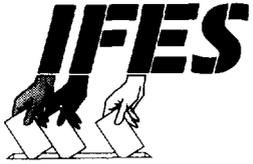


PID-ABM-579



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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**International Foundation for  
Electoral Systems**

**End of Grant Report  
(FY 1988 - FY1991)**

Prepared for the  
U.S. Agency for International Development

December 1, 1991

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December 1, 1991

Ms. Travis Horel  
RD/AID  
SA18 Room 608  
Rosslyn, VA 20523

Dear Travis:

I am pleased to present you with the End of Grant Report (FY1988 - FY1991) for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

Through its initial grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development IFES has been able to provide electoral assistance in concordance with its mandate to monitor, support, and strengthen the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies and to undertake any appropriate education activities which contribute toward free and fair elections.

In the past five years IFES has sent nearly 20 pre-election survey teams to five continents and provided on-site technical assistance to the election councils of Bulgaria, Haiti, Guyana, Mali, Paraguay, Romania, and Venezuela. Election related material and equipment have been shipped to countries in Latin America and Central Europe, and IFES election observers have produced over 35 comprehensive reports on elections on five continents. Since 1987, post-election analysis reports have been completed for eleven countries in Latin America, Asia, Central Europe and North Africa. While we have not included these reports in this document, a listing of all reports available from the IFES Resource Center is found in the appendices to this report.

Among IFES' significant contributions have been the undertaking of training for voter registration workers, poll workers, and other election officials in Bulgaria, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and the Soviet Union.

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Page 2

IFES' unique capabilities in providing technical election assistance has established the foundation as a vital resource for any nation seeking to establish a new electoral system or improve an existing one.

IFES is mindful of the A.I.D. goal of democratic pluralism and remains committed to assisting free and fair elections in furtherance of that goal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard W. Soudriette". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "R" and "S".

Richard W. Soudriette  
Director

Attachment

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### Appendices

### List of Acronyms

<b>AFR/PD</b>	Africa Bureau for Project Development
<b>AID/USAID</b>	Agency for International Development
<b>BAFE</b>	Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections
<b>CAPEL</b>	Centro Interamericano de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral, Interamerican Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (a sub-group of the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights)
<b>CEESS</b>	Central European Electoral Systems Symposium
<b>CEP</b>	Conseil Electoral Provisoire, Provisional Electoral Council, Haiti
<b>CSIS</b>	Center for Strategic and International Studies
<b>FBIS</b>	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
<b>FEC</b>	Federal Election Commission
<b>IAESC</b>	Inter-American Electoral Systems Conference
<b>IFES</b>	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
<b>NAMFREL</b>	National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections, Philippines
<b>NASS</b>	National Association of Secretaries of State
<b>NED</b>	National Endowment for Democracy
<b>NDI/NDIIA</b>	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
<b>NRI/NRIIA</b>	National Republic Institute for International Affairs
<b>OAS</b>	Organization of American States
<b>PVO</b>	Private Voluntary Organization
<b>PPC</b>	Program and Policy Coordination
<b>USIA</b>	United States Information Agency

**End of Grant Report (FY1988-FY1991)**  
**The International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

**I. Executive Summary**

In September of 1987, A.I.D. awarded IFES a five-year grant to "monitor, support and strengthen the mechanics of the election process in developing countries..." and to "undertake any appropriate education activities which contribute toward free, fair, and credible elections."

The grant was originally made by the Bureau for Policy Planning and Coordination (PPC) for a total of \$998,000 for the period FY1988 to FY1992. Due to changing world events, the collapse of totalitarianism in many countries and the resulting increase in requests from A.I.D. to provide assistance to emerging democracies, the IFES program portfolio has expanded dramatically. IFES has also been contacted directly by election officials from other countries requesting assistance. Because of the increased workload and demand for IFES services, A.I.D. accelerated the spending on the IFES grant from five to four years and increased the overall authorized level to \$1,084,782 to include A.I.D. funding for democracy projects in Hungary and Nepal.

In addition to the initial grant from PPC, IFES has received two A.I.D. grants to provide election assistance: \$1,859,525 for Haiti and \$389,700 for Guyana.

The original A.I.D. grant gave IFES a mandate to develop alternative funding sources. IFES has been successful in expanding its funding base and has raised a total of \$1,385,474 in non-A.I.D. funding.

IFES was directed to fulfill its program objectives through the development of five major capabilities: election observation, technical election assistance, statistical election analysis, election problem analysis and information transfer.

IFES was directed to meet these objectives by accomplishing the following tasks:

1. Utilize and maintain an election assistance database for Latin America and the Caribbean region. IFES was asked to develop a cooperative working arrangement with the regional election assistance center in Central America - The Inter-American Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL).
2. Identify additional countries for review. IFES was directed to survey developing countries in Africa, Asia and the Near East to determine which countries would be appropriate for evaluation under the election assistance program.
3. Expand the database. One of the primary objectives of IFES has been the continuous collection of information and maintenance of the database. In the PPC grant, IFES was directed to expand the database to twelve specific areas of election assistance and to computerize all information and data.

IFES has established a proven record of success that has far exceeded the original A.I.D. mandate of 1987. IFES set up the database as mandated and identified countries in need of technical assistance. In the past five years, IFES has sent fourteen pre-election survey teams to five continents and provided on-site technical assistance to the electoral councils of Bulgaria, Guyana, Haiti, Paraguay, Romania, and Venezuela. Election-related materials and equipment have been shipped to countries in Latin America and Central Europe. IFES election observers have produced comprehensive reports covering fourteen elections on four continents. Since 1987, post-election analyses have been completed for eleven countries in Latin America, Asia, Central Europe and North Africa. Finally, IFES has trained voter registration workers, poll workers, and other election officials in Paraguay, Nicaragua, Haiti, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

IFES has contributed significantly to ensuring that the essential components for a democratic election have been shared with requesting countries around the world through its technical teams, pre- and post-election training missions and the distribution of election data, periodicals, IFES reports and other materials.

The dramatic transitions to democracy witnessed from 1989 to 1991 may be just the beginning as Secretary of State James Baker has described the 1990s as the "decade of democracy." Much remains to be done to guarantee that the new and fragile democracies of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Central Europe are institutionalized and strengthened. IFES plans to redouble its efforts to strengthen the democratic election process in the world's emerging democracies.

## **II. Description of IFES Programs October 1987 - August 1991**

A.I.D. lists democratic pluralism as one of its primary program priorities. Free, fair and credible elections are critical to the democratic process. The best way to promote an open election process is to ensure that election officials understand and respect the essential components of such elections. IFES has developed a strong track record of providing the technical assistance, training and commodities essential for the success of emerging and fragile democracies worldwide.

The following describes IFES' activities within the five targeted program areas:

### **A. IFES Resource Center, Database, and Information Dissemination**

IFES was directed by the first A.I.D. grant to establish and maintain an election database covering twelve specific areas of election assistance, including "duties of election commissions, types of governments involved, various elective offices, overview of election law and the election process, relevant data from

previous elections, identification of specific country experts and a listing of publications on the country situation and election processes."

In early 1988, IFES began collecting and cataloguing electoral information from around the globe. Prior to this time, there was no single clearinghouse of international election information of the scope envisioned by the original A.I.D. mandate to IFES. No other source provided nascent democracies information on how elections are organized and conducted in other countries.

