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*National Democratic  
Institute for  
International  
Affairs*

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***FINDINGS OF AN NDI ASSESSMENT  
MISSION TO THE GAMBIA***

***APRIL 9-15, 1995***

# National Democratic Institute For International Affairs

conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions



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## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties, civic organizations, parliaments, and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is headquartered in Washington, D.C., and has a staff of 120 with field offices in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and the former Soviet Union.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

**Political Party Training:** NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws international experts to forums where party members learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

**Election Processes:** NDI provides technical assistance for political parties, nonpartisan associations and election authorities to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 25 major international observer delegations.

**Strengthening Legislatures:** NDI organizes seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services, committee structures and the function and role of party caucuses. NDI programs also seek to promote access to the legislative process by citizen groups and the public at large.

**Local Government:** NDI provides technical assistance on a range of topics related to the processes of local governance, including division of responsibility between mayors and municipal councils, and between local and national authorities. NDI programs also promote enhanced communication between local officials and their constituents.

**Civic Organization:** NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs. NDI programs work with civic organizations to enhance their organizational capabilities.

**Civil-Military Relations:** NDI brings together military and political leaders to promote dialogue and establish mechanisms for improving civil-military relations.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report contains the findings and recommendations of NDI's assessment mission that visited The Gambia as the country prepares to return to democratic, civilian rule in July 1996. NDI's delegation was in The Gambia from April 9 to 15, 1995, and met with a cross section of Gambian political leaders and members of civil society. The discussions that took place in The Gambia were preceded by meetings conducted in Washington D.C. with a number of Gambians resident out of the country. This report is a result of information gathered during these meetings.

Based on experience accumulated through NDI's work in emerging democracies in Africa and other parts of the world, we have included in this report recommendations that could facilitate a more open and inclusive transition process in which various segments of Gambian society are able to participate actively and freely. This would, in our view, enhance confidence in the transition as well as increase participation in the elections scheduled for 1996. We hope that this report will help contribute to more open political discourse, resulting in a genuine transition process.

NDI expresses its appreciation to Elizabeth Sullivan and Tadjoudine Ali-Diabacté who served as advisers to the assessment mission. We also thank the staff of the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. Agency for International Development in Banjul for their assistance to members of the NDI delegation. Above all, we are grateful to those Gambians who took the time to share their knowledge and insights with our delegation.

The report was written by NDI regional director for West Africa, Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh and NDI senior associate for programs in democratic governance, Thomas O. Melia. NDI Program Officer Tim McCoy and Program Assistant Palmer Kiperman contributed measurably to this effort. NDI's assessment mission to The Gambia was funded through USAID's African Regional Elections Assistance Fund.

Kenneth D. Wollack  
President, National Democratic Institute  
June, 1995

**FINDINGS OF AN NDI ASSESSMENT MISSION TO THE GAMBIA**  
**April 9 to 15, 1995**

**I. Executive Summary**

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an assessment mission to The Gambia from April 9 to 15, 1995, as the country prepares to undertake a transition to democratic, civilian rule by July 1996. The delegation comprised: Elizabeth Sullivan, managing partner of the Washington-based political consulting firm, Campaign Design Group; Tadjouline Ali-Diabacté, university professor and member of the election commission of the Republic of Togo; Thomas O. Melia, NDI senior associate for programs in democratic governance; and Christopher Fomunyoh, NDI regional director for West Africa. The NDI delegation met with the Chairman and members of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), government ministers, political party leaders, representatives of civic organizations, members of professional associations and labor unions, traditional and religious leaders, journalists, members of the diplomatic community and other independent observers.

NDI undertook this survey mission to gain a better understanding of political developments in The Gambia since the July 22, 1994 *coup d'état*, as well as to respond to requests for NDI assistance from the chairman of the AFPRC, Captain Yahya A.J.J. Jammeh, deposed president, Dawda Jawara, and Gambian citizens residing in and out of the country. The team met with Gambians in the greater Banjul area, which includes Serrekunda and Bakau, as well as in the towns of Kerewan, Farafenni, Soma and Brikama.

The delegation acknowledges that some steps have been taken in planning the return of The Gambia to democratic, civilian rule by July 1996. At the same time, the transition timetable should be clarified and refined, and the transition process should be broadened to encourage increased participation by various segments of Gambian civil society. The delegation hopes that Gambians from across the political spectrum will be allowed to engage in sincere and open dialogue so that the implementation of the transition could be thoroughly monitored and reported on by all interested parties. The delegation also identified specific areas in which NDI could assist Gambian efforts to secure a genuine transition to democratic government.

