of experienced international political professionals is most needed. It is also during this 30-day period when planning for immediate post-election programming should take place. In the case of Angola, it was expected that there would be a presidential run-off election 30 days after the late September voting. Accordingly, work with parties and civic organizations to build on the first-round experience in order to implement better monitoring programs would have been appropriate.

Moreover, early activities to support the organization and healthy development of the newly democratic legislature, as was proposed to AID by the Institutes, would have been appropriate (if the war had not been resumed).

- *Political party and civic organization training should not be limited to capital cities. Furthermore, the Institutes believe that authorization to travel outside of Luanda from the very beginning would have enabled the Institutes to better implement their joint program.* The most programmatically sound way to conduct political party and civic organization

training of this type is engagement at the local level as well as conducting training in the capital city. The top-down approach helped perpetuate the chasm between ruling elites and the rural population, thereby weakening the democratic structure and ignoring the local party and NGO activists responsible for grassroots organizing.

The Institutes believe that this limitation hampered their ability to assess impediments to the formation of a nationwide civic organization and in addressing how to overcome such obstacles in order to structure an effective voter education and/or a domestic monitoring entity. The truism that "all politics is local" helps explain the large turnout for the political party pollwatching programs in Benguela and Lubango. The political parties in the provinces of Angola were genuinely interested in training activities because there was a significant lack of information about the electoral process communicated to local parties from the national party headquarters as well as from the national and provincial electoral councils. Consequently, the Institutes are more convinced than ever that it is at the local level where democracy is truly brought to the people, and it is at the local level where political training should occur.

- *The Institutes believe that individual party training, in addition to all-party meetings would have allowed for more useful discussions of the problems faced by particular political parties.* Though the practice of holding all seminar sessions with all political parties represented on an identical basis had many positive benefits, the setting did not lend itself to opportunities for detailed and candid discussions with individual parties. These discussions would have made it possible to assess the strengths or weaknesses of political parties as political organizations, and thus as the most significant participants in the transition to a multiparty democracy. The above was true for all parties, including the more established parties as well as the many smaller, newer parties. As they stated from the beginning of the program, the Institutes could have conducted these smaller sessions on an equitable basis among all legally registered parties. The topics of discussion -- organization and institution-building -- would have been addressed by a team of at least one IRI trainer and one NDI trainer.

The political inexperience of many of the Angolan participants resulted in a situation in which participants deemed the general topics of the seminars to be extremely useful, however, the different levels of knowledge about particular subjects as well as the differing interests and organizational levels of the various political parties at times limited the opportunity for more in-depth discussion or analysis.

## **APPENDICES**

1. **Election results**
2. **Survey Assessment Mission Schedule**
3. **Angola Program Timeline**
4. **Schedules, Participants Lists, and Observations from Seminars**
5. **Information on Angolan Political Parties**
6. **List of Civic Organizations**
7. **Faculty Lists and Biographies**
8. **Pollwatcher Training Manual**
9. **Namibian Code of Conduct**
10. **PDA Code of Conduct**
11. **Angola Electoral Law**
12. **List of Members of the CNE**
13. **Voter Registration Figures**
14. **Memorandum on the D'Hondt Proportional Representation System**
15. **Focus Group Materials**
16. **Pollwatcher Training Materials**

LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

1. Simao Cacete - AD-Coligacao
2. Daniel Chipenda - Independent  
Also supported by PNDA
3. Luis dos Passos - PRD
4. Jose Eduardo dos Santos - MPLA  
Also supported by PAI  
PAJOCA
5. Bengui Pedro Joao - PSD
6. Honorato Landi - PDLA
7. Alberto Neto - PDA
8. Analia Victoria Pereira - PLD
9. Rui Victoria Pereira - PRA
10. Holden Roberto - FNLA
11. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi - UNITA  
Also supported by CNDA  
PDP-ANA  
PSDA

LIST OF POLITICAL PARTIES COMPETING IN THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

AD-Coligacao

1. FpD Frente para a Democracia
2. MDIA-PCN Movimento de Defesa dos Interesses de Angola
3. PDPA Partido Democratico Pacifico de Angola
4. UDA Uniao Democratica Angolana
  
5. CNDA Convenção Nacional Democrática de Angola
  
6. FDA Forum Democratico Angolano/Tendencia de Reflexao Democratica alliance (The Democratic Reflection Tendency is led by UNITA dissidents Miguel N'Zau Puna and Tony da Costa Fernandes)
  
7. FNLA Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola
  
8. MPLA Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola
  
9. PAI Partido Angolano Independente
  
10. PAJOCA Partido da Alianca Juventude, Operarios e Camponeses de Angola
  
11. PDA Partido Democratico Angolano
  
12. PDLA Partido Democratico Liberal Angolano
  
13. PDP-ANA Partido Democratico para o Progresso/Alianca Democratica Angolana
  
14. PLD Partido Liberal Democratico
  
15. PNDA Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola
  
16. PRA Partido Reformador Angolano
  
17. PRD Partido Renovador Democratico
  
18. PRS Partido da Renovacao Social
  
19. PSD Partido Social Democratico
  
20. PSDA Partido Social Democratico Angolano
  
21. UNITA Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION RESULTS

<u>Province</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>No. of Deputies</u>
Bengo	MPLA	54,580	4
	UNITA	13,747	1
Benguela	UNITA	269,655	3
	MPLA	181,730	2
Bie	UNITA	284,930	5
Cabinda	MPLA	7,448	4
	UNITA	1,544	1
C. Cubango	UNITA	87,898	4
	MPLA	26,693	1
C. Norte	MPLA	102,213	5
C. Sul	MPLA	220,986	4
	UNITA	61,098	1
Cunene	MPLA	90,233	5
Huambo	UNITA	289,283	4
	MPLA	61,146	1
Huila	MPLA	245,932	4
	UNITA	100,219	1
Luanda	MPLA	531,294	4
	UNITA	140,958	1
L. Norte	MPLA	77,654	4
	PRS	18,673	1
L. Sul	MPLA	37,809	3
	PRS	22,811	2
Malange	MPLA	185,835	5
Moxico	MPLA	66,344	4
	UNITA	27,290	1
Namibe	MPLA	42,458	4
	UNITA	15,374	1
Uige	MPLA	136,167	3
	UNITA	79,277	2
Zaire	MPLA	28,249	2
	FNLA	20,053	2
	UNITA	16,353	1

<u>Party</u>	<u>Total Seats Won</u>	<u>Province(s) Won</u>	<u>4 Seats Won</u>
MPLA	59	C. Norte Cunene Malange	Bengo Cabinda C. Sul Huila Luanda L. Norte Moxico Namibe
UNITA	26	Bie	C. Cubango Huambo
FNLA	2		
PRS	3		

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES

TO: Clay Lowery and Ed Stewart

FROM: Jim Dunlap

DATE: October 27, 1992

RE: Angola Election Results Made Easy

LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS:

<u>Political Party</u>	<u># of Seats</u>
MPLA	129
UNITA	70
PRS	6
FNLA	5
PLD	3
FRD	1
PNDA	1
AD Coligacao	1
PDP-ANA	1
PSD	1
PAJOCA	1

• The National Assembly will sit 15 days after the President takes office.

• The Assembly has a total of 223 seats. The three seats for international representatives will be empty because there was no voting outside of Angola. These seats were set-up to represent those living outside Angola during elections (2 seats for Africa and 1 for the remainder of the World). Note: 1 seat is missing from the above data.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS:

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Jose Eduardo dos Santos	49.57
Jonas Savimbi	40.07

• Since dos Santos did not get the 50% + 1, a run-off will be held assuming both sides, UNITA and MPLA have agreed upon certain

conditions.

- Rainy season is from December - June, and it is unlikely a run-off will be held during this time.

- The Electoral Law states a second round will take place 30 days the publishing of the 1st round election results which was October 14/15 (This will not happen because it is logistically impossible etc.)

See attached official results:

RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--18:30, October 14, 1992

# I.

FS

	LEITADA	ZARZE	UPZE	LEHRDA	K-MORTE	K-OVE	MELANGE	LUNDA N.	BENOUCLA	MAHBO
Polling Stations	19	92	426	915	165	425	396	180	632	521
PRD	56	762	4048	5106	528	2177	2820	1078	4418	3399
PAJOCA	29	1579	1729	2488	585	600	670	354	1526	913
PAJ	30	445	976	1381	135	376	446	251	1259	966
PDLA	11	262	993	1309	227	552	906	480	559	319
PSOA	12	506	1102	2238	317	620	1056	713	501	251
FNLA	209	20053	13292	30883	2929	2983	2783	2274	3100	1361
PDP-AMA	7	288	854	6351	136	358	415	326	365	172
PRA	11	241	826	1062	169	568	629	565	339	238
CRDA	5	244	1020	4193	211	485	541	527	310	273
PKDA	8	190	1261	1216	319	820	1031	885	640	264
POA	37	167	842	2069	192	520	533	501	430	632
FDA	66	111	774	3017	286	650	697	1288	862	400
AM-COLLECAO	25	350	235	5082	1568	851	2878	2245	2700	1111
MPLA	7248	20260	138167	531294	102213	220888	183935	77894	181730	61146
% of Valid Votes in Province	77.62%	31.66%	51.88%	70.66%	86.26%	71.90%	78.04%	65.52%	37.36%	15.52%
PRS	58	548	8039	5188	900	3363	4127	18673	5433	4593
UNTA	1544	16353	79277	140959	8658	61099	26201	8844	260653	289283
% of Valid Votes in Province	16.09%	25.58%	30.20%	18.75%	5.62%	19.96%	11.00%	7.46%	53.58%	73.40%
PSD	11	472	2436	2901	374	1687	1429	636	5333	8064
FED	28	1131	8645	4320	748	5303	5130	1266	15869	20722
Valid Votes	9595	63922	262674	751865	118493	306098	238247	118578	486451	394107
Null Ballots	63	748	2816	7996	1690	3345	6387	1135	8671	13000
	0.6%	1.0%	0.9%	1.0%	1.3%	1.0%	2.3%	0.8%	1.6%	3.0%
Blank Ballots	290	8040	46363	37652	8416	38257	28509	16278	35471	28673
	2.9%	11.1%	14.9%	4.7%	6.5%	11.0%	10.4%	12.0%	6.7%	6.6%
Total Ballots Cast	9948	72710	311653	797513	128599	347700	273143	135991	530593	435780
Total Registered	14079	80166	318731	854981	137962	369150	327337	141545	567825	467811
Total Absentees	6131	7456	8478	57468	9363	21458	54194	5554	37232	32031
% Absentees	38.13%	9.30%	2.04%	6.72%	6.79%	5.81%	16.56%	3.92%	6.56%	6.85%
% Participation	61.87%	90.78%	97.96%	93.28%	93.21%	94.19%	83.44%	96.08%	93.44%	93.15%

RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--18:30, October 14, 1992

#11.

	BYE	MORTON	K. KUDRICO	MARIBE	PAJICA	LAUREN	LONDAS	BERRO	TOTAL-MARIBEL	%
Polling Stations	429	151	179	110	550	201	98	100	5579	
PRD	2404	1715	793	572	3687	557	615	502	35293	0.89%
PAJUCA	528	544	241	176	1134	211	231	386	13924	0.35%
PAI	657	362	290	123	899	133	154	124	9807	0.23%
PDLA	192	376	111	106	794	344	357	127	8025	0.20%
PSQA	147	483	185	137	1037	327	323	262	18217	0.26%
FILA	839	1931	533	759	3698	1004	995	5196	94742	2.40%
PDP-ANA	78	220	68	93	508	113	136	130	10608	0.27%
PRA	134	350	97	113	651	189	248	109	6719	0.17%
CRDA	145	453	113	157	817	220	250	93	10237	0.26%
PXDA	13	597	167	211	1319	536	481	170	10281	0.27%
PDA	173	390	105	125	749	179	296	74	8814	0.22%
FDA	203	381	142	159	1328	213	447	114	12858	0.30%
AD-COLIGACAD	630	1368	599	812	5228	1540	1163	683	34166	0.86%
HPLA	36598	46344	26693	42658	245952	90233	37309	54586	2124226	53.74%
% of Valid Votes in Pro	13.75%	58.49%	21.75%	66.65%	63.73%	87.64%	53.81%	69.91%		
PRS	2572	6264	1214	656	5437	1473	22811	526	89875	2.27%
UNITA	204930	27290	87808	15376	100219	4714	2681	13747	1347836	34.18%
% of Valid Votes in Pro	76.97%	24.06%	71.54%	24.14%	25.97%	4.58%	3.87%	17.61%		
PSD	3052	1123	968	375	3281	280	279	363	33888	0.84%
FLD	12790	3264	2616	1334	8987	712	541	893	94269	2.39%
Valid Votes	266260	113437	122735	63700	385925	102958	69335	78085	3952265	100.00%
Null Ballots	14403	2063	2420	1590	8311	1800	2188	1396	80020	1.81%
Blank Ballots	24824	5143	4875	8520	58750	10575	10477	7177	378290	8.58%
Total Ballots Cast	305487	120643	130030	73810	452986	115333	82000	86656	4490575	
Total Registered	354537	137798	133161	84918	509167	148528	87451	91921	4828460	
Total Abstentions	49050	17159	3131	11100	56181	33195	5451	5246	417893	
% Abstentions	13.83%	12.45%	2.35%	13.08%	11.03%	22.35%	6.23%	5.71%	8.65%	
% Participation	86.17%	87.55%	97.65%	86.92%	88.97%	77.65%	93.77%	94.27%	91.35%	

# Results of PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

I.

18:30 Oct. 14, 1992

	CABINDA	ZAIRE	UIGE	LUANDA	K. NORTE	K. SUL	MELANGE	LUANDA N.	BENGUELA	HUAMBÓ
Polling Stations	19	92	426	915	165	425	366	160	632	521
PAISSOS	59	1178	6746	5163	1323	4849	5762	2680	7355	2820
ROBERTO	116	23299	13453	22697	2519	1677	1934	1275	2841	736
V. PEREIRA	10	282	1500	864	390	851	1261	485	1093	354
J. GHIPEIDA	17	470	2484	2587	794	1914	1693	1322	1873	489
V. PEREIRA	6	243	1206	819	271	761	789	621	974	248
AGESTE	33	380	3401	3769	735	2687	2113	1790	2058	649
L. BÉTU	54	696	10398	4942	2461	9739	6553	5143	8753	1808
E. SAÍDES	7032	19260	114247	522268	92671	188059	163303	86203	158259	57380
Valid Votes/Province	77.63%	29.41%	43.51%	70.85%	81.50%	63.64%	69.44%	73.55%	32.00%	14.30%
PAISSOS	34	978	7731	4893	2270	7844	7443	3419	8350	3418
V. PEREIRA	23	476	3595	2367	585	2746	2593	1390	6804	4664
H. SAVIMBI	1594	18226	100414	171743	9690	74381	41650	12879	294972	326531
Valid Votes/Province	16.60%	27.83%	37.58%	22.85%	8.52%	25.17%	17.72%	10.99%	59.79%	81.41%
Valid Votes	9603	65488	267169	751632	113709	295338	235094	117207	493362	401119
Null Ballots	171	3914	6233	19015	4975	6958	9489	100	8600	10179
	1.7%	5.4%	2.0%	2.4%	4.0%	2.0%	3.5%	0.1%	1.5%	2.5%
Blank Ballots	145	3235	43137	23746	6436	43712	28094	16842	27410	22682
	1.5%	6.5%	15.8%	3.0%	5.1%	12.4%	10.3%	12.6%	5.2%	5.2%
Total Ballots Cast	9919	72637	316539	794395	125120	346208	272677	134149	528772	433980
Total Registered	16079	80166	318131	854981	137962	369150	327337	141545	567825	467811
Total Absentions	6160	7529	1592	60588	12842	22942	54660	7396	39053	33831
% Absentions	38.31%	9.39%	0.50%	7.09%	9.31%	6.21%	16.70%	5.23%	6.88%	7.23%
% Participation	61.69%	90.61%	99.50%	92.91%	90.69%	93.79%	83.30%	94.77%	93.12%	92.77%

Results of PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS  
 B-30 Oct. 14, 1992

	BTE	MEXICO	C. KUERANGO	MAMIBE	MULLA	CUMENE	LURDA 9.	BERGO	TOTAL NACIONAL	%
Polling Stations	429	151	179	110	550	201	98	100	5579	
PASSOS	1972	2964	1061	1344	8695	1918	1385	827	58121	1.47%
ROBERTO	417	1271	442	551	3032	680	696	5497	83135	2.11%
V. PERLETRA	217	662	251	188	1962	495	396	214	11475	0.29%
J. CHIPEDON	272	974	297	422	3001	1000	693	324	20046	0.52%
V. PERLETRA	125	549	159	159	1405	374	277	162	9208	0.23%
SACETE	469	1446	510	632	3529	766	987	426	26385	0.67%
A. NETO	1503	5763	1742	1543	14574	5454	2919	1230	85249	2.16%
E. SANTOS	32507	60359	22717	36540	199089	76374	53313	51004	1953335	49.57%
Valid Votes/Province	11.95%	53.14%	10.12%	59.23%	53.14%	77.70%	77.64%	65.85%		
LARDO	3750	3617	1406	1308	12492	1817	2571	1140	75789	1.92%
L.P. JUDIC	2383	1881	984	725	5221	687	815	402	38243	0.97%
M. SANTIAGO	230480	34209	93076	18197	121656	8731	4617	16250	1579298	40.87%
Valid Votes/Province	85.94%	38.11%	76.28%	29.50%	32.47%	8.88%	6.72%	28.95%		
Valid Votes	274577	113595	122025	61689	374056	98296	68689	77456	3960884	100.00%
Null Ballots	12544	7350	3791	3385	15907	4430	3050	3420	122911	2.79%
Blank Ballots	18367	3834	3891	7467	62423	12607	7735	5781	337544	7.67%
Total Ballots Cast	305488	124779	129707	72541	452986	115333	79454	86657	4401339	
Total Registered	354537	137798	133161	84918	509167	148528	87451	91921	4828468	
Total Abstentions	49049	13019	3454	12377	56181	33195	7997	5264	427129	
% Abstentions	13.83%	9.45%	2.59%	14.58%	11.03%	22.35%	9.14%	5.73%	8.85%	
% Participation	86.17%	90.55%	97.41%	85.42%	88.97%	77.65%	90.86%	94.27%	91.15%	

ANGOLA  
PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION RESULTS RELEASED

LUANDA TPA TELEVISION NETWORK IN PORTUGUESE 1838 GMT  
17 OCT 83

TEXT:

(TEXT) WE NOW PRESENT THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS RESULTS AT THE  
PROVINCIAL LEVEL:

UNITA -- NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA  
MPLA -- POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA  
PRS -- SOCIAL RENOVATED PARTY  
FNLA -- ANGOLA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

PARTY	TOTAL VOTES	DEPUTIES
<b>BIENQUILAS:</b>		
UNITA	268,658	3
MPLA	181,738	2
<b>BENGO:</b>		
MPLA	84,888	4
UNITA	13,747	1
<b>BIE:</b>		
UNITA	284,938	5
<b>CABINDA:</b>		
MPLA	7,448	6
UNITA	1,344	1
<b>CUMENE:</b>		
MPLA	98,233	5
<b>KUANINGO:</b>		
UNITA	289,283	4
MPLA	61,146	1
<b>HUILA:</b>		
MPLA	248,882	4
UNITA	188,218	1
<b>QUANDO CUBANGO:</b>		
UNITA	87,888	4
MPLA	26,882	1

CUANZA NORTE:

MPLA 182,213 3

CUANZA SUL:

MPLA 228,888 4  
UNITA 61,889 1

LUANDA:

MPLA 531,294 4  
UNITA 148,888 1

LUNDA NORTE:

MPLA 77,884 4  
PRS 18,873 1

LUNDA SUL:

MPLA 37,889 3  
PRS 22,811 2

MALANCEI:

MPLA 188,888 5

MOXICO:

MPLA 88,344 4  
UNITA 27,288 1

NAMIBE:

MPLA 42,458 4  
UNITA 15,374 1

SOYO:

MPLA 138,187 3  
UNITA 78,277 2

ZAIRE:

MPLA 28,248 2  
PRS 28,853 2  
UNITA 16,933 1

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

conditions.

- Rainy season is from December - June, and it is unlikely a run-off will be held during this time.

- The Electoral Law states a second round will take place 30 days the publishing of the 1st round election results which was October 14/15 (This will not happen because it is logistically impossible etc.)

See attached official results:

RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--18:30, October 14, 1992

11 I.

60

	CAETANO	ZAIRE	URUB	LUANDA	K-NORTE	K-OVL	MEZANGE	LUANDA N.	BIENQUILA	MIAMBO
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PRA	11	241	826	1062	169	568	629	565	539	238
COXA	5	244	1020	4193	211	485	541	527	510	273
PXDA	8	190	1261	1216	319	820	1031	885	640	264
PDA	37	167	842	2049	192	520	533	501	430	632
FDA	66	111	715	3817	286	650	697	1288	862	400
AP-COLIGACAO	25	350	215	5082	1568	351	2898	2245	2700	1111
HPLA	7228	28240	136167	531294	102213	220886	185935	77894	181730	61146
% of Valid Votes In Province	77.62%	31.66%	51.88%	70.66%	86.26%	71.90%	78.04%	65.52%	37.36%	15.52%
PRS	58	548	6039	5188	900	3363	4127	18673	5433	4593
UNITA	1544	16353	79277	140959	8658	61099	26201	8844	24065	28928
% of Valid Votes In Province	16.09%	25.58%	30.20%	18.75%	5.62%	19.96%	11.09%	7.46%	53.58%	73.40%
PSD	11	472	2436	2901	374	1687	1429	636	5353	8064
FLO	28	1131	8645	4328	748	5303	5130	1246	15869	20722
Valid Votes	9995	63922	262474	751865	118493	306098	238247	138578	486451	394107
Null Ballots	63	748	2816	7996	1690	3345	6387	1135	8671	13000
Blank Ballots	290	8040	46363	37652	8416	38257	28509	16278	35471	28673
Total Ballots Cast	9948	72710	311653	797513	128599	347700	273143	138991	530593	435780
Total Registered	16099	80166	318731	854981	137962	369150	327337	147545	567825	467811
Total Absentees	6131	7456	6478	57468	9363	21459	54194	5554	37232	32031
% Absentees	38.13%	9.30%	2.04%	6.72%	6.79%	5.81%	16.56%	3.92%	6.56%	6.85%
% Participation	61.87%	90.70%	97.96%	93.28%	93.21%	94.19%	83.44%	96.08%	93.44%	93.15%

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RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS--18:30, October 14, 1992

# II.

61

	WTE	MONTG	K. KUDORGO	MARIBE	WUICK	DAVENE	LUNDA S.	BEROO	TOTAL MARICHEL	*
Polling Stations	429	351	179	110	550	201	98	100	5579	
PRQ	2404	1715	793	572	3687	557	615	582	35293	0.89%
PAJUCA	528	544	241	176	1134	211	231	386	13924	0.35%
PAI	657	362	290	123	899	133	154	124	9007	0.23%
PDLA	192	376	111	106	794	344	357	127	8025	0.20%
PSQA	147	483	185	137	1037	327	323	262	10217	0.26%
FNLA	839	1931	533	759	3698	1006	995	5116	94742	2.40%
PDP-ANA	78	228	68	93	508	113	136	130	10608	0.27%
FRA	134	350	97	113	651	169	248	109	6719	0.17%
GNDA	145	433	113	137	817	220	250	93	10237	0.26%
PADA	13	597	167	211	1319	536	481	170	10201	0.27%
PDA	173	390	105	125	749	179	296	74	8014	0.20%
IDA	203	381	142	159	1328	213	467	114	12038	0.30%
AD-COLIGACAD	630	1368	599	812	5228	1540	1163	683	34166	0.86%
HPLA	36598	66344	26693	42458	243952	90233	37309	54586	2126126	53.74%
% of Valid Votes in Pro	13.75%	58.49%	21.75%	66.65%	63.73%	87.64%	53.81%	69.91%		
FRS	2572	6264	1214	656	5437	1473	22811	526	89875	2.27%
UNSTA	204930	27290	87808	15374	100219	4714	2681	13747	1347636	34.18%
% of Valid Votes in Pro	76.97%	24.06%	71.54%	24.14%	25.97%	4.58%	3.87%	17.61%		
PSD	3052	1123	968	375	3281	280	279	363	33088	0.84%
FLD	12790	3264	2616	1344	8987	712	541	893	94269	2.39%
Valid Votes	266260	113437	122733	63700	383925	102958	69335	78085	3952265	100.00%
Null Ballots	14483	2063	2420	1590	8311	1800	2188	1394	80020	1.81%
Blank Ballots	24824	5143	4875	8520	58750	10575	10477	7177	378290	8.58%
Total Ballots Cast	305467	120643	130038	73818	452986	115333	82000	86656	4480575	
Total Registered	334537	137798	133161	84918	509167	148528	87451	91921	4328468	
Total Absentions	49850	12155	3131	11108	56181	33195	5451	5265	617893	
% Absentions	13.83%	12.45%	2.35%	13.08%	11.03%	22.35%	6.23%	5.73%	8.65%	
% Participation	86.17%	87.55%	97.65%	86.92%	88.97%	77.65%	93.77%	94.27%	91.35%	

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# Results of PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

I.

18:30 Oct. 14, 1972

29

	CABINDA	ZAIRE	UIGE	LUANDA	K. NORTE	K. SUL	MELANGE	LUANDA N.	BERGUELA	QUANDO
Polling Stations	19	92	426	913	165	425	386	180	632	521
PAISOS	59	1178	6746	5183	1323	4849	5762	2680	7355	2820
ROBERTO	116	23299	13453	22697	2519	1677	1934	1275	2841	738
V. PERLEIRA	10	282	1500	864	390	851	1261	485	1093	354
J. CHIPENGA	17	470	2484	2587	794	1914	1693	1322	1873	489
V. PERTEGA	5	243	1206	819	271	761	789	621	974	248
ALTE	33	380	3401	3769	735	2687	2313	1790	2058	649
L. BELO	56	896	10390	1942	2461	9739	6553	5143	8753	1800
B. SANTOS	7532	19260	116247	532568	92671	188059	163303	86203	158259	57380
Valid Votes/Province	77.68%	29.61%	43.51%	70.85%	81.50%	63.64%	69.46%	73.55%	32.08%	14.30%
Blank	13	978	7731	4093	2270	7844	7443	3419	8390	5418
M. DAQ	23	476	3595	2367	585	2746	2593	1390	6804	4666
M. SAVINOS	1594	18224	100414	171743	9690	74381	41650	12879	294972	326551
Valid Votes/Province	16.60%	27.83%	37.58%	22.85%	8.52%	25.17%	17.72%	10.99%	59.79%	81.41%
Valid Votes	9603	65488	267169	751632	113709	295338	235094	117207	493362	401119
Null Ballots	171	3914	6233	19015	4975	6958	9489	100	8800	10179
	1.7%	5.4%	2.0%	2.4%	4.0%	2.0%	3.5%	0.1%	1.5%	2.3%
Blank Ballots	145	3235	43137	23746	6436	43712	28094	16842	27410	22682
	1.5%	6.5%	15.4%	3.0%	5.1%	12.6%	10.3%	12.6%	5.2%	5.2%
Total Ballots Cast	9919	72637	316539	794395	125120	346208	272677	134149	528772	433900
Total Registered	14079	80166	318131	854981	137962	369150	327337	141545	567825	467811
Total Abstentions	6160	7529	1592	60588	12842	22942	54680	7396	39053	33831
% Abstentions	39.31%	9.39%	0.50%	7.09%	9.31%	6.21%	16.70%	5.23%	6.88%	7.23%
% Participation	61.69%	90.61%	99.50%	92.91%	90.69%	93.79%	83.30%	94.77%	93.12%	92.77%

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Results of PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS  
13:30 Oct. 14, 1992

	BIE	MORICO	E. KUBANGO	NAMIBE	MULLA	CUMETE	LINDA S.	BENGO	TOTAL NACIONAL	%
Polling Stations	429	151	179	110	550	201	98	100	5579	
PASSOS	1972	2964	1061	1366	8695	1918	1385	827	58121	1.47%
ROBERTO	417	1271	442	551	3032	600	696	5497	83135	2.11%
V. PEREIRA	217	662	251	188	1962	495	396	214	11475	0.29%
J. CHIPENDY	272	974	297	422	3001	1000	693	324	20646	0.52%
Z. PEREIRA	125	549	159	159	1405	374	277	162	9208	0.23%
CAETE	469	1446	510	632	3529	766	987	426	26385	0.67%
A. REIO	1505	5745	1742	1543	14574	5454	2919	1230	85249	2.16%
E. SANTOS	32507	60359	22117	36540	199089	76374	53313	51004	1953335	49.57%
Valid Votes/Province	11.95%	53.14%	10.12%	59.23%	53.16%	77.70%	77.64%	65.85%		
LARDO	3759	2617	1401	1288	12492	1817	2571	1140	75789	1.92%
C.P. JARDI	2383	1801	984	725	5221	687	815	402	38243	0.97%
L. M. SAVINHA	230480	34209	93078	18197	121656	8731	4617	16230	1579298	40.07%
Valid Votes/Province	83.94%	38.11%	76.28%	29.50%	32.47%	8.88%	6.72%	28.95%		
Valid Votes	274577	113595	122025	61689	374656	98296	68669	77456	3940864	100.00%
Null Ballots	12544	7350	3791	3383	15907	4430	3850	3420	122911	2.79%
Blank Ballots	18367	3834	3891	7467	62423	12607	7735	5781	337544	7.67%
Total Ballots Cast	305488	124779	129707	72541	452086	115333	79454	86657	4401339	
Total Registered	334537	137798	133161	84918	509167	148528	87451	91921	4828468	
Total Abstentions	49049	13019	3454	12377	58181	33195	7997	5264	427129	
% Abstentions	13.83%	9.45%	2.59%	14.58%	11.03%	22.35%	9.14%	5.73%	8.85%	
% Participation	86.17%	90.55%	97.41%	85.42%	88.97%	77.65%	90.86%	94.27%	91.15%	