Currently, IFES maintains a computerized database containing a country-by-country file that includes general background information, prescribed election dates, names and addresses of pertinent election officials, voting eligibility requirements and types of governmental systems. The database also contains additional files with listings of experienced election technicians, country scholars and potential election observers. A vendor file for election-related commodities and equipment represents the third component of the IFES database.

The IFES resource center, in addition to the database, has hard-copy country files containing constitutions, election laws, election statistics, sample ballots, sample election documentation, news articles and sample civic education materials. Also included in the resource center are election observation reports, books, magazines, journals and other reference materials pertaining to the field of elections.

IFES built its resource center and database in several ways. First, IFES contacted all of the embassies in Washington and circulated a questionnaire that requested the names of the chief electoral officers, prescribed dates for elections, copies of the constitution and election law, results from previous elections, copies of the ballots, copies of all election-related documentation including voter registration cards, and samples of civic education materials. Materials were received from 25 countries.

Since 1988, IFES observer teams have been instructed to gather information about the election process and to collect all election-related documentation including sample ballots and election results for the IFES resource center. IFES also contracted with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) to undertake election observation for IFES in Central and South America in 1989 and 1990. Both organizations worked together to develop a mutually acceptable report format designed to organize and present the information needed by IFES.

Because IFES is becoming increasingly well-known among election officials worldwide, it has become a regular stop in the United States for visiting election officials from other countries. Recently, the Secretary of the Indian Electoral Commission traveled to Washington for the purpose of presenting IFES with the latest version of the Indian Electoral Law. Over the past four years, IFES has received visits from nearly 100 election officials from five continents. These visitors have brought materials which have enormously enhanced the IFES database and resource center.

In May 1990, IFES organized and co-sponsored the Inter-American Electoral Systems Conference (IAESC) in Caracas, Venezuela. At this conference, IFES gathered vital election information and data from every country in Central and South America and the Caribbean. This conference also allowed IFES to collect the resumes of numerous notable and talented election officials for inclusion in the election specialist database file.

Another important resource comes from reports found in the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). IFES monitors FBIS and retains for its country files articles pertaining to elections and electoral issues around the world. FBIS often features entire texts of the election laws of a country. IFES also carefully monitors many other media sources such as newspapers, magazines and journals to obtain pertinent election-related information.

The database has been critical in establishing IFES' ability to respond quickly and effectively to requests for information, assistance, and election commodities and equipment. In Washington, IFES has provided electoral information to numerous bureaus within A.I.D., many congressional staffs and embassies, the Department of State, the White House, the Organization for American States, the United Nations (UN), the Carter Center, the Library of Congress, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRI). CBS News, Insight Magazine and the Christian Science Monitor regularly contact IFES for international election information.

Information inquiries from abroad are continually received by IFES. For example, IFES has answered requests from such countries as Venezuela, Paraguay, Guatemala, Argentina, Poland, U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Romania and Mozambique to supply sample copies of election laws and sample ballots from the United States and other countries.

In January of 1989, Venezuela initiated a study of voting machines and vote-counting machines in contemplation of mechanizing the voting process. The Supreme Electoral Council of Venezuela contacted IFES for information on voting districts in the United States with model systems. Using information in the database, IFES identified a county in Florida with a model system and arranged for a four-member team from Venezuela to travel to Florida to study the system. This particular system is now under serious consideration by the Venezuelan Electoral Council.

IFES regularly receives requests for information on civic education programs that have been implemented in other countries. In the past two years, civic education materials found in the IFES resource center have been shared with Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Panama, Guatemala, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Romania and Bulgaria.

IFES is presently converting its computerized database into an on-line information system which would permit remote access to the database by election officials, civic groups, academicians and others interested in democratic pluralism. The IFES database and resource center represent a unique collection of election data and materials gathered worldwide and housed in one location.

**B. Technical Assistance**

Over the last five years, IFES has responded to requests for technical assessments and follow-up technical assistance in the areas of electoral law, establishment and maintenance of voter registries, training, ballot security, and voter education and motivation. IFES' technical assistance is exemplified by the activities described below:

**1. Pre-Election Assessments:**

IFES' technical assistance utilizes a two-step process. First, prior to any assistance, training or transfer of commodities, IFES strongly recommends sending a multi-disciplinary pre-election survey team to prepare an on-site diagnostic survey and needs analysis that addresses the following elements:

- a. Internal Political Climate
- b. Electoral Law and the Electoral Commission
- c. Voter Registration
- d. Role and Duties of Poll Workers
- e. Act of Voting
- f. Distribution, Collection and Counting of Ballots
- g. Use of Election Commodities and Equipment
- h. Status and Role of Political Parties
- i. Role of Election Observers
- j. Civic Education and Training
- k. Election Official Training
- l. Process of Adjudication of Election Infractions

Within two weeks of a team's return, IFES sends to the U.S. Embassy, A.I.D. and country officials a comprehensive report analyzing the particular country's ability to conduct free and fair elections. The team's report includes a list of recommendations related to on-site assistance needs, voter registration, civic education, poll worker and election officials training, and the provision of election commodities and supplies. IFES has sent a total of fourteen pre-election survey teams to Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Lesotho, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, and Romania.

The pre-election assessment team sent to Bulgaria in April 1990 is representative of IFES' on-site evaluation of election preparations. IFES assembled an international team consisting of Dr. Richard Smolka, American University Professor of Political Science and author of Election Administration Reports; Mr. Ron Gould, Assistant Chief Elections Officer at Elections Canada and observer of more than ten international elections; and Dr. John Bell, University of Maryland Professor of History and President of the Bulgarian Studies Association in the United States.

The team interviewed Bulgarian government officials, election officials, political party representatives, academicians and leaders of civic education groups. Following ten days in country, the team debriefed the U.S. country team before returning to the United States. Because of interest in the sweeping and swift nature of the political changes that rocked Bulgaria and the rest of Central Europe, the IFES team's in-depth and detailed analysis of the electoral process was extremely useful to A.I.D. and the Department of State.

The information and recommendations generated by such pre-election survey teams have been useful to USAID missions in deciding if funds will be used to assist host governments with technical assistance and training of election officials, or to provide election commodities and equipment. The reports have also been valuable sources of information for many other groups as in the case of the IFES Bulgaria Pre-Election Assessment

Report, which was used by a number of organizations that fielded observer teams in Bulgaria, including the White House, the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

The importance of pre-election assessment teams was demonstrated in the case of Guyana. In early October 1990, Randal Teague, counsel to IFES, and Ronald Gould, Assistant Chief Elections Officer at Elections Canada, traveled to Georgetown, Guyana to conduct an assessment of Guyana's electoral system. They produced an in-depth report that was anticipated by A.I.D., the Department of State, the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for use in providing guidance on the level and nature of support that the United States should provide to Guyana in the area of democratic initiatives. Subsequently, IFES received an A.I.D. grant of \$389,700 to help the Elections Commission of Guyana prepare for a general election now projected for March 1992. The presence of the IFES team in Guyana in October coincided with former President Jimmy Carter's visit to Guyana to encourage free and fair elections. The IFES team briefed President Carter and identified items generally regarded as key obstacles for instituting a system of truly free and fair elections.