The delegation members found that most Gambians with whom they met believed that the commitment of the AFPRC to withdraw from government is ambiguous. They assert that despite recurring statements of intent to adhere to the transition timetable, the military's commitment to return the country to civilian rule is sometimes called into question by other public statements and actions. These Gambians and other independent observers feel that to help overcome the climate of uncertainty and suspicion, it will be important for the Gambian people to be assured--early on and as frequently as possible, in words and in deeds--that the commitment to returning the country to democratic, civilian rule is real and irreversible. The NDI delegation noted that Gambians want to believe that the AFPRC is truly committed to this goal.

## **II. Purpose of the Visit**

NDI's delegation to The Gambia sought to achieve the following objectives:

- assess the commitment of the military to return the country to democratic, civilian rule;
- explore the views of various political parties and nongovernmental organizations;
- examine the processes, in place or envisioned, for revising the constitution and election law;
- assess preparations for the upcoming constitutional referendum;
- explore the state of preparations for national and local elections;
- determine possible NDI program activities in support of the process of returning the country to democratic rule; and
- identify possible Gambian program partners.

To accomplish these objectives, the NDI delegation sought information about the prevailing political environment in The Gambia, and reviewed the implementation timetable and benchmarks established by the AFPRC.

## **III. Activities**

Before travelling to The Gambia, the NDI delegation met with Gambian citizens residing in Washington to seek their views on political developments in their country. NDI staff also met separately in Washington with deposed president Dawda Jawara and a delegation from the AFPRC. While in The Gambia, the delegation met with Chairman Jammeh as well as other members of the AFPRC, government officials, political party leaders and activists, civic organization representatives, journalists, academics, diplomats and members of the donor community. After joint preliminary meetings in the greater Banjul area, the delegation divided into two groups that travelled to Brikama, Farafenni, Kerewan and Soma to meet with Gambians living in rural areas. These meetings provided the delegation members with the opportunity to gather relevant information on political developments in the country and the attitudes of Gambians at the grassroots level (see attached schedule of meetings).

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

constitutional development, political party development, election processes, and civic and voter education.

#### IV. Mission Findings

##### a) *Commitment to return The Gambia to democratic, civilian rule*

The commitment of the AFPRC to withdraw from government is viewed by some Gambians as ambiguous. Despite recurring statements of intent to adhere to the transition timetable, the military's commitment to return the country to civilian rule is sometimes called into question by other public statements and actions. Shortly after the July 22, 1994 coup, the AFPRC announced a four-year timetable to return the country to democratic, civilian rule. Following negative reactions from some Gambians and from the international community, the AFPRC set up a National Consultative Committee (NCC) to meet with Gambians across the country and solicit their opinion on a transition timetable. Following these meetings, the NCC issued a report that, among other recommendations, urged a transition timetable of two years from the date of the coup. That recommendation was accepted by the AFPRC. AFPRC officials frequently told the NDI delegation that the shortened timetable thus reflected the expression of the "sovereign will of the Gambian people." The transition timetable calls for general and presidential elections by June 1996.

In meetings with Chairman Jammeh and other members of the AFPRC, the NDI delegation was told that the timetable will be respected. Chairman Jammeh stated that he was open to suggestions regarding the democratization process in The Gambia. The Chairman also remarked that, although there had been some delays in initiating the implementation of the timetable, some of the agenda items such as drafting the constitution and the election law would be expedited to allow for completion in three rather than six months. Shortly after the NDI delegation met with Chairman Jammeh on April 10, the timetable was publicly released at a press conference attended by members of the diplomatic community. Later the same day, appointments to the Constitutional Review Commission were announced.

Supporters of the AFPRC point to positive steps in planning the restoration of democratic rule. These include:

- acceptance of a shortened transition;
- the appointment of a Constitutional Review Committee (CRC);
- preparations for the appointment of an election law review committee;
- financial support for the work of the NCC and the CRC; and
- invitations to international organizations to assist the transition and electoral processes.