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5/6

ANGOLA  
PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTION RESULTS RELEASED

LUANDA TPA TELEVISION NETWORK IN PORTUGUESE 1838 GMT  
17 OCT 82

TEXT:

(TEXT) WE NOW PRESENT THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS RESULTS AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL:

UNITA -- NATIONAL UNION FOR THE TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA  
MPLA -- POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA  
PRS -- SOCIAL RENOVATED PARTY  
FMLA -- ANGOLA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

PARTY	TOTAL VOTES	DEPUTIES
<b>BENGUELA:</b>		
UNITA	298,655	3
MPLA	181,738	2
<b>BENGO:</b>		
MPLA	84,588	4
UNITA	13,747	1
<b>BIE:</b>		
UNITA	284,838	5
<b>CABINDA:</b>		
MPLA	7,448	4
UNITA	1,544	1
<b>CUNENE:</b>		
MPLA	98,233	5
<b>HUAMBO:</b>		
UNITA	289,217	4
MPLA	91,146	1
<b>HUILA:</b>		
MPLA	249,832	4
UNITA	188,219	1
<b>CUANGO CUBANGO:</b>		
UNITA	87,889	4
MPLA	26,883	1

<b>CUANZA NORTE:</b>		
MPLA	182,213	5
<b>CUANZA SUL:</b>		
MPLA	228,886	4
UNITA	61,889	1
<b>LUANDA:</b>		
MPLA	531,294	4
UNITA	148,818	1
<b>LUANDA NORTE:</b>		
MPLA	77,684	4
PRS	18,873	1
<b>LUANDA SUL:</b>		
MPLA	37,388	3
PRS	22,811	2
<b>NALANDE:</b>		
MPLA	185,835	5
<b>NOVATO:</b>		
MPLA	48,344	4
UNITA	37,288	1
<b>SOYO:</b>		
MPLA	42,454	4
UNITA	15,374	1
<b>VIEIRA:</b>		
MPLA	136,167	3
UNITA	78,277	2
<b>ZAIRE:</b>		
MPLA	28,248	2
PRS	28,853	2
UNITA	16,833	1

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64

**SURVEY ASSESSMENT MISSION**  
**MAY 21 - 27, 1992**  
**LUANDA, ANGOLA**  
**SCHEDULE**

**SUNDAY, MAY 17**

8:00 PM

Arrival Luanda  
Carol Lynn Martin  
In-Country Program Manager (NDI)

**TUESDAY, MAY 19**

8:00 AM

Arrival Luanda  
Robert Henderson, Co-leader and  
Program Manager (IRI)  
and James Dunlap In-Country  
Program Manager (IRI)

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 20**

2:00 PM

Abel Chivukuvuku,  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs;  
Miguel N'Gola,  
Deputy Secretary of the Party  
National Union for the Total Liberation  
for Angola (UNITA)

**THURSDAY, MAY 21**

8:00 AM

Arrival Luanda  
Mark Siegel, Co-leader and NDI Board of  
Directors; Clay Lowery, Assistant Program  
Officer (IRI) and Rodney Washington,  
Program Assistant (NDI)

12:30 PM - 1:50 PM

LUNCH  
Tony Newton, Deputy Director, US Liaison  
Office and Major Pancho Kinney, US  
Representative to the Joint Verification  
Military Commission

2:00 PM - 3:45 PM

Onofre dos Santos  
Director General  
National Election Council (CNE)

4:00 PM - 6:00 PM

Press Briefing:  
Introduction of upcoming NDI/IRI program  
to the Angolan people

8:00 PM

Dinner, orientation, and review of  
delegation goals

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**FRIDAY, MAY 22**

7:00 AM

Arrival Luanda  
Fernando Marques da Costa  
Member of Parliament,  
Socialist Party of Portugal (NDI)

8:00 AM - 8:55 AM

BREAKFAST

9:30 AM - 10:30 AM

Paulo Baldan  
Director and  
Dr Lucinda de Almeida  
Senior Electoral Consultant  
United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

10:45 AM - 12:50 PM

Maria Grossi  
Deputy Chief Electoral Observer;  
Ronald Dreyer  
Election and Human Rights Advisor for  
Angola, Office of the Representative of  
the UN Secretary-General  
United Nations Verification Mission  
(UNAVEM)

1:00 PM - 2:45 PM

LUNCH

3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marcolino Moco  
Secretary-General  
Popular Movement for the Liberation of  
Angola (MPLA)

5:30 PM - 6:45 PM

Luis dos Passos  
President  
and Amadeu Cesario dos Santos Neves,  
Secretary of the National executive  
Commission for Economic and Political  
Matters,  
Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)

7:30 PM

DINNER

**SATURDAY, MAY 23**

9:00 AM - 9:45 AM

BREAKFAST

10:00 AM - 11:25 AM

Adolosi Paulo Alicerces Mango  
Secretary-General  
National Union for the Total Independence  
of Angola (UNITA)

11:30 AM - 12:30 PM

Clarindo Kaputo  
The Voice of Resistance of the Black  
Cockerel (VORGAN) UNITA

12:45 PM - 2:00 PM

Journal de Angola  
Luis Costa, Society Editor;  
Joao Pokpago, International Editor;  
Simao Roberto, Secretary for the  
Editorial Board; and,  
Manual M'wenga, reporter

2:00 PM - 3:20 PM

LUNCH

3:30 PM - 5:30 PM

Ngola Kabangu,  
Secretary - General, Lucas MBengi Ngonda,  
Carlos Kambandu, Andre Paulo Nelembe and  
Virgilio da Silva  
Members of the Political Bureau  
National Front for the Liberation of  
Angola (FNLA)

6:00 PM - 7:45 PM

Forum of Angola's Non-Governmental  
Organizations (FONGA) an umbrella  
organization for approximately 30 Angolan  
NGOs Maria Celeste, Ilda Carreira and Mr  
Heeder executive members of FONGA

8:30 PM

DINNER

**SUNDAY, MAY 24**

REVIEW OF MEETINGS

AND TOUR OF LUANDA

5:00 PM - 7:05 PM

Francisco Domingos (National Election  
Council Representative)  
Angola Democratic Forum (FDA)

**MONDAY, MAY 25**

8:25 AM - 9:30 AM

Martinho dos Santos Pedro  
(National Election Council  
Representative)  
Socialist Democratic Party (PSD)

9:45 AM - 11:00 AM

Claudio Da Silva, Simao Cacete and  
Bonavena  
Members of the Executive Committee  
Front for Democracy (FPD)

11:15 AM - 12:50 PM

Ana Liria Franch  
United Nations High Commissioner for  
Refugees (UNHCR)

1:00 PM - 2:30 PM

LUNCH

3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Cardinal Nascimento  
Catholic Church of Angola

5:15 PM - 6:00 PM

Antonio Alberto Neto  
President and executive members of the  
party  
Democratic Party of Angola (PDA)

6:15 PM - 7:30 PM

Ambassador Antoinio Monteiro (Portugal)  
Head of the Joint Political/Monitoring  
Commission (JPMC)

7:45 PM - 8:50 PM

Joao Lorengo  
Secretary for International, Economic and  
Social Affairs to President Jose Eduardo  
dos Santos

9:00 PM - 10:15 PM

FOLLOW-UP  
Claudio Da Silva, Simao Cacete and  
Bonavena  
Members of the Executive Committee  
Front For Democracy (FPD)

10:30 PM

DINNER

68

**TUESDAY, MAY 26**

8:00 AM - 9:45 AM

BREAKFAST - FOLLOW UP  
Luis dos Passos  
Secretary-General and  
Amadeu Cesario dos Santos Neves,  
Secretary of the National executive  
Commission for Economic and Political  
Matters,  
Democratic Renewal Party (PRD)

BREAKFAST - FOLLOW UP  
Martinho dos Santos Pedro  
(National Election Council  
Representative)  
Socialist Democratic Party (PSD)

10:15 AM - 11:30 AM

Sammy Bwo  
Chief Of Electoral Division UNAVEM

11:45 AM - 1:15 PM

Joao Albuquerque, Antonio Carreira, and  
Leitecia de Silva  
Civic Education Consultants  
UNDP

Frnasico V Dais, Francesco Chilissa and  
Fernandez Manez the secretaries of the  
Provincial Committee Party  
Popular Movement for the Liberation of  
Angola (MPLA)

1:30 PM - 2:30 PM

FOLLOW UP  
Antonio Alberto Neto  
President and executive members of the  
party  
Democratic Party of Angola (PDA)

3:00 PM - 3:55 PM

LUNCH

4:00 PM - 5:35 PM

FOLLOW UP  
Ngola Kabangu (Secretary - General),  
Lucas MBengi Ngonda, Carlos Kambandu,  
Andre Paulo Nelembe and Virgilio da Silva  
Members of the Political Bureau  
National Front for the Liberation of  
Angola (FNLA)

FOLLOW UP  
Two names are missing, Francisco Domingos  
(National Election Council  
Representative)  
Angola Democratic Forum (FDA)  
(never showed up)

**TUESDAY, MAY 26**

6:15 PM - 7:45 PM

FOLLOW UP

FONGA: MrTunsa, Mr Header and Maria Celeste

Executive members of FONGA

8:30 PM

DINNER

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 27**

7:30 AM - 8:45 AM

Jaka Jamba

UNITA's Representative to the Media Council

9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

Antonio Pinto Caetano de Sousa,  
President;

Onofre dos Santos,  
Director - General;

and representatives from the government  
and political parties

National Electoral Council (CNE)

11:00 AM - 12:30 AM

Alexander Nascimento de Amarde Gourage

Director of Programs

Radio National

1:15 PM - 2:00 PM

Jaine Gutierrez

David Ballard

Acting USIS Director

US Liaison Office

2:30 PM - 3:45 PM

Estanistanu Simao

Manager

Costa da Sol

(Potential) Hotel for Political Party  
Training Conference

4:30 PM - 5:45 PM

PRESS BRIEFING

6:30 PM - 8:00 PM

Carlos Beja

Board Member of Esta's Restaurant and  
Hotel

8:30 PM - 9:00 PM

DINNER

10:00 PM

DEPARTURE

## ANGOLA PROGRAM TIMELINE

<u>May 19</u>	Joint Program is approved by USAID
<u>May 21-27</u>	Joint Pre-Assessment Mission to Angola
<u>June 19-21</u>	Political Party Seminar #1: "Political Parties and the Electoral Campaign"
<u>July 3-5</u>	Political Party Seminar #2: "Political Parties and the Electoral Process"
<u>July 31</u>	USAID permission granted to travel to provinces outside of Luanda on program-related business.
<u>July 31 - August 2</u>	Political Party Seminar #3: "Political Parties and Monitoring the Election"
<u>August 5</u>	Travel to Benguela and to Lubango
<u>August 7-8</u>	Seminar: "The Role of Civic Organizations in a Democratic Society"
<u>August 11-14</u>	Travel to Lubango
<u>August 19</u>	Travel to Uige
<u>August 20</u>	Travel to Huambo
<u>September 3</u>	USAID permission granted to conduct political party pollwatcher training seminars during the campaign period
<u>September 12</u>	Party Pollwatcher Training Seminars in Benguela for the provinces of Benguela and Kwanza Sul and in Lubango for the provinces of Cunene, Huila, and Namibe
<u>September 15</u>	Party Pollwatcher Training Seminar in Luanda for the provinces of Bengo, Cabinda, Luanda, Moxico, and Zaire
<u>September 16</u>	Party Pollwatcher Training Seminar in Luanda for the provinces of Bie, Huamb and Kuando Kubango
<u>September 17</u>	Party Pollwatcher Training Seminar in Luanda for the provinces of Kwanza Norte, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul, Malange and Uige
<u>September 29-30</u>	Presidential and legislative elections

**SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS  
NDI-IRI IN ANGOLA  
30 JULY - 10 AUGUST, 1992**

**THURSDAY, JULY 30**

A.M.	Arrivals of International Faculty and Washington Staff
12:00pm - 1:00	NDI-IRI Staff Briefing for International Faculty
1:00pm - 2:30	Onofre dos Santos Director General National Election Council (CNE)
2:30pm - 3:30	NDI-IRI Staff Briefing for International Faculty

**FRIDAY, JULY 31**

9:00am - 5:30pm	NDI-IRI Party Pollwatching Program - Day 1
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**SATURDAY, AUGUST 1**

9:00am - 5:00pm	NDI-IRI Party Pollwatching Program - Day 2
6:30pm - 7:30	Onofre dos Santos Director General National Election Council (CNE)

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 2**

9:00am - 5:00pm	NDI-IRI Party Pollwatching Program - Day 3
7:30pm - 10:00	Jeff Millington U.S. Representative to the JPMC United States Liaison Office (USLO)  Gussie Daniels In-Country Officer USAID

Anthony Zenos  
In-Country Officer  
IFES

(Melia, Stewart, Martin, Dunlap, Lowery, Street  
and Walter Carrington)

**MONDAY, AUGUST 3**

10:00am - 11:15 Francisco Tunga - FONGA and YMCA  
Idalina Rodrigues - Angolan Women's Assoc. (OMA)

11:30am - 12:30pm Antonio Caetano da Sousa  
President  
National Election Council (CNE)

P.M. Departures of International Faculty

12:30pm - 2:00 Anthony Zenos  
In-Country Officer  
IFES

2:30pm - 4:00 Reverend Chipesse  
Council of Angolan Evangelical  
Churches (CAIE) and Member of National  
Election Council

4:30pm - 5:30 Ebrima K. Jobarteh (Gambia)  
Executive Director  
Office of U.N. Special Representative in Angola

Maria Grossi  
Adjunct Director  
Office of U.N. Special Representative in Angola

Mpazi Sinjela  
Legal Advisor  
Office of U.N. Special Representative in Angola

Jeff Millington  
U.S. Representative to the JPMC  
United States Liaison Office (USLO)

Gussie Daniels  
In-Country Officer  
USAID

73

**Anthony Zenos**  
In-Country Officer  
IFES

(Melia, Stewart, Martin, Dunlap, Street  
and Walter Carrington)

**TUESDAY, AUGUST 4**

10:00am - 11:15

**Marcolino Moko**  
Secretary General  
MPLA

11:30am - 1:30pm

UTCA - Roundtable Discussion on Election Monitoring  
by Civic Groups

Renato Tito	LAASP
Domingos Simao Luis	ADRA
Domingos Kilussissa Paulo	ACM
Eulelia Rocha	OMA
Segunda Pungue	ACM-YMCA
Arnold Carvalho	LAASP
Benjamin Valery	PHPCO
Kayla Pedro Kumbo	OSBC
Francisco Tunga Alberto	FONGA/YMCA
Domingos Luceu	AAD
Simao Katundu Ndombiyo	USODEC
Mingiele Badi Phambu	UTCA

3:00pm - 4:00

**Padre Apolonia Graciano**  
Executive Secretary to Alexander Cardinal do  
Nascimento  
Catholic Church of Angola

4:15pm - 5:00

**Bishop Emilio Julio Miguel de Carvalho**  
United Methodist Church of Angola

5:00pm - 6:15

**Reverend Wanani Nunes Garcia**  
Kimbanguista Church of Angola

**WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5**

**BENGUELA**

(Stewart, Lowery, Martin, Wood)

10:30am - 11:30            Joaquim Quinta, President  
                                 Joaquim Almeida, Director General  
                                 Provincial Election Council

                                 Arnim Schwidrinski  
                                 Chief Electoral Officer, Benguela Province  
                                 UNAVEM II

11:45am - 12:45pm        Bishop Oscar Braga  
                                 Catholic Church of Angola

1:00pm - 2:15             Joaquim Almeida, Director General  
                                 Provincial Election Council

2:30pm - 3:30             Five of the Ten Political Parties of the  
                                 Provincial Election Council:

Jose Antonio Vaz	FDA
Agostinho de Santa Maria Ngonga	FNLA
Jorge Francisco Dambi	MPLA
Antonio Jose Pilaries da Silva	PRD
Blanche Vilongo Gomes	UNITA

**LOBANGO**

(Melia, Street, Dunlap)

11:00am - 11:30            Ethlienne Schieszler  
                                 UNAVEM II

11:30am - 12:00pm        Leonardo Chitungo  
                                 Chairman, Huila Provincial Election Council

12:00pm - 12:45            Carlos Alberto  
                                 Adjunct Governor of Huila Province

1:00pm - 2:00             Roman Catholic Bishop of Lobango

Other Contacts:            Jim Harvey, CARE  
                                 Moises Bambi, Coordinator, Legal Studies Program  
                                 Father Rafaelo Ilario (phone: 20405)  
                                 Father Gerardo Namolo

**THURSDAY, AUGUST 6**

A.M. Arrivals of International Faculty for Civic Groups Seminar

2:00pm - 4:00 NDI-IRI Staff Briefing for International Faculty

4:30pm - 5:30 Gussie Daniels  
In-Country Officer  
USAID  
(Stewart, Melia)

**FRIDAY, AUGUST 7**

9:00am - 5:00pm NDI-IRI Seminar for Civic Organizations and the  
Electoral Process - Day 1

**SATURDAY, AUGUST 8**

9:00am - 5:00pm NDI-IRI Seminar for Civic Organizations and the  
Electoral Process - Day 2

**SUNDAY, AUGUST 9**

8:00am - 9:30 Jeff Millington  
U.S. Representative to the JPMC  
United States Liaison Office (USLO)

10:15am - 10:30 Visit to MPLA Headquarters

10:30am - 11:15 Honorio Van Dunen  
Luanda Province Leader  
UNITA

4:30pm - 5:30 Gussie Daniels  
In-Country Officer  
USAID

10:00pm Departure of International Faculty and IRI Staff

**MONDAY, AUGUST 10**

10:00am - 11:00

Abel Chivukuvuku  
Secretary for Foreign Affairs  
UNITA

11:15 - 12:30

Joao Lourenço  
Member of Political Bureau  
MPLA

12:30pm - 2:30

Ken Noble  
*New York Times*

7:00pm

Departure of NDI Staff



Saturday, June 20, 1992

9:00-10:00 Codes of Conduct and the Electoral Campaign  
Presenter: Moses Katjioungua, Namibia

10:00-11:00  
Group 1. Campaign Planning & Strategy  
Presenters: Fred Hartwig, United States  
Fernando Marques da Costa, Portugal

Group 2. Campaign Planning and Strategy  
Presenters: Martin Krause, Argentina  
Leach Thlomelang, Botswana

Group 3. Candidate Recruitment and The Campaign  
Presenters: Duarte Nuno de Vasconcelos, Portugal  
Brian Feeney, Northern Ireland

Group 4. Candidate Recruitment and The Campaign  
Presenters: Moses Katjioungua, Namibia  
Keith Poston, United States

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-12:30 Working Groups Continue

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-14:30 Repeat the series of workshops above: Presenters  
for Group 1 rotate to Group 3; Presenters for  
Group 2 rotate to Group 4

14:30-15:00 Coffee Break: Group Rapporteurs Prepare Report

15:00-16:00 Working Groups Continue

16:00-17:00 Plenary Session: Report from Rapporteurs

18:00 Dinner

Sunday, June 21, 1992

9:00 - 10:30 Demonstration of Focus Group Research

Presenter: Fred Hartwig, United States

10:30-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00-12:30

Group 1. Focus Group Research: How to Communicate with Voters

Presenters: Fred Hartwig, United States  
Moses Katjiuongua, Namibia

Group 2.

Presenting the Manifesto to the Voters

Presenters: Martin Krause, Argentina  
Keith Poston, United States  
Leach Thlomelang, Botswana

Group 3.

Field Program and Voter Contact

Presenters: Fernando Marques da Costa, Portugal  
Brian Feeney, Northern Ireland

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-15:00 Repeat the series of workshops above: Presenters for Group 1 rotate to Group 2; Presenters for Group 2 rotate to Group 3; Presenters for Group 3 rotate to Group 1

15:00-15:30 Coffee Break/Participants' Written Evaluation of Seminar

15:15-16:45 Repeat the series of workshops above: Presenters for Group 2 rotate to Group 3; Presenters for Group 3 rotate to Group 1; Presenters for Group 1 rotate to Group 2

17:00-18:00 Closing Plenary: Rapporteur Reports from the Working Groups

18:00 Closing Remarks

## EVALUATION

- 1) Were the topics sufficiently related to the experiences you have had in your party?
  
- 2) Do you think the program imparted specific information that you and your colleagues can apply to your situation in the ensuing months?
  
- 3) How will you apply specific information from these seminars to your political experiences?
  
- 4) What specific political party issues do you face in your party that were not addressed in the program?
  
- 5) Which topic(s) do you think were covered well during the program?
  
- 6) Which topic(s) could be improved?
  
- 7) How were you selected to attend the seminar?

Remarks and Observations: "Political Parties and  
the Electoral Campaign," June 19-21, 1992

Martin Krause  
Fundacion America  
Buenos Aires, Argentina

I. Campaign Planning and Strategy

The first step to develop a political campaign is to set up the goals to be achieved by the party in the upcoming elections.

In order to do that, a planning group must have information about who the voters are, where they vote, their past experience with voting or other methods of political participation, and how many votes are needed to win the election or to achieve the results that are set as goals.

Given that this is the first multiparty election in Angola, it is important to understand the electoral system, particularly how votes are translated into seats in a legislature.

According to Angolan law, the allocation of votes into legislative seats is governed by a proportional representation system known as the D'Hondt system.

In a proportional representation system where seats are allocated to parties both large and small roughly according to their share of the total vote, clear majorities usually don't result. Therefore, a good deal of compromise, negotiation and alliances between parties usually results.

In the Angolan system, two different procedures exist to determine coalitions. For the presidential race, the provision for a second round means that coalitions can be formed before the second round takes place, and are then sanctioned by the voters at the polls. For the legislature, the proportional representation system means that the coalition must be built after the election and is negotiated between parties with representation in the legislature, with no direct sanction from voters.

The D'Hondt system is one of several that try to allocate seats as closely proportional to the share of votes received by each party as possible. The Angolan electoral law provides for a "mixed" system consisting of a national list of candidates and 18 provincial lists of five candidates apiece. Proportional representation is stronger for the national list.

Only by understanding the procedure for the allocation of seats can a party leadership evaluate how many seats represent the party's goal, how many votes are needed to win those seats, and where they should seek those votes.

Once the above has been determined, the party leadership must know where the party's voters are. The next step is to contact those voters.

## II. Presenting the Manifesto (message) to the Voter (with Leach Thlomelang and Keith Poston)

Once a political party knows who its voters are, the next step is to elaborate a message for them.

With the simple definition of "value" as something that people really care about, participants were asked to write down what they consider to be the three most important values in their own lives. After all answers were tallied on the blackboard and counted, the three most mentioned values were "health," "education" and "food." We called their attention to how similar these preferences are with those expressed by voters in many other countries.

The lesson, therefore, was that what the party understands to be the preferences of the voter are exactly the issues that should be addressed by the party leaders and its candidates since they are the very issues that are important to the voters.

Participants were asked to mention the most important phrases in their party's manifesto. The most frequently cited words were "democracy," "solidarity" and "freedom."

We pointed out that although the above ideas obviously are very important, an effort should be made to develop these concepts to address the values considered during the session. That is, how do the concepts translate into proposals to solve people's most basic problems? For example, how do the concepts "freedom" and "solidarity" translate into proposals that will solve the problems of "health," "education" and "food?"

Political Parties and the Electoral Campaign  
June 19-21 1992

Total Number of Participants: 95

CNDA (8)

Paulo Pedro Nelembe Guimaraes  
Pinda Simao  
Nlandu Paulo Antonio  
Joao Filipe Correia Lopes  
Joao Jose Semo  
Joao de Barros Vieira Lopes  
Luso Daniel  
Pedro Joao Diogo

FDA (8)

Francisco Domingos	Luanda
Nzuzi Domingos	K. Sul
Francisco Jose Caquarta	K. Norte
Ezequiel Mauricio	Bie
Joaquim Luis Eugenio	K. Sul
Monteiro Domingos	Zaire
Jorge Celestino	Kwando-Kubango
Pedro Nzau Simba	Cabinda

FNLA (8)

Adao Joao Andrade	Luanda
Simao Samba	Luanda
Augusto Campos Junior	Luanda
Maria Henriqueta Miguel (Joia)	Luanda
Moises Amadeu Lucepo	Moxico
Vicente	Malange
Noa Wette	Luanda
Jose Mari Junqueira Junior	Bengo

MPLA (8)

Adelino Marques de Almeida	L. Sul
Alberto Briffel	Malange
Bonifacio do Espirito Santo	Luanda
Eduardo Neto Sangueve	Huambo
Joaquim Carlos do Reis Junior	K. Sul
Joao de Almeida Azevedo Martins	Luanda
Virgilio Ferreira de Fontes Pereira	Huila
Victoria Manual Izata	Benguela

PAJOCA (8)

Mateus Jose Torres, digo, Jose Mateus Torres	Luanda
Felito Antonio	Luanda
Francisco Afonso Sebastiao	Luanda
Isabel Manuel Diogo	Luanda
Jose Gomes Da Costa Neto	Luanda
Antonio Francisco Barbosa	Luanda
Domingos Joao Malembe (Feio)	Luanda
Manuel David Mendes	Luanda

PDA (7)

Josefa Webba	Luanda
Mateus Joao Pedro	Luanda
Mak's Makonda Daniel Cezar	Uige
Fundu Mundele	Luanda
Eduardo Candido Adao	Luanda
Jose Mussala	Uige
Damiao Antonio Manuel	Zaire

PDPA (8)

Antonio Malungo  
Garcia Sumba  
Afonso Muanza  
Francisco Pedro  
Antonio Madienguluca  
Andre Paulo  
Joaquim Alfredo Chitumba  
Almeida Jose Panzo

PNDA (8)

Mateus Francisco	Luanda
Afonso Francisco	Bengo
Jose Lourenco Jose	Luanda
Antonio Diogo Cristovao	Luanda
Francisco Antonio Francisco Cazua	Luanda
Marcelina Pedro Manuel	Luanda
Joao Bernardo Fco Cristovao	Luanda
Serafina Cassus Antonio	Luanda

PRD (8)

Francisco Junior Nunes	Luanda
Joao Domingos da Silva Constantino	Lunada
Paulino Mucazo Ngueji	Luanda
Domingos Mussunda	Kuando Kubango
Gomes Joaquim Pedro	Malange
Jose de Sousa da Costa Sobrinho	Huambo
Filipe Makemba	Benguela
Pedro José Goncalves	Luanda

85

PRS (8)

Justino Victorino Saizumbo  
Rodrigo Antonio  
David Vilanca  
Jose do Espirito Santo Mateus  
Francisco Mubengayo  
Manuel Muxito  
Felipe Gabriel Lopes  
Alberto Kaquinda

Luanda  
Bie  
Uige  
Luanda  
  
Luanda  
Huila  
Benguela

PSD (8)

Martinho dos Santos Pedro  
Sebastiao Cardoso  
Domingos Lucas de Oliveira  
Sebastiao Antonio Fernando  
Augusto Veloso  
Joao do Nascimento Mateus  
Luis Victor Fragoso  
Rosario Francisco da Costa

UNITA (8)

Denis Kawindima  
Jose Kandimiento  
Clarisse Kaquila  
David Ndelessy  
Armando Moises Kassessa  
Dica Carlos  
Jaime P. Clundula  
Victor d'Jesus

Luanda  
Bie  
Luanda  
Huambo  
Luanda  
Huila  
Luanda  
L. Norte



Saturday July 4, 1992

9:00-10:20 Provisions for Monitoring by Political Parties in the Angolan Election Law

Presenter: Onofre dos Santos, Director General,  
National Electoral Council

10:20-10:30 Coffee Break

10:30-12:00 1. The Role of Political Parties in the Monitoring and Prevention of Electoral Abuses During the Registration Process

Presenters: Harriett Babbitt, United States  
Scott Ehrlich, United States

2. The role of Political Parties in the Monitoring and Prevention of Electoral Abuses During the Campaign

Presenters: Jim Jonas, United States  
Jack Walsh, United States

3. Provisions in the Angolan Election Law on Monitoring and Security

Discussants: Luis Carvalho, Portugal  
Vitor Antonio, Portugal

12:00-13:00 Lunch

13:00-14:30 Repeat sessions above, presenter(s) rotating to a different working group

14:30-15:00 Coffee Break

15:00-16:30 Repeat sessions above, presenter(s) rotating to a different working group

16:30-17:30 Plenary Session: Rapporteur report from each working group

18:30 Dinner

Sunday

July 5, 1992

9:00-10:30

Strategic Communications Planning

Presenters: Jim Jonas, United States  
Gwen McKinney, United States  
Scott Ehrlich, United States

10:30-11:00

Coffee Break

11:00-12:30

1. Communications During the Electoral Process:  
Interpersonal Communications

Presenter: Jim Jonas, United States

2. Communications During the Electoral Process:  
Material and Media Production

Presenter: Gwen McKinney, United States

3. Communications During the Electoral Process:  
Two-way Communications

Presenter: Jack Walsh, United States

12:30-13:30

Lunch

13:30-15:00

Repeat sessions above, presenter(s) rotating to  
a different working group

15:00-15:30

Coffee Break/Participants' Written Evaluation of  
the Seminar

15:30-17:00

Repeat sessions above, presenter(s) rotating to  
a different working group

17:00-18:00

Plenary Session: Rapporteur report from each  
working group

18:00

Closing Remarks

Harriett Babbit, NDI Board Member  
Robert Henderson, IRI Senior Consultant

Political Parties and the Electoral Process  
July 3-5, 1992  
Luanda, Angola

Total Number of Participants: 79

CNDA (7)