## 2. On-Site Technical Assistance:

Since early 1988, requests to IFES for technical assistance have originated with A.I.D. regional bureaus, technical offices and overseas missions. The type of assistance requested has ranged from providing one day of training in Paraguay in the proper use of indelible ink to a six-month, \$1.8 million electoral assistance program in Haiti.

The project in Haiti was initiated following an extensive on-site pre-election assessment. In July 1990, IFES was awarded a \$1.8-million grant by USAID/Port au Prince to implement the Haiti Election Training and Commodity Project. The primary

purpose of the grant was to provide technical assistance to the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) of Haiti to conduct the first free and fair elections in that country's history. This included assistance in the areas of training, civic education, procurement of election equipment and commodities, and overall technical assistance related to the electoral process. This project posed a special and unique challenge given the tragic conclusion of the failed Haitian elections in 1987. Because of the memories of the violence and loss of life that occurred during those elections, IFES was faced with the task of assisting the CEP in organizing elections in the face of overall disillusionment and fear on the part of the Haitian population.

The initial IFES activities in Haiti were directed toward helping the CEP prepare for and implement voter registration. Following the voter registration period, IFES worked closely with the CEP to prepare the voter registration list and to organize all aspects of the successful elections that were conducted on December 16, 1990. IFES also provided assistance to the CEP for the successful run-off elections conducted on January 20, 1991.

Because of the Haitian population's apprehension, IFES had to work closely with the CEP to design and implement an effective civic education program. The program, developed by IFES personnel, included posters, brochures, booklets and production of audio and video tapes explaining the entire election process from voter registration to election day. IFES provided funds for and helped the CEP develop radio and television public service announcements encouraging Haitians to register and vote.

Through its extensive contacts with international election officials, IFES has developed a unique capability to identify and secure the professional services of recognized election officials from electoral councils around the world. In Haiti, IFES' Project Co-Manager was an internationally respected elections consultant from Colombia. IFES was also able to secure the services of Dr. Gonzalo Brenes Camacho, President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Costa Rica, who worked in Haiti for six

weeks as an IFES consultant to assist the CEP with logistical planning for the entire election process. This process included designing necessary forms, producing the voter registration list, distributing election materials throughout the country and transmitting election results. Dr. Brenes Camacho's ten-plus years of experience in directing elections in Costa Rica and in providing technical assistance to other countries made his presence invaluable. The ability to field a highly competent and international project team enabled IFES to work effectively in Haiti with the CEP and with the other international donor organizations including the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS).

IFES also assisted the CEP in the areas of training and procurement, as detailed in those respective sections.

The previously mentioned Guyana project has also required a considerable on-site presence by IFES personnel. IFES is assisting the Guyanese Election Commission with over \$455,000 in election commodity procurement. The present infrastructure of Guyana required a considerable amount of time to facilitate receiving and distributing commodities to correct locales. The IFES Project Manager, Jeff Fischer, has worked closely with members of the Election Commission to identify and solve logistical problems hindering the proper use of commodities shipped to Guyana by IFES.

IFES has coordinated with other NGOs working in Guyana to ensure a comprehensive approach to electoral assistance. The Carter Center and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs have remained in close contact with IFES throughout the project.

### 3. Other Technical Assistance:

In addition to assistance to Haiti and Guyana, IFES has provided technical assistance to the electoral councils of Romania, Venezuela and Paraguay.

The Venezuelan Supreme Electoral Council contacted IFES in August 1989 to request immediate assistance in designing a new paper ballot format for their municipal and legislative elections scheduled for December 1989. Utilizing its network of election officials in the United States, IFES located an election board in Utah that uses only paper ballots. IFES arranged for the Director General of the Electoral Council, Dr. Roberto Chang, to travel to Utah. Based upon the information provided by IFES, the Venezuelans adopted a similar ballot system and format that was used in their elections four months later.

In the area of civic education, IFES has provided assistance to groups seeking information on organizing civic education programs. In June 1990, IFES was contacted by a visiting delegation from Côte d'Ivoire, formerly known as the Ivory Coast, requesting information on civic education programs. IFES shared information developed by Via Civica, a civic education group that IFES assisted in Nicaragua. The Ivorians received a presentation on Via Civica from IFES including the program goals, basic organizational structure, overview of programs and sample copies of educational materials.

The Ivorians returned home with the information provided by IFES. In December 1990, they notified IFES that a civic education organization had been established in Côte d'Ivoire utilizing the basic Via Civica model. The name of the new organization is the Ivorian Association for Civic Education and Civic Thinking. This is one example of how IFES provided technical assistance to non-governmental organizations.

#### 4. Training:

IFES has undertaken a variety of training programs around the world including organizing study missions of election officials to the United States as well as organizing on-site training programs abroad.

In the case of study tours, IFES has received funding from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation to implement the U.S./USSR Election Official Exchange Project. Under this project, IFES organized and managed two separate week-long election study tours of the United States in 1989 and 1990 for the Chairman and Members of the Central Electoral Commission of the Soviet Union. In addition to the Soviet project, IFES organized a similar study tour for a delegation from the Nigerian Electoral Council to observe the 1989 gubernatorial election in Virginia. Currently, IFES is planning a series of four one-on-one U.S./USSR election official study exchanges for 1991-1992.

The success of any free and fair election is determined to a considerable extent by how well poll workers have been trained. Election officials must understand the importance of fair and impartial elections, and the elements of the process such as the election law, election procedures, use of the voter registry, use of election materials and commodities, counting procedures, and the final reporting process. Because poll workers represent the only actual link between the average voter and the electoral system, they play a critical role in ensuring the sanctity of the vote and the integrity of the election process.

IFES' experience in Paraguay represents an example of the critical nature of poll worker training to ensure that proper procedures are followed and that election commodities are properly utilized. In preparation for the May 1, 1989 elections in Paraguay, the government decided to forego poll worker training. This resulted in numerous problems including the improper use of indelible ink and the improper distribution of ballots. Results were so flawed in four towns that the Central Electoral Council discarded the results and was forced to conduct the elections again on June 4, 1989.

IFES was then asked by the Central Electoral Council to design and implement a pilot training program for the poll workers in the four towns where results were flawed. The training provided the necessary instruction in the proper use of

the indelible ink as well as in proper election procedures. Using a local contractor, IFES implemented a one-day training program in each of the four towns. On June 4, 1989, the elections were conducted smoothly and without incident. Officials of the Central Electoral Council of Paraguay recognized the critical importance of poll worker training and the beneficial effects of IFES assistance in this area.

In Haiti, IFES played a key role in the training of 7,711 poll workers prior to the opening of voter registration. IFES developed a comprehensive poll worker training project utilizing a multiplier effect methodology. The training covered topics such as the electoral law, organization of the electoral bureaucracy, set-up and functioning of the polling place, voting procedure, role of party representatives and international observers, vote counting, completion of forms, transmission of results, and penalties for infractions of the electoral law. This project was implemented with help of a Haitian PVO, under extremely difficult conditions and within a period of three weeks. The end-result of the training was a fairly smooth voter registration process that culminated in the registration of over 80% of the eligible voters in Haiti. This training program was developed with the full input of and in close cooperation with the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP).