During the delegation's meetings with members of Gambian nongovernmental organizations and professional associations, leaders of the civic groups expressed interest in participating in NDI programs and contributing to their country's democratization process. Similar interest was expressed by heads of government departments, such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Justice. While some of the civic groups have a sizeable membership and viable structures in place, they seemed unprepared to undertake nonpartisan political development activities on their own.

Gambians outside the AFPRC and government who met with the delegation, including vocal critics of the AFPRC, as well as those who were critics of the Jawara administration, expressed serious doubts about the timetable being met or the military keeping its promise to relinquish political power by 1996. They point to the following:

- the ban that has been imposed by the AFPRC on political parties and political activities;
- the AFPRC continuing to organize and hold public events and rallies of a political nature, while the ban on such activities by others remains in effect;
- intimidation and harassment of journalists;
- mobilization of Gambian youth in various villages under the umbrella of "the July 22 movement." Some Gambians view this movement as a prospective political arm of the AFPRC;
- public declarations by AFPRC members indicating their desire to run for office or a refusal to relinquish power to a newly elected president who was not fully committed to the AFPRC's program. Other statements make reference to the AFPRC's determination that the former ruling party and its supporters (who are expecting to compete in next year's elections), not be allowed to contest "even in the general elections of the year 2096;"
- the release of a long-term development agenda by the AFPRC and its publication of a newspaper, "*UPFRONT-the voice of the AFPRC.*" The April/May edition of this paper carried a front page photograph of deposed president Jawara with the caption "WANTED for murder and torture of Gambian political prisoners 1981";
- the "restraining" of some Gambians from leaving the country or travelling beyond certain geographic limits within the country (Decree No. 6 of August 10, 1994), despite the fact that no charges have been brought against them. Similar concerns were raised with respect to arbitrary arrests and detentions; and
- the prolonged activities of commissions of inquiry set up to investigate alleged abuses of the Jawara government. While many Gambians appeared to have been favorable to the

establishment of the commissions, some observers claim that these bodies are exceeding their original mandate in certain cases. They complained that scarce state resources are being expended on lengthy proceedings that have so far brought no immediate or foreseeable benefits.

The NDI delegation noted that some of the above-mentioned issues were being raised by Gambians formerly sympathetic to the July 1994 *coup*. They argued that in order to overcome the climate of uncertainty and suspicion, the Gambian people must be shown (early on and as frequently as possible, in words and in deeds) that the commitment to returning the country to democratic, civilian rule is real and irreversible. The NDI delegation noted that Gambians want to believe that the AFPRC is truly committed to this goal. No one with whom the delegation met believed that it would serve the national interest for the military to remain in power beyond July 1996.

b) *The views of political parties and nongovernmental organizations toward the transition process*

Political parties were banned under Decree No. 1, Schedule 11, of July 29, 1994. Decree No. 4, issued on August 4, 1994, suspended the organs of all parties that were in existence before July 1994 and extended the ban to "any political activities." The broad definition of political activities could include voicing an opinion on issues of public interest or participating in events that could be interpreted as political. Gambians with whom the delegation met indicated that the ban has had a chilling effect on their willingness to actively participate in efforts aimed at shaping or re-invigorating democratic institutions in their country. They expressed particular concern about the reaction of the AFPRC to those who would criticize actions of the current regime. This was true even of people who had supported the *coup* and who were highly critical of the Jawara government.

Some Gambians expressed disappointment that AFPRC calls for "transparency" and "accountability" in government are not reflected in all of its activities. For example, they referred to the removal of chiefs and civil servants without cause. In their opinion, some of these people were removed so the AFPRC could install other Gambians who would be more supportive of the regime. Also, some Gambians complained that basic information that would be public in democratic countries, such as the salaries and benefits paid to senior government officials, is not made available to the Gambian public.

The ban on political parties and political activities has made it impossible for Gambian political leaders and activists to organize or to express their views about the transition process. The ban also appears to have affected the civic community as many of its members are reluctant to undertake activities without the prior authorization of, or direction from, the AFPRC. The ban is likely to undermine civic education which the AFPRC claims is an important component of its "Rectification Programme." The assessment team noted that it would be difficult for the AFPRC or anyone else to implement a credible civic education program without the support and involvement of intermediary institutions such as civic groups and political parties. As long as

there is a threat of being held in contempt of the decrees prohibiting political discourse and activity, some Gambian citizens would refrain from openly expressing themselves in civic education programs.