Joao de Barros Vieira Lopes	Luanda
Nlandu Paulo Antonio	Luanda
Joao Filipe Correia Lopes	Luanda
Joao Jose Semo	Zaire
Daniel Luso	K. Norte
Emilia Feliciano Sebastiao Joao	Bengo
Paulo Pedro Nelembe Guimaras	Luanda

FDA (1)

Francisco Jose Cerrussta (FDA had a Party Convention)	K. Norte
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FNLA (8)

Leopoldo Trovoada	Luanda
Adao Andrade	Malanje
Tomas da Cunha	Luanda
Luis Ndulu	Luanda
Maria Henriqueta Pedro	Luanda
Maria do Ceu Coxi	Luanda
Suzana Manuel Ferreira	Luanda
Sebastiao Paulo	Luanda

MPLA (3)

Virgilio F. de Fontes Pereira	Luanda
Eduardo Neto Sangueve	Luanda
Julia de Fatima Leite da Silva Ferreira	Luanda

PAJOCA (7)

Jose Joao Manuel	Luanda
Eduardo Miguel Zua	Luanda
Germano Luis Pascoal	Luanda
Isabel Manuel Diogo	K. Norte
Abel Lino Bernardo	Luanda
Isabel Maria Correia	Luanda
Idalina Antonio	Luanda

**PDA (8)**

Eduardo Candido Adao	Luanda
M'vika Pedro	Luanda
Antonio Milicio de Carvalho Sobrinho	Luanda
Mario Antonio de Oliveira	Malange
Paulo Miguel Joao Lemos	Benguela
Simao Jose Massango	K. Sul
Joao Antonio Domingos	Luanda
Hecimenecrido Agostinho Lopes	Luanda

**PDPA (8)**

Almeida Jose Panzo	Luanda
Andre Pululo	Luanda
Francisco Pedro	Luanda
Afonso Muanza	Luanda
Joaquim Alfredo Chitumbo	Lunada
Ana Maria Pedro	Uige
Garcia Sumbo	Luanda
Antonio Madienguluca	Uige

**PNDA (5)**

Afonso Francisco	Luanda
Manuel Antonio da Silva.	Luanda
Isabel A. Joao Mateus	Luanda
Ventura das N. Teixeira Salvador	Luanda
Mateus Francisco	Luanda

**PRD (8)**

Jose Adao Fragoso	Luanda
Silva Simao Mateus	Luanda
Manuel Cafranca Antonio	Luanda
Adao Antonio Manuel	Huambo
Belarmine Jose Kongo	Luanda
Carlos Alberto Martins da Silva	Luanda
Manuel Andrade Antonio	Huila
Jose Pedro Manuel Lopes	Malange

**PRS (8 plus an alternate)**

Daniel Benedito	Luanda
Jose do Espirito Santo Mateus	Luanda
Eusa Belmira Faria	Luanda
Justino Victorino Saizumbo	Luanda
Ana da Coneicao Quental F. Guimaraes	Luanda
Pimentel Neto Lopes	Uige
Gabriel Chamoua	Luanda
Jacinto Maieto Augeto	Luanda
Antonio Susso	Benguela

PSD (8)

Amelia Alberto Domingos  
Luis Fragoso  
Joao Do Nascimento Mateus  
Domingo Lucas Oliveira  
Sebastiao Fernandes  
Maria Francisco Amario  
Teresa Nvunzi Alberto  
Augusto Veloso

K. Sul  
Namibe  
Luanda  
Bengo  
L. Norte  
Bie  
K. Sul  
Bie

UNITA (8)

Valente Matoso Sapalalo  
Celso Eduardo Torres Kapinala  
Leonel Chitonho  
Nino Ezequias Quarentinha  
Teresa Celita Laurindo  
Marcos Domingos Hembra  
Idilio Chitekulu  
Georgina Sapato

Luanda  
Bengo  
Luanda  
Malange  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Moxico

The Role of Civic Organizations  
in a Democratic Society

Luanda, Angola

This is a draft of the program: I know there were changes; please see Tom Melia for final program or IRI

Friday August 7, 1992

8:00-9:00 Registration of Participants

9:00-10:15 Angola's Electoral System  
Presenter: Onofre dos Santos, Director  
General, CNE

10:15-11:15 The Role of Nonpartisan Groups in a Democracy  
Presenters: Thomas Melia, United States  
Edward Stewart, United States

11:15-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-12:30 Voting Simulation  
Presenters: Luis Goncalves, CNE Directorate of  
Civic Education and members of the  
Luanda Province Electoral Council

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-14:30 Workshop A: Civic Participation in a Democracy  
Presenters: Selwyn LaMothe, Grenada  
Thomas Melia, United States

Workshop B: Recruiting, Mobilizing, and Training  
Volunteers for Civic Education  
Presenters: Finton DeBourg, Grenada  
Jason Miko, United States

14:30-15:30 Rotation of Workshops A and B

15:30-16:45 The Role of International Election Monitors  
Presenter: Sammy Bwo, Chief Electoral Officer,  
UNAVEM II

16:45-17:00 Coffee Break

17:00-18:00 Citizen Participation to Strengthen Democracy  
Presenters: Selwyn LaMothe, Grenada  
Thomas Melia, United States

Saturday

August 8, 1992

9:00-10:30 Civil-Military Relations in Angola: The Role of  
the Police and the Military in the Elections  
Presenter: Sebastiao? Lemos, Police and CCPM  
Representative

10:30-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00-12:30 Explanation of Working Groups Necessary to  
Build and Implement a Nonpartisan Civic Monitoring  
Program for the Elections  
Presenter: Thomas Melia, United States

12:30-13:30 Lunch

13:30-15:00 Working Groups

Group 1  
Presenter: Finton DeBourg, Grenada

Group 2.  
Presenter: Selwyn Lamothe, Grenada

Group 3.  
Presenter: Thomas Melia, United States

Group 4.  
Presenter: Jason Miko, United States

15:00-15:30 Coffee Break

15:30-16:30 Plenary Session for Angolans: Selection of  
Members for a Monitoring Implementation and  
Coordination Working Group

16:30 Closing Remarks  
Thomas Melia, United States

Remarks and Observations: "Political Parties and Monitoring the Election," July 31-August 2, 1992

Faye M. Anderson

I. Overview

The Angolan Electoral Law serves as the framework for discussion of three broad concepts:

1. Voting is the basic political act in a democratic society;
2. It is one's civic duty to be informed and to exercise his or her right to vote (Article 5 recognizes that duty); and
3. Exercise of the right to vote is the best tool with which to hold those elected to office accountable to the electorate. Specifically, Article 3 provides for the periodic election of the President and deputies to the National Assembly to afford voters the opportunity to replace unresponsive officials with more responsive ones.

II. Political Parties and the Election Process: Mobilizing for Get-Out-the-Vote

There are three basic elements of political campaigns:

1. Finding/targeting one's voters;
2. Communicating to one's supporters a message that relates to their self-interests and explains the benefits of voting, i.a., peace, progress/economic development, justice (rule of law) and democracy (peaceful transition from a one-party system to a multiparty system); and
3. Getting one's supporters to the polls by motivating them to vote and then reminding them to vote. The challenge for political parties is to identify ways in which they can persuade their targeted voters to go to the polls on election day to vote for their candidates for President and/or deputy.

Party organization is important to optimize voter education activities, e.g. explaining how to vote and the secret ballot provision of Article 3. Party organization is also important to mobilize for a high voter turnout on election day, e.g. to transport supporters to the polls and arrange meals for pollwatchers.

95

### III. The Polling Site

Given participants' total unfamiliarity with the mechanics of voting and the physical layout of a polling station, different Articles of the Electoral Law were emphasized, especially Article 93 (number of voters served per polling site and the posting of the location of polling places no later than August 29, 1992); Article 94 (the location of polling sites in public buildings); Article 95 (the days and hours of polling); Article 97 (presiding officers at the polling site); and Article 101 (the necessary materials for the polling to take place).

The lion's share of the time was devoted to Articles 102 and 104, Pollwatchers and the Rights of Pollwatchers, respectively. Participants were keenly interested to know who should designate pollwatchers, i.e. candidates, political parties, party coalitions, or groups of voters unaffiliated with any party, and the rights of pollwatchers.

The principle duties of a pollwatcher are to:

1. Remain vigilant and mindful of the possibility of fraud;
2. Monitor the activities of the presiding officers; and
3. Avoid unjustified interference with the activities of the presiding officers.

### IV. Post Election Day Activities

Participants were particularly interested in the timing of the publication of the election results by the provincial electoral councils and the national electoral council, and the provision for a second round of voting (run-off election) if no presidential candidate were to win a majority.

I discussed the need to continue party-building activities after the election. Such activities should include, i.a.:

1. Organizing supporters at the grassroots level;
2. Recruiting candidates to run for office;
3. Monitoring the actions of the President and the National Assembly as part of the loyal opposition; and
4. Raising money to finance party activities.

I underscored that an election is just the beginning, a first step on the road to democracy, and that the participants need to be informed to hold their elected officials accountable.

Political Parties and Monitoring the Election  
July 31-August 2 1992  
Luanda, Angola

Total Number of Participants: 72

CNDA (4)

Joao Jose Semo	Zaire
Luso Daniel	Kwanza Norte
Jose Gaspar Jorge de Abreu	Kwanza Norte
Cristovao Joao Antonio	Kwanza Norte

FNLA (4)

Rita Gomes E. Major	Luanda
Elisa Antonin da Silva	Luanda
Domingos Francisco Gaspar Mateus	Luanda
Noa Wete	Luanda

MPLA (3)

Antonio dos Santos	Luanda
Vitoria Manuel da Silva Isota	Benguela
Julia de Faticua Seite da Silva Fereria	Luanda

PAJOCA (8)

Jose Joao Manuel	Luanda
Eduardo Miguel Zua	Luanda
Germano Luis Pascoal	Kwanza Sul
Isabel Maria	Luanda
Branca Eduarda Van-danem	Luanda
Jeremias Andre Domingos Simao	Huila
Joaquim Quimjimbo	Melanje
Agostinho Manuel	Kwanza Norte

PDA (8)

M'vika Pedro	Luanda
Josefa Manuel Simao Pitra	Bengo
Paulo M'vika	Luanda
Domingos Henrique Michel	Lunda Sul
Francisco Antonio Cabuco	Namibe
Jose Antonio	Luanda
Manuel Bernard de Silva	Huila
Evaristo Carlos da Silva	Kwanza Norte

**PDPA (8)**

Andre Pululo  
Afonso Muanza  
Antonio Madienguluca  
Vina Simao  
Emilia Paulina Kuma Salumao  
Pedro Caila  
Afonso Ntetani  
Francisco Pedro

Bie  
Luanda  
Benguela  
Uige  
Zaire  
Huila  
Luanda  
Huila

**PDP-ANA (8)**

Tuneka Lukau  
Sibu Aime  
Lufwankenda Eduardo  
Isabel Laurinda Mendes  
Afonso Anibal  
Lando Augusto  
Antonio Nzima Nkandu  
Domingos Samuel Lutumba

Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda

**PRD (5)**

Coelho Agostinho Pedro  
Carlos Alberto Martins da Silva  
Manuel Cassule Bage  
Cristina Madolena Silva dos Santos  
Jose Pedro Manuel Lopes

Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Luanda  
Melange

**PRS (8)**

Jose do Espirito Santo  
Eusa Belmira Pitra de Faria  
Arthur Maria Bebedeu  
Agostinho Manecas Muachicungo  
Joaquim Kambuanje Mazzanzo  
Bernardo Antonio  
Rodrigo Antonio  
David Vilance

Cuando Cubango  
Luanda  
Lunda Norte  
Lunda Norte  
Luanda  
Lunda Sul  
Bie  
Uige

**PSD (8)**

Domingo Lucas Oliveira  
Amelia Alberto Domingos  
Luis Victor Fragoso  
Teresa Vungui Alberto  
Augusto Veloso  
Somia Manuel de Carvalho  
Sebastiao Antonio Fernandez  
Augusto Cambiji Landa

Luanda  
Kwanza Sul  
Namibe  
Kwanza Sul  
Bie  
Lunda Norte  
Lunda Norte  
Benguela

**UNITA (8)**

Adalberto Chaungua Santos	Luanda
Maria Alice Nangolo Sapalalo	Luanda
Cesario Eduardo Torres Kaysinala	Luanda
Dino Joao Pedro	Luanda
Germinda Nangassole Henassuka	Luanda
Piedoso Chipindo Bonga	Luanda
Aida Elotilde Chingulu	Luanda
Clarisse Kaputo	Luanda

**ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES\***

\* The information presented below largely is based on a questionnaire that the Institutes distributed during the pre-assessment mission and as parties became registered (attached). Not all parties returned the questionnaire, and not all answered it completely. The information is supplemented by material from the Jornal de Angola and the Guia Politico dos PALOP by Fernando Marques da Costa and Natalia Fale (Editorial Fragmentos, Lda./Fundacao de Relacoes Internacionais, Lisbon, 1993).

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PARTY NAME: Convenção Nacional Democrática de Angola  
National Democratic Convention of Angola

PARTY ACRONYM: CNDA

PARTY LEADER: Paulino Pinto Joao (former member, MPLA)

FOUNDED: March 29, 1991

REGISTERED: April 30, 1992

LEGALIZED: August 6, 1992

PARTY MEMBERS: 3,106

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: North and Northeast of Angola; Rural and  
Urban Regions

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Jonas Savimbi

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No

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PARTY NAME: Forum Democratico Angolano  
Angolan Democratic Forum

PARTY ACRONYM: FDA

PARTY LEADER: George Chikoti

FOUNDED: 1990 in Lisbon by UNITA dissidents

REGISTERED:

LEGALIZED:

PARTY MEMBERS:

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:

-----

PARTY NAME: Frente para a Democracia  
Front for Democracy

PARTY ACRONYM: FpD

PARTY LEADER(S): Claudio Silva, Filomeno Viera Lopes

FOUNDED: January, 1991

REGISTERED:

LEGALIZED: July 26, 1992

PARTY MEMBERS: 3,200

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Urban

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No

PARTY NAME: Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola  
National Liberation Front of Angola  
PARTY ACRONYM: FNLA  
PARTY LEADER: Holden Roberto  
FOUNDED: April 1962  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Holden Roberto  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:

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PARTY NAME: Movimento Popular de Libertação de  
Angola  
Popular Movement for the Liberation of  
Angola  
PARTY ACRONYM: MPLA  
PARTY LEADER: Jose Eduardo dos Santos  
FOUNDED: December 10, 1956  
REGISTERED: July 1991  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS: 413,150  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Urban and Rural  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Jose Eduardo dos Santos  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No

---

PARTY NAME: Partido Angolano Independente  
Angolan Independent Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PAI  
PARTY LEADER: Adriano Parreira  
FOUNDED: 1983 in Lisbon  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED: August 1, 1992  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Jose Eduardo dos Santos  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:

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PARTY NAME: Partido da Aliança Juventude, Operários  
e Camponeses de Angola  
Youth, Labor, and Peasants' Alliance  
Party of Angola  
PARTY ACRONYM: PAJOCA  
PARTY LEADER: Miguel Joao Sebastiao  
FOUNDED: January 19, 1991  
REGISTERED: April 14 1992  
LEGALIZED: August 6, 1992  
PARTY MEMBERS: More than 50,000  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Urban areas  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Jose Eduardo dos Santos  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No

PARTY NAME: Partido Democrático Angolano  
Angolan Democratic Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PDA  
PARTY LEADER: Antonio Alberto Neto  
FOUNDED: January 29, 1991  
REGISTERED: May 20, 1992  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS: 81,385  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Urban and rural areas where there is no  
armed party presence  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Alberto Neto (former member, MPLA)  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No  
-----

PARTY NAME: Partido Democratico Liberal de Angola  
Angolan Liberal Democratic Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PDLA  
PARTY LEADER: Honorato Lando  
FOUNDED:  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED: August 1, 1992  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:  
-----

PARTY NAME: Partido Democratico Pacifico de Angola  
Ex N'to-Bako  
Pacific Democratic Party of Angola  
PARTY ACRONYM: PDPA  
PARTY LEADER: Antonio Kunzolako  
FOUNDED: October 15, 1960  
REGISTERED: May 20, 1992  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS: 1,635  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Everywhere  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: No

PARTY NAME: Partido Democratico para o Progreso/  
Alianca Democratica Angolana  
Democratic Party for Progress/Angolan  
Democratic Alliance

PARTY ACRONYM: PDP-ANA

PARTY LEADER: Mfulunpinga Landu Victor (former member,  
FNLA)

FOUNDED: March 17, 1991

REGISTERED:

LEGALIZED: July 23, 1992

PARTY MEMBERS:

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Mfulunpinga Victor (withdrew in support  
of Jonas Savimbi)

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:

-----

PARTY NAME: Partido Liberal Democratico  
Liberal Democratic Party

PARTY ACRONYM: PLD

PARTY LEADER: Analia Victoria Pereira

FOUNDED: 1983 in Lisbon

REGISTERED:

LEGALIZED: August 1, 1992

PARTY MEMBERS:

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Analia Victoria Pereira

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:

-----

PARTY NAME: Partido Nacional Democrático de Angola  
National Democratic Party of Angola

PARTY ACRONYM: PNDA

PARTY LEADER: Geraldo Pereira Victor

FOUNDED: August 4, 1991

REGISTERED: May 8, 1992

LEGALIZED:

PARTY MEMBERS: 51,000

REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Luanda, Kuanza-Norte, Malange, Huila,  
Bengo, and Zaire

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Daniel Chipenda

IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT: Yes

PARTY NAME: Partido Reformador Angolano  
Angolan Reform Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PRA  
PARTY LEADER: Rui Victoria Pereira (brother to Analia)  
FOUNDED: 1983 in Lisbon  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED: August 1, 1992  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Rui Victoria Pereira  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:  
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PARTY NAME: Partido Renovador Democratico  
Democratic Renovation Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PRD  
PARTY LEADER: Luis dos Passos (former member, FAPLA)  
FOUNDED: May 1977  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Luis dos Passos  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:  
-----

PARTY NAME: Partido da Renovação Social  
Social Renovation Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PRS  
PARTY LEADER: Eduardo Kuangana  
FOUNDED: November 18, 1990  
REGISTERED: April 23, 1992  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS: 40,020  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Northeast, West, Southeast, Urban and  
Rural areas  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: None  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: Yes  
-----

PARTY NAME: Partido Social Democratico  
Social Democratic Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PSD  
PARTY LEADER: Jose Manuel Miguel  
FOUNDED: January 10, 1988  
REGISTERED: April 14, 1992  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS: 7,000  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE: Benguela and Luanda  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Bengui Pedro Joao (former member, MPLA)  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?: Yes

PARTY NAME: Partido Social Democrata Angolano  
Angolan Social Democratic Party  
PARTY ACRONYM: PSDA  
PARTY LEADER: Andre Milton Kilandamoko  
FOUNDED: 1990  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED: August 1, 1992  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Andre Kilandamoko (withdrew to support  
Jonas Savimbi)  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:  
-----

PARTY NAME: Uniao Nacional para a Independencia  
Total de Angola  
National Union for the Total  
Independence of Angola  
PARTY ACRONYM: UNITA  
PARTY LEADER: Jonas Malheiro Savimbi  
FOUNDED: March 13, 1966  
REGISTERED:  
LEGALIZED:  
PARTY MEMBERS:  
REGION(S) OF INFLUENCE:  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Jonas Malheiro Savimbi  
IS IDEOLOGY IMPORTANT?:  
-----

COALITION NAME: Coligacao Angola Democratica  
Democratic Angola Coalition  
COALITION ACRONYM: AD-Coligacao  
MEMBER PARTIES:  
FpD Frente para a Democracia  
Legalized July 26, 1992

MDIA-PCN Movimento de Defesa dos Interesses de  
Angola-Partido de Consciencia Nacional  
(Movement for the Defense of Angolans-  
Party of National Conscience)  
Legalized August 1, 1992

PDPA Partido Democratico Pacifico de Angola  
Legalized

UDA Uniao Democratica Angolana  
Legalized August 1, 1992

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Simao Cacete

**A N G O L A**  
**LEVANTAMENTO**  
**DADOS ACERCA DOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS**

Nome:

\_\_\_\_\_

Título:

\_\_\_\_\_

Endereço:

\_\_\_\_\_

Telefone: \_\_\_\_\_ Fax:

\_\_\_\_\_

Partido: (Nome completo em Inglês):

\_\_\_\_\_

Acrónimo: (Inglês) \_\_\_\_\_ (Português)

\_\_\_\_\_

**I. FACTOS**

1. Leader do Partido

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Presidente do Partido

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Secretário Geral

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Número de Membros do Partido

\_\_\_\_\_

**(Faça o favor de incluir uma lista de todos os funcionários do partido.)**

**II. FORMAÇÃO DO PARTIDO**

1. Em que data foi fundado o partido? \_\_\_\_\_

2. Em que data foi registado oficialmente? \_\_\_\_\_

3. É importante a identificação ideológica em Angola hoje em dia? Ela ajuda ou prejudica aos partidos? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### III. ORGANIZAÇÃO

1. Como escolha-se a direcção do partido? (Caso por meio de eleições, cada quanto tempo?)

---

2. Qual o número de quadros na sede central do partido?

---

3. Quantas sedes regionais tem o partido?

---

4. Identifique, faz favor, o seu sistema principal de comunicações e transporte. Como o melhoraria?

---

5. Qual o orçamento anual do partido (US\$)?

---

6. O partido recebe cotas dos membros? sim \_\_\_\_\_ não \_\_\_\_\_

7. Em caso afirmativo, quanto por pessoa por ano?

---

8. Quais são as restantes fontes de apoio financeiro ao seu partido, além das cotas que provêm dos membros?

\_\_\_\_\_ governo

\_\_\_\_\_ organizações internacionais

\_\_\_\_\_ doações de indivíduos

\_\_\_\_\_ exiliados

\_\_\_\_\_ sindicatos

\_\_\_\_\_ empresas privadas

\_\_\_\_\_ outras fontes

\_\_\_\_\_ somente cotas provenientes dos membros

VI. ESTRUTURA ORGANIZACIONAL

1. Quem é o Responsável da Campanha?

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Quem é o Secretário de Assuntos Internacionais?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Quem é o representante do partido no Conselho Eleitoral?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Existe um Comité Executivo?

a. Cada quanto tempo reune-se?

\_\_\_\_\_

b. Quantos membros tem dito Comité?

\_\_\_\_\_

c. Como é eleito dito Comité?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Quantas secções locais tem o partido?

\_\_\_\_\_

a. Como se comunicam com a sede central e com o comité executivo?

\_\_\_\_\_

b. Existem eleições locais para as direcções locais do partido?

sim \_\_\_\_\_ não \_\_\_\_\_

6. Tem o partido estatutos de funcionamento ou acordos aprovados?

(Em caso afirmativo, faça o favor de fornecê-los)

sim \_\_\_\_\_ não \_\_\_\_\_

7. Tem o partido um manifesto ou programa?

(Em caso afirmativo, faça o favor de fornecê-lo)

sim \_\_\_\_\_ não \_\_\_\_\_

V. MEIOS DE DIVULGAÇÃO MASSIVA

1. Caso que tem-se asignado espaço de tempo para difusão, quanto tempo tem-se atribuído ao seu partido?

na televisão \_\_\_\_\_ no rádio \_\_\_\_\_

2. Tem o seu partido um jornal? sim \_\_\_\_\_ não \_\_\_\_\_

3. Em caso afirmativo, cada quanto tempo publica-se o jornal?

diariamente \_\_\_\_\_ semanalmente \_\_\_\_\_ mensalmente \_\_\_\_\_

trimestralmente \_\_\_\_\_

4. Qual é a tiragem? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Qual é o meio de comunicação mais importante na região na qual o seu partido tem o maior apoio?

rádio \_\_\_\_\_ televisão \_\_\_\_\_ jornal \_\_\_\_\_  
tradicional \_\_\_\_\_

6. Onde é que o seu partido é mais forte? Que regiões? Urbanas ou rurais? \_\_\_\_\_

VI. VARIOS

A continuação vêm as datas projectadas para o nosso programa de seminários.

**FORTALECIMENTO DOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS EM ANGOLA  
CALENDARIO PROPOSTO PARA OS SEMINARIOS**

I. SEMINARIO SOBRE OS PARTIDOS POLITICOS E A CAMPANHA ELEITORAL

Sexta-feira, 19 de Junho - Domingo, 21 de Junho de 1992

II. SEMINARIO SOBRE OS PARTIDOS POLITICOS E O PROCESSO ELEITORAL

Sexta-feira, 3 de Julho - Domingo, 5 de Julho de 1992

ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Party Name	Structure	Representative on National Election Council	Met with Survey Team	Party Description
<b>CNDA</b> Convenao Nacional Democratica de Angola National Democratic Convention of Angola	Paulino Joao President	yes		
<b>FDA</b> Forum Democratico Democratic Forum		Francisco Domingos	Francisco Domingos NEC Representative	
<b>FNLA</b> Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola National Front for the Liberation of Angola	Ngola Kabangu Secretary General  Holden Roberto President	yes		One of three historical anti-colonial parties to develop in Angola. Much of the party leadership is returnees who were not involved in the civil war. The FNLA has a regional focus in primarily the east and north of the country.
<b>FPD</b> Frente Para Democracia Front for Democracy	Claudio de Silva President  Sima Careto Executive Secretary		Claudio de Silva	The FPD is supported by younger, more educated voters who tend to be more financially affluent. The party also receives support from abroad.

ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Party Name	Structure	Representative on National Election Council	Met with Survey Team	Party Description
<p><b>MPLA</b>                      Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola                      Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola</p>	<p>Marcolino Moco                      Secretary General</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>Marcolino Moco</p>	<p>Currently controls government in Angola. Adopting a more social democratic approach to domestic policy in preparation for elections. Formerly, Marxist-Leninist in nature.</p>
<p><b>PAJOCA</b>                      Partido de A. de Juventude O.E. Camponesa de Angola                      Angolan Youth, Workers and Peasant Party</p>		<p>yes</p>		
<p><b>PDA</b>                      Partido Democratico Angolano                      Democratic Party of Angola</p>	<p>Antonio Alberto Neto                      President</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>Antonio Alberto Neto</p>	<p>This party is one of many emerging groups. The PDA supports President Dos Santos for election.</p>
	<p>Jaime Cesar de Vasconcelos                      Vice President</p>			
<p><b>PDP/ANA</b>                      Partido Democratico P/O Progressse/ANA</p>	<p>President</p>	<p>yes</p>		

ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Party Name	Structure	Representative on National Election Council	Met with Survey Team	Party Description
<b>PNDA</b> Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola National Democratic Party of Angola	President	yes		
<b>PRD</b> Partido Renovador Democratico Democratic Renewal Party	Luis dos Passos President  Joachim Pinto de Andrade Party Leader	yes	Luis dos Passos  Amadeu Cessario dos Santos Noves Sec't. Nat'l. Exec. Comm. for Soc. & Pol. Matters	PRD is strong in urban centers and has minimal support in the provinces. Primarily supported by the intellectual community. Andrade is an ex-priest with close ties to the Catholic Church.
<b>PRS</b> Partido de Renovacao Social Party of Social Renovation	Esprito Santo President	yes		
<b>PSD</b> Partido Social Democrata Socialist Democratic Party		Martinho dos Santos Perdo	Martinho dos Santos Perdo	

12

ANGOLAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Party Name	Structure	Representative on National Election Council	Met with Survey Team	Party Description
<b>UNITA</b> <b>Uniao Nacional</b> <b>P/Independencia T. de</b> <b>Angola</b> <b>National Union for the</b> <b>Total Independence of</b> <b>Angola</b>	<b>Adolosi Paulo Mango</b> <b>Alicerces</b> <b>Secretary General</b>  <b>Dr. Jonas Savimbi</b> <b>President</b>  <b>Abel Chivukuvuk</b> <b>Foreign Affairs</b>  <b>Miguel N'Gola</b> <b>Deputy Secretary</b>	yes	<b>Adolosi Paulo Mango</b> <b>Alicerces</b> <b>Secretary General</b>  <b>Abel Chivukuvuk</b> <b>Foreign Affairs</b>  <b>Miguel N'Gola</b> <b>Deputy Secretary</b>	

13

List of National NGOs in Angola by Province  
July 1992

Bengo

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Alianca Nacional das Associacoes Cristas da  
Mocidade de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Phlor de Tekila  
Solidaridade Crista & Ajuda Mutua (SCAM)  
Socorro Democratico Angolano (SODAR)

Benquela

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evengelicadas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangelica Reformado de Angola (IERA)  
Missao Evangelica do Espirito Santo de Angola (MIESA)

Bie

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Associacao Humanitaria Samuel Brace Coles (ASBC)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evengelicadas (CAIE)

Cabinda

Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evengelicadas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangelica Reformado de Angola (IERA)

Cunene

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)

Huambo

Associacao Humanitaria Samuel Brace Coles (ASBC)  
CARITAS de Angola  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evengelicadas (CAIE)

Huila

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Accao para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente (ADRA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evengelicadas (CAIE)



114

**K. Norte**

Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Associacao Civica da Juventude Angolana (JUVANGOLA)  
Associacao Humanitaria Samuel Brace Coles (ASBC)  
Fundacao Solidaridade (FS)  
Solidaridade Crista & Ajuda Mutua (SCAM)

**K. Sul**

Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Alianca Nacional das Associacoes Cristas da  
Mocidade de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangelicas (CAIE)

**Luanda**

Accao Agraria para Misericordia e Necesitados (MAAN)  
Accao Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)  
Accao para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente (ADRA)  
Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Alianca Nacional das Associacoes Cristas da  
Mocidade de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Associacao de Amigos para Boa Accao (AABA)  
Associacao Angolana de Luta contra o SIDA (AALSIDA)  
Associacao dos Amigos do Cazenga (ASSACA)  
Associacao Civica da Juventude Angolana (JUVANGOLA)  
Associacao Democratica de Defesa dos Direitos  
Humanos de Angola (ASCESE)  
Associacao Escuteiros Catolicos Angolanos (AECA)  
Associacao de Pais e Amigos de Infancia e da Juventude  
Deficiente Mental (INFAJUDEME)

**ASSOMEL - Organizacao de mulheres empresarias**

Centro Angolano de Tecnologia Apropriado (CATA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangelicas (CAIE)  
Cruz Vermelha de Angola (CVA)  
Fundacao Bola de Neve (FBN)  
Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola (IECA)  
Igreja Evangelica Reformado de Angola (IERA)  
Igreja de Jesus Cristo Sobre a Terra  
Liga Angolana de Amizade e Solidaridade Com os Povos (LAASP)  
Missao Evangelica do Espirito Santo de Angola (MIESA)

Movimento Democrático Juvenil, Estudantil, e da  
Criança de Angola (Mudança)  
Núcleo de Angariamento de Fundos para Apoio à Infância (NAFAPI)  
Ordem de Bahakti Vedanta de Angola (OBVA)  
Phlor de Tekila  
Programa Humanitária para as Crianças Orfas (PHCO)  
Sindicato dos Jornalistas Angolanos  
Solidaridade Cristã & Ajuda Mútua (SCAM)  
Socorro Democrático Angolano (SODAR)

Lunda N.