The poll worker training immediately prior to the election on December 16, 1990 was implemented by the CEP, although IFES continued to support this training by supplying materials, including motivational posters, booklets on voting procedures, a handbook on training techniques, and training videos.

In many cases IFES is able to secure in-kind contributions to meet training need. In Romania, IFES was able to arrange for Polaroid Corporation to send three technicians and four cameras to provide training for the Romanian Central Electoral Bureau in producing identification credentials for the more than 1,000 international observers expected for elections on May 20, 1990.

## 5. Procurement of Election Commodities:

The movement towards democratic elections has created an increasing need for assistance in the identification, procurement and shipment of election commodities and equipment. Election commissions have frequently turned to A.I.D. and other international organizations for financial and organizational assistance when these commodities are required.

IFES received a request from the government of Paraguay to identify, procure and ship indelible ink to ensure one vote per person during the general elections held on May 1, 1989. IFES supplied 11,000 bottles of indelible ink to fulfill the request.

In the case of Bulgaria, the IFES team identified two areas of need: first, ballot manifests, security bags and locks to secure the tally sheets for transportation to central counting centers; and second, ballot and computer paper. Using grant funds from the NED, IFES purchased and shipped 300 security bags and enough locks for two rounds of elections. The paper posed a more serious problem since the Bulgarians had requested ten tons of computer paper and 40 tons of different colored paper for the ballots. IFES was able to arrange for the Canadian Government to donate and ship the ten tons of computer paper. Although requests to many other potential donors were initiated on behalf of the Bulgarian Electoral Commission, limited availability of grant funds made it impossible for IFES to assist with the request for the colored paper.

In September 1990, IFES received a formal request for assistance from the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFE), which needed help in credentialling their members in anticipation of upcoming municipal elections in Bulgaria. IFES procured and shipped a plastic laminating machine and enough plastic covers, clips, and chains to credential BAFE's 10,000 members. The Public Relations Director for BAFE, Juliana Haydutova, expressed profound appreciation to IFES for responding quickly to BAFE's request for immediate assistance.

As discussed, IFES provided major assistance to the Haitian CEP in procuring and shipping a wide range of necessary equipment and materials. IFES produced, procured and shipped approximately four million voter registration cards printed in Creole. These cards were included in the more than 6,000 voter registration kits provided by IFES to the CEP. Despite the tight two-week time frame imposed on IFES by the CEP election calendar, IFES was able to procure and ship 12,000 pairs of scissors, 12,000 pens, 6,000 notebooks and 6,000 envelopes for inclusion in the voter registration kits. In an effort to use local resources in anticipation of diminished international donor support for Haiti's election process, IFES identified a local plant that produces boxes for a Haitian rum company and worked with the box plant to modify the rum boxes for use in packaging the voter registration kits rather than procuring more expensive packaging from outside of Haiti. IFES arranged for the CEP to transport the kits to electoral offices throughout the country.

IFES assisted the CEP with procurement, shipping and installation of an extensive computer system. The system was selected by the CEP based upon recommendations from the UN Haitian election support team based in Port-au-Prince. Design of the actual system was completed prior to the start-up of the USAID/Port au Prince project grant. Because of the tight election calendar imposed by the electoral law, IFES was unable to review or make suggestions regarding the CEP's computer equipment. Although the basic system of mini-computers, terminals and printers was adequate, during the design phase many problems may have been avoided if IFES had been able to bring in election officials with first hand experience in election-related computer systems.

After the IFES assessment indicated a communications systems was a critical factor in guaranteeing success of the election process in Haiti, IFES procured 209 two-way radio units and the necessary ancillary equipment to allow an uninterrupted communication system to function nationwide. The radio system

enabled the CEP to effectively communicate information and directives to their workers throughout the entire country. This was critical for resolving such problems as shortages of election materials.

Prior to the election, on the recommendation of IFES consultant Dr. Brenes Camacho, IFES procured and provided immediate delivery of nine facsimile machines to be used for transmission of election results from the nine departmental electoral bureaus to the CEP offices in Port-au-Prince. IFES also procured 7,000 flashlights and 14,000 batteries. These flashlights proved to be critical in allowing polling places to remain open after dark to accommodate the large voter turnout on election day. They proved essential during the vote counting which occurred after dark. Despite severe logistical problems, IFES was able to ensure timely delivery of the equipment and goods determined by the CEP to be critical to fair elections.

IFES' Guyana project has also included procuring and shipping a wide variety of election-related commodities. Commodities shipped to Guyana included photo ID production materials--18 cameras; 100 cases of film; 80,000 laminating pouches; 1,200 glue sticks; 6 photo die cutters; 6 laminating machines; 3 generators; and the lease of 2 minibuses for mobile ID production centers. Administrative supplies for Guyana included: lease of 2 photocopiers; 3,900 reams photocopy paper; 616 cases computer paper for voter registration lists; 12 manual office typewriters; 100 typewriter ribbons; and 120 computer diskettes for voter list backup.

As demonstrated in Paraguay, Nicaragua, Bulgaria, Romania Haiti, and Guyana IFES has the capability through its computerized database to identify suppliers of all varieties of election commodities. Additionally, IFES has extensive experience in the timely procurement and shipping election equipment and commodities when requested by A.I.D. or individual election tribunals.

## 6. Election Observation:

Election observation has proven to be one of IFES' most important election information-gathering activities, especially when coupled with a pre-election assessment.

Because of limited staff and program resources in early 1989, IFES contracted the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) to undertake selected election observation missions and to prepare the appropriate reports. In 1989, CSIS sent observers to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, Paraguay and Uruguay on behalf of IFES. In 1990, CSIS covered legislative elections in Brazil, and Presidential elections in Guatemala and Peru.

IFES and CSIS worked together to develop a common reporting format including a major section that addressed the elements of the election process and a series of questions designed to elicit information needed for the IFES database. Perhaps the most extensive report series was for Brazil which, in 1989, conducted its first direct presidential election since 1960. IFES and CSIS produced five reports on the 1989 Brazilian presidential elections and three additional reports covering Brazil's 1990 legislative elections.

In 1989 and 1990, IFES also commissioned preparation of reports covering important elections in Bulgaria, Grenada, Nigeria, Romania and Taiwan. IFES placed two representatives on an international observer mission sponsored by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to Pakistan in October 1990.

IFES sponsored an eight member delegation to observe parliamentary elections on May 12, 1991 in the Kingdom of Nepal. This mission was organized in cooperation with the National Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. The observer mission was a result of an IFES pre-election assessment in Nepal during November 1990 which recommended an international election observer presence. The IFES observer team interacted with a sixty-four member

international delegation representing over twenty countries. The IFES team concurred with the larger delegation's finding's that Nepal's first democratic elections in over thirty years were generally free and fair and conducted in a well-organized manner.

Copies of these pre-election and election observer reports are available through the IFES resource center.

#### 7. Post-Election Analysis:

Because India is the world's largest democracy, IFES had planned to send a team to observe the November 1989 elections. However, the decision by former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to call for snap parliamentary elections delayed the IFES observer team's visit until January 1990. Following the election, the team prepared an in-depth retrospective look at the elections.