Gambians expressed concern over the creation of a National Intelligence Agency within the public service, which is responsible for coordinating various operations of both the "military and civil organizations" relating to national security. Some interlocutors felt that this body could create an atmosphere of suspicion and fear.

c) *The constitution and election law drafting processes*

On March 31, 1995, shortly before the NDI assessment team arrived in The Gambia, the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) was established to formulate proposals for a draft constitution. Members of the Commission were appointed on April 10. The nine-member Commission is chaired by Chief Justice Gilbert Mensah Quaye of Ghana and includes two lawyers, a traditional chief, a member of the clergy and other representatives of civil society. A separate committee will be established to draft a new election law for the country. The delegation was told that the election law review committee will conduct its activities simultaneously with the CRC and submit the draft law by July 1995.

The CRC is required to elicit the "views and comments of members of the general public including professional and other bodies and associations." However, as long as political activity is banned, some members of these professional bodies and associations may be reluctant to present views that may be considered contrary to those of the AFPRC. The ban on political activity and the harassment of journalists critical of the AFPRC are deterrents to free and open participation in the transition process. This negatively affects the constitutional and electoral processes that the AFPRC seeks to promote.

## V. **Recommendation: Reorganization of the Transition Timetable**

While the NDI delegation recognized that considerable efforts may have been made to draw up the transition timetable as outlined in the "Rectification Programme" of the AFPRC, the delegation suggests that some adjustments be made to facilitate a more open and credible process. The sequence of activities should be revised to allow for an earlier undertaking of civic education and political party development programs. Such programs will promote confidence and participation in the upcoming elections and contribute to efforts to consolidate democratic government. The sequence of actions and activities as planned in the timetable may not permit the achievement of the AFPRC's stated goals. Major concerns relate to the following four issues:

- *Civic education and the ban on political activity:* Civic education has been identified as a priority by the AFPRC. Civic education requires public discourse about the politics of the country, including the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the role of government and ways

in which citizens can participate in public policy debates. The implementation timetable indicates that the civic education program was to be launched in March 1995 and continued beyond military rule. Paradoxically, these very activities are currently banned under the Decrees Nos. 4 and 6 of the AFPRC. The ban is likely to impact negatively on the confidence of Gambians to participate in elections and other aspects of the transition process, such as government-sponsored forums to review the constitution and the election law.

Activities to be conducted between November 1995 and February 1996 include registration of voters, display of voter register for public scrutiny and local government elections. NDI is deeply concerned about the continued ban on political activity during this critical period when political parties should be actively engaged in the registration process by encouraging their supporters to register and verifying the voter lists. Moreover, local government elections would require the active involvement of political parties which should be given adequate time to prepare for their participation in this process.

The ban on political parties will also hinder the implementation of the civic education program. Effective civic education efforts require the active participation of intermediary organizations, including civic groups and political parties.

• *Political parties and elections:* The above-mentioned points underscore the need for an early lifting of the ban on political activities and parties. It is difficult to explain that parties will not be legalized until March 1996 when they are expected to participate in local, presidential and national elections just three months later. In all transitional situations adequate time must be provided before political parties can participate effectively in competitive elections. In the process of building a foundation for constitutional democracy in The Gambia, political parties and other intermediary institutions must be allowed to organize and disseminate viewpoints in the early stages of the transition process. Political parties need sufficient time to develop platforms and participate in the political discourse in order to provide the Gambian electorate an opportunity to make informed judgments and choices. The active and early involvement of political parties in transition activities will lend credibility to the elections and legitimacy to the transition process in general.

• *Availability of instruments of civic education:* Another impediment to civic education is the manner in which the public will gain access to the necessary documentation that serves as a basis for civic education programs, such as the constitution and election law. As confirmed to the NDI delegation by Chairman Jammeh, the constitutional review process should, in accordance with the timetable, be completed by July 1995. There appear to be no other plans, however, regarding the constitution until a constituent assembly is established to begin debate nine months later, in March 1996. It would contribute positively to the transition process and planned civic education activities if the constitution were discussed, debated and ratified early in the process. A civic education program could, in part, explain the constitution and its provisions to the citizenry. It would also be productive if the public debate that has been initiated through the activities of the Constitutional Review Commission were to be continued and intensified.