Aliança Nacional das Associações Cristãs da  
Moçada de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangélicas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangélica Reformada de Angola (IERA)

Lunda S.

Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangélicas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangélica Reformada de Angola (IERA)  
União Social Cristã para o Desenvolvimento Comunitário (USODEC)

Malanje

Aliança Nacional das Associações Cristãs da  
Moçada de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangélicas (CAIE)  
Fundação Solidaridade (FS)  
Igreja Evangélica Reformada de Angola (IERA)  
Solidaridade Cristã & Ajuda Mútua (SCAM)

Moxico

CARITAS de Angola  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangélicas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangélica Reformada de Angola (IERA)

Namibe

Ação Angolana para o Desenvolvimento (AAD)

Uige

Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Alianca Nacional das Associacoes Cristas da  
Mocidade de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Associacao Humanitaria Samuel Brace Coles (ASBC)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangelicas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangelica Reformado de Angola (IERA)  
Missao Evangelica do Espirito Santo de Angola (MIESA)  
Solidaridade Crista & Ajuda Mutua (SCAM)  
Socorro Democratico Angolano (SODAR)

Zaire

Alianca de Cooperativa Rudimentar de Solidaridade  
para o Desenvolvimento Rural (ACORSDR)  
Alianca Nacional das Associacoes Cristas da  
Mocidade de Angola (YMCA/YWCA)  
Conselho Angolano de Igrejas Evangelicas (CAIE)  
Igreja Evangelica Reformado de Angola (IERA)  
Missao Evangelica do Espirito Santo de Angola (MIESA)  
Solidaridade Crista & Ajuda Mutua (SCAM)  
Socorro Democratico Angolano (SODAR)

Church Leaders

Bishop de Carvalho  
Igreja Metodista Unida

Rev. Augusto Chipesse  
Conselho Angolano das Igrejas Evangelicas  
Member, National Electoral Council

Cardeal do Nascimento  
Catholic Church

Rev. Wanani Nunes Garcia  
Kimbanguist Church

Umbrella Organizations

CONGA  
Foro de Organizacoes Nao-Governamentais de Angola (FONGA)  
Unidad Tecnica de Coordenacao das Ajudas (UTCA)

Sources:

Unidad Tecnica de Coordenacao das Ajudas, Directorio das ONG,  
Julho/Dezembro 1992  
FONGA  
UN

Statistical Overview: National NGOs in Angola  
July 1992

<u>Province</u>	<u>Number of NGOs</u>
Bengo	6
Benguela	4
Bie	3
Cabinda	2
Cunene	1
Huambo	3
Huila	3
Kuando Kubango	0
Kuanza Norte	5
Kuanza Sul	4
Luanda	30
Lunda Norte	3
Lunda Sul	3
Malange	5
Moxico	3
Namibe	1
Uige	8
Zaire	7

Provinces with Significant NGO Presence\*

Luanda  
Uige  
Zaire  
Bengo  
Malange  
Benguela  
Kuanza Norte  
Bie  
Huambo  
Huila

\* In descending absolute numbers of national NGOs.

<u>Province</u>	<u>Est. # of Eligible Voters*</u>
Luanda	859,000
Benguela	814,000
Huambo	781,000
Bie	577,000
Malange	456,000
Huila	444,000
Uige	432,000
Kuanza Sul	330,000
Kuanza Norte	193,000
Moxico	163,000

\* From Registration figures provided by the NEC.

118

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### **Faye M. Anderson**

Ms. Anderson is the Executive Director of the Council of 100, a national organization of African-American Republicans. She serves as the liaison to the White House Domestic Policy, Communications and Public Liaison staff and to the Republican National Committee's African-American outreach staff. Previously, Ms. Anderson served as Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for the Employment Standards Administration (U.S. Department of Labor). In addition, she has served as the director for an AID research project aimed at increasing technical electoral assistance and training of the (then) Bureau for Asia and Near East. Ms. Anderson worked on the Bush-Quayle '88 and '92 campaigns and served on the Executive Committee of the San Francisco Black Leadership Forum.

### **Dr. Luis Nandin de Carvalho**

Dr. Luis Nandin de Carvalho is a lawyer in private practice in Lisbon as well as Visiting Professor at the Higher Institute of Economics and Management, at the Center for African Studies, and at the New University of Lisbon. Dr. Carvalho has also served as an Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Lisbon and at the Higher Institute of Economic Science and Finance. Dr. Carvalho has twice been elected to Lisbon's City Council, and twice to the National Assembly as a representative of the Social Democratic Party (PSD). He has served as Cabinet Chief of the Parliamentary Group of the PSD, Assistant Secretary of State for Internal Administration, Secretary of State for Tourism, and President of Lisbon's Municipal Commission for Tourism.

### **Finton George DeBourg**

Mr. DeBourg is the General Secretary of the New National Party of Grenada. He is a founding member and Chairman of the Grenada Corp of Entrepreneurs and has also served as President of the Council of Management of the Grenada Chamber of Industry and Commerce. Prior to his election as Chamber of Commerce President, Mr. DeBourg chaired its Membership Development, Small Business, and Junior Achievement Committees.

### **Scott Ehrlich**

Mr. Ehrlich is an Associate with Ailes Communications, Inc. of New York, where he works on developing coordinated communications strategies combining advertising, direct mail and public relations. He has worked on more than a dozen political campaigns, assisting the production of radio and television commercials at both the state and national level. Prior to joining Ailes Communications, Mr. Ehrlich worked with Congressman Jack Kemp and with the Jefferson Educational Foundation, an organization which supports democracy and capitalism around the world. Mr. Ehrlich received a Masters Degree in Political Management from The Graduate School of Political Management in New York.

### **Robert Henderson**

Mr. Henderson serves as the President of Henderson International Consulting and as Senior Consultant on Africa for the International Republican Institute. A veteran election and political party expert, Mr. Henderson was formerly Vice President of the IRI. Besides leading democratic development missions, he has instituted multifaceted programs in support of political parties, election processes, and civic organizations in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Eastern and Central Europe. He was either leader or a member of numerous international election observation missions, including Zimbabwe, Albania, Romania, Yugoslavia, Haiti, and Panama. Mr. Henderson has also served with the United States Department of State, and was an African affairs specialist with the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

#### **Jim Jonas**

Mr. Jonas is an Associate of The Media Team. He has scripted, developed and produced both broadcast and print media for several political campaigns. He has also managed and worked on numerous congressional campaigns in both Maryland and his native North Carolina. Mr. Jonas teaches a course on campaign communications at the Graduate School of Political Management in Washington and is also the Founder and Director of the Lee Atwater Memorial Scholarship Foundation.

#### **Moses K. Katjuongua**

Mr. Katjuongua is the President and Chairman of the National Patriotic Front of Namibia (NPF) and a sitting member of the National Assembly in Namibia. He was a member of the transitional Constituent Assembly and its Standing Committee which wrote the Constitution of independent Namibia. Mr. Katjuongua in 1982 was elected President of SWANU, the first black nationalist independence movement in Namibia, which was founded in 1959. He served as Minister of Manpower and Civic Affairs and National Health and Welfare in Namibia's Multi-Party Conference, which became the Transitional Government of National Unity of Namibia, from 1985 - 1989.

#### **Martin Krause**

As the President of Fundacion America, a multipartisan foundation based in Argentina dedicated to strengthening the links between political leaders of the hemisphere, Mr. Krause is responsible for organizing and training young political leaders throughout Latin America. He previously served as Executive Director of the Fundacion Libertad y Democracia, a nonprofit group committed to training political leaders in Argentina. Mr. Krause has extensive experience as an international observer for elections in El Salvador, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Romania. Mr. Krause directed democratic development projects for the IRI as an in-country officer in Nicaragua and in El Salvador.

#### **Selwyn LaMothe**

Mr. LaMothe is Field Officer for the Grenada Civic Awareness Organization (GCAO), a nonpartisan civic group devoted to the promotion of democratic civic culture in

Grenada. Mr. LaMothe, an agronomist and teacher, has been with the GCAO since 1987. He has served on several national committees, including the Special Olympics Committee, the National Youth Council, and the Drug Avoidance Committee.

**Eduardo Mendoza Ayala**

Mr. Mendoza is the Director General of The Higher Institute of Democratic Culture in Mexico (ISCD), a political research institute that has sympathies with the main opposition party, Partido Accion Nacional (PAN). Mr. Mendoza has previously been a candidate for the Mexican National Assembly, a private businessman, and a public relations director. Mr. Mendoza was an international observer for the 1991 El Salvador elections.

**Jason Bradford Miko**

Mr. Miko is a public relations consultant for Ruder-Finn. Previously, he served as the Executive Director of the College Republican National Committee and the International Young Democrat Union (IYDU). He has worked on various political campaigns, serving in different capacities for Bush-Quayle '88, Reagan-Bush '84, and with Congressman Jim Colby. Mr. Miko has also worked as a staff accountant for Arthur Anderson and Co.

**Howard W. Pollock**

Mr. Pollock manages his own government and international management consultant firm, Howard W. Pollock and Associates. He is a former US Congressman from Alaska who for 12 years served on the US Delegation to the UN Law of the Sea Conference. In Alaska, Mr. Pollock worked as a State Senator and as Chairman of the House Statehood Committee. He has observed elections in Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, and was consultant to political parties in Namibia during the period leading to independence. Mr. Pollock is a board member for over 10 organizations and has authored *A Practical Handbook on Parliamentary Law and Procedure for Everyday Use*.

**Keith Poston**

Mr. Poston, a communications specialist, is Public Relations Manager for the National Alliance of Business. His background includes positions as director of communications, press secretary, and director of correspondence for various political campaigns and lobbying groups. Mr. Poston has also managed congressional campaigns in which he devised the overall strategy as well as directed day-to-day political and financial operations. He has worked on the George Bush for President team.

**Edward B. Stewart**

Mr. Stewart is the Regional Program Officer for Africa, Asia, and the Middle East for the International Republican Institute (IRI). His duties include the design and implementation of a variety of programs to help strengthen political parties and other democratic institutions in underdeveloped countries. Previously, Mr. Stewart served as the

program manager for IRI's political development programs in Romania, Haiti, Bulgaria, and various nations in the Caribbean. He has led or been a member of many election observation missions, including Ethiopia and Honduras. Mr. Stewart worked as the political coordinator for the Dunn for Governor Committee in Tennessee. He received a Masters degree in International Political Affairs from the Patterson School of Diplomacy at the University of Kentucky.

**Duarte Nuno de Vasconcelos**

Mr. Vasconcelos is the Director General of the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Processes (STAPE) of the Ministry of Internal Administration in Portugal. From 1978-1980, he was the Director General for the Administrative Organization of the President of the Council of Ministers. Receiving his law degree in 1956 and a postgraduate degree in "Organizational Methods", Mr. Vasconcelos has served as Chancellor of the University of Minho.

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### **Vitor Antonio**

Mr. Antonio is the Director of Information for the Portuguese Social Democratic Party (PSD) and a guest researcher for Political Marketing at the Modern University in Lisbon. Since 1974, he has been an executive organizer for the SDP's European, presidential, parliamentary and local elections. Mr. Antonio has served as the SDP National Secretary for Overseas Emigrant Communities, Local Organizations and the Electoral Process. In 1991, he worked in Sao Tome and Principe as a consultant to the country's first presidential and parliamentary elections. Mr. Antonio has published three books: Electoral Atlas, Campaign Manual and Ten Congresses, Ten Years of Life.

### **Harriett Babbitt, Esq.**

Ms. Babbitt, alawyer at the firm of Robbins & Green, Inc., is a member of the NDI Board of Directors. She is also a member of the Board of Directors of Citibank (Arizona). She has been involved in politics at both the national and the international levels, and has participated in NDI programs in Chile, Czechoslovakia, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Ms. Babbitt also participated as part of a delegation of Freely Elected Heads of State who supervised the February 1990 elections in Nicaragua.

### **Esteban Caballero**

Mr. Caballero is a political scientist and Director of the Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in Asuncion, Paraguay. He has been Coordinator of Research, conducting investigations concerning Paraguay's contemporary political situation financed by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. Mr. Caballero has participated in NDI programs in Romania, Haiti, and the Cameroons.

### **Walter C. Carrington**

Mr. Carrington is a specialist in African development and politics. In 1991, he worked with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies as a consultant on international affairs specializing in questions of political change and democratization in Africa. Mr. Carrington has travelled and worked extensively in Africa. His most recent activities include: delivering the keynote address at an international conference on democracy in Sierra Leone in 1991; serving as an international observer to the October 1991 elections in Zambia; organizing a conference on democracy in Ghana; and accompanying former president Sir James Mancham, overthrown in a 1977 coup, on his first return to the Seychelles to reinaugurate multiparty politics.

**Brian Feeney, Ph.D**

Dr. Feeney is a member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) of Northern Ireland. He serves as Chairman of the Belfast Executive Council. Dr. Feeney has participated in policy-making for the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community as a representative of the SDLP and represented his party during negotiations on the entry of Spain and Portugal into the Confederation. He has been involved in numerous party activities, including membership on the Policy, Election, and Finance committees. Dr. Feeney is Principal Lecturer in History at St. Mary's College at Queens University in Belfast.

**Alan Ganoo, M.P.**

Mr. Ganoo is the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General of Mauritius. He was first elected to parliament in 1982, when he was appointed Speaker of the House. He served as opposition whip from 1987-1990. In 1990, he became Government Deputy Chief Whip. Mr. Ganoo was re-elected to parliament in 1991, when he was appointed to his current posts. Mr. Ganoo has participated in NDI seminars in Namibia (1990) and Burundi (1992).

**Frederick Hartwig, Ph.D.**

Dr. Hartwig is Senior Vice President of Peter D. Hart Research Associates in Washington, DC. He has designed strategies for defeating statewide referenda and has participated in numerous gubernatorial and U.S. Senate campaigns. He has served as the Coordinator of Survey Research for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Dr. Hartwig was a primary strategist of the campaign to defeat General Pinochet in the 1988 plebescite in Chile. He has conducted polling for Fernando Botero in Bogota and Ernesto Samper's presidential campaign in Colombia.

**Gerald Horne, Ph.D.**

Dr. Horne is Professor and Chairperson of the Black Studies Department at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has been active in African politics, serving as a key fundraiser and solidarity activist for the African National Congress of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia. Dr. Horne previously served as the Executive Director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. He serves on the Board of Directors of San-Freeze/Campaign for Global Security and the US Peace Council, is also the Co-Chair of the International Committee of the National Lawyers Guild, and a regular commentator on Pacifica Radio.

**Crespin Leguede**

Mr. Leguede is the Secretary General of the Togo office of the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GREDDDES). He has participated in the organization of election monitoring groups in Benin and has been instrumental in the movement for democracy in Togo.

**Maria Leissner**

**Ms. Leissner**, a member of the Liberal Party of Sweden, has served as a Member of Parliament from 1985-1991. While in Parliament, she served as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Delegation on Disarmament. Ms. Leissner has participated in a number of NDI programs, including election monitoring in Pakistan, Czechoslovakia, and Zambia and parliamentary education in Namibia.

**Fernando Marques da Costa, Ph.D.**

Dr. da Costa has been the Spokesperson of the Socialist Party (PS) of Portugal since 1989 in addition to serving as the party's International Secretary. He has represented the PS cabinet on Political and Electoral Strategy and has been a member of the party's Political and National committees, as well as its committees on Municipal elections and the EEC Parliament. Dr. da Costa is president of the Foundation for International Relations and has written several works on contemporary Portuguese history and is a professor at the Classic University in Lisbon.

**Gwen McKinney**

Ms. McKinney is a senior partner with McKinney & McDowell Associates, an African-American and women-owned firm that promotes awareness of political and international issues. Ms. McKinney served as national coordinator of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists (NATWJ). In 1987, Ms. McKinney visited settlements in southern Angola as co-producer of a video project on Namibian refugees. She became director of the Namibian Information Service in 1987 and served in that capacity until April 1990. Ms. McKinney has travelled extensively in Africa.

**Thomas O. Melia**

Mr. Melia has been Director of Programs at NDI since 1988, overseeing staff of 25 persons engaged in democratic development programs worldwide. He has directed or participated in NDI programs in south Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean and played a pivotal role in the development of NDI's timely programs to support democrats in eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990, particularly projects to aid civic organizations and political parties in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania. From 1986-88, Mr. Melia was Associate Director of the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. He served as Legislative Assistant to Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan from 1980-86. Mr. Melia received his Master's degree in African Politics from the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University in 1979. He is the author of numerous articles on American history and international politics.

**Ernest Chitumwa Mwansa, M.P.**

Mr. Mwansa is a Member of Parliament and the Legal Secretary the

ruling party of Zambia, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). He served as Secretary of the Legal Committee for the MMD when it was largely a pressure group. Mr. Mwansa has been instrumental in the MMD's transition to a political party, and later to a ruling party.

**Basilio Mosso Ramos**

Mr. Ramos is a member of the National Secretariat of the PAICV in Cape Verde and a representative of Cape Verde. He directed the commission that prepared the national assembly elections of 1990 and the municipal elections in 1991.

**Leach Thlomelang**

Mr. Thlomelang is the President of the Botswana Freedom Party (BFP). During his political career in Botswana he has been a Member of Parliament from the Kayne constituency and has served on a number of parliamentary committees, including Finance, Population and Development, and Subsidiary Legislation. Mr. Thlomelang is a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

**Jack Walsh**

Mr. Walsh is a Boston-based political consultant who has worked on campaigns at the local, state, and national levels. He is president of Jack Walsh & Associates, Inc., a political consulting firm that specializes in initiatives, referenda, candidate election, and other political and public affairs programs. He is the former Chairman of the Board for the Boston Election Department and a former fellow of the Kennedy School at Harvard University. Mr. Walsh has participated in NDI programs in Bolivia, Chile, Hungary, Northern Ireland, and Paraguay.

**Kenneth Wollack**

Mr. Wollack, the President of NDI, has previously served as the Institute's Vice President. He has travelled extensively in Eastern and Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia on behalf of NDI's political development programs. Prior to joining NDI in 1986, Mr. Wollack edited the Middle East Policy Survey, a Washington DC-based newsletter. He has written regularly on foreign affairs for the Los Angeles Times and has been a frequent commentator on national television and radio.

**POLLWATCHER**

**TRAINING**

**GUIDE**

**Manual for Political Parties Seminar  
Instruction**

**Angola  
September 1992**

## WHY A PARTY POLLWATCHING PROGRAM?

It is important that political parties organize to monitor elections to identify problems in the process and recommend solutions, and to assess the fairness of the elections themselves. Monitoring the elections will help Angolan political parties verify the official election results, so that they are satisfied that the elections were free and fair, and to ensure the development of a democratic political culture in which the legislature and presidency will function in the future.

## THE PURPOSE OF POLLWATCHING

The purpose of this manual is to provide political parties with a practical guide for training party members for pollwatching for the upcoming national elections. Pollwatchers observe the electoral process in order to address issues and problems that develop during this period.

The pollwatcher is a citizen who offers his or her time to the party, of which he or she is either affiliated to or identifies with, to do voluntary work that consists of being present at the polling site during the voting process, from the opening to the closing. This guide will assist in the training of political party pollwatchers, and will emphasize the practical nature of party pollwatching activities before, during and after the vote.

## ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY

Training on pollwatching and election day activities should be conducted by party officials prior to election day.

Pollwatchers should familiarize themselves with the electoral rules and regulations of the electoral code.

Persons selected as pollwatchers should visit polling stations and specific election sites to familiarize themselves with the work area.

Names of respective pollwatchers and alternates, with their voter registration number and polling place at which the pollwatcher is to be placed, must be sent to the municipal electoral offices, not later than eight days prior to the date of elections by each political party (art. 103)

WHO IS PRESENT AT THE POLLING SITE?

1. Each polling place shall have a board of presiding officers to arrange and direct the voting proceedings and to determine the results of the vote-counting.
2. These boards are composed of five people: one chairman, one secretary, and three scrutineers.
3. The presiding officers of a polling place constitute themselves into a board at the scheduled hour at a site designated by the NEC and its agencies in order to begin their duties. (art. 98, 1)
4. The presiding officers of a polling place must be present at the site where the polling place is to function two hours prior to the beginning of the voting. (Art. 98, 3)
5. The composition of the board of presiding officers of a polling place may not be changed except for just cause, in which event the Municipal Electoral Office must publicly announce the change.(art. 99)
6. The presence of the chairman, secretary, and at least one of the scrutineers is sufficient for considering the voting and the results of the vote counting as valid. (art. 100)
7. Each of the candidates, political parties, and/or party coalitions may appoint one pollwatcher and an alternate, who may be present at the table in a polling place. (art. 102)
10. Pollwatchers are not members of the board of presiding officers of a polling place. (art. 102)

## RIGHTS OF THE POLLWATCHER

1. The pollwatchers representing the candidates enjoy the following rights: (art. 104)
  - a. they may be present at the site where the board of presiding officers of the polling place functions and may occupy the seats closest to those officers so that they may monitor all acts related to the voting and vote counting;
  - b. they may check the ballot boxes and voting booths before voting begins;
  - c. they may ask for and receive from the presiding officers information they deem necessary concerning acts in the voting and vote-counting proceedings;
  - d. they may be consulted on all questions that arise during the operation of the polling place, either during the voting or the vote counting;
  - e. they may make notations in the official record when they see fit to do so, and may sign that record. Should they decide not to sign it, they must record their reasons for not doing so;
  - f. they may initial all documents relating to the electoral operations, and
  - g. they may consult the voter registration roll books at any time.

## DUTIES OF THE POLLWATCHER

According to the electoral law, the duties of a pollwatcher are to:

- 1) monitor, conscientiously and objectively, the activities of the presiding officers of the polling place, and
- 2) cooperate in the normal conduct of the voting, vote counting, and the functioning of the board of presiding officers of the polling place.

But pollwatchers are to avoid unjustified interference with the activities of the presiding officers of the polling place that would upset the normal conduct of the voting and vote counting proceedings.

It is further stated that if pollwatchers do not carry out their responsibilities, it will not affect the validity of the voting or the results of the vote count.

## ACTIVITIES ON ELECTION DAY

When the pollwatcher first arrives to the precinct or voting table, he or she should present his or her pollwatcher credentials. The pollwatcher should be clearly identified with a credential indicating the full name, identification number, and the signature of the authorized representative of the party or of the independent candidate.

The pollwatcher should bring all the necessary materials needed to perform his or her duties including the following:

- copy of pollwatching manual
- ballpoint pen
- notebook or paper
- flashlights or candles
- calculator

Once the credentials have been presented, the pollwatcher will watch the precinct or table officials to verify that everything is in order to begin the voting process.

The pollwatcher should ensure that all the following conditions are met prior to the voting process.

- 1) The officials are present at the voting table.
- 2) The supplies necessary to proceed with the balloting should be present at the table including the following:
  - a) A copy of the voter registration roll books
  - b) The official electoral operations record book, initialed on all pages and including a document on which the formal opening and closing of the book is to be recorded
  - c) Printed materials, charts, and registration and report forms needed for the electoral operations
  - d) A supply of ballots both for the presidential and legislative elections
  - e) The ballot boxes
  - f) Indelible ink
  - g) Stamps, sealing wax, and envelopes for the completed ballots

It is the responsibility of the National Electoral Council to ensure that each board of polling place presiding officers is furnished, on a timely basis, with all the necessary materials. (art. 101)

It is the duty of the local governments to create and ensure the conditions necessary and essential to the safekeeping, preservation, safety, and inviolability of the materials mentioned, particularly the ballots and the ballot boxes.

Before voting begins, the chairman of the board of presiding officers of the polling place proceeds, with the other presiding officers and the pollwatchers who represent the candidates, to check the voting booths, the working documents, and to display the ballot boxes to those present so that they may certify that the boxes are empty. (art. 111)

#### VOTING PROCEDURE

When the voting line is established, the voters can approach the voting table, one by one, in the order in which they arrived.

The voter should present his or her identification card at the voting table so that the officials can verify that the name and other information coincides with the information on the voter registration lists. It should also be verified that the fingers of the voters do not contain ink marks, in order to prevent double voting.

Once it is determined that the voter is allowed to vote, he or she is handed two voting ballots, a red ballot for candidates for the president and a blue ballot for candidates for the national assembly. After receiving the ballots, the voter should proceed to the enclosed area and should mark his or her preference for each office or position. After a voter has made a mark on each of the ballots, the ballots are placed in the appropriate ballot boxes, one for the Presidential vote and one for the national assembly. The voter's finger is then dipped in the indelible ink indicating that the person has voted.

Voters with physical defects who are not able to mark the voting ballots may request another person who they trust to vote for them.

#### MONITORING ELECTION DAY PROCEDURES

One of the most important functions for political party pollwatchers is monitoring election day procedures. Political party pollwatchers are allowed to monitor the electoral process and stay inside the polling site at all times during the voting process. Party pollwatchers are also expected to spend the night at the polling site and to monitor the process the following day. Each political party is permitted to designate one pollwatcher and one alternate to provide for periods when one person is required to leave the site.

## BEGINNING AND ENDING OF VOTING

Voting begins at 7:00 am (art. 111) and ends at 7:00 p.m. Voters are admitted to vote until 7:00 p.m., but only those who are already present at the polling place at that time are permitted to do so.

At the closing of the polling site, the chairman of the board of presiding officers shall separate the ballots that were not used and those that were spoiled and place them in separate envelopes, which will be sealed and initialed. The list of voters is then closed and signed by all the officers and pollwatchers present.

## OPENING OF BALLOT BOXES AND COUNTING OF BALLOTS

After the voting has ended, the chairman shall open the ballot boxes and count that the number of ballots in the boxes and the number of voters who voted at the polling site coincide.

If there is a discrepancy between the number of ballots in the ballot boxes and the number of voters, the number of ballots in the ballot boxes is to be used for the purposes of the count.

The counting of ballots shall be done as follows:

- 1) The chairman opens the ballot, exhibits it, and reads it aloud;
- 2) The first scrutineer notes the votes attributed to each slate on a blank sheet of paper or, if available, on a large chart;
- 3) The second scrutineer arranges in separate piles by groups the ballots cast for each slate, the blank ballots, and the void ballots, after their contents have been read aloud;
- 4) the first and third scrutineers proceed to count the votes and the chairman announces the number of votes cast for each slate.

After the operation described above has been completed, the chairman shall proceed to compare the number of ballots found in the ballot box with the sum total of the votes in each group.

The pollwatchers who represent the candidates have the right to check the groups of ballots but must not change the sequence of the arrangement of the ballots. If they have questions, they may complain to the chairman of the presiding officers, who shall study the complaint. (art. 127)

## VOTING SECURITY

The function of pollwatching in the electoral process is to make sure that the process is orderly, that voting procedures are being properly followed by the presiding officials, that voters are allowed to vote in an orderly manner, according to established and written procedures, that they vote without fear, intimidation, harrassment, freely of their own accord for the candidates and party for whom they so choose, and that the process for casting a vote is done in secret, without reavealing to election officials, other voters, or other onlookers at the polling site, for whom the vote is cast. This is the process for free and fair elections.

#### VOTING IRREGULARITIES

In order to provide for voting security, pollwatchers must know the voting process. They must know the rules and practices and must observe that these rules and practices are being properly implemented by presiding officials and followed by voters throughout the voting process.

Many mistakes will be made by local election officials that will not be an intentional effort to compromise the fairness and honesty of the elections. Party pollwatchers may be unable to detect more than the most obvious acts of fraud. They should recognize that voting fraud is the deliberate corruption of the electoral process in order to undermine the accuracy and legitimacy of the vote. The objective for the pollwatcher is to identify irregular practices that appear to be pervasive and deliberate as part of an organized scheme.

The following outline suggests election irregularities to be aware of in order to be able to recognize violations and irregularities. Complaints about procedures during the voting/electoral process should be written and brought to the attention of the authorities.

#### Irregularities before voting

1. Influencing voters and election officials by paying money, promising jobs, loans or promotions
2. Threatening persons or their families
3. Hindering the orderly process of preparing for voting such as spreading false reports and dirsruping means of transportation,
4. Tampering with ballot boxes and papper

#### Irregularities during voting

1. Polling officials without proper credentials
2. Supplies and equipment not received in proper security order
3. Any required election forms or materials are missing, destroyed, substituted or taken away.
3. Polling officials without proper knowledge and information as to proper voting procedures
4. Improper voter identification procedures
5. Permitting the early opening of polls so that improper votes

can be cast.