From January 13-20, 1990, former Ambassador to Nepal Leon J. Weil and former U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission in Nepal Lewis R. MacFarlane traveled to New Delhi, India and met with the Indian Election Commission members, Supreme Court members, major political party leaders, journalists, think-tank scholars and academicians as well as with officials from the governments of India and the United States. Their report describes the historical setting of the elections, the events leading up to the 1989 elections and their results, as well as the electoral procedures, mechanism and institutions. Copies of this comprehensive analysis of an election where nearly 300 million Indians elected 525 members to the Parliament are available from the IFES resource center.

Following the 1989 parliamentary elections in Tunisia, IFES commissioned a post-election analysis of that country's first truly competitive multiparty elections. The report was prepared by Dr. William Zartman, Chairman of the Department of North African Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

### C. Symposia & Briefings

One of IFES' main functions is election-related information dissemination. In fulfillment of this function, IFES has concentrated on organizing symposia and briefings designed to facilitate the exchange of information and to allow other individuals and organizations to benefit from the expertise and materials gathered by IFES.

IFES' significant achievements in this area over the last several years include the first Inter-American Electoral Systems Conference (IAESC) held May 15-19, 1990, in Caracas, Venezuela and the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEESS) held July 29-August 1, 1991 in Budapest. Hungary.

#### **Inter-American Electoral Systems Conference (IAESC)**

This conference was co-sponsored by IFES, CAPEL and the Venezuelan Supreme Electoral Council. Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez enthusiastically supported the IAESC and gave the keynote address in which he said, "This important conference takes place as Latin America culminates a historic process of the consolidation of representative democracy through secret direct popular election of its leaders." The conference assembled senior election officials, civic education leaders, academicians and political party leaders from the Americas to focus on "the essential elements of a democratic process." By concentrating on case-studies of election experiences throughout the Americas, the participants learned practical lessons from the scheduled speakers and from their peers. Conference discussion produced a proposal to establish a code of electoral conduct for the Americas to assist election administrators in developing uniform standards.

More than 100 conferees from 25 nations participated in the IAESC. They included the chief electoral officers from 15 nations, the Vice President of Nicaragua and the Chairman of the Association of Electoral Administrators from the United Kingdom.

Plenary sessions and workshops focused on the following topics: electoral tribunals, the electoral register, voting, vote counting and ballot security, the role of political parties, and civic education and training. Speakers presenting papers on these topics included Francisco Ramon Gallegos, President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Ecuador; Ruy Ribeiro Franca, Vice Minister General of the Supreme Election Tribunal of Brazil; Monica Jimenez de Barros, Executive Director of PARTICIPA Chile; Gonzalo Brenes Camacho, President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Costa Rica; William C. Kimberling of the U.S. Federal Election Commission; and F. Clifton White, Chairman of the Board, IFES. The papers, along with the commentaries were published in 1991 in the IAESC Technical Elections Manual. This manual was edited by Dr. Gabriel Murillo Castano, noted author and professor of Political Science at the University of The Andes in Colombia, and Marta Maria Villaveces de Ordonez, an elections specialist based in Costa Rica. IFES has made this election manual available to election administrators and scholars throughout the world.

Another important element of the IAESC was the Election Equipment and Commodities Exhibit, where conferees were able to acquaint themselves with companies from four countries that produce voting materials and equipment. The exhibitors included American Information Services, Business Records Corporation, Nixdorf, Shouptronic and Votex (automated voting and vote counting systems), Pakflatt (NI) Ltd. (voting booths), Criminal Research Products (indelible ink & fingerprint voter identification) and Transkrit (ballot security paper.)

#### **Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEESS)**

This symposium followed the basic format established in Caracas, but tailored to the needs of Central European election administrators. To examine practical approaches to strengthening the democratic process, election officials and experts from twenty countries, United Nations, the Helsinki Commission Office

for Free Elections, the U.S. Information Agency and the international democratic initiative community convened in Budapest for the IFES-sponsored Central European Electoral Systems Symposium.

The newly elected governments of Central Europe are at a critical stage during which new laws and procedures are being introduced and interpreted. Electoral administrators, as well, are struggling with the development and execution of new democratic electoral laws. This period of legal experimentation brings with it many of the troubles experienced in the past by established democracies. The IFES-sponsored Symposium in Budapest brought together electoral officials from throughout the region to focus on the practical solutions to these problems and the various means of implementing a democratic electoral system.

In a statement stressing the importance of the technical aspect of elections, Prime Minister of Hungary József Antall said, "Though competent organization of elections at a high level cannot alone cure the ills of our new-born societies, techniques, technologies and methods can together form the system that constitutes the means for growth in a broader sense."

During the Budapest Symposium, electoral leaders of participant nations examined the electoral system of their own nation and those of fellow Central European nations in order to assess the strength of the democratic elements of present systems. This assessment process will continue in the meetings of the newly created Association of Central and Eastern European Electoral Administrators. The meetings of the Association will be designed to result in recommendations which will prove useful in the continual implementation of electoral systems throughout the region.

In her presentation to Symposium delegates, Paula Dobriansky, Associate Director for Programs at the U.S. Information Agency, stated:

By bringing together people responsible for conducting elections in Central and Eastern Europe countries as well as

their counterparts from across the globe, this symposium is providing a wonderful opportunity to exchange ideas and to focus on the mechanics of the electoral process. Clearly, one outgrowth of this conference will be the establishment of closer relations between election officials worldwide so that experience and expertise in the 'nuts and bolts' of the electoral process can be effectively shared.

During the elections in Central Europe, observers and electoral officials noted the need for experienced advisors who could provide qualified technical assistance in the planning and conducting of elections. These electoral administrators in emerging democracies already understand that analysis of the experience of one election is essential to refine the electoral laws and procedures in preparation for future contests.

Research presentations and workshops focused on the electoral council as an institution, the voter registration process and the establishment of a registry, voting procedures, vote counting and verification of the count, the role of political parties in the candidate selection and election process, civic education by governmental and non-governmental organizations, election day activities, and election result certification and analysis.

The Central European Election Commodities and Equipment Exhibit coincided with the symposium. The exhibit exposed symposium participants to proven election commodities. These items will included voting machines, ballot boxes, portable voting booths, computer hardware and software, ballot paper, indelible ink, and other related election commodities. The participating election commodity vendors echoed the IFES that it is essential for electoral administrators to have access to the equipment necessary for running a successful election.

An Election Administrators' Guide will be produced from the symposium. The guide is designed to be a practical tool designed for election administrators and students of the emerging

democratic process in the region. The Guide will focus on the topics discussed in the symposium workshops and plenary sessions. The conclusions and recommendations resulting from the Symposium will be a highlight of this guidebook. The Guide will set a precedent for future study of the evolving election systems of Central and Eastern Europe.

The Election Administrators Guide will include the original research papers presented at the Symposium and recommendations resulting from the workshop discussions. This guidebook will be an essential resource for future analysis of the emerging electoral systems of Central and Eastern Europe. The Guide will also serve as a valuable reference for the local and national election administrators of the region.

### **Briefings**

Periodic election observation briefings represent another important part of IFES' information dissemination activities. These briefings have featured presentations by IFES election observers. Over the past two years, IFES has sponsored eleven briefings on elections in Bulgaria, Grenada, Haiti, Hungary, India, Lesotho, Mali, Nepal, Panama, Paraguay and Romania and co-sponsored two briefings on Brazil with CSIS. IFES also has briefed members and staff of the U.S. House of Representatives.