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- *Citizen ratification of draft constitution:* As outlined in the timetable, the process of creating a new constitution for The Gambia will take place in four stages: nationwide consultations between the CRC and Gambians before the draft constitution is completed; selection of members for the constituent assembly through a process that still needs to be determined; debate on the constitution by the constituent assembly; and a constitutional referendum. The transition timetable provides for the establishment of a constituent assembly in March 1996 to debate the draft constitution. No provisions detail how the members of this assembly will be selected. At the same time, many issues remain unresolved. How would members of the assembly be elected? Would they be members of local councils? Would they be more knowledgeable than the members of the constitution review commission who drafted the constitution in the first place? How representative would they be? Would opportunities be created for further citizen input at this point of the debate? For example, would there be room for public hearings or written submissions? Given the limitations in time and resources, it would be reasonable to find ways to promulgate a new constitution for the country through a more cost effective and less cumbersome manner. For example, if the CRC is seen as consulting widely with and incorporating the views of Gambian citizens, it could perform the work of a constituent assembly.

## **VI. NDI Proposed Follow-up**

NDI hopes to conduct programs that will support Gambian efforts to implement a genuine transition process. The first phase of these programs would be conducted in the period between June and December 1995. Activities could include: providing technical assistance to the constitutional review commission and the electoral review committee; conducting political party building activities; providing capacity building training to civic organizations and working with these groups to design civic education materials.

As Gambians debate and draft a new constitution and new election laws, NDI would work to help facilitate the process by involving international and regional experts with comparative experiences in these issues. At the same time, NDI would seek to promote dialogue between and among Gambian political parties, civic organizations, and the AFPRC. Through civic education and capacity building activities with local civic groups, NDI would seek to encourage Gambians to become familiar with, and participate actively in the transition process. NDI believes that by engaging a larger segment of Gambian civil society and providing technical assistance to Gambians involved in the transition, its project activities could increase the confidence of Gambians in the process thereby enhancing the prospects for a legitimate transition process.

Subsequent activities by NDI will be influenced by continued progress toward democratic, civilian rule. During the implementation of its initial programs, NDI will continuously monitor and assess the transition process. NDI will involve international experts from other African countries and elsewhere to assess the completion of various benchmarks. These experts would assess the impact of NDI activities on the transition process. They would also make

recommendations to the AFPRC and Gambians involved with conducting the transition. Provided that NDI recommendations are taken into consideration and the transition to civilian rule is broadened to include Gambian civil society and political parties, NDI would propose further activities beginning in January 1996 and leading up to the establishment of a democratically elected government in The Gambia by July 1996.

## **VII. Conclusion**

The NDI delegation took note of the fact that the transition process is the subject of intense debate in The Gambia and in the international community. The AFPRC asserts that it has embarked in good faith on a process that will return the country to democratic rule. Others point to actions by the AFPRC that, in their view, raise serious questions about the current government's commitment to relinquish power.

Based on NDI's experience in other countries, when concerns are raised about the integrity of a transition, additional actions are needed to ensure fairness and enhance public confidence in the overall process. The circumstances leading to the formation of the current government in The Gambia impose a special responsibility on the authorities to demonstrate that the transition is in fact genuine and irreversible.

The delegation is aware that the absence of trust seriously colors the debate over specific aspects of the transition timetable. Concerns for the future of The Gambia's democracy, reflected in the comments of many citizens, give NDI confidence that solutions can be found. It is hoped that NDI and the recommendations of this impartial delegation can contribute to this effort.



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## SCHEDULE FOR THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE ASSESSMENT MISSION TO THE GAMBIA APRIL 9 - 14, 1995

### MONDAY, APRIL 10

- 8:30 A.M. Meet with Chargé Rose Marie Depp and Gary Cohen of USAID/Banjul and Jim Knight at American Embassy
- 9:00 A.M. Baboucar Blaise Jagne, Minister of External Affairs
- 9:45 A.M. Capt. Yankuba Touray, Minister of Local Government and Lands/Head of Task Force
- 10:00 A.M. Captain Yahya Jammeh, Chairman of AFPRC  
(also present: Capt. Edward Singhateh, Vice Chairman & Min. of Defence; Capt. Yankuba Touray and Capt. Lamin Bajo Min. of Interior; Barboncar Blaise Jagne, Min. of External Affairs; and Mustapha Wadda, Secretary General)
- 11:00 A.M. AFPRC Press Conference at the State House
- 1:00 P.M. Raymond Sock, Barrister-at-Law & Former Director, African Center for Human Rights  
(*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 1:30 P.M. Mr. Mustapha Wadda, Secretary General, Office of the Chairman  
(*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 2:00 P.M. Ousman Manjang, Executive Secretary for Gambians for Self Employment (GAMSEL), and David Jones, Secretary General of GAMSEL, Banjul
- 4:00 P.M. Pap Cheyasin Secka, National Liberation Party (NLP) Leader, Barrister-at-Law
- 6:00 P.M. Dr. Lenrie Peters, Former Chairman of NCC, West Field Clinic, Serrekunda