6. Polling sites left unattended by presiding officials
7. Moving polling place without cause or notice
8. Unauthorized people loitering and interfering in polling place
9. Refusing to permit pollwatchers to get close enough to observe the process
10. Moving voting booth within polling place so it cannot be fully observed by officials
11. Permitting voting to be in the open, thereby making a secret ballot impossible.
12. Having a physical layout of the polling site does not allow for a secret vote.
13. Any interfering with the freedom and secrecy of each vote
14. Intimidating a voter while casting their ballot
15. Causing delay in polling places so as to discourage voters from waiting
16. Collusion of officials to agree to irregularities
17. Refusing to give a ballot paper to a legitimately registered voter or issuing more than one ballot paper to a registered voter
18. Failure to carefully compare voter's signatures with registration, or otherwise identify
19. Assuming the identify of an election official
20. intimidation, threats and violence to voters and officials bribery
21. campaigning within 500-meters of polling area
22. voting under name of another qualified voter, or using false name
23. Attempting to vote in another person's name  
permitting unqualified persons to vote  
permitting persons to vote more than once  
permitted person, even minors, to vote for others upon pretext of authorization  
voting in the place of qualified voters that fail to appear

#### Ballot Security

1. Destruction or concealment of legitimate ballot boxes
2. Unofficial ballot box used instead of official box with proper opening and lock
3. Not determining whether ballot boxes were empty at the opening of the polls on the first day
4. Box stuffed prior to or during vote  
failure to verify the number of ballots received prior to their being used  
fictitious, improper or forged ballots used  
ballot box stolen or switched  
ballots removed or destroyed  
ballots smudged, amarked, or torn during count, so as to disqualify for identifying mark  
ballots marked by an official with short pencil, or lead under fingernail, so as to disqualify for identifying mark  
ballots erased and revoted  
ballots shifted after sorting, in or out of piles or piles shifted, permitting unauthorized persons to handle ballots

### Irregularities during Counting

theft, destruction or substitution of election returns during transfer from polling place to provincial electoral council  
misreading or misrecording of the contents of the ballots  
miscommunication of recorded results  
providing misleading reports to the media  
improperly tallying by incomplete figures, transposing figures, omitting or falsifying figures  
changing, erasing, or switching tally in polling place or on way to turn in  
stalling completion of count until late  
rushing tabulation on the pretext of meeting some TV, press or other external deadline  
failure to properly safeguard or deliver returns to Election Council  
precinct officials signing records in advance or before completed

to avoid count or to count again to increase vote  
under-counting one candidate and over-counting opponent to increase the difference  
improperly securing and delivering paper ballots when count is concluded

Any serious problems that compromised the integrity of the balloting process should be reported. Rumors of violations should not be reported; only written personal observations or first person accounts are acceptable. Names and addresses of those involved and witnesses to any irregularities should also be noted.

It is probable that in most polling sites, the process will work well and the balloting will be fair. There may be instances where there are minor problems but the overall process can be judged satisfactorily. Or, there may be serious problems resulting in the failure to allow for an honest process, and the integrity of the balloting will be seriously compromised. It is important that the pollwatcher observe the balloting and counting process at his or her polling station to note irregularities or outright violations.

The pollwatcher may raise questions and submit written complaints, and protests related to the electoral operations of that same polling place with supporting documents. The presiding officers must receive these complaints, initial them and attach them to the official record. The presiding officers must decide on all complaints, they may leave this task until the end if they believe it will not prejudice the normal progress of voting. All decisions by the presiding officers are made by majority vote of the members present and must be substantiated. The chairman has the tie-breaking vote.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE ELECTORAL OPERATIONS

An official record of the electoral operations is prepared by the secretary of the presiding officers of the polling place and signed by the chairman, secretary, scrutineers, and pollwatchers.

The results obtained are to be transcribed into a summary report for use by the pollwatchers, after being signed by the persons stated above.



# **MANUAL DE CAPACITACION PARA OBSERVADORES.**

## **METODOLOGIA DEL TALLER.**

### **CONSIDERACIONES GENERALES.**

La intencionalidad de esta metodología será fundamentalmente de carácter participativo, de acción y de confrontación de cada uno de los contenidos entre los participantes y de éstos con los capacitadores.

El trabajo grupal buscará crear las condiciones propicias para que cada uno de los participantes exteriorise sus puntos de vista. Fortaleciendo de esta manera la propuesta de que el taller sea un espacio de trabajo activo de los participantes más que una exposición de los capacitadores, por muy clara y dinámica que ésta fuera.

La metodología intenda no solo capacitar a los observadores en cuanto a las tareas propias a desarrollar en la jornada electoral, sino sobre todo fortalecer por medio de la participación activa de los asistentes -con la utilización de los materiales- la confianza y la seguridad indispensables para realizar su trabajo.

Por otro lado, estamos convencidos que la gran mayoría de los capacitadores podrá, a partir de su propia experiencia, hacer modificaciones al taller para lograr que cumpla mejor con los objetivos necesarios para la capacitación. Recogeremos con agrado todas y cada una de las propuestas hechas a la metodología.

### **OBJETIVOS GENERALES:**

- Que los participantes comprendan la importancia de la observación, como experiencia ciudadana de apropiación de un espacio que estaba relegado exclusivamente a los partidos políticos, a las autoridades electorales y al gobierno.
- Que comprendan la importancia política y el peso moral que tiene los observadores al calificar el conjunto del proceso electoral en el estado.
- Contribuir, por medio de ésta experiencia, para que los procesos electorales en México sean cada vez más transparentes y democráticos.

## **OBJETIVOS ESPECIFICOS:**

- Que a cada uno de los participantes les quede claro cual es el perfil, el papel y el trabajo que el observador tiene que realizar.
- Que comprendan las responsabilidades de los funcionarios de casilla.
- Que conozcan la ley electoral y aprendan a valerse de ella.
- Que identifiquen los aspectos a observar que no contempla la ley electoral del estado.
- Que ubiquen las distintas irregularidades que pudieran presentarse en la casilla y sepan como reaccionar ante ellas.
- Que se familiaricen con el formato para el vaciado de la información y aprendan a manejarlo.
- Que cada observador conozca y aprenda el manejo de los materiales que utilizará en la jornada electoral.
- Que este espacio de capacitación sirva para brindarles seguridad y confianza a los observadores.

### **I.- INTRODUCCION. 12'**

Se presentaran que es la Ola por la Democracia, el papel de los derechos políticos, la putualización del fraude y los objetivos generales y especificos del taller.

### **II.- QUE ES UN OBSERVADOR. 20'**

Se registrará en un papelografo las respuestas de los participantes, se aplicará la encuesta sobre la conducta del observador despues se realizará una afinación del perfil del observador tomando encuesta las respuestas de los participantes.

### **III.- JORNADA ELECTORAL Y UTILIZACION DEL FORMATO DE VACIADO. 45'**

Se revisará el contenido de los folletos en relación con el formato de vaciado y se registrarán las dudas por los secretarios para ser expuestas en el plenario. La afinación y la aclaración de las dudas es muy importante.

145

#### **IV.- SOCIODRAMA DEL FRAUDE. 30'**

Se formarán tres grupos: los representantes de casilla y de los partidos, el de los votantes y el de los observadores [uno es responsable de la observación de la elección y el otro de todo el sociodrama]; después se recuperará la representación creativa con los asistentes. Aquí es fundamental insistir, clarificando las dudas y los errores que se pudieran cometer a cerca del formato.

#### **V. EVALUACION.**

Este aspecto es importante crear un ambiente que permita la participación de todos los asistentes para poder no solo medir si se cumplieron los objetivos del taller sino además para poder recojer las sugerencias a la metodología y a los contenidos.

#### **VI. ACUERDOS.**

*Agreements*

Se registrarán a todos los voluntarios para la observación con sus nombres y su dirección. Se nombrarán además de dos o tres responsables de la convocación de los observadores.

BALLOT SECURITY

KEY POINTS OF BALLOT SECURITY

1. Voting Fraud--Deliberate corruption of the electoral process intended to undermine the accuracy and legitimacy of the vote.
2. Election observers are generally unable to detect more than the most obvious fraud. The objective is to identify irregular practices that appear to be pervasive and deliberate as part of an organized scheme.
3. Many mistakes will be made by local election officials that will not be an intentional effort to compromise the fairness and honesty of the elections.
4. Be observant and take notes.
5. Activities at polling station:
  - a. Be sure and look for suspicious activity outside or near the polling station (opportunity for intimidation, vote-buying or improper influencing).
  - b. It is essential that all voting activity is orderly and organized, and that voters are not subjected to unreasonably long delays. Chaos is the worst enemy of ballot security.
  - c. Who may be present?
    - Commissioners
    - Party representatives
    - Candidates' agents (candidates can only be present for opening of the boxes and for counting after voting is completed).
    - Journalists
    - Guests (observers).
6. Five principal activities in the voting process:
  - a. Identification of voters by passport or military identification and marking or writing of voters' names on voting lists.
  - b. Providing of the envelope to each voter in which ballots are to be placed.
  - c. Choosing of ballots by the voter in the privacy of the polling booth.
  - d. Casting of the envelope containing the ballots chosen by the voter into the ballot box.
  - e. Marking of the passports or military ID to show the voter has voted.

WARNING

147



# CODE OF CONDUCT

## FOR POLITICAL PARTIES DURING PRESENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN

On Tuesday 12 September 1989 some Namibian political parties signed an agreement among themselves. It establishes a Code of Conduct which they have pledged to respect during the coming electoral campaign. They have also agreed to issue directives to their members and supporters to observe this Code, and to take other necessary steps to ensure that its terms are respected. They, and I, have also agreed to publicise this Code throughout Namibia by all the various means at our disposal.

I have been deeply impressed by the attitudes of restraint, constructiveness and flexibility shown by the parties in concluding this agreement. It is an important and historic achievement on the long road that has led to the prospect, soon to be realised, of free and fair elections for an independent Namibia. It is also a significant step towards national reconciliation.

Martti Ahtisaari, Special Representative of the Secretary-General

An essential part of free and fair elections is freedom of political campaigning. Everyone has the right to put forward their political principles and ideas, without threat or fear, to every other person, without exception. But freedom of political campaigning also carries responsibilities, including the duty to accept every other person's freedom to campaign.

The Namibian political parties whose names are subscribed to this document, meeting together in Windhoek under the chairmanship of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on 12 September 1989, have agreed as follows:

- ▶ 1. Intimidation, in any form, is unacceptable and will be expressly forbidden by the parties in directives to their members and supporters.
- ▶ 2. Party leaders will instruct their members and supporters that no weapon of any kind, including any traditional weapon, may be brought to any political rally, meeting, march or other demonstration.
- ▶ 3. Parties will notify UNTAG-CIVPOL as well as SWAPO in advance of their planned meetings and other rallies.
- ▶ 4. All practical steps will be taken by parties to avoid holding rallies, meetings, marches or demonstrations close to one another at the same time. Party leaders undertake to co-operate in applying this principle in good faith and in a reasonable spirit should any coincidence of time or venue arise.
- ▶ 5. Speakers at political rallies will at all times avoid using language which threatens or incites violence in any form against any other person or group of persons. Parties will not issue pamphlets, newsletters or posters, whether officially or anonymously, which contain inflammatory language or material.
- ▶ 6. All parties will consistently emphasize, both to their supporters and also to voters in general, that there will be a secret ballot, and that consequently no one will know how any individual may have voted.
- ▶ 7. Party members and supporters will not disrupt other parties rallies, meetings, marches or demonstrations.
- ▶ 8. Party members and supporters will not seek to obstruct other persons from attending the political rallies of other parties.
- ▶ 9. Party members and supporters will not plagiarize symbols of other parties, or steal, disfigure or destroy political or campaign materials of other parties.
- ▶ 10. Party leaders will use their good offices to seek to ensure reasonable freedom of access by all political parties to all potential voters, whether they be at farms, on state-owned properties, in villages, or at secondary reception centres. They will also seek to ensure that such potential voters wishing to participate in related political activities have freedom to do so. This may, where necessary, take place outside working hours.
- ▶ 11. Parties will establish effective lines of communication to one another at headquarters, regional and district levels, and will appoint liaison personnel who will be constantly on call to deal with any problems that may arise.

- ▶ 12. Parties will meet on a fortnightly basis under the chairmanship of UNTAG regional directors or centre heads to discuss all matters of concern relating to the election campaign. A standing committee of party leaders at headquarters will meet on a fortnightly basis under the chairmanship of the Special Representative or his Deputy to deal with such matters on a nation-wide basis. An observer from the Office of the AG will be invited to attend the meeting of the standing committee. Emergency meetings will be convened as and when necessary.
- ▶ 13. All allegations of intimidation and other unlawful conduct in the election campaign will be brought to the attention of the nearest UNTAG-CIVPOL and SWAPO stations or patrols.
- ▶ 14. Party leaders will issue directives to their members and supporters to observe this Code of Conduct, and take all other necessary steps to ensure compliance.
- ▶ 15. It is stated in the Settlement Proposal that: "The elections will be under the supervision and control of the United Nations in that, as a condition to the conduct of the electoral process, the elections themselves and the certification of their results, the United Nations Special Representative will have to satisfy himself at each stage as to the fairness and appropriateness of all measures affecting the political process at all levels of administration before such measures take effect." Party leaders undertake to honour the outcome of free and fair elections so certified by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
- ▶ 16. The Special Representative and party leaders undertake to publicise this Code of Conduct throughout Namibia by all means at their disposal.

The Namibian political parties whose names are subscribed below agree and endorse this Code of Conduct as binding upon them. I hereby accept that alleged violations will be brought to and considered by the Standing Committee referred to in paragraph 12 above.

NAME OF PARTY	NAME OF REPRESENTATIVE	SIGNATURE
Action Christian National	J.M. de Wet	
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance	F.J. Kozonguizi	
Federal Convention of Namibia	H. Diergaardt	
Namibia Christian Democratic Party	W. Adam	
Namibia National Front	I. Uirab	
National Patriotic Front of Namibia	E. van Zijl	
South West Africa People's Organization	H.G. Geingob	
SWAPO-Democrats	for A. Shipanga	
United Democratic Front	Justus Garoeb	

In the presence of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

Martti Ahtisaari

UNTAG Headquarters,  
Windhoek, 12 September 1989



UNTAG

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

**Código de Conducta da Namibia  
Para Partidos Políticos Durante a Campanha Eleitoral**

Uma parte essencial de umas eleições livres é justas e a liberdade de realização da campanha eleitoral. Toda a gente tem o direito de apresentar os seus princípios e ideais políticos sem medo de ameaças. Mas a liberdade de campanha política também implica responsabilidades, incluindo a obrigação de aceitar o direito de todos os outros em fazer livremente campanha.

1. Qualquer forma de intimidação é inaceitável e vai ser expressamente proibida pelos partidos em directivas aos seus membros e apoiantes.
2. Os líderes dos partidos devam instruir os seus membros e apoiantes para que nenhum tipo de arma, incluindo armas tradicionais, sejam levadas para qualquer reunião política, encontro, marchas ou outras demonstrações.
3. Os partidos devem notificar UNTAG-CIVPOL e SWAPOL para que se possam coordenar os encontros e reuniões planeadas.
4. Todas as providências práticas vão ser tomadas para evitar reuniões, encontros, marchas ou demonstrações perto uma da outra ao mesmo tempo. Os líderes dos partidos políticos devam cooperar na aplicação deste princípio em boa fé e num espírito razoável se surgir alguma coincidência de tempo ou de ponto de encontro.
5. Os oradores em reuniões políticas devem evitar usar uma linguagem que ameça ou incite a violência contra outra pessoa ou grupos de pessoas. Os partidos não vão emitir folhetos, boletins ou posters, seja oficial ou anonimamente, que contenham material ou linguagem inflamatória.
6. Todos os partidos sublinharão aos seus apoiantes e também aos votantes em geral que o boletim de voto é secreto e, conseqüentemente, ninguém vai conhecer o voto de cada um.
7. Os membros e apoiantes de qualquer partido não vão interromper reuniões, marchas, encontros e demonstrações de outros partidos.
8. Os membros e apoiantes de partidos não vão impedir outras pessoas de assistir as reuniões políticas de outros partidos.
9. Os membros e apoiantes de partidos não vão plagiar os símbolos de outros partidos ou roubar, desfigurar ou destruir material político o de campanha dos outros partidos.

10. Os líderes dos partidos devem usar os seus bons ofícios para garantir o acesso de todos os partidos políticos a todos os potenciais votantes, mesmo se estiverem em fazendas, propriedades do Estado, aldeias ou centros de recepções secundárias. Também devem garantir que os potenciais votantes que desejem participar em determinada actividade política tenham a liberdade de o fazer.

11. Os partidos estabelecerão linhas de comunicação eficientes de um ao outro no quartel-general, a nível regional e provincial, e nomearão pessoal de contacto que estará constantemente alerta para resolver problemas que possam surgir.

12. Os partidos reunir-se-ão num período de quinze dias, por conselho de directores regionais ou chefes de centro para discutir todas as matérias preocupantes relacionadas com a campanha eleitoral. Um comité de líderes dos partidos reunir-se-á no quartel-general num período de quinze dias, sob orientação de um Representante Especial ou do seu substituto, para resolver os problemas que surgirem a nível nacional. Será convidado um observador do Gabinete do AG para observar as ocorrências do Comité.

13. Todas as alegações de intimidação e de conducta ilegal durante a campanha eleitoral serão levadas ao conhecimento do mais próximo das brigadas da UNTAG-CIVPOL e SWAPOL.

14. Os líderes dos partidos emitirão directivas aos seus membros e patrocinadores para observar este Código de Conduta, e realizarão todos os passos necessários a garantia de aquiescência.

...

16. O Representante Especial e os líderes dos partidos são obrigados a publicar em todo o território da Namíbia este Código de Conduta, por todas as formas disponíveis.

50-750

CODE OF CONDUCT

RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE POLITICAL PARTIES  
DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

(SUGGESTIONS FOR A FUTURE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES)

In order to ensure the success of the electoral process, the National Electoral Council suggests the following ethical norms to be observed by all political parties:

- 1 - The holding of the elections is the primary and most important preoccupation for the Government, the political parties and the Angolan people.
- 2 - In a democratic political system, elections are the outcome of the will of the people freely expressed through universal suffrage.
- 3 - After celebrating one year of cease-fire, during which the Angolan people have shown their capacity, maturity and political will in definitively ending the war, it is now incumbent upon them to fulfil that goal with their spirits appeased and free of the hostilities caused by the war and, in this manner, to lay emphasis on the international values enshrined in the Declaration of Human Rights, in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and in the general principles of democracy.
- 4 - For a true pacification of the spirits, the political parties must accept political equality among themselves and carry out civic training and education campaigns aimed at strengthening the political and democratic awareness of the citizens.
- 5 - The political parties play a fundamental role on the political scene of the country, and their conduct during the registration process and the political campaign will determine their capacity to serve as instruments of civic training and education and as channels for the transmission of democratic values to Angolan citizens.
- 6 - Such an awareness campaign will be more effective if there is a concerted action by all political parties using the media to educate citizens.
- 7 - In order for the forthcoming electoral campaign to be a true example of civism and maturity, it is necessary to start consultations between all political parties in

order to reach a consensus on the minimum rules of conduct to be observed by the parties, the candidates, the leaders, the grass roots militants and supporters of the parties.

- 8 - Democracy is learnt through practice, and it is a slow and lengthy process. The political parties are responsible for teaching how to practise it, to teach the fundamental values of democracy, indeed the forthcoming electoral campaign will be the occasion to exercise it and use it as a model in the political history of the Angolan people.
- 9 - To this effect, and in order to comply with article 75 of Law No. 5/92 (Electoral Law), for the democratic co-existence of all the parties and for the welfare of society, the parties pledge to observe, among other things, the following rules:
  - I - To consistently point out to the electorate in general that the vote must be secret and, as a result of this, nobody will know how any person is going to vote.
  - II - To refrain from making statements through any means or from carrying out actions aimed at creating fear among citizens so as to obstruct or make difficult the implementation of - the electoral process, or from jeopardizing the true pacification of the spirits.
  - III - To refrain from carrying out, through any means available, hostile propaganda against other parties in order to stir up, amongst the party militants, hatred or animosity capable of unleashing unforeseeable incidents.
  - IV - To respect the political opinions of adversaries and to respond with other opinions when in disagreement.
  - V - To respect the dignity and good name of the leaders, members of the political parties and of the candidates, and to avoid using slanderous and insulting words.
  - VI - To behave in a manner which will not offend the dignity, good name and reputation of one another.
  - VII - To respect and encourage their members, candidates and grass roots militants to respect all forms of electoral propaganda of opponents, as well as the symbols, emblems and other forms of party identification of other political parties.
  - VIII - In order to avoid possible incidents, the parties must agree and coordinate amongst themselves and with the non-governmental bodies, the provincial government or local administrations, whichever the case, on the routes and

timing for the holding of public demonstrations and the venue for meetings.

- IX - The parties also pledge to carry out awareness campaigns among their members, militants and supporters, and to convey to them the fundamental democratic values and the respect for adversaries, their property and opinions.
- X - The parties must make all possible efforts to ensure the correct organisation of electoral party meetings and demonstrations in order to avoid all manifestations of violence and disorder by persons during these events.
- XI - In particular, the parties must ensure that, during public demonstrations, people do not carry or use firearms or other weapons, offensive objects, clubs, stones, or any other objects likely to cause physical injury to persons or property along the route followed by the demonstrators.
- XII - As the parties cannot exercise total control over the behaviour of the demonstrators, it is indispensable for the parties themselves to instruct their militants and supporters to adopt a correct behaviour and not to confront other people.
- XIII - To create effective channels of communication between the parties at communal, municipal and provincial levels and to designate liaison staff who should be permanently available to solve any problem which arises.

Luanda, ----- 1992.

Addendum

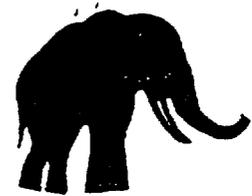
\* The political parties undertake to accept the results of the election.

Aprobado  
por el Consejo.



# Partido Democrático Angolano (P. D. A.)

Unidade — Fraternidade — Democracia



PROPOSTA DE CODIGO DE CONDUTA

## Para os Partidos Politicos durante a presente Campanha Eleitoral

O interesse essencial de eleições livres e justas reside na liberdade da campanha politica, e na pacificação dos espiritos das instituições

Sem excepção, cada um tem o direito de transmitir as suas ideias e principios politicos, sem ameaças ou medo de qualquer outra pessoa.

Mas a liberdade da campanha politica também envolve responsabilidade, incluindo o dever de aceitar a liberdade de outras pessoas para a referida campanha.

Os Partidos Politicos Angolanos cujos nomes subscrevem este documento, reuniram-se em LUANDA sob a presidência do Representante Especial do Secretário Geral das Nações Unidas em 1992, e concordaram no seguinte:

1. Os Partidos informarão com a devida antecedência a UNAVEM II- CONFERENCIA MULTIPARTIDARIA e POLICIA a realização das suas reuniões e outros encontros planificados.

2. A intimidação, seja de que forma for, é inaceitavel e será expressamente proibida pelos Partidos em detrimento dos seus membros e aderentes.

Os lideres dos Partidos instruirão os seus membros e aderentes de que nenhuma espécie de arma, incluindo qualquer arma tradicional possa ser trazida a qualquer reunião politica, encontro politico, marcha ou outra demonstração, ou manifestação pacifica.

3. Todas as alegações de intimidação e outras condutas ilegais na campanha eleitoral, serão trazidas para apreciação da UNAVEM II, CONFERENCIA MULTIPARTIDARIA e as patrulhas ou esquadrões da Policia de Angola.

4. Todos os meios práticos serão levados a cabo pelos Partidos para evitar a união de reuniões, marchas ou demonstrações politicas coincidentes com um outro Partido.

Os Leaders dos Partidos comprometem-se a cooperar, aplicando este principio de boa fé e num espirito moderado, sem qualquer coincidência de tempo.

5. E vedada a infiltração sob posições legais ou ilegais de membros dos serviços de segurança nos partidos politicos e suas organizações sociais.

Todos os Partidos darão consistentemente ênfase, ao principio de liberdade de voto para os seus aderentes e também para os votantes em geral, haverá um voto secreto e que consequentemente ninguém saberá a quem, alguém votou.

6. Os oradores nas reuniões politicas evitarão por todos os meios usar linguagem ameaçadora ou incitar a violência contra qualquer outra pessoa ou grupo de pessoas.

Os Partidos não emitirão panfletos, cartazes ou noticias, quer de forma anónima ou oficial que contenham linguagem inflamatória.

7. Os membros aderentes do Partido não deverão interromper nem sabotar os encontros, reuniões, marchas ou demonstração politicas dos outros Partidos.

8. Os membros e aderentes do Partido não plagiarão símbolos dos outros partidos, nem furtarão, desfigurarão ou destruirão materiais de campanha politica dos outros Partidos.

Os Leaders dos Partidos usarão bons officios ( serviços ) para assegurar a liberdade justa de todos os Partidos Politicos, de todos os eleitores ( votantes ).

Procurarão assegurar que tais eleitores ( votantes ) que desejam participar nas actividades politicas tenham liberdade para fazela. Esta acção deve ser feita fora do local do trabalho.

9. Os Partidos estabilizarão linhas efectivas de comunicação, um para o outro com o quartel general, regional e a niveis de distritos, e designarão pessoal que estarão constantemente atentos e possa tratar de qualquer problema que possa daí advir.

10. Os Partidos reunir-se-ão quinzenalmente sob a presidência dos Directores regionais da UNAVEM II para discutir todos os assuntos relacionados com a campanha eleitoral. O Comité dos Leaders dos Partidos Politicos reunirá quinzenalmente a Representante Especial para tratar de determinados assuntos respeitantes a condução do processo eleitoral.

Um observador da Comissão Nacional Eleitoral será convidado a assistir reunião do Comité.

Reuniões de emergência serão convocados sempre que for necessária.

11. Os Leaders dos Partidos distribuirão orientações aos seus membros e aderentes para cumprir escrupulosamente Código de Conduta e tirarem todos os outros meios necessários para uma concordância efectiva.

As eleições estarão sob supervisão e verificação das Nações Unidas e observadores Internacionais. Todo o processo eleitoral e as próprias eleições e os seus resultados decorram e colaboração com os partidos políticos legalizados e o governo de Angola.

O Representante especial das Nações Unidas deverá fazer o acompanhamento do processo para clara aptidão de todas medidas afectas ao processo politico a todos os niveis de administração da UNAVEM II.

Os Leaders dos Partidos comprometem-se a assegurar com êxitos as eleições livres e justas, certificadas pelo Representante Especial do Secretário Geral das Nações Unidas e a Comunidade Internacional.

13. O Representante Especial e os Leaders dos Partidos comprometem-se a publicar este Código de Conduta para a ANGOLA e divulga-lo por todos meios ao seu dispôr.

Luanda, 29 de Maio de 1992

AAN/ec

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151

ANGOLA:  
ELECTORAL LAW

SYSTEMATIC INDEX  
TITLE I  
GENERAL PROVISIONS

	ARTICLES
CHAPTER I Fundamental Objectives and Principles	1 to 6
CHAPTER II Active Electoral Capacity	7 to 8
CHAPTER III National Electoral Council	9 to 15

TITLE II  
ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

CHAPTER I General Provisions	16 to 24
CHAPTER II Organization of Electoral Registration	25 to 29
CHAPTER III Inspection of the Process of Electoral Registration	30 to 33
CHAPTER IV Electoral Registration Operations	34 to 54
SECTION I Electoral Registration Period	34 to 36
SECTION II Electoral Registration Method	37 to 43
SECTION III Final Operations of Electoral Registration	44 to 47
SECTION IV	48 to 54

TITLE III  
STATUS OF CANDIDATES AND VERIFICATION OF CANDIDACIES

CHAPTER I Status of Candidates	55 to 57
CHAPTER II Verification and Publication of Candidacies	58 to 65

TITLE VI  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

CHAPTER I	142 to 146
Electoral Eligibility and Rules of the Election	
CHAPTER II	147 to 150
Candidacies	
CHAPTER III	151 to 153
Resignation or Death of Candidates	
CHAPTER IV	154 to 158
Second Round	

TITLE VII

CHAPTER I	159 to 165
Electoral System and Electoral Eligibility	
CHAPTER II	166 to 174
Presentation of Candidacies	
SECTION I	166 to 171
Proposal	
SECTION II	172 to 174
Substitution and Resignation of Candidates	
CHAPTER III	175 to 178
Incompatibilities and Ineligibility	
SECTION I	175 to 177
Incompatibilities	
SECTION II	178
Ineligibility	

TITLE VIII

CHAPTER I	179 to 191
Arbitration	
SECTION I	179 to 185
Arbitration of Electoral Registration	
SECTION II	186 to 191
Arbitration of Voting	

47 of the same Law, the Popular Assembly approves and I sign and make public the following:

ANGOLAN ELECTORAL LAW

Article 5  
(Effective Date)

The elections are regulated by the law in force at the time they are called, or, there being a vacancy in the office of President of the Republic or dissolution of the National Assembly, by the law in force at the moment either of these conditions occurs.

Article 6  
(Jurisdictional Responsibility)

1. The authority to assess the conformity and validity of the electoral registry is reserved to the Civil and Administrative Court of the Popular Provincial Tribunal of the area where the irregularity occurs.
2. Assessment of the regularity and the validity of the electoral process is reserved to the Supreme Tribunal.

CHAPTER II  
Active Electoral Capacity

Article 7

Electors are Angolan citizens 18 years of age, in full possession of their civil and political rights, properly inscribed in the electoral registry and not possessing any of the disqualifications foreseen by the present law. Angolan citizens in permanent residence abroad have electoral capacity in the legislative elections.

Article 8  
(Electoral disqualification)

Those without electoral rights are:

- a) ["os interditos por sentenca com transito em julgado";
- b) those recognized as demented even if not already declared incompetent, when confined in a psychiatric establishment or so declared by a medical board;
- c) those definitively condemned to prison terms so long as they have not yet served such terms;
- d) those citizens in preventive detention.

l) conduct the distribution of broadcast times to different candidates on radio and television;

m) judge the propriety of electoral receipts and expenditures;

n) discharge such additional functions as determined by the government under the present law;

2. In the exercise of its duties and powers, the NEC may not render decisions in terms contradictory to those referring to the electoral process contained in the Peace Accords.