In early August 1991 IFES hosted the Prime Minister of Mali Soumana Sacko at a briefing in Washington where he updated officials from the State Department, USAID, representatives of NGOs, and the media on current events leading to elections in Mali. During this briefing Prime Minister Sacko paid tribute to the Mali Pre-election team of Hilary Whittaker, Louis Lavoie, Louis Masicotte, and Linda Edgeworth by saying that the IFES team had been invaluable to his country's learning more of what needed to be done to hold free and fair elections.

#### D. Special Activities

##### 1. Via Civica:

Since June 1989, IFES has been working with the non-partisan civic education movement in Nicaragua, Via Civica. This group was established in May 1989 for the purpose of encouraging Nicaraguans to register and vote in the elections conducted on February 25, 1990. In spite of numerous acts of violence and other forms of intimidation by the authorities of the former Sandinista regime, Via Civica was able to build a dedicated core of 2,500 volunteers that played a key role in convincing the electorate in Nicaragua of the secrecy of the ballot. The Vice President of Nicaragua, Virgilio Godoy, credited Via Civica with having made a decisive impact on the elections by instilling confidence in the electorate.

IFES received grant funds from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and has served as the U.S. grantee for Via Civica. These funds have been used to expand Via Civica into a nationwide grassroots civic education organization.

IFES has provided a wide variety of support for Via Civica. The Via Civica Board of Directors requested IFES to prepare a recommended plan to organize civic education programs. Examples of civic education materials including booklets, brochures, posters, audio and video tapes, and materials gathered in the IFES resource center were shared with Via Civica. IFES also assisted with the development of a Via Civica logo and procured and shipped 10,000 buttons, 10,000 bumper stickers, 10,000 sample ballots, fax paper, office supplies, a laser printer, computer and computer software. In October 1990, IFES purchased two vehicles for use in implementing Via Civica's programs.

Via Civica has concentrated its efforts in three phases. During the registration phase, Via Civica was able to recruit 1,500 volunteers to go door-to-door to urge Nicaraguans to register to vote. They used a combination of radio and newspaper advertisements, billboards and information seminars. As a result, a total of 80% of the eligible voters registered.

Because of their effectiveness and high profile during the registration period, both Via Civica and IFES were harassed by the Sandinista press, the police, Sandinista vigilantes and government officials. All of the members of the Via Civica Board of Directors were placed under close government surveillance. Several of the board members feared that their businesses and homes would be confiscated by the government. Telephone lines at the Via Civica office and at personal residences of Via Civica board members and staff were tapped. Numerous staff and board members were arrested and held for interrogation. Many Via Civica volunteers were attacked and beaten by roving gangs of Sandinista vigilantes just for wearing Via Civica T-shirts.

Because of these conditions it was extremely difficult to manage this grant. The Nicaraguan government refused to grant visas to IFES staff or consultants from October 1989 until April 1990. In October 1989 it became virtually impossible for IFES to communicate with Via Civica because both their telephone and fax lines were under surveillance by security forces. This made the situation very dangerous for Via Civica board members and staff, who feared imprisonment or confiscation of property for speaking against the Nicaraguan government.

In spite of constant intimidation, the board members, staff and volunteers of Via Civica never wavered in their determination to encourage the people of Nicaragua to participate in the political process. During the election phase, Via Civica continued to recruit volunteers, signing up an additional 1,000 volunteers. The total group of 2,500 volunteers participated in seminars, radio programs, public opinion surveys, and an extensive door-to-door campaign to distribute civic education manuals and to explain the voting process.

Since the election, Via Civica and IFES have concentrated on the third phase - building a permanent civic education organization. Via Civica continues to hold seminars and participates in regular radio programs focusing on the fundamental elements of democracy and a free society. This

organization is also active in providing assistance for secondary school and university elections. In April of last year, Via Civica supplied ballots, ballot boxes and voting screens for nationwide student elections. Via Civica is now producing a newsletter and monthly magazine with the help of the laser printer and desktop publishing software supplied by IFES. Another major civic education initiative is the promotion of the blue and white flag of Nicaragua as a unifying and non-threatening patriotic symbol. In April and May 1990, Via Civica distributed more than 100,000 Nicaraguan flags.

Via Civica is also working very closely with the Ministry of Education and Mayors' offices in cities throughout Nicaragua. In October 1990, Via Civica, the Ministry of Education and the Mayor's Office of Managua sponsored the first celebration of Columbus Day in Nicaragua since 1979, when it was banned by the Sandinistas. At a the Columbus Day celebration, more than 1,000 Via Civica volunteers and supporters turned out to show their support for the work of Via Civica.

The following is a highlight of 1991 Via Civica activities:

- a. Via Civica hosted a week-long civic education conference in June organized by the American Federation of Teachers, IFES, and the Educational Excellence Network; included over 50 representatives of Vía Cívica, IFES, AFT, EEN, the Ministry of Education, the National Confederation of Nicaraguan Teachers, the Federation of Catholic Educators, USAID/Managua, the Permanent Commission on Human Rights, and the "Azul y Blanco" parents' group. International speakers came from Costa Rica, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, the United States, and Czechoslovakia. Following the conference, a smaller group met to discuss follow-up activities and the establishment of a permanent Nicaraguan coordinating committee on formal and informal civic education.

- b. Via Civica signed an agreement with IFES covering the extension of 90-88 through September 30, 1991 through an amendment which added \$160,000 to the grant budget
- c. Presented 3 workshops (April 24, May 4, and May 11) at Vía Cívica on the student elections scheduled for this year. Fifteen students attended each workshop. The workshops focused on the nature of elections, the Nicaraguan electoral law, leadership, and democracy. A training session for election-day observers was given to 15 students on June 28 at Vía Cívica.
- d. Presented 8 talks at 5 Managua schools between April 28 and May 24 on the student elections scheduled for this year. A total of 1,099 students attended these presentations.
- e. Presented a talk on "Democracy as a Way of Life" on June 17 to a crowd of 600 in the auditorium of the Colegio Teresiano in Managua.
- f. Began a daily radio program on June 3 on Radio Católica and Radio Nicaragua discussing civic education.
- g. Held a training seminar for 68 mayors and city council members from Masaya, Carazo, Granada, and Rivas on May 14 in Nandaime. The seminar focused on municipal autonomy and the attributes of mayors and city councils under current legislation and the constitution. A similar seminar was held on June 21 in León for 90 mayors and city council members from Region II.
- h. Held a civic education seminar on May 18 at Vía Cívica for 40 members of a transport cooperative. The seminar focused on democratic government and how individuals can work towards and contribute to a democratic society in Nicaragua.
- i. Held a workshop on June 1 for 35 teachers in the Vía Cívica auditorium focusing on civic education materials for classroom use.

- j. Hosted a meeting of the "Azul y Blanco" parents' association on June 5 and a workshop for the same group on June 8, with a total attendance at the two events of 34.
- k. Hosted an international conference on civic education in Nicaragua from June 10 to June 13 at the Augusto Silva Conference Center in Managua.

Via Civica is a vital, dynamic and on-going program. In the face of many difficulties, IFES has helped establish Via Civica as a major force in the development of the democratic system in Nicaragua.