## TUESDAY, APRIL 11

- 9:00 A.M. Mustapha Marong, Attorney General and Minister of Justice & Mrs. Awa Cessay Sabally, Solicitor General
- 9:50 A.M. Chief Justice Gilbert Mensah Quaye, Chairman of the Constitutional Review Commission
- 11:00 A.M. Religious Leader  
(*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 11:00 A.M. Hassan Musa Camara, Leader of Gambian People's Party (GPP) and Former Vice President of the Gambia  
(*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 1:00 P.M. The Point journalists - Mr. Deyda Hydera, Pap Saine and Jay Saïdy--former press attaché to Jawara (*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 1:00 P.M. District Chief  
(*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 3:00 P.M. Mrs. Satang Jow, Minister of Education
- 4:00 P.M. Ambassador Andrew Winter, American Embassy
- 5:00 P.M. M.C. Cham, former PPP Minister, Kairaba Avenue Residence  
(*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 5:00 P.M. The Observer Journalists - Mr. Ebrima Ceesay, The Observer Office, Bakau  
(*Melia and Ali- Diabecté*)
- 6:00 P.M. The Enterprise Network Group at TAF Construction Company Bai-Njongo Modou Faal, Pa Njie, and other representatives

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12

- 9:00 A.M. Mr. Burang Gorre-Ndiaye, Executive Secretary, TANGO  
(*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 9:00 A.M. Hassan Jallow, former Attorney General & Minister of Justice, No. 20 Leman Street, Banjul (*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 10:00 A.M. Pa Modou Faal, General Secretary Gambia Workers Union, Former Member of NCC, Banjul (*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)

- 11:00 A.M. Depart Banjul for the Countryside  
North Bang (*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)  
South Bang (*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- Wed. P.M. Meeting in Soma with village leaders (*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- Dr. Lamin Bojang, Opposition Party Leader (PDP), Brikama  
(*Melia*)  
Lamin Wa Juwara, Retired Civil Servant, political activist,  
Brikama (*Ali-Diabecté*)

**THURSDAY, APRIL 13**

- 10:00 A.M. Halifa Sallah, Leader (PDOIS)
- 12:00 NOON Mr. Omar Jallow, Former Minister of Agriculture, PPP  
Government (*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 12:00 NOON Mr. Davis Iber, International Society for Human Rights, #5  
Cotton Street (*Melia and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 2:00 P.M. DONORS MEETING  
(*Melia and Fomunyoh*)
- 2:00 P.M. Mr. Surahata Semega-Janneh, Barrister-at-law  
(*Sullivan and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 3:30 P.M. Germain Baricako, Director, OAU Commission for Human and  
People's Rights, Kairaba Avenue  
(*Sullivan and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 4:00 P.M. The Honorable Moctar Kebe, Ambassador of Senegal to The  
Gambia (*Fomunyoh*)
- 6:00 P.M. Sheriff Mustapha Dibba, Leader (NCP)  
(*Fomunyoh and Ali-Diabecté*)
- 6:00 P.M. Jay Saidy and Mr. Jobe, Transparency International  
(*Melia and Sullivan*)

**FRIDAY, APRIL 14**

- 8:30 A.M. Mr. Tamsir Jallow, Secretary General  
Gambia Teacher's Union, Kanifing  
(*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)
- 8:30 A.M. Banjul Residents  
(*Melia and Ali Diabecté*)

10:00 A.M. Robert Collingwood, EU Delegate, 10 Nelson Mandela Street,  
Banjul (*Fomunyoh and Sullivan*)

10:00 A.M. Amadou Taal, Former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local  
Government and Lands and Mr. Ebrima Manneh, Former  
Permanent Secretary (*Melia and Ali Diabecté*)

1:00 P.M. Zahra M. Nuru, UNDP Resident Representative to The Gambia