Article 11  
(Composition)

1. The NEC is composed of:

a) one justice of the Supreme Court of Justice who will preside, selected by the full Supreme Court;

b) one judicial magistrate selected by the President of the Supreme Court;

c) five (5) citizens chosen from among specialists of recognized merit and moral and professional fitness selected by the Chief of State;

d) the Minister of Territorial Administration;

e) the Director General of Elections, selected by the Chief of State after consultation with the other political forces;\*

f) one representative of the Social Communication Council;

g) one representative of the Foreign Ministry;

h) one representative of each of the legally constituted political parties or coalition of parties;

i) representatives of the CCPM as observers.

2. Each candidate for the office of President of the Republic may select one representative on the NEC.

e) one representative of each political party or party coalition running in the elections.

2. Each candidate for the office of President of the Republic may select one representative on the Provincial Electoral Councils.

Article 14  
(Organs of the Provincial Electoral Councils)

1. The organs of the Provincial Electoral Councils are:

- a) the Provincial Directorate of Elections;
- b) the Municipal Electoral Offices.

2. The composition, prerogatives, and powers of the Provincial Directorates of Elections are approved by the NEC.

3. Whenever the demands of the work so justify, there may be created, through the authority of the NEC, Community Election Offices, whose composition, prerogatives, and powers are approved by the NEC.

Article 15  
(Municipal Election Offices)

1. The Municipal Election Offices are composed of:

- a) one representative of the local government, who presides, selected by the Governor of the Province;
- b) five (5) citizens chosen from among specialists of recognized merit and moral and professional fitness, selected by the Municipal Governor;
- c) one representative of each political party or party coalition running in the elections.

2. Each candidate for the office of President of the Republic may select one representative on the Municipal Election Office.

TITLE II  
ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

CHAPTER I  
GENERAL DISPOSITIONS

Article 16  
(Universality)

3. The registration of military and para-military personnel will be in their respective units.

Article 23  
(Period of Validity)

The electoral registration of the citizens resulting from the present law will be valid indefinitely, without prejudice to its periodic updating to make it correspond to the entirety of electors actually existing.

Article 24  
(General Obligation to Cooperation)

1. All public or private entities are obligated to cooperate with the responsible bodies, to act jointly to carry out the activities of registration and provide information that is solicited.

2. The leaders of the forces of internal order are obliged to take all necessary precautions for the maintenance of public order and stability during the activities of registration.

CHAPTER II  
ORGANIZATION OF THE ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

Article 25  
(Registration Entities)

1. The registration is organized and directed, at the central level, by the NEC.

2. In the provinces, the organization and direction of the electoral process is the duty of the Provincial Electoral Councils.

3. In the municipalities, the organization and direction of the electoral process falls to the Municipal Electoral Offices.

4. In the communities, neighborhoods, and villages, all activity connected with the electoral registration is carried out by Registry Brigades, which are executive organs of the Municipal Electoral Offices.

5. In the diplomatic missions and consulates there should be created Electoral Registry Brigades, whose composition and direction is defined by the NEC.

Article 26  
(Powers of the Technical Offices for the Elections Process in the matter of Registration)

1. The Technical Offices for the Elections Process in the matter of registration have the following duties:

- d) knowledge of the African language of the area of the registration activity;
- e) knowledge of the area of the registration activity.

3. The electoral registration brigades are coordinated by citizens with active electoral capacity, who have at least 8th grade reading skills.

### CHAPTER III

#### INSPECTION OF ELECTORAL REGISTRATION ACTIVITIES

##### Article 30

##### (Inspection by Political Parties)

1. The legally constituted political parties have the authority to inspect the electoral registration activities to evaluate their conformity with the law.
2. The inspection of the parties is done through inspectors selected by them and whose names are communicated to the Provincial Technical Office for Electoral Process.
3. In the absence of the communication foreseen above it is understood that the parties do not intend to select those who represent them in the electoral activities.
4. The Provincial Technical Office for the Electoral Process should issue credentials to the inspectors and see to their delivery to the interested parties within five (5) days.
5. The political parties are represented in each brigade by one inspector, without prejudice to the possibility of inspection of various brigades by the same person.

##### Article 31

##### (Rights of the Inspectors)

The inspectors have the following rights:

- a) due respect and consideration by all intermediaries of the electoral registration;
- b) to solicit and obtain information about the electoral registration activities;
- c) to present, in writing, complaints and appeals of the decisions relative to the granting of active electoral capacity.

b) they have reacquired active electoral capacity with the reacquisition of civil and political rights;

c) they were unable to register for temporary reasons by virtue of the demands of their profession, being obliged, at the time of registration, to present a document from their superior or employing entity attesting to such fact;

d) they were unable to register for reasons of health, being obliged, at the time of registration, to present a document from a doctor attesting to such fact;

e) they have returned to the country from abroad.

## SECTION II METHOD OF ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

### Article 37 (Contents of the Registration)

1. The voters' registration should contain the complete name, parental data, date and place of birth, complete residence, as well as the number, date and location of issuance of the identity card or passport.

2. The registration takes place, by regulation, with the presentation of the identity card or passport, even if they are expired.

3. When the citizen does not have the documents referred to above, proof of identity can be accomplished in any of the following ways:

a) by any document that contains a current photograph, signature or finger-print, which is generally used for identification, namely:

- transit letter
- residence card
- refugee card of the [UN] High Commissioner for Refugees
- military census and discharge card
- Armed Forces card

b) recognition of the identity of the citizen by the registration brigade;

c) essentially in rural areas, and subject to the confirmation of religious and traditional authorities and by means of a provisional corroborative document of citizenship, age, and identity, through testimonial proof, in accord with the model attached to the present law;

d) through a personal promissory note, birth certificate or other sufficient legal document, subject to confirmation by entities referred to in the foregoing paragraph.

### Article 38 (Electoral Registration Abroad)

**Article 42**  
**(Second Copy of the Voter's Card)**

1. In case of loss of the card, the voter should communicate the fact to the Technical Office for the Electoral Process of the municipality where he registered, which will issue a new card, with the notation that it is a new copy.

2. The issuance of the new copy of the voter's card referred to above can only be granted until the 30th day prior to the date of the elections.

**Article 43**  
**(Electoral Registries)**

1. The registration of voters is recorded in registries, containing, in accordance with the model attached to this law, the registration number, the name of the citizen recorded and the place of registration.

2. The updating of the registries is done, in conformity with the case, by means of pen stroke, which does not affect legibility, over the names of the those in each geographic unit who have lost their voters' status, referring in the margin to the confirmation of the respective elimination, or by addition of the names of those newly registered.

3. The registries are centrally produced and contain a unique number and are distributed by codes, by each province of the country.

4. The registries are counter-signed, on each page, by the registration brigade, and have opening and closing periods subscribed by the brigade.

5. The numbering of the registries should coincide with the numbering of the voter's card and of the registration form.

**SECTION III**  
**FINAL OPERATIONS OF THE ELECTORAL REGISTRATION**

**Article 44**  
**(Closing of the Registries)**

Voter registration operations are limited by the closing terms written up for the registries, which should contain the signature of the members and of the respective brigade and of the inspectors attached to it.

**Article 45**  
**(Communication of Data)**

1. In conformity with the formalities foreseen above, the registration brigades should immediately communicate the number of voters registered in a respective geographic unit to the Municipal Technical Offices for the Electoral Process and send all documents intrinsic to the electoral registration.

The Keepers of Civil Registries shall, on a monthly basis, send the Provincial Technical Offices for the Electoral Process a list of deceased citizens of 18 years age or older.

Article 50  
(Information Concerning Convicts)

The courts shall, on a monthly basis, send the Provincial Technical Office for the Electoral Process a list of convicts deprived of their active electoral capacity under the terms of the law.

Article 51  
(Information Concerning Patients Confined to Hospital)

Hospital units shall, on a monthly basis, send the Provincial Technical Office a list of patients confined to hospitals for mental illness.

Article 52  
(Information Requirement)

To make cancellation of registration effective the Provincial Technical Offices must remit, to the Technical Office for the Electoral Process of the MTA, all the information they have received under the terms of the preceding articles.

Article 53  
(Unalterable Period)

The electoral registries are unalterable in the 30 days prior to each election.

Article 54  
(Publication of the Definitive Lists)

The definitive lists of registered voters must be prepared and published by the date of the opening of the electoral campaign.

Article 59  
(List Proxies)

1. The candidates must designate from among themselves or from among the registered voters a proxy to represent them in electoral operations where such representation is permitted under the terms of the present law.

2. The residence or domicile of the proxy is always indicated in the candidacy process in order to be kept informed.

Article 60  
(Verification of Candidacies)

1. After the period for the presentation of candidates' lists, the President of the Supreme Court will have copies of the lists received posted.

2. The validity of the process, the authenticity of the documents used in it and the eligibility of the candidates are verified in the three (3) days subsequent to the period for the initiation of candidacies by the Plenum of the Supreme Court.

Article 61  
(Rectifying Procedural Irregularities)

A procedural irregularity having been verified, the proxy for the list will immediately be required by the authority of the President of the Supreme Court to rectify it within three (3) days.

Article 62  
(Causes for Rejection of Candidacies)

Only candidacies of candidates incapacitated or ineligible under terms of the present law can be rejected.

Article 63  
(Consequences of Rejection)

1. In case of a rejection, the proxy for the list must immediately be notified so that, if desired, there can be a substitution for the candidate or candidates within three (3) days.

2. Whenever a list does not contain the legally established minimum number of candidates, the proxy is called on to complete the list within three (3) days under penalty of rejection of the entire list.

3. In the 48 hours subsequent to the periods foreseen in (1) and (2) above, the President of the Supreme Court shall make the rectifications and additions to the lists requested by the respective proxies.

Article 64  
(Publication of Decisions)

**Article 67**  
**(Advancement and Scope of the Campaign)**

1. The electoral campaign is carried out by the candidates and their supporters, without prejudice to the participation of the citizens.
2. The electoral campaign is developed in all the territory of the Popular Republic of Angola, with equal circumstances for all the contestants.

**Article 68**  
**(Equality of Treatment)**

The public entities and private groups shall give the candidates equal treatment, in such a manner that they can freely and in the best conditions carry out their electoral campaign.

**Article 69**  
**(Freedom of Expression and Information)**

1. The candidates and their proxies have freedom of expression and information, without prejudice of eventual civil or criminal responsibility in terms of the law.
2. During the electoral campaign period no penalties can be applied to organs of social communication or their agents for acts integral to the campaign, without prejudice to the responsibility thereby incurred, which can only be made effective after the termination of the campaign.

**Article 70**  
**(Freedom of Assembly and Demonstration)**

1. In the electoral campaign period and for electoral purposes, the freedom of assembly and demonstration is regulated in accordance with the Law No. 16/91, of May 11, with the unchanged particulars of the following paragraphs of the present law.
2. Processions and parades may take place at any hour on any day within the limits imposed for the maintenance of public order, orderly transportation and public rest periods.
3. The presence of agents of authority in meetings and demonstrations organized by any candidacy may only be solicited by the competent bodies of the candidacies, with the organizing entity being responsible for the maintenance of order when such a solicitation is not made.
4. The time period for the communication referred to in paragraph (1) of Article (6) of Law No. 16/91 is reduced to 24 hours.
5. The time period referred to in paragraph (1) of Article (7) of Law No. 16/91 is fixed at 12 hours.
6. The time period referred to in paragraph (2) of Article (11) of Law No. 16/91 is reduced to 24 hours.

3. The mandates within the lists are conferred according to the order of precedence of the respective list.

4. The ballot must contain the symbol of the party or coalition of parties under the terms of the following article.

5. In the case of death or illness that makes for the physical incapacity of the candidate, the mandate is conferred on the candidate immediately following in the referenced order of sequence.

**Article 163**  
**(Ballot)**

1. The ballot is of rectangular shape with the appropriate dimensions to accommodate all the lists that are submitted to the vote in each electoral district and are printed on paper whose color is defined by the NEC.

2. In conformity with the model attached to the present law, each ballot is printed with the denominations, abbreviations, symbols and flags of the parties or coalitions of parties, supporters of candidacies, arranged horizontally, one beneath the other, in the random order selected by the NEC, under the terms of Article 161.

3. On the line corresponding to each party or coalition of parties appears a blank box to be marked with the choice of the voter.

**Article 164**  
**(Criterion of Election)**

1. For the election of deputies to the National Assembly the Hondt proportional representation system is adopted, complying with the following rules for the conversion of votes into mandates:

a) the number of votes received by each list in the respective electoral district is counted separately;

b) the number of votes counted for each list is ranked, successively, by 1, 2, 3 etc., with the quotients lined up in descending order of size in a series of proportions of all the mandates attributed to the respective electoral district;

c) the mandates belonging to the lists correspond to the proportions of the ranking established by the preceding rule, with each list receiving as many mandates as their proportion in the ranking;

d) in the case only one mandate remains to be distributed and the proportions of the different lists are equal, the mandate goes to the list that obtained the smallest number of votes.

**Article 165**  
**(Assignment of the Mandate)**

**CHAPTER II**  
**PRESENTATION OF CANDIDACIES**

**SECTION I**  
**PROPOSAL**

**Article 168**  
**(Legitimacy of Presentation)**

The political parties, singly or in coalition, have the legitimacy to present candidacies, with the coalitions able to integrate citizens not affiliated with the respective parties inasmuch as they are registered by the beginning of the candidacy presentation period.

**Article 169**  
**(Prohibition on Plural Candidacies)**

No one may be a candidate for deputy for more than one list, under penalty of ineligibility.

**Article 170**  
**(Coalitions for Electoral Ends)**

1. The coalitions of political parties for electoral ends are constituted under the terms provided in Article 44 of Law No. 15/91 and the following provisions.

2. The political parties which make coalition pacts for electoral ends must communicate this fact to the Supreme Court before the effective presentation of candidacies in a document signed jointly by the competent bodies of the respective political parties.

3. The communication provided for in the preceding paragraph must contain:

- a) the precise definition of the scope of the coalition;
- b) the indication of the denomination, abbreviation and symbols of the coalition;
- c) the choice of the heads of the direction and coordination bodies of the coalition;
- d) the corroborative document of approval of the coalition pact.

4. The coalitions cease to exist as soon as the definitive results of the elections are made public, being able, however, to transform themselves into coalitions of political parties, under the terms and for the purposes provided in the law of political parties.

4. Each list must present two (2) substitutes per electoral district when it is a complete list, or 25% of the number of candidates presented.

Article 173  
(Random Sorting of the Lists)

1. The three days subsequent to the publication of the definitive lists the President of the Supreme Court, in the presence of those proxies who attend, randomly sorts the lists presented for the purpose of giving them an order on the ballot, drawing up a record of the sorting.

2. The results of the sorting are published in Diary of the Republic, with copies of the record of the sorting, sent to the NEC, posted on the door of the Court and disseminated through the organs of social communication.

SECTION II  
SUBSTITUTION AND RESIGNATION OF CANDIDATES

Article 174  
(Substitution of Candidates)

Substitution of candidates may take place until 15 days before the elections, but only in the following cases:

- a) a rejection of a candidate by virtue of ineligibility;
- b) death or illness which results in the physical or mental incapacity of the candidate;
- c) resignation of the candidate.

Article 175  
(New Publication of the List)

Whenever there is substitution of candidates or annulment of a rejection decision of any list, there is publication of a new list.

Article 176  
(Resignation)

1. Resignation of a list is permitted until 48 hours before the day set for the beginning of the election, and such act must be communicated by the proxy to the President of the Supreme Court.

2. Resignation of any candidate is equally permitted within the period referred to in paragraph (1) by means of a declaration with a notarized signature.

CHAPTER III  
INCOMPATIBILITIES AND INELIGIBILITY

TITLE VIII  
ADJUDICATION AND ELECTORAL INFRACTIONS

CHAPTER I  
ADJUDICATION

SECTION I  
ADJUDICATION OF THE ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

Article 181  
(Challenges)

1. During the exposition period referred to in Article 54, any voter or political party may challenge, in person before the Municipal Technical Office for the Electoral Process, omissions or improper registration of citizens.
2. With regard to improper registration, the Municipal Technical Office for the Electoral Process notifies the citizen whose registration has been impugned so that, if desired, he can respond within five (5) days.
3. The Municipal technical Office for the Electoral Process rules on the challenges within a period of ten (10) days from their presentation.
4. The rulings on challenges must be immediately posted in an location accessible to the public, in a working location of the Municipal Technical Office for the Electoral Process.
5. The resolution of challenges presented abroad is the jurisdiction of the entity which performed the registration.

Article 182  
(Appeals)

1. The rulings of the Municipal Technical Office for the Electoral Process on challenges presented are appealed to the respective Provincial Court.
2. The rulings of the entity responsible for electoral registration abroad are appealed to the respective Ambassador.

175

**SECTION II**  
**ADJUDICATION OF THE BALLOTING**

**Article 188**  
**(Contestable Appeal)**

Any irregularities asserted during the balloting or the partial or total counting of the results may be impugned by means of contestable appeals, insofar as they are challenged or protested in the course of the process where they are asserted to have occurred.

**Article 189**  
**(Contents of a Challenge, Protest, or Counter-protest)**

The challenge, protest or counter-protest must contain the material facts and legal case duly justified and be accompanied by the necessary elements of proof, including a photocopy of the record of the polling station at which the irregularity that is the object of the challenge occurred.

**Article 190**  
**(Standing to Appeal)**

The candidates or their proxies may appeal the ruling on the challenge, protest or counter-protest referred to in Article 188 of the present law, except for the earlier challenge, protest or counter-protest.

**Article 191**  
**(Competent Court)**

The interested parties may file appeal of the rulings made by the polling stations on the challenges, protests, or counter-protests with the Plenum of the Supreme Court, without prejudice to the earlier evaluation under the terms of Articles 130 and 136.

**Article 192**  
**(Time Period)**

1. The entities referred to in Article 103 of the present law present their petitions to the Supreme Court, duly prepared, within a period of 48 hours from the notification of decision of the NEC, with the requirement that that decision be pronounced in the 48 hours following the reception of the application.

2. The time period for presentation of the application to the Supreme Court may, by exception, be extended for 72 hours in the event of duly justified cases of distance, absolute infeasibility from dislocation of the interested parties, or other insuperable difficulties, when they are certified by the president of the polling station or by the entity that published the results.

**Article 193**  
**(Nullification of the Elections)**

Article 198  
(Execution of Penalties)

The penalties related to the punishment of a serious electoral infraction are executed, and cannot be suspended, nor substituted with fines or any other penalty.

Article 199  
(Suspension of Political Rights)

The application of any prison term for a serious electoral infraction provided for in the present law is always accompanied by the additional penalty of suspension of political rights for from one (1) to three (3) years.

Article 200  
(Limitation)

Criminal proceedings for electoral infractions lapse one (1) year from the date of the proclamation of the results of the voting.

Article 201  
(Witnesses)

In trials of criminal electoral infractions, an political party, coalition of parties or groups of voters may be a witness.

SECTION II  
INFRACTIONS RELATIVE TO ELECTORAL REGISTRATION

Article 202  
(Falsification of the Voter in Registration)

1. Whoever furnishes false information in the process of enrollment in the electoral registry is punished with imprisonment of up to a one (1) year and **forfeiture of salary** up to two months.
2. Whoever registers more than one time or abets the enrollment of the same citizen in two or more registration locations is punished with a prison term of up to one (1) year and **forfeiture of salary** up to two months.
3. The same penalty applies to whoever knowingly enrolls another person without active electoral capacity in the electoral registry, or impedes the enrollment of someone who he knows to have active electoral capacity, or who fails to cancel an improper enrollment, or, in any other way, falsifies the electoral registration.

Article 208  
(Failure to Correct Electoral Registry Books)

The members of the registration brigades who, through negligence, do not carry out the correction of the registry books or do not comply with its precise terms, as provided in Article 44, are punished with a fine of from 3,000 to 10,000 New Kwanzas.

Article 209  
(Falsification of the Electoral Registry Books)

1. Whoever consciously and by any method corrupts, substitutes, suppresses, destroys, or alters the electoral registration books is punished with imprisonment of from two (2) to eight (8) years and a fine of from 15,000 to 100,000 New Kwanzas.

2. Members of the electoral registration brigades who deceitfully fail to carry out the completion and correction of the electoral registry books under the terms of Article 44 are subject to the same penalty.

SECTION III  
INFRACTIONS RELATIVE TO THE PRESENTATION OF CANDIDACIES

Article 210  
(Plural Candidacies)

Whoever intentionally takes part in more than one list of deputies to the National Assembly is punished with a fine of from 100,000 to 300,000 New Kwanzas, without prejudice under provisions of Article 167.

SECTION IV  
INFRACTIONS RELATIVE TO THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

Article 211  
(Violation of the Duties of Neutrality)

The violation under the terms of Article 68 of this law is punished with a penalty of a fine of from 50,000 to 150,000 New Kwanzas.

Article 212  
(Improper Utilization of a Name, Abbreviation or Symbol)

Whoever, during the electoral campaign, utilizes the name, symbol, abbreviation or denomination of the candidates or any other identifying elements of a party, coalition of parties or of a candidate, with the intention to damage or injure, is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to one (1) year and fine of between 30,000 and 100,000 New Kwanzas.

Those who, during the electoral campaign, carry out rallies, meetings, parades or procession without compliance with provisions of the relevant law are punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to six (6) months and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 217**

**(Violation of the Duties of Proprietors of Theaters and Those who Use Them)**

A violation of the provision of Article 79 is punished with a penalty of imprisonment of up to three (3) months and a fine of between 20,000 and 100,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 218**

**(Violation of the Limits of Written and Audio Propaganda)**

Whoever infringes on the provision of Article 80 is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to three (3) months and a fine of between 10,000 and 50,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 219**

**(Damage to Electoral Materials)**

Whoever destroys, tears, or by any means renders totally or partially unusable, or renders illegible electoral material posted in a legally permitted location or disfigures it or places any kind of other material over it with the purpose of hiding it is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to three (3) months and a fine of between 10,000 and 50,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 220**

**(Diversion of Correspondence)**

Whoever in the course of his functions is tasked to deliver to a destination or any other person or to deposit in a determined location pamphlets, posters or other electoral propaganda material and who diverts, hides, destroys or sends to destination not agreed to by the owner is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to one (1) year and a fine of between 10,000 and 50,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 221**

**(Propaganda after the Close of the Electoral Campaign)**

1. Whoever, through public meetings, distributes propaganda material, organizes rallies or parades or in any other way makes electoral propaganda on the day of the elections or the day before is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to six (6) months and a fine of between 10,000 and 50,000 New Kwanzas.

2. The same penalty, aggravated, is imposed on whomever, on the day of the elections promotes propaganda at the polling stations or nearby, within a distance of 500 meters.

**Article 222**

**(Dissemination of Polling Results)**

1. Any public authority, its agent or any citizen who, under any pretext, causes any voter to leave or remain outside his domicile on the day of the elections in order to impede his voting is punished with penalty of imprisonment of up to two (2) years and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas.

2. Any public authority, its agent or any citizen who, in the circumstances provided for in the preceding paragraph, impedes any citizen from leaving his domicile or the place where he is located for the purpose of exercising his right to vote, incurs the same penalty.

**Article 228**  
(Multiple Voting)

Whoever votes more than one time is punished with a penalty of imprisonment of from three (3) months to two (2) years and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 229**  
(Unfaithful Proxy)

A penalty of imprisonment of from three (3) months to two (2) years and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas is applied to anyone who, acting as a guide for a blind or disabled voter, deceitfully and unfaithfully expresses the choice of that voter.

**Article 230**  
(Violation of the Secrecy of the Vote)

Whoever uses coercion or artifice of any nature on the voter in order to obtain a revelation of his vote, at the polling station or within 500 meters thereof, is punished with a penalty of a fine of from 5,000 to 20,000 New Kwanzas.

**Article 231**  
(Coercion and Fraud Against a Voter)

1. Whoever who uses violence or threats against any voter, or who uses lies, fraudulent artifices, false information or any fraudulent means in order to constrain or induce the voter to vote for a specific candidate, list or party or to abstain from voting, is punished with a penalty of imprisonment of from six (6) months to two (2) years and a fine of from 5,000 to 30,000 New Kwanzas.

2. The same penalty is applied to whomever uses the same conduct foreseen in the preceding paragraph with the objective of obtaining the resignation of any candidate.

3. The penalty foreseen in the preceding paragraphs is aggravated if the threat was made with the use of a weapon or the violence was perpetrated by two or more persons.

**Article 232**  
(Abuse of Public Functions)

All public functionaries or ecclesiastical or comparable authorities who, abusing their authority or in the exercise of which serve to constrain or induce the voters to vote for a

1. Any member of the polling station board who deceitfully dispenses or consents to the dispensing of a discharge note to a voter who has not voted or does not dispense a note to a voter who has voted, who alters the marked candidacy during the reading of ballots, who diminishes or adds to the votes of a candidacy during counting, or who, by any means falsifies the truth of the election, is punished with a penalty of imprisonment of from six (6) months to two (2) years and a fine of from 20,000 to 100,000 New Kwanzas.

2. The same penalty is applied if the member of the board of the polling station alters the marked list during the reading of ballots, or diminishes or adds votes to a list during counting.

3. The penalties referred to in the preceding paragraphs are applied to the members of the Electoral Councils who commit any of the acts foreseen therein during the partial or national counting.

#### Article 238

##### (Obstruction of the Activities of the Board and List Delegates)

1. Whoever obstructs any member of the polling station board or list delegate in the exercise of their functions granted under the terms of this law or removes them from the location where these functions were or are being exercised is punished with the penalty of imprisonment of up to two (2) years and a fine of from 10,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas.

2. The penalty of imprisonment referred to in the preceding paragraph will not be for less than 6 months if the infraction was committed against the president of the board.

#### Article 239

##### (Refusal to Receive Challenges, Protests or Counter-protests)

A president of the polling station board who unjustifiably refuses to receive a challenge, protest or counter-protest is punished with a penalty of up to six (6) months and a fine of from 5,000 to 10,000 New Kwanzas.

#### Article 240

##### (Obstruction of the Station by Candidates or List Delegates)

A candidate or list delegate who gravely disturbs the normal functioning of the voting operations is punished with a penalty of imprisonment of up to one (1) year and a fine of from 5,000 to 50,000 New Kwanzas.

Article 246  
(Bad Faith Challenge and Appeal)

The penalty of imprisonment of up to three (3) years and a fine of from 5,000 to 20,000 New Kwanzas is applied to anyone who, in bad faith, challenges, protests, or counter-protests or impugns decisions of the electoral bodies through manifestly unfounded means.

Article 247  
(Non-compliance with Obligations)

The non-observance of any obligations imposed by the present law or omission of the administrative acts necessary to their prompt execution, as well as unjustified delay in compliance is punished with a fine of from 5,000 to 20,000 New Kwanzas.

TITLE IX  
FINAL AND TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

Article 248  
(Active Electoral Capacity of the Members of the Angolan Armed Forces)

The members of the Angolan Armed Forces who are on active duty do not have active electoral capacity in the first general elections held after the publication of the present law.

Article 249  
(Exemptions)

Documents meant for the fulfillment of prescriptions of this law are exempt from any taxes or fees, depending on the case, such documents to include:

- a) certifications necessary for the electoral registration;
- b) documents meant for the support of any challenges or appeals foreseen in this law;
- c) notarized declarations for the purposes of registration.

Article 250  
(Provision of Certifications)

The request of any interested party for certifications necessary for the electoral registration or by virtue of it are obligatorily answered within a maximum period of five (5) days.

Article 257  
(Uncertainties and Unresolved Questions)

The uncertainties and unresolved questions engendered by application of the present law are resolved by deliberation of the Permanent Commission of the Popular Assembly.

Article 258  
(Entry into Force)

The present law enters into force immediately.

- Seen and approved by the Popular Assembly
- Published
- Luanda XX of November, 1991

DEFINITIONS

(entries are alphabetized according to the Portuguese original)

A

1 - GENERAL COUNTING - This is the final determination at the national level, through the counting of votes, of the will expressed by the voters relative to the choice of the Deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

2 - PROVINCIAL COUNTING - This is the partial determination and only at the level of the electoral district, through the counting of votes, of the will expressed by the voters relative to the choice of Deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

3 - POLLING STATION - Location where the voter votes.

B

4 - ENROLLMENT FORM - Form on which are contained the personal data of the citizen for the purpose of attributing the status of voter.

5 - BALLOT - Sheet of paper of rectangular shape, on which the voter expresses his will relative to the choice of the Deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

6 - REGISTRATION BRIGADE - Organic unit created by the MTA with the objective of carrying out the registration of the citizens with active electoral capacity.

## I

33 - **ELECTORAL ILLEGALITY** - Acts committed in contravention of the norms that regulate the electoral process. The same as electoral infraction.

34 - **IMMUNITIES** - Temporary protection from imprisonment, detention, or other administrative interference in the authorities and opinions expressed by candidates for deputy to the National Assembly and for President of the Republic, members of the board of the polling stations and other citizens connected to the electoral process with the proposition of guaranteeing the exempt exercise of their functions.

35 - **ELECTORAL INFRACTION** - Violation of the norms that regulate the electoral process.

36 - **ENROLLMENT** - The act of registration of the citizen for the purpose of recognition of his voter's status and the issuance of the respective voter's card.

## L

37 - **RECORD BOOK** - A book duly numbered and signed, in which are contained a succinct description of the electoral operations.

## M

38 - **PROXY** - (List proxies) voter especially designated by the candidates to represent them in the electoral process.

39 - **UNFAITHFUL PROXY** - Guide for a blind or disabled voter who does not express the will of the voter on the ballot.

40 - **BOARD OF THE POLLING STATION** - The table where the ballot box is located and behind which sit the President, Secretary, and examiners of the polling station.