## 2. U.S./USSR Election Official Exchange:

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation has provided IFES with a total of \$209,000 to fund the U.S./USSR Election Official Exchange Project. Under this project, IFES sponsored two major study tours from the U.S. to the Soviet Union. The first study tour to the Soviet Union was by the Federal Election Commission (FEC) in June 1989. The second tour consisted of a ten-member observer team which observed last year's local elections in Kazakstan and Moscow. The observer team was composed of representatives from IFES, the FEC, the Secretaries of State from Vermont and Rhode Island, and the State of Illinois Election Director.

On the Soviet side, IFES has sponsored two study visits to the United States by the Central Electoral Commission (CEC) of the Soviet Union. The first study tour took place in November 1989 and brought the Soviets the opportunity to observe elections in Virginia and New York City. In November 1990, a second CEC study tour observed the Illinois elections. These exchanges have permitted the valuable exchange of information and election technology. CEC Chairman Vladimir Orlov said that information provided in 1989 by IFES and the FEC about the U.S. electoral

system played a major role in encouraging greater decentralization in the electoral system in the USSR. Consequently, the electoral commissions of the Soviet Republics played a much more important role in conducting last year's local elections in the Soviet Union.

The next phase of the exchange project calls for a series of one-on-one exchanges between election technicians for periods of up to one month. This phase of the exchange will focus on the U.S. State and Soviet Republic levels. The National Association of Secretaries of States will work with IFES and the FEC to identify potential American candidates to be sent to the USSR and to identify state election offices in the United States that would be willing to host a Soviet election official for a stay of up to one month.

### 3. Fundraising:

The original A.I.D. grant encouraged IFES to seek supplementary non-A.I.D. grants and contributions. Therefore IFES has devoted considerable effort to expanding its private funding base, targeting private foundations, corporations and individuals.

Since its inception, IFES has raised \$1,385,474 in non-A.I.D. grants and contributions, totalling 28% of all money received by IFES since 1987. In 1989, IFES received a \$50,000 grant from the Tinker Foundation for the IAESC. In the same year, IFES received two grants from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, totalling \$68,500, to fund the U.S./USSR Election Official Exchange Project. The Mott Foundation made additional grants of \$141,670 in 1990 to support the balance of the U.S./USSR Election Official Exchange Project, and of \$35,000 for the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEESS) hosted by IFES in Budapest, Hungary, in late July 1991. IFES also received \$8,500 from Polaroid Corporation, \$6,000 from NYNEX Corporation, \$5,000 each from RJR Nabisco and the Olin

Foundation, \$3,000 each from local Hungarian companies Dunaholding Rt. and Postabank es Takarekpenztar Rt. and \$2,000 from IBM-Hungary for the Budapest symposium.

Over the past three years, IFES has worked very closely with the NED on numerous projects. In 1989, IFES received a grant for \$32,832 from NED to procure and ship indelible ink to Paraguay for the elections conducted on May 1, 1989. Later that year, NED awarded IFES \$340,000 to support the voter education activities of Via Civica, the non-partisan civic movement in Nicaragua. In 1990, NED made two additional Via Civica grants to IFES totalling \$180,769. NED also granted \$272,375 to IFES to undertake pre-election assessments, commodity procurement assistance and election observation in Bulgaria and Romania in 1990.

In 1990, IFES raised \$10,000 dollars from individual private contributions. The IFES Board of Directors will continue seeking private contributions - a job made easier now that IFES has established a strong track record of achievement around the world.

# FINANCIAL STATUS REPORT

(Follow instructions on the back)

1. FEDERAL AGENCY AND ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT TO WHICH REPORT IS SUBMITTED  
Agency for International Development

2. FEDERAL GRANT OR OTHER IDENTIFYING NUMBER  
PDC-0086-GSS-7180-00

OMB Approved No. 80-RO180

PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

3. RECIPIENT ORGANIZATION (Name and complete address, including ZIP code)  
International Foundation for Electoral Systems  
1620 I Street, NW Suite 611  
Washington, DC 20006

4. EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER  
52-15278335

5. RECIPIENT ACCOUNT NUMBER OR IDENTIFYING NUMBER

6. FINAL REPORT  YES  NO

7. BASIS  CASH  ACCRUAL

8. PROJECT/GRANT PERIOD (See instructions)

9. PERIOD COVERED BY THIS REPORT

FROM (Month, day, year) TO (Month, day, year) FROM (Month, day, year) TO (Month, day, year)

October 1, 1987 August 15, 1991 July 1, 1991 August 15, 1991

## 10. STATUS OF FUNDS

PROGRAMS/FUNCTIONS/ACTIVITIES ▶	(a) Program	(b) Salaries	(c) Rent	(d) Travel	(e) Other Direct Costs	(f)	TOTAL (g)
a. Net outlays previously reported	\$ 539,444	\$ 237,704	\$ 94,074	\$ 96,236	\$ 74,807	\$	\$ 1,042,265
b. Total outlays this report period	24,011	40,836	8,493	25,882	18,295		117,517
c. Less: Program income credits	-	-	-	-	-		-
d. Net outlays this report period (Line b minus line c)	24,011	40,836	8,493	25,882	18,295		117,517
e. Net outlays to date (Line a plus line d)	563,455	278,540	102,567	122,118	93,102		1,159,782
f. Less: Non-Federal share of outlays	-	-	-	-	-		-
g. Total Federal share of outlays (Line e minus line f)	563,455	278,540	102,567	122,118	93,102		1,159,782
h. Total unliquidated obligations	-	-	-	-	-		-
i. Less: Non-Federal share of unliquidated obligations shown on line h	-	-	-	-	-		-
j. Federal share of unliquidated obligations	-	-	-	-	-		-
k. Total Federal share of outlays and unliquidated obligations	563,455	278,540	102,567	122,118	93,102		1,159,782
l. Total cumulative amount of Federal funds authorized							1,159,782
m. Unobligated balance of Federal funds							

11. INDIRECT EXPENSE

a. TYPE OF RATE (Place "X" in appropriate box)  PROVISIONAL  PREDETERMINED  FINAL  FIXED

b. RATE c. BASE d. TOTAL AMOUNT e. FEDERAL SHARE

13. CERTIFICATION

I certify to the best of my knowledge and belief that this report is correct and complete and that all outlays and unliquidated obligations are for the purposes set forth in the award documents.

SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED CERTIFYING OFFICIAL

*Paige Carlson-Heim*

TYPED OR PRINTED NAME AND TITLE  
Paige Carlson-Heim  
Director of Finance & Admin

DATE REPORT SUBMITTED  
12-2-91

TELEPHONE (Area code number and extension)  
202-828-8507

12. REMARKS: Attach any explanations deemed necessary or information required by Federal sponsoring agency in compliance with governing legislation.