41 - **HONDT METHOD** - Mathematic method utilized in a system of proportional representation for determining the assignment of deputy positions to the contestant who in the general computation has the highest mean.

42 - **NEUTRALITY** - Attitude of equidistance and non-discrimination which is obligatory for public and private entities in a manner to not favor or prejudice any of the contestants.

## O

43 - **INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS** - Entities foreign in representation or with a reputation before the international community, officially invited, to observe the electoral process and verify its integrity and nature, as well as the results of the voting.

P

44 - **ELECTORAL PROCESS** - Collection of actions and legal procedures leading to the election of the deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

45 - **ELECTORAL PROPAGANDA** - Action of disseminating the principles, programs and political platforms of the candidates, performed by the candidates, their supporters or other persons, seeking to promote their candidacies among the voters.

46 - **POLITICAL PROPAGANDA** - Action of promotion and dissemination of a political nature, in which are included electoral propaganda, seeking political objectives. Action and dissemination and promotion with political aims.

47 - **PROPONENT OF A CANDIDACY** - Voter who endorses the presentation of a candidacy.

48 - **PROPOSAL** - Process of presenting a candidacy.

49 - **PROTEST** - Written expression of disagreement with any irregularity committed or method adopted, demanding their rectification or immediate annulment.

R

50 - **CHALLENGE** - Disputation by a candidate, his representative or a voter of any irregularity that occurs during the electoral process, seeking its correction, without however disturbing the normal unfolding of that process.

51 - **ELECTORAL REGISTRATION** - Preliminary and indispensable enrollment of the citizen so that he acquires the status of voter and may exercise his right to vote, or participate directly and actively in the choice of the deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

52 - **PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION** - A system according to which the number of candidates elected is calculated in proportion to the votes expressed.

S

53 - **POLLING** - Determination, via inquiries, of the voting tendencies of the voters.

54 - **SORTING OF THE LIST** - Random sorting of the lists of candidates to determine the order of their arrangement on the ballot.

55 - **ENDORSEMENT OF THE CANDIDACY** - Act confirmed by appropriate signature through which the voter supports and participates in the presentation of a candidacy.

56 - **SUFFRAGE** - Act through which the voters choose by means of the vote the deputies to the National Assembly and the President of the Republic.

U

125

TITLE VI  
THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

CHAPTER I  
ELECTORAL ELIGIBILITY AND RULES OF THE ELECTION

Article 142  
(Selection of the President of the Republic)

The President of the Republic is selected for a mandate of five (5) years, by election based on universal, direct, equal, secret, and periodic suffrage of the citizens, within the terms of the present law.

Article 143  
(Electoral Eligibility)

1. Natural-born Angolan citizens of 35 years of age in full possession of their civil and political rights may be elected to the office of President of the Republic.

2. The functionaries of the State or other **public collective groups** and military personnel considered eligible in terms of the following article do not need authorization to become candidates for the office of President of the Republic.

Article 144  
(Ineligibility)

Citizens are not eligible who:

- a) do not have active electoral capacity;
- b) have been sentenced to a prison term for a serious crime;
- c) have been sentenced to prison for larceny, robbery, abuse of trust, fraud, forgery or for a crime committed by a public functionary, inasmuch as this concerns a serious crime, as well as those who have been declared habitual transgressors by sentence of a court;
- d) have not habitually resided in Angola for at least 6 months prior to the date of the election;
- e) are military personnel on active duty on the date of initiation of their respective candidacy.

1. The presentation of candidacies is done before the President of the Supreme Court, by sixty (60) days before the date set for the election.

2. The candidacies proposed by the political parties or by coalitions of parties are presented by competent entities in terms of the respective statutes, or by delegates expressly authorized for the purpose.

3. The candidacies proposed by voters are presented by the candidate or by a delegate authorized by him for the purpose.

**Article 149**  
(Formal Requisites of Presentation)

1. The presentation of candidacies for the office of President of the Republic is accomplished through the delivery of a formal petition to the President of the Supreme Court.

2. The petition of presentation of candidacies must contain the following:

a) complete identification of whoever carries out the presentation of the signatory or signatories and the capacity in which he does this;

b) complete name, age, parents, nationality, profession, residence, number and date of issuance of identity card, and electoral registration number of the candidate;

c) copy of the criminal registry certificate;

d) declaration of the candidate referred to in the following article.

3. In the case of candidacies presented by groups of citizens, the petition must be accompanied by the five thousand (5,000) signatures referred to in paragraph (1) of Article 147, duly notarized, and the electoral registration number of the signatories.

**Article 150**  
(Declaration of the Candidate)

To the petition referred to in the preceding article must be attached a declaration of the candidate, with a notarized signature, wherein said candidate expressly verifies that:

a) he accepts the candidacy presented by the proposing entity;

b) he is not affected by any ineligibility;

c) he is not a candidate for any other political party, coalition of parties or groups of citizens.

**CHAPTER III**  
**DISCONTINUATION OR DEATH OF CANDIDATES**

2. After the completion of the first round, the eventual resignation of either of the two candidates receiving the most votes may only occur until 18:00 of the second day after the publication of the results of the first round.

2. In the case of resignation under the terms of the preceding paragraph, the President of the Supreme Court calls successively and in descending order of votes received the remaining candidates, until 12:00 of the fourth day after the publication of the results of the first balloting, in order to confirm their continuation or resignation.

4. The President of the Supreme Court has posted and published in the Diary of the Republic, until 18:00 of the fourth day after the publication of the results of the first round, the relationship of the candidate who received the most votes in the first round who has not resigned and the candidate with fewer votes, in the order indicated in the preceding paragraph, who is continuing his candidacy.

Article 156  
(Death or Incapacity)

In the event of death or incapacity to exercise the functions of President of a candidate included in the second round, there is a re-opening of the electoral process, with the incapacitated candidate being substituted, according to the regulation fixed in paragraph (3) of the preceding article.

Article 157  
(Date of the Second Round)

The second round takes place by means of a convocation of President of the Republic, and will take place within 30 days after the publication of the results of the first round.

Article 158  
(Electoral Campaign)

The second round electoral campaign has a duration of eight (8) days.

1. During the electoral campaign the candidates may utilize public radio and television broadcast services with the following programming times:

a) Radio - a total of 60 minutes daily, between 12:00 and 20:00, divided in equal parts by all presidential candidates and proportionally in accord with the participation of the parties or coalitions of parties by electoral districts.

b) Television - a total of 30 minutes daily, between 19:00 and 21:30 distributed in the manner of paragraph (a).

2. Regional radio and television broadcasters will hook up with the national programming during the period assigned to the electoral campaign.

3. The distribution of broadcast times is done, by lottery, by the NEC.

4. Access to broadcast times is free, with the costs of recording the disseminated material charged to the candidates' accounts.

5. During the second round of presidential elections, broadcast times will be reduced by (to?) 1/3.

Article 77  
(Public Information Duties)

1. Periodical informative publications should assure equality in the treatment of the different candidacies.

2. The preceding paragraph is not applicable to party publications.

Article 78  
(Publications and Supporting Organs of the Candidacies)

1. During the electoral campaign the candidates and the organs that support them, in terms of the law, may, aside from their usual propaganda, publish books, magazines, pamphlets, fliers, among others, and make use of the print press, radio and television, in accord with the terms of the present law.

2. All electoral propaganda must identify the underwriting entity of the candidacy that distributes it.

## ELECTORAL FINANCE

### Article 85 (Financing the Electoral Process)

1. The electoral campaign of the candidates may be financed, namely by:
  - a) State contributions;
  - b) contributions of the candidates and political parties;
  - c) voluntary contributions of the voters;
  - d) proceeds of the activities of the electoral campaign.
2. Direct financing of electoral campaigns by foreign governments and foreign governmental organizations is prohibited.

### Article 86 (Financing by the State)

1. The State determines a budget allocation for support of the campaign of the candidates in the elections, which is distributed in an equitable way to all the contestants.
2. The NEC must approve by regulation the distribution criteria of the public financing funds for the legislative elections, at the proposal of the candidacies offered by electoral district.

### Article 87 (Accounting of the Expenditures and Receipts)

1. The candidacies for the elections must discriminately account for all receipts and expenditures occurring in connection with the offering of candidacies and the electoral campaign, in a maximum period of thirty (30) days after the official proclamation of the balloting results, indicating with precision the origin of the receipts and the purpose of expenditures.
2. All funds provided by the State, referred to in Article 86, which are not utilized or have been used for purposes apart from the ends established in the present law, must be returned to the NEC in a maximum period of thirty (30) days after the elections, these funds becoming part of the General Budget of the State.

### Article 88 (Responsibility for Accounts)

The candidates, political parties or coalitions of parties, depending on the case, are responsible for transmittal of the accounts of the candidacies and the electoral campaign.

### Article 89

3. Polling stations may not be located in:
  - a) police units;
  - b) military units;
  - c) residences of traditional chiefs;
  - d) buildings of any political party or registered organization;
  - e) locations where alcoholic beverages are sold;
  - f) cultural facilities.

Article 92  
(Days of Polling Stations)

The polling stations are open simultaneously in the entire country on the days set for the elections.

Article 93  
(Dissemination of Locations)

The local administrative authorities will cooperate with the NEC in the dissemination of the locations, as well as the days and hours, of the polling stations.

Article 94  
(Polling Station Board)

1. At each polling station there is a board which has the power to promote and direct the electoral operations.
2. The polling station boards are composed of five (5) persons, those being a president, a secretary and three examiners.
3. The members of the boards must know how to read and write Portuguese, have academic preparation adequate for the complexity of the task, having at least one of these, [and/or] be able to speak the African language of the region where the polling station is located.
4. The performance of the function of the member of the board of the polling station is obligatory, except for force majeure or just cause.

Article 95  
(Constitution of the Board)

1. The board of the polling station constitutes itself on the hour set for the respective meeting. The board may not constitute itself in a location other than that determined by the NEC.

3. The NEC delivers to each polling station board president, in a timely manner before the day set for the elections, all the necessary material, namely:

- a) the electoral operations log, counter-signed on all pages with time of opening and closing;
- b) stamps and maps necessary to the electoral operations;
- c) the ballots;
- d) the ballot boxes;
- e) seals, glue and envelopes for the ballots.

4. It is up to the local governments to create and guarantee the necessary and indispensable conditions for the protection, storage, security and inviolability of the materials referred to in the preceding paragraph, namely the ballots and the ballot boxes.

Article 99  
(List Delegates)

1. There may be one delegate and respective substitute selected by each of the candidates, political parties, coalition of parties and group of voters on each polling station board.
2. The list delegates are not members of the polling station boards.

Article 100  
(Designation of the List Delegates)

1. In the fifteen days preceding the elections the candidates and their proxies must deliver the names of their delegates and respective substitutes to the NEC.
2. The delegates are duly credentialed by the contestant or proxy, with the credential required to have the name, electoral registration number, date and type of identity card, as well as an indication of the polling station where the respective function will be performed. The credential is authenticated by the NEC.
3. The absence of any delegate is imputed to the candidacy which selects the delegate, and does not affect the validity of the poll.

Article 101  
(Powers of the List Delegates)

1. The list delegates have the following powers:

2. No one may reveal or force others to reveal at the polling station or outside it for whom one will vote or has voted.

**Article 106**  
**(Requirements of the Exercise of the Right to Vote)**

In order that the voter be allowed to vote it is necessary:

- a) that his name be written in the electoral registry;
- b) that he carry the voter's card issued under the terms of Article 95;
- c) that he not have already exercised his right to vote.

**Article 107**  
**(Location of the Exercise of the Right to Vote)**

The voter exercises his right to vote at the polling station where he finds himself on the day of the election.

**Article 108**  
**(Loss of the Voter's Card)**

1. The voter who appears at the polling station board without his respective voter's card may not vote, except as provided in the following paragraph.
2. The duly registered voter whose card has been lost and who appears at the polling station board can be authorized to vote as soon as he indicates the number of the card, provides proof of his identity through one of the means referred to in Articles 190, item (2), paragraph (a) and signs a declaration under the terms of Article 80.

**SECTION II**  
**VOTING**

**Article 109**  
**(Opening of Voting)**

1. The polling station opens at 7:00 of the days set for the elections, after the constitution of the board, the president being authorized to declare its opening.
2. Before the start of voting the president of the board, along with the other members of the board and the delegates of the candidates, sees to the verification of the voting booth, the working documents of the board and shows the others present the ballot boxes so that they can certify that they are empty.
3. There being no irregularity, the president, the secretary, the examiners and the delegates of the candidates vote immediately.

2. For the purposes of the preceding paragraph there is available, on the days of the election, polling station security group, consisting of citizens of recognized fitness.

3. To guarantee order in the location of the polling station, the security group makes sure that no voter capable of disturbing the order and tranquility of the polling station, who is drunk or carrying an offensive or defensive weapon, is within a radius of 500 meters.

**Article 114**  
**(Prohibition on Propaganda)**

No propaganda is permitted within the polling stations or outside them within a distance of 500 meters.

**Article 115**  
**(Prohibition on the Presence of Non-voters)**

1. The presence of the following is prohibited at polling stations:

- a) citizens who are not voters;
- b) citizens who have already voted at that station or at another.

2. The presence of organs of social communication (media) is permitted only for the obtaining of images.

3. The agents of the organs of social communication must:

- a) identify themselves to the board, presenting the credential of the organ they represent;
- b) abstain from collecting images very close to the ballot boxes and from making any declarations within 500 meters of the area that constitutes the location of the polling station.

**Article 16**  
**(Prohibition on Presence of Armed Force and Cases in which it May Appear)**

1. The presence of armed force within a radius of 500 meters from the polling station is prohibited.

2. The president of the board of the polling station, whenever necessary and after consultation with the board, may request the presence of armed force, whenever possible in writing, or in case this is impossible, making mention of the fact of the request and the period of the presence at the electoral report.

**Article 117**  
**(Method of Voting of Each Voter)**

2. His vote is placed in an envelope attached to another envelope containing the declaration with the data referred to in the preceding paragraph written on the exterior and deposited in a container set aside for this situation.

3. The votes are counted by the Provincial Electoral Council of the voting location after confirmation of the electoral registry by the Provincial Electoral Council of the area where the voter was registered.

Article 121  
(Blank and Null Votes)

1. A blank vote corresponds to the ballot in which no mark has been made.
2. A null vote corresponds to a ballot:
  - a) on which more than one square has been marked or when there is doubt about which square has been marked;
  - b) on which the square corresponding to a candidate or candidates who have quit the elections or have not been admitted has been marked;
  - c) on which any kind of cut, drawing, or erasure has been made;
  - d) on which any word has been written.
2. Ballots on which the mark, although not being perfectly drawn or exceeding the boundaries of the square, unequivocally signals the will of the voter, will not be considered null votes.

Article 122  
(Doubts, Challenges, Protests, and Counter-protests)

1. Aside from the delegates of the candidacies, any voter present at the polling station may raise questions and present in writing complaints, protests, and counter-protests relative to the electoral operations of the said station, and prepare them with the appropriate documents.
2. The board may not refuse to accept complaints, protests and counter-protests and must counter-sign and append them to the reports.
3. Complaints, protests, and counter-protests must be an object of deliberation of the board, which may leave them for the end, if it is understood that this does not affect the normal process of voting.
4. All decisions of the board are taken by majority of the members present and in good standing, with the president having the deciding vote.

CHAPTER III  
COUNTING

**Article 125  
(Counting)**

1. The president of the board has the counting of the ballots performed, respecting the following regulations:

1st - An examiner opens a ballot, shows it, and reads the result in a loud voice. The second examiner marks a sheet of white paper or, if it is available, a large black board, the votes going to each list.

After showing them, and with the help of the president, the third examiner places separately and by lots the ballots already read corresponding to each of the lists, the blank votes and the null votes.

The fourth and second examiners carry out the counting and the president of the board the dissemination of the number of votes going to each party, the last task including the duty of posting a proclamation consisting of the number of votes for each list, the number of blank votes and the null votes.

2nd - When the operation referred to in the preceding paragraph is completed, the president carries out a comparison between the number of votes found in the box and the number of votes for each lot.

3rd - The list delegates have the right to verify the lots, without however altering the order of the disposition of the ballots, being able to protest in case of doubts to the president of the board, who will analyze the complaint.

In the event this is not heeded by the board, the challenged ballot is placed apart, included however, for the purposes of counting.

**Article 126  
(Disposition of the Null Ballots and the Remaining Ballots)**

1. The null votes are counter-signed by the president of the board and placed in an envelope that must be duly sealed.

2. The votes subject to challenge are counter=signed by the president and by the delegate or delegates that challenged them, placed in an envelope that must be duly sealed and remitted to the Provincial Electoral Council.

3. The remaining ballots are placed in sealed envelopes and remitted to the Provincial Electoral Council, under the keeping of its president, so that within one (1) year after the definitive publication of the results they can be destroyed.

## SECTION II NATIONAL COUNTING

### Article 134 (National Electoral Council)

The collection of the results obtained in each province, the counting and dissemination of the general results of the elections, and the distribution of mandates are the prerogative of the NEC.

### Article 135 (Elements of the National Counting)

The national counting is done on the basis of the records and documents concerning the electoral operations received from the Provincial Electoral Councils.

### Article 136 (Evaluation of the Preliminary Questions of the National Counting)

At the start of its work the NEC decides about the ballots in relation to which there has been a challenge or protest, verifies the ballots considered null and re-evaluates them according to a uniform criterion, being able through this operation to effect a correction of the counting done in each Provincial Electoral Council, without prejudice to the disposition through appeal or arbitration.

### Article 137 (Operation of the National Counting)

The national counting operations consists of:

- a) the verification of the total number of registered voters, of the voters who voted and their percentage relative to the first number;
- b) the verification of the total number of votes obtained by each list, blank votes, and null votes;
- c) the distribution of the mandates of deputies by electoral district and by different lists as a function of the votes obtained;
- d) the determination of the candidates elected by each list.

### Article 138 (Publication of the National Results)

The results of the national counting are announced by the President of the NEC, who has them posted on the door of his facilities and disseminated by the organs of social communication.

### Article 139

## CNE Representatives

President	Dr. Antonio Caetano de Sousa
Director General	Dr. Onofre dos Santos
Minister of Territorial Administration	Antonio Paulo Kassoma
Ministry of Foreign Relations Representative	Luis de Almeida
Magistrate	Dr. Manuel Francisco de Assis
Government Representatives	Rev. Augusto Chipesse Dr. Domingos Culolo Jose Severino Dr. Luis Gonzaga Wawuti
Party Representatives	Dr. Manuel Cafranca Antonio: PRD Dr. Pedro Berry: FNLA Francisco Domingo: FDA Mateus Francisco: PNDA Dr. Victoriano Domingos Hossi: UNITA Simao Macazo: PDP/ANA Joao de Almeida Martins: MPLA Antonio Albino Mazamba: PRA Dr. Manuel David Mendes: PAJOCA Dr. Adolfo Nsikalango: CNDA Dr. Mateus Joao Pedro: PDA Martinho dos Santos Pedro: PSD Antonio F. Pereira: PSDA Justino Victoriano Saizumbo: PRS Sousa e Santos: PLD Garcia Sumbo: PDPA
Presidential Candidate Representatives	Dr. Justino Pinto de Andrade: D. Chipenda Agostinho Benguela Junior: J. Savimbi Emanuel da Conceicao: S. Cacete Silva Simao Mateus: L. dos Passos Dr. Joaquim dos Reis Junior: J. dos Santos Benjamin da Silva: H. Roberto Coronel Antonio Zola: A. Neto

Party Coalition  
Representative

Media Council  
Representative

Dra. Maria de Vasconcelos: AD

Green Jovelino

**Registration Figures  
September 1992**

PROVINCES	ELIGIBLE POPULATION		
	ESTIMATED	REGISTERED	% (R/E)
BENGO	86,000	91,921	107%
BENGUELA	330,000	567,825	172%
BIE	577,000	354,559	61%
CABINDA	84,000	16,079	19%
CUNENE*	118,000	148,528	126%
HUAMBO*	781,000	467,566	60%
HUILA	444,000	509,167	115%
K. KUBANGO	67,000	133,161	199%
K. NORTE	193,000	137,962	71%
K. SUL	330,000	369,150	112%
LUANDA	859,000	854,981	100%
LUNDA NORTE*	149,000	157,564	106%
LUNDA SUL	78,000	87,451	112%
MALANGE*	456,000	330,454	72%
MOXICO	163,000	135,294	83%
NAMIBE	60,000	84,918	142%
UIGE	432,000	336,002	78%
ZAIRE	102,000	80,166	79%
TOTAL	5,309,000	4,862,748	92%

\* PROVISIONAL DATA

4-9-92 (14:58)

200

MEMORANDUM

TO: International Faculty  
FROM: IRI/NDI Staff  
RE: Electoral System of Angola

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On September 29 and 30 of this year, Angolans will for the first time go to the polls to elect their next President and Parliament in a multiparty democratic competition.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

There will be a separate ballot for the presidential election. All legally registered political parties are permitted to field candidates for the presidency.

During the first round of elections, if a candidate receives more than 50% of the vote, then he/she is elected. If no candidate receives a majority, then a run-off election will be held between the two top vote-getters.

**Example**

<u>First Round</u>		<u>Second Round</u>	
<u>Party</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>% of Votes</u>
A	35%	A	42%
B	10%		
C	30%	C	51% (PRESIDENT)
D	20%		
blank	3%	blank	4%
void	2%	void	3%

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Angola is using a variation of proportional representation called the D'Hondt system. There will be 220 representatives elected to the parliament:

- 130 will be elected from a national list where the whole country is one district; and
- 90 will be elected from 18 provincial lists (5 for each province).

The D'Hondt system allocates seats by taking the number of votes cast for each party and dividing that number by a successive divisor (1,2,3,4,5...).

### **Example**

VOTES...	<u>Party A</u>	<u>Party B</u>	<u>Party C</u>	<u>Party D</u>	<u>Party E</u>	<u>Party F</u>	<u>Party G</u>
	1,800,000	1,200,000	500,000	280,000	200,000	100,000	40,000
<u>DIVISOR</u>							
1	1,800,000	1,200,000	500,000	280,000	200,000	100,000	40,000
2	900,000	600,000	250,000	140,000	100,000	50,000	20,000
3	600,000	400,000	166,666	93,333	66,666	33,333	13,333
4	450,000	300,000	125,000	70,000	50,000	25,000	10,000

In Angola, once all of the divisions are performed at the national level, seats are allocated to the highest 120 numbers of votes. Using the above example:

<u>SEAT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF VOTES</u>	<u>PARTY</u>
1	1,800,000	A
2	1,200,000	B
3	900,000	A
4	600,000	B
5	600,000	A
6	500,000	C
7	450,000	A
8	400,000	B
9	360,000	A
10	300,000	B
11	280,000	D
12	250,000	C

In the D'Hondt system, the distribution of seats becomes closer to exact proportionality as the magnitude of the voting district increases. In other words, Angola's 120-seat national list means that the allocation of seats among the

parties should match the percentage of votes. Therefore, Party A which received approximately 43% of the vote should earn close to 52 seats, Party B would earn approximately 35 seats with its 29% of the vote, and Party G would earn 1 seat with its .9% of the vote.

When the magnitude of a district is smaller, such as the 5-seat provincial lists in Angola, the larger parties win a disproportionate amount of seats.

**Example**

VOTES...	<u>Party A</u>	<u>Party B</u>	<u>Party C</u>	<u>Party D</u>	<u>Party E</u>	<u>Party F</u>	<u>Party G</u>
	22,000	30,000	36,000	16,000	3,000	2,000	2,000
<u>DIVISOR</u>							
1	22,000	30,000	36,000	16,000	3,000	2,000	2,000
2	11,000	15,000	18,000	8,000	1,500	1,000	1,000
3	7,333	5,000	6,000	5,333	999	666	666

Seats are allocated to the five highest numbers:

<u>SEAT</u>	<u>NUMBER OF VOTES</u>	<u>PARTY</u>
1	36,000	C
2	30,000	B
3	22,000	A
4	18,000	C
5	16,000	D

Parties E, F, and G will not receive any seats.

Furthermore, under the D'Hondt system, the amount of seats that a political party earns not only depends on how many votes the party receives but also on how the other votes were distributed. Using the above example, if Party C had received 43,000 votes and Party D had received only 9,000, then Party B would earn a second seat at the expense of Party D.

Finally, the Angolan law also regulates a special situation when two parties tie for the fifth number of votes. The smaller of the two political parties in that particular district wins the seat. Thus, if Party D had won 15,000 votes, it would have won the final seat, even though Party B has 15,000 with the divisor of two.

## FOCUS GROUP SEMINAR

Dr. Frederick Hartwig  
Senior Vice President  
Peter D. Hart Research Associates  
Washington, DC

### I. Setting up focus groups: People, Sites, and Records

#### A. Recruiting.

1. Know the population of people from which you want to recruit your participants.
2. Set some parameters for the composition of the group, e.g, age, sex, and occupational status.
  - a. You want an appropriate mix of people
  - b. Not a random sample, but built-in variation
  - c. You want to avoid a group that is clearly unrepresentative and whose opinions will lack credibility with the client
  - d. Use screener sheets for the recruiting; list of screener questions to determine the participants
3. The recruiting should be done in a way that does not reveal the client.
4. There is no ideal number of participants, but for most kinds of groups, twelve is a good number.

#### B. Sites.

1. You need a comfortable room large enough for everyone to sit around (having people on the fringes does not work very well).
2. The site should also be neutral - not the union office, government agency building.
3. Provide something for people to drink, and maybe to eat.

#### C. Recording.

1. If the focus group is not recorded, it almost might as well not have happened.
2. You may also want to use rating sheets of some kind to have participants rate certain materials, like speeches or ads.
3. Have participants fill out participant information sheets when they sign in so you can describe the demographics of the focus group.

## **II. Getting Started**

### **A. Introduce yourself and the session.**

1. Explain what a focus group is.
2. Describe the topic in generalities so as not to bias responses; don't give away too much.
3. Explain what you want from the participants
  - a. Honest answers - what you really think and feel.
  - b. No right or wrong answers.
  - c. Looking for their ideas, perspectives, and insights.
  - d. Don't just follow the crowd; don't be afraid to disagree with other participants.
4. Explain the reason for the taping equipment.

### **B. Go around the table so participants can introduce themselves.**

1. Name, and what they do.
2. Any other information pertinent to the particular group and topic.
3. And an easy, broad question that gives the participants an opportunity to talk and give you the opportunity to demonstrate to them what's going to be expected of them.
4. Goals and style.
  - a. Put them at ease.
  - b. Friendly, casual.
  - c. Use follow-up questions so they realize that they can't just give one-word answers and pat answers.
  - d. Follow-ups should not be challenging, but should elicit more depth and more information.

## **III. A focus group is not a survey**

### **A. The question asked in focus groups should not be the ones you would ask in a survey.**

1. Focus group participants cannot constitute a random sample.
2. Focus groups have different purposes than surveys, and these should be kept in mind when doing the outline and the sessions.

### **B. Focus groups provide the opportunity to see a particular topic through the eyes of the participants.**

**C. The point of a focus group is to understand the dynamics involved.**

1. The perspectives from which people approach a particular topic.
2. The way in which they think about a particular topic.
3. The way in which they incorporate new information.
4. Ideas and insights.

**D. Open-end question should dominate.**

1. To gain insights into the underlying structure of existing opinions -- what lies behind the numbers you would find in a survey.
2. To understand the reasons behind their opinions -- the underlying values and world view that produces opinions.
3. To understand the way in which new opinions are formed -- how they think through a decision.
4. Questions should be formulated in ways that give the participants the opportunity to respond in any way they choose. What people choose to talk about is often as important as what exactly they say, and what people do not say can be equally instructive.

**E. Know the research questions you want to answer, and ask the participants the kinds of questions that give them the opportunity to tell you the answers to your research questions.**

**IV. Keeping it going**

**A. Clear questions generate clear answers.**

**B. Don't be afraid to ask challenging questions.**

**C. Interesting questions elicit interesting answers.**

1. Important questions from the participant's perspective.
2. Hypothetical questions.
3. Role playing.
4. Analogies.
5. Scenarios.
6. Emotional touchstones.
7. Lighting Round.
8. Be sure to have "bull's eye" questions prepared ahead of time.

**D. Calling on people.**

1. Sometimes you should go around the table.
2. Sometimes only go part way around, then change to another question.
3. Sometimes ask for volunteers.
4. Sometimes call on specific participants.

5. If you only rely on volunteers, the confident and verbal people will dominate, and you will end up with a focus group of only three or four participants.
6. If you only go around the table, you may not cover all of your topics.
7. Ask specific participants in order to draw them out.
8. Ask specific participants because the discussion earlier has indicated they are especially important on that particular topic.

**V. Tone and tenor.**

- A. Participating in a focus group is a new experience for virtually everyone who participates. Therefore, they have no clear idea of how they should react and how they should behave. You've put them in a strange situation. Therefore, they are going to take their cues from you.
- B. If you're bored, they're be bored. If you're mechanical, they'll respond mechanically. If you're intellectually involved and constantly on your toes, so will they.
- C. Maintain constant involvement in what the participants are saying.
  1. Listen to them.
  2. Maintain eye contact.
  3. Don't keep referring to your outline; know it pretty well ahead of time.
- D. Keep the discussion moving.
  1. Two hours may seem like a lot, but it can go very quickly, especially when the participants know about and care about the topic (e.g, teachers on education).
  2. Remember that you as the moderator have to cover all of the main topics, yet get the depth and insights you are looking for; don't be afraid to move on to the next participant when someone is talking without having much to say -- or when the responses get repetitive. Know when the well has run dry.

**VI. Analyzing Results**

- A. There is no formula.
- B. The best instruction is by example; read the reports in the binders.
- C. Immerse yourself in the data.
  1. Listen on the tapes.
  2. Understand what the participants are trying to tell you.

Political Party Pollwatching  
Benguela, Luanda, Lubango, Angola  
September, 1992

- 9:00 - 9:30 Registration
- 9:30 - 10:00 Opening Remarks by Representatives of the Provincial Electoral Council, IRI, and NDI
- 10:00 - 11:00 Voting Simulation by Representatives of the Provincial Electoral Council
- 11:00 - 11:15 Coffee Break
- 11:15 - 12:30 Development of a Pollwatcher Program  
Presenters: Esteban Caballero, Paraguay  
Basilio Ramos, Cape Verde  
Moderators: Robert Henderson, United States  
Eduardo Mendoza, Mexico  
Ernest Mwansa, Zambia
- 12:30 - 13:45 Lunch
- 13:45 - 15:00 Election Day Activities
- Group One  
Esteban Caballero, Paraguay  
Robert Henderson, United States  
Ernest Mwansa, Zambia
- Group Two  
Eduardo Mendoza, Mexico  
Basilio Ramos, Cape Verde
- 15:00 - 16:15 Counting the Ballots/Independent Vote Count
- Group One  
Eduardo Mendoza, Mexico  
Basilio Ramos, Cape Verde
- Group Two  
Esteban Caballero, Paraguay  
Robert Henderson, United States  
Ernest Mwansa, Zambia

- 16:15 - 16:45 Coffee Break/Participants' Written Evaluation  
of Seminar
- 16:45 - 17:45 Evaluation of Elections: Panel Discussion  
concerning Post-Election Activities, Lessons to be  
Learned, and Perspectives from Different Countries
- 17:45 - 18:15 The Importance of Civil and Political Liberties in  
a Democratic Society  
Presenters: Ernest Mwansa, Zambia  
Eduardo Mendoza, Mexico
- 18:15 - 18:30 Closing Remarks  
Eduardo Mendoza, Mexico  
Ernest Mwansa, Zambia

SEMINARIO SOBRE A FISCALIZACAO DAS ELEICOES: MANUAL DE  
FORMACAO PARA OS DELEGADOS DE LISTAS DOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS

ANGOLA

SETEMBRO 1992

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## **I. O PORQUE DA FISCALIZACAO DAS ELEICOES**

A importância dos delegados de listas dos partidos políticos Angolanos na fiscalização das eleições reside no facto de poderem acompanhar o acto eleitoral e ajudar a assegurar o desenvolvimento duma cultura democrática. Assente no principio político que possibilita que os partidos possam verificar os resultados oficiais das eleições e aferir se elas foram livres, justas, e transparentes. Esta é a única forma de se estabelecer uma plataforma segura sobre a qual os órgãos presidenciais e legislativos deverão repousar definitivamente.

## **II. O PAPEL DOS DELEGADOS DE LISTAS**

O delegado de lista é um cidadão filiado a um partido político que, voluntariamente, se predispõe a colaborar com os membros da assembleia de voto durante o processo eleitoral. Os delegados de listas estão autorizados a fiscalizar o processo de votação e devem estar na assembleia de voto todo o tempo durante a votação. Os delegados de listas deverão permanecer toda a noite na assembleia de voto para fiscalizar o processo no dia seguinte. Cada partido é autorizado a designar um delegado e um suplente para o substituir durante o período em que a outra pessoa estiver ausente.

Este manual facilitara o cabal exercício das actividades dos delegados de listas. Nele são abordadas as actividades de fiscalização do acto de votação antes, durante, e depois do acto eleitoral.

## **III. OS DIREITOS DOS DELEGADOS DE LISTA**

Segundo a Lei Eleitoral Angolana (Art. 104), os delegados de lista gozam dos seguintes direitos:

1. Estar presente no local onde funciona a mesa da assembleia de voto e ocupar os lugares mais próximos, por forma a que possa fiscalizar todos os actos relacionados com a votação e o escrutínio;
2. Verificar antes do início da votação as urnas e as cabines de votação;
3. Solicitar e obter informações sobre os actos do processo de votação e escrutínio que considerem necessários;
4. Ser ouvido em todas as questões que se suscitarem quer durante a votação, quer durante o escrutínio;
5. Rubricar todos os documentos respeitantes as operações eleitorais, devendo-se em caso de não assinatura, fazer constar as respectivas razões.

#### **IV. OS DEVERES DOS DELEGADOS DE LISTA**

Segundo a Lei Eleitoral Angolana (Art. 104), os delegados de lista tem os seguintes deveres:

1. Exercer uma fiscalização conscienciosa e com objectividade da actividade da mesa da assembleia de voto;
2. Cooperar para o desenvolvimento normal da votação, do escrutínio, e da mesa da assembleia de voto;
3. Evitar intromissões injustificáveis de má fé a actividade da mesa da assembleia de voto, que perturbem o desenvolvimento normal da votação e do escrutínio.

**NOTA:** O não exercício pelos delegados de lista de qualquer dos direitos previstos não afecta a validade da votação e os resultados do escrutínio.

#### **V. ACTIVIDADES A REALIZAR ANTES DAS ELEICOES**

Para efeitos de credenciamento, o nome, o número de registo eleitoral, e a assembleia de voto em que o delegado vai exercer a respectiva função, deverão ser comunicados aos Gabinetes Municipais Eleitorais até 8 (oito) dias antes da realização das eleições (Art. 103). As pessoas seleccionadas como delegados de listas deverão:

1. Familiarizar-se com os regulamentos da Lei Eleitoral
2. Visitar a assembleia de voto designada pelo partido para familiarizar-se com a área do trabalho

#### **VI. ACTIVIDADES A REALIZAR NO DIA DAS ELEICOES**

A votação inicia às 7:00 (sete) horas, na terça-feira, dia 29 de Setembro e só termina às 19:00 (dezanove) horas do mesmo dia podendo apenas faze-la os que estejam presentes nas assembleias de voto até essa hora. A votação continua na quarta-feira, dia 30 de Setembro, às 7:00 (sete) horas e termina às 19:00 (dezanove) horas no mesmo dia.

As pessoas seleccionadas como delegados de listas deverão:

##### **1. FAMILIARIZAR-SE COM A ASSEMBLEIA DE VOTO**

As mesas das assembleias de voto constituem-se nos locais previamente indicados pelo Conselho Nacional Eleitoral e seus órgãos (Art. 98, 1).

O Conselho Nacional Eleitoral pode, a título excepcional, autorizar a constituição de mesas móveis de assembleias de voto para atender as áreas onde as eleitores se encontrem demasiado dispersos e não se justifique a constituição de mesas de

assembleia de voto fixas (Art. 99).

**A. QUEM ESTA PRESENTE NA MESA DA ASSEMBLEIA DE VOTO?**

Cada mesa na assembleia de voto é composta por cinco elementos: um presidente, um secretário, e tres escrutinadores. As funções deles são as seguintes:

**O PPRESIDENTE:**

Dirige e coordena as operações de votação e apuramento;

Declara a abertura da votação depois de ter procedido com os restantes membros (secretário e escrutinadores) a verificação da cabine de votação e dos documentos de trabalho da mesa e de ter exibido as urnas perante os presentes para que estes se certifiquem que se encontram vazias;

Verifica se o eleitor que se apresenta a votar possui os requisitos para tal: não possui marcas da tinta especial e é portador de cartão de eleitor;

Identifica o cidadão eleitor, verificando através do cartão se a fotografia é a sua e admiti-o a votar lendo o seu nome em voz alta. **NOTA:** No caso de cidadãos que extraviaram o seu cartão de eleitor o presidente da mesa verifica se possuem mancha de tinta especial e indentificação e se sabem o seu número de inscrição. Se sim admiti-os a votar dizendo o seu nome em voz alta, se não manda-os retirar por não poderem votar;

Entrega ao cidadão eleitor os boletins de voto;

Dirige as operações de contagem e apuramento dos votos.

O presidente também manda retirar os cidadãos que se apresentarem manifestamente embriagados, sejam portadores de qualquer arma ou estejam a perturbar a ordem e tranquilidade das assembleias de voto dentro de um raio de quinhentos metros (Art. 115, 2).

**O SECRETARIO:**

Substitui o presidente nas suas faltas e impedimentos;

Elabora a acta.

**O 1o. ESCRUTINADOR:**

Elabora a lista de votantes;

Ajuda na contagem apontando os votos atribuidos a cada lista numa folha de papel branco ou, caso exista, num quadro grande.

**O 2o. ESCRUTINADOR:**

Perfura os cartões que entrega ao cidadão eleitor depois de este ter votado aplicando-lhe a tinta indelével tomando atenção ao exercício do direito de voto nas cabines de votação;

Coloca em separado e por votos depois de os exibir, os boletins já lidos.

**O 3o. ESCRUTINADOR:**

Preenche as declarações dos cidadãos eleitores que podem votar apesar de terem extraviado o seu cartão de eleitor e se forem analfabetos pode pedir ao 2o. escrutinador que leia em voz alta tal declaração para nela ser aposta a sua impressão digital que confirma a declaração;

Ajuda nas operações de contagem e apuramento de votos.

Os membros das mesas das assembleias de voto devem estar presentes no local de funcionamento da assembleia duas horas antes do início da votação (Art. 98, 3).

A presença do presidente, do secretário, e de pelo menos um dos escrutinadores é suficiente para se considerem válidos a votação e os resultados do escrutínio (Art. 100).

NOTA: Os delegados de listas não são membros das mesas das assembleias de voto (Art. 102).

**B. OUTRAS PRESENCAS NA ASSEMBLEIA DE VOTO**

E permitida a presença dos órgãos de comunicação social nas assembleias de voto após identificar-se perante as mesas apresentando para o efeito uma credencial do órgão que representam (Art. 117).

Os presidentes das mesas das assembleias de voto, sempre que for necessário, e depois de consultada a mesa, podem requisitar a presença das forças armadas ou policial, sempre que possível, por escrito, fazendo menção do facto da requisição e das circunstâncias (Art. 118).

A polícia eleitoral, constituída por cidadãos de reconhecida idoneidade, encarregada de garantir a ordem nos locais das assembleias de voto (Art. 115).

Os observadores internacionais podem estar presentes.

**2. OS DELEGADOS DE LISTAS NAS ASSEMBLEIAS DE VOTO**

Os delegados de listas deverão trazer consigo todo o material necessário para a realização dos trabalhos, incluindo o seguinte:

copia deste manual  
esferográficas  
cadernos ou papel  
lanterna ou vela  
calculador, se possível

Após a chegada na assembleia de voto, duas horas antes do início de votação, os delegados de listas devem apresentar as suas credenciais.

Os delegados deverão estar vigilantes na mesa da assembleia de voto logo que apresentarem as credenciais e verificarem se o processo de votação esta em ordem.

Os delegados de listas deverão assegurar que os seguintes requisitos sejam respeitados:

### 3. ANTES DO INICIO DA VOTACAO

Os membros estejam presentes na mesa da assembleia de voto;

O material necessário para proceder a votacao esteja presente junto a mesa, incluindo:

- a. cadernos para elaborar a lista de votantes, etc.
- b. o livro de actas das operações eleitorais, rubricado em todas as paginas com termo de abertura e de encerramento
- c. os impressos necessários as operações eleitorais
- d. os boletins para ambos o presidente e os deputados
- e. tinta indelével e almofada
- f. as urnas de voto
- g. selos, lacre e envelopes para votos

O Conselho Nacional Eleitoral deve assegurar, em tempo util, o fornecimento em cada mesa de assembleia de voto, de todo o material necessário.

Aos governos locais compete criar e garantir as condições necessárias e indispensáveis á guarda, conservação, segurança, e inviolabilidade dos materiais acima referidos, nomeadamente, os boletins de voto e as urnas de voto.

Antes do início da votação o presidente da mesa da assembleia de voto procede com os restantes membros das mesas e os delegados de listas, a verificação da cabine de votação, dos documentos de trabalho da mesa, e, exhibe perante todas as urnas de votação para que estes se certifiquem que se encontram vazias. Não havendo nenhuma irregularidade, votam imediatamente o presidente, o secretário, os escrutinadores, e os delegados de listas.

#### 4. A VOTAÇÃO DOS CIDADÃOS

Os eleitores exercem o seu direito de voto na assembleia de voto correspondente ao local do seu registo. Em caso de impossibilidade de exercício do direito de voto no local do seu registo, os eleitores podem votar no local em que se encontrem a data da realização da votação.

Os eleitores votam pela ordem estabelecida de chegada a assembleia de voto, dispondo-se para o efeito, em fila.

O eleitor apresenta-se a mesa da assembleia de voto, entrega o seu cartão de eleitor cabendo a mesa proceder a verificação da identidade do eleitor mediante apreciação do respetivo cartão. Também verifica se o dedo do respetivo foi mergulhado em tinta que é para evitar a votação dupla.

Tomada a decisão segundo a qual o eleitor está autorizado a votar, devem ser-lhe dados dois boletins de voto, um cor de rosa para o concorrente a presidente, e um azul para os concorrentes a deputado. Depois de receber os boletins, o eleitor dirige-se a cabine de voto onde ele marca um X no quadrado respectivo do candidato em que quer votar e dobra o boletim em quatro partes.

#### O VOTO É SECRETO

Depois de ter votado, o eleitor dirige-se as urnas e introduz os boletins. Então o eleitor mergulha o dedo na tinta indelével assim indicando que completou o processo de votação.

Eleitor com deficiência física, que por via disso a mesa verifique não poder exercer por si próprio o direito de voto, pode votar através dum eleitor que o acompanhe, por si escolhido.

#### 5. O FIM DA VOTAÇÃO

Ao terminar a votação as 19:00 (dezanove) horas, ocorre o seguinte:

Ao encerrar as urnas, o presidente pode separar os votos não usados e os votos inutilizados, pondo-lhos em envelopes separados que devem ser selados e rubricados. A lista de eleitores então é fechada e assinada por todos os membros e delegados de listas presentes.

#### 6. DUVIDAS, RECLAMAÇÕES, PROTESTOS E CONTRAPROTESTOS (Art. 124)

Além dos delegados de listas, qualquer eleitor presente a assembleia de voto pode suscitar dúvidas e apresentar por escrito reclamações, protestos, e contraprotostos relativos as operações eleitorais da mesma assembleia.

A mesa não pode recusar-se a receber as reclamações, protestos e contraprotostos devendo rebrica-los e apensa-los as actas.

As reclamações, protestos e contraprotostos têm de ser objecto de deliberação da mesa, que pode deixar para o final, se entender que isso não afecta o andamento normal da votação.

Todas as deliberações da mesa sao tomadas por maioria dos membros presentes e fundamentadas, tendo o presidente voto de cualidade.

#### 7. O APURAMENTO: OPERACOES PRELIMINARES

Encerrada a votação, o presidente da mesa, na presença dos restantes membros, procede a abertura das urnas, seguindo-se a operação de contagem por forma a verificar a correspondência entre o número de boletins de voto existentes nas urnas e o número de eleitores que votarem naquela assembleia de voto (Art. 126).

Caso haja discrepancia entre o número de boletins de voto existentes nas urnas e o número de votantes, vale, para efeitos de apuramento, o número de boletins existentes nas urnas (Art. 126).

#### 8. A CONTAGEM

A contagem dos boletins de voto procede-se respetando as seguintes regras (Art. 127):

O presidente da mesa abre o boletim, exhibe-o, e faz a leitura em voz alta;

O primeiro escrutinador aponta os votos atribuidos a cada lista numa folha de papel branco ou, caso exista, num quadro grande;

O segundo escrutinador coloca em separado e por lotes, depois de os exhibir, os votos já lidos correspondentes a cada uma das listas, os votos em branco e os votos nulos;

O primeiro e o terceiro escrutinadores procedem a contagem dos votos e o presidente da mesa a divulgação do número de votos que coube a cada lista.

Terminada a operação a que se refere acima, o presidente procede ao confronto entre o número de votos existentes na urna e o número de votos por cada lote.

Os delegados de listas tem direito a verificar os lotes sem contudo alterar a ordem da disposição dos boletins de voto podendo reclamar, em caso de dúvida, para o presidente da mesa, que analisa a reclamação.

#### 9. ACTA DAS OPERACOES ELEITORAIS

Uma acta das operações eleitorais é elaborada pelo secretário da mesa e devidamente assinada, pelo presidente, secretário, escrutinadores, e delegados de listas (Art. 129).

Os resultados apurados são objecto de transcrição para uma acta-síntese destinada aos delegados de listas após assinatura das entidades acima referidas (Art. 129).

#### VII. PUBLICACAO DOS RESULTADOS NACIONAIS

O Conselho Provincial Eleitoral centraliza os resultados eleitorais obtidos na totalidade das assembleias de voto constituídas na sua jurisdição e procede ao apuramento a nível da província (Art. 130).

Os resultados ao apuramento provincial são anunciados pelo Presidente do Conselho Provincial Eleitoral no prazo máximo de 6 (seis) dias contados a partir do dia do encerramento da votação (Art. 134).

Compete ao Conselho Nacional Eleitoral a centralização dos resultados obtidos em cada Província e o apuramento e divulgação dos resultados gerais das eleições e a distribuição dos mandatos (Art. 136).

O Presidente do Conselho Nacional Eleitoral anuncia os resultados do apuramento nacional no prazo máximo de 8 (oito) dias contados a partir da data do encerramento da votação (Art. 140).

#### VIII. NOTAS

1. Delegados de listas podem em qualquer momento levar a atenção dos membros das assembleias de voto qualquer irregularidade no processo da votação ou qualquer perturbação que pode interferir com a votação.

2. Depois da confirmação da contagem, registe o número total de boletins de voto em numerario e por extenso, ou seja: 406 (quatrocentos e seis).

3. Não se esqueça de fornecer alimentação, colchões, e cobertores aos delegados de listas porque os processos de votação e a contagem dos boletins de voto vão ser muito demorados.

4. Não se esqueça de agradecer os membros da assembleia de voto, a polícia eleitoral, e os outros delegados de listas. Tenha sempre em mente que todos trabalharam juntos para o mesmo objetivo, o futuro de Angola: a salvaguarda do processo eleitoral que culminará com a realização de eleições livres e justas.

**RELATÓRIO**  
**das**  
**OPERAÇÕES ELEITORAIS**

**ANGOLA**  
**SETEMBRO 1992**



III. ABERTURA DE ASSEMBLEIA DE VOTO

	Dia Nº. 1	Dia Nº. 2
1. Número de boletins	_____	_____
2. Hora de abertura de assembleia de voto	_____	_____
3. Hora de início da votação	_____	_____
4. Número total de eleitores	_____	_____
5. Hora de encerramento de assembleia de voto	_____	_____
6. Número de pessoas ainda na fila	_____	_____
7. Número de pessoas rejeitadas	_____	_____
8. Número de boletins não usados no fim do dia	_____	_____

razão: \_\_\_\_\_

IV. PROCEDIMENTOS NOCTURNOS

Número de pessoas na assembleia de voto durante a noite de 29 de Setembro

Nomes

Nº. de cartão de eleitor

\_\_\_\_\_  
Presidente

\_\_\_\_\_  
Secretária

\_\_\_\_\_  
Escrutinador # 1

\_\_\_\_\_  
Escrutinador # 2

\_\_\_\_\_  
Escrutinador # 3

\_\_\_\_\_  
Polícia Eleitoral # 1

\_\_\_\_\_  
Polícia Eleitoral # 2

Delegados de lista:

V. ESCRUTÍNOS

A. PRESIDENCIAL

Nº. de votos

1. Luis dos Passos  
Partido Renovador Democratico \_\_\_\_\_
2. Holden Roberto  
Frente Nacional para a Libertaco de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
3. Analia de Vitoria Pereira  
Partido Liberal Democratico \_\_\_\_\_
4. Mfulumpinga Landu Victor  
Partido Democratico para o Progresso de  
Alianca Nacional Angolana \_\_\_\_\_
5. Andre Milton Kilandamoko  
Partido Social Democratico de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
6. Daniel Chipenda  
Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
7. Rui de Vitoria Pereira  
Partido Reformador Angolano \_\_\_\_\_
8. Simão Cassete  
Coligação Angolana Democratica \_\_\_\_\_
9. Alberto Neto  
Partido Democratico de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
10. Jose Eduardo dos Santos  
Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
11. Honorato Lando  
Partido Democratico Liberal de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
12. Bengui Pedro Joao  
Partido Social Democrata \_\_\_\_\_
13. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi  
União Nacional de Independencia Total de Angola \_\_\_\_\_

B. DEPUTADOS	Número de votos
1. _____ Partido Renovador Democratico	_____
2. _____ Partido de Alianca Juventude, Operarios e Camponeses de Angola	_____
3. _____ Partido Angolano Independente	_____
4. _____ Partido Democratico Liberal de Angola	_____
5. _____ Partido Social Democratico de Angola	_____
6. _____ Frente Nacional para a Libertacao de Angola	_____
7. _____ Partido Democratico para o Progresso de Alianca Nacional Angolana	_____
8. _____ Partido Reformador Angolano	_____
9. _____ Convenção Nacional Democratica de Angola	_____
10. _____ Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola	_____
11. _____ Partido Democratico de Angola	_____
12. _____ Forum Democratico Angolano	_____
13. _____ Coligação Angolana Democratica	_____

- 14. \_\_\_\_\_  
Movimento Popular de Libertação  
de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
- 15. \_\_\_\_\_  
Partido de Renovação Social \_\_\_\_\_
- 16. \_\_\_\_\_  
União Nacional de Independência Total de Angola \_\_\_\_\_
- 17. \_\_\_\_\_  
Partido Social Democrata \_\_\_\_\_
- 18. \_\_\_\_\_  
Partido Liberal Democrático \_\_\_\_\_

VI. NÚMERO DE BOLETINS DE VOTO

- 1. Número total de eleitores \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. Número de votos em branco \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. Número de boletins nulos \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. Número de boletins não utilizados \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. Número de boletins sujeitos a ser recusados ou denunciados \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. Caso haja discrepâncias no resultado do escrutínio, o número de denúncias, protestos, contraprotostos e decisões feitos pelos membros da mesa.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

224

## VII. REVISÃO DOS PROCEDIMENTOS ELEITORAIS

- \_\_\_ As urnas estavam vazias no início do acto eleitoral?
- \_\_\_ Ocorrência de distúrbios nas proximidades da assembleia de voto?
- \_\_\_ Foi realizada qualquer propaganda política dentro da assembleia de voto ou fora dela até um raio de quinhentos (500) metros?
- \_\_\_ Aos eleitores que forem portadores de cartões de registo ser-lhes-a permitido o exercício do direito de voto?
- \_\_\_ Será que uma pessoa cujo dedo esteja marcado com a tinta indelével (e que portanto se presume que já tenha votado) ser-lhe-a permitido, outra vez, o exercício do direito de voto?
- \_\_\_ Ao eleitor é permitido sair da assembleia de voto sem que o seu dedo tenha sido mergulhado na tinta indelével?
- \_\_\_ Os procedimentos legais que regulamentam a emissão do boletim de voto e a sua introdução na urna não são observados?
- \_\_\_ Aplicação imprópria dos procedimentos relativos ao acto eleitoral?

### Observações:

Preparado  
por:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nome/Partido

Assinatura:  
Presidente

\_\_\_\_\_

Assinatura:  
Secretária

\_\_\_\_\_

Assinatura:  
Escrutinador

\_\_\_\_\_

Assinatura:  
Escrutinador

\_\_\_\_\_

Assinatura:  
Escrutinador

\_\_\_\_\_

Os delegados de lista doutros partidos:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

225

**RELATÓRIO SOBRE AS VIOLAÇÕES**

Qualquer irregularidade no acto de votação, perturbações ou violações do processo eleitoral devem ser comunicados aos membros da mesa da assembleia de voto onde a violação for cometida. Apesar de esta tarefa ser da competência dos delegados de lista, os cidadãos também tem direito de denunciar as irregularidades observadas e/ou vividas durante o acto eleitoral.

Assembleia de voto: \_\_\_\_\_

Município: \_\_\_\_\_ Província: \_\_\_\_\_

Natureza da violação:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Quando aconteceu?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Nomes e endereços (de livre escolha) doutras testemunhas:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Nome da pessoa que submete a queixa:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Filiação partidaria (de livre escolha):

\_\_\_\_\_

226

A FISCALIZACAO DAS ELEICOES  
EXEMPLOS DE ALGUNS IRREGULARIDADES

I. A PROTECCAO DO ACTO DE VOTACAO

O funcionamento do sistema de fiscalizacao do processo eleitoral tem que ser feito em ordem, para que os membros da mesa e os delegados de listas possam exercer cabalmente as suas funcoes. E preciso que eles tenham a certeza que os eleitores vao exercer o seu direito de voto de forma secreta, livre, e sem intimidacoes para que possam escolher o presidente e o partido da sua preferencia.

Embora na maior parte das assembleias de voto o acto de votacao e o escrutinio vao ser justos e transparentes, nao e de se excluir a existencia de problemas menores. Contudo, isto nao significa que o mesmo nao possa ser considerado satisfatorio.

Quaisquer problemas serios que possam comprometer a integridade do processo eleitoral devem ser imediatamente comunicado, por escrito, ao presidente da mesa. Os nomes e enderecos das pessoas envolvidas, assim como das testemunhas, deverao constar os relatorios.

E muito importante que os membros da assembleia de voto assim como os delegados de listas deverao exercer as suas funcoes com reponsabilidade e espirito patriotico. E, nao hesitem em denunciar as irregularidades ou violacoes que ocorrerem.

II. IRREGULARIDADES INERENTES AO ACTO DE VOTACAO

Uma das mais seguras formas de proteccao do acto de votacao consiste no conhecimento e dominio da lei eleitoral e da legislacao complementar.

Os membros da mesa poderao cometer alguns erros mesmo sem a deliberada intencao de comprometer a justeza eleicoes. Os delegados de listas poderao nao conseguir detectar as mais rudimentares fraudes. Por esta razao, tanto os membros da mesa como os delegados de listas deverao identificar todas as irregularidades que poderao afectar o processo eleitoral.

Mais abaixo, existe uma lista que podera dar-vos algumas sugestoes sobre as irregularidades que poderao ocorrer e que deverao ser do conhecimento tanto dos membros da mesa como dos delegados de listas. Convem relembrar que todas as queixas e reclamacoes devem ser, imediatamente, apresentadas por escrito as autoridades competentes.

III. IRREGULARIDADES QUE PODERAO OCORRER ANTES DA VOTACAO

1. Influenciar ou subornar os eleitores e membros da mesa, ex: prometer emprego, promocoos profissionais, doacoes, etc...
2. Intimidar os eleitores e as suas familias.
3. Impedir que o acto eleitoral e o escrutinio decorram em ordem e tranquilidade, atraves da propagacao de noticias falsas e impedimento de circulacao dos meios de transporte.
4. Remover indevidamente as urnas e os boletins de voto.

IV. IRREGULARIDADES DURANTE A VOTACAO

1. Alteracao das assembleias de voto sem que haja motivos de forca maior e, sem que se de conhecimento publico da mesma.
2. A constituicao das mesas fora dos repectivos locais, de sorte a impedir que os membros da mesa e os delegados de lista exercam os seus funcoes e direitos.
3. Abertura antecipada das assembleias de voto ou permissao que elas se mantenham abertas apos a hora de encerramento.
4. No recibimento atempado do material e equipamento estabelecidos da lei, tendo em conta as regras de proteccao dos mesmos.
5. Extravio, destruicao, substituicao ou desvio de qualquer impresso ou material necessario para a realizacao das eleicoes.
6. A presenca de membros da mesa de voto que nao estao devidamente credenciados.
7. Interferencia de pessoas nao autorizadas no desempenho das funcoes dos membros da mesa.
8. Causar de longas na assembleia de voto que desencorajem os eleitores.
9. Retardar o funcionamento da assembleia de voto de sorte a desencorajar os eleitores.
10. Permitir que pessoas nao qualificadas possam votar.
11. Tentar votar em nome de terceiros, por exemplo tentar votar em nome de eleitores que nao tenham conseguido chegar a assembleia de voto.
12. Permitir que uma pessoa vote mais do que uma vez.
13. Os procedimentos de identificacao do eleitor sejam inadequados.

14. Não fazer a comparação cuidadosa entre a assinatura do cartão de registo e a de outra identificação que o eleitor exiba.
15. Votar em nome de outro eleitor ou utilizar um nome falso.
16. Recusar entregar ao eleitor o boletim de voto ou dar mais do que um boletim de voto a um eleitor.
17. Intimidar, ameaçar ou praticar actos de violência contra os eleitores e/ou suborná-los.
18. Intimidação dos eleitores no acto da votação.
19. Impedir o exercício do voto secreto.
20. Existência de conflitos entre os membros da assembleia no momento de decisão sobre as irregularidades.
21. Fazer qualquer tipo de propaganda nas assembleias de voto, dentro de um raio de quinhentos (500) metros.
22. Impedir que os delegados de lista se aproximem das imediações das assembleias de voto afim de observar o processo eleitoral.

V. IRREGULARIDADES ACERCA DOS BOLETINS DE VOTO

1. Destruição da urna que contenha os boletins de voto.
2. Utilização de urnas não oficiais.
3. Não verificar se as urnas estavam vazias antes do início da votação.
4. Encher as urnas antes ou durante a votação.
5. Não verificar antes do início da votação o número de boletins de voto.
6. Urna preenchida de votos roubados ou trocados.
7. A não utilização dos boletins durante a contagem.
8. Retirar ou destruir boletins.
9. Boletins nos quais os membros da mesa tenham feito qualquer corte, desenho ou rasura afim de os tornar nulos.
10. Boletins alterados após a sua emissão.

VI. IRREGULARIDADES DURANTE O ESCRUTINIO

1. Alterar, rasurar ou trocar votos nas assembleias de voto.
2. Retardar o procedimento da contagem.
3. Impedir que haja uma nova contagem dos boletins de voto se for considerada necessaria pela maioria dos membros de mesa da assembleia de voto.
4. A elaboracao nao fiel da acta das operacoes eleitorais.
5. Nao salvaguardar a divulgacao dos resultados das eleicoes.
6. Fornecer resultados ilusorios aos meios de comunicacao social.