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32

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS  
 FINAL FINANCIAL REPORT  
 GRANT No. PDC-0086-G-SS-7180-00 WITH THE  
 AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
 FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1991 TO AUGUST 15, 1991

ELEMENT	BUDGET	EXP. PREVIOUS REPORTED	EXP. REPORTED THIS PERIOD	TOTAL
PROGRAM	\$568,475	\$539,444	\$24,011	\$563,455
SALARIES	304,690	237,704	40,836	278,540
RENT	100,574	94,074	8,493	102,567
TRAVEL	96,236	96,236	25,882	122,118
OTHER DIRECT COSTS	89,807	74,807	18,295	93,102
	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	\$1,159,782	\$1,042,265	\$117,517	\$1,159,782
	=====	=====	=====	=====

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### III. Conclusion

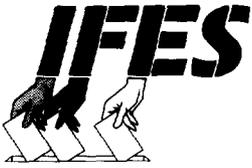
The 1990s have been described as the "Decade of Democracy." Across the globe, emerging democracies are turning to the ballot box as the primary means of political change. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) has been there in many cases to assist those emerging democracies in ensuring that the political change was accomplished through free, fair, and credible elections.

IFES is mindful of the commitment of the United States Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to promote democratic pluralism. The activities described in this end of grant report demonstrate the furtherance of that goal through IFES' capabilities and experience in assisting emerging democracies to establish sound electoral systems and democratic institutions.

IFES currently has programs on five continents and requests for assistance are growing. The work of assisting the democratic election process has only begun. The initial grant from the United States Agency for International Development has allowed IFES to provide valuable election assistance around the world and establish a unique electoral resource center.

IFES looks forward to continuing its relationship with USAID in supporting democratic initiatives and assisting in the opportunity for people to cast a vote in free and fair elections.

## APPENDICES



**International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

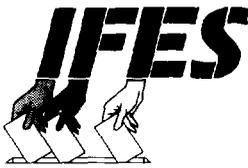
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(202) 785-1672

**International Foundation for  
Electoral Systems**  
**A Guide to IFES Capabilities**

June 1991

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS	F. Clifton White Chairman	Patricia Hutar Secretary	James M. Cannon	David Jones	Randal C. Teague Counsel
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## **International Foundation for Electoral Systems**

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(202) 785-1672

### **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, nonprofit foundation that was established in September 1987 with a mandate to monitor, support and strengthen the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies and to undertake any appropriate education activities which contribute toward free and fair elections.

The Foundation fulfills its objectives through: election problem analysis, technical election assistance, information transfer, democratic citizen education, and election observation.

IFES' program activities have expanded dramatically since the worldwide shift toward democratic pluralism and the ever-increasing demand for the technical support services of the Foundation.

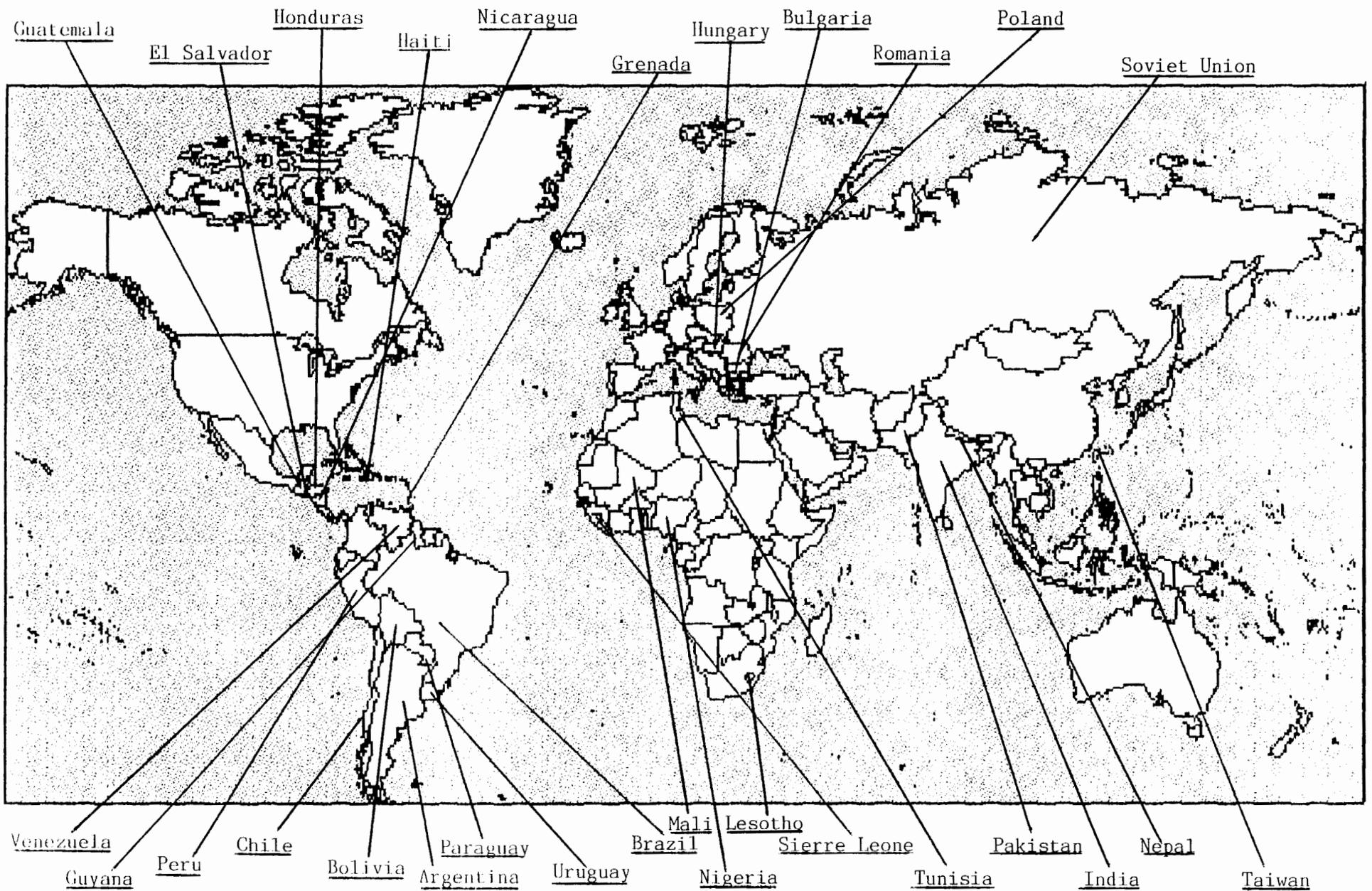
In less than five years IFES has sent nearly 20 pre-election survey teams to five continents and provided on-site technical assistance to the election councils of Bulgaria, Haiti, Guyana, Mali, Paraguay, Romania, and Venezuela. Election related material and equipment have been shipped to countries in Latin America and Central Europe, and IFES election observers have produced comprehensive reports on 14 elections on five continents. Since 1987, post-election analysis reports have been completed for eleven countries in Latin America, Asia, Central Europe and North Africa.

Among IFES' significant contributions have been the undertaking of training for voter registration workers, poll workers, and other election officials in Bulgaria, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, and the Soviet Union.

IFES is a vital resource center for any nation seeking expert assistance in developing a sound election process, an essential step in establishing and maintaining a democratic form of government. IFES also serves as a clearinghouse for sharing information about any technical aspect of electoral systems, including names of those expert in these systems and the materials essential to establishing and managing democratic elections.

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			Robert C. Walker		



**GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF IFES PROJECTS**

## **A Guide to IFES Capabilities**

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## **I. Election Problems Analysis**

### **A. Pre-Election Technical Assessments**

One of the primary tasks before lending assistance to any electoral process or organization is to establish exact needs and the circumstances of those needs. IFES undertakes this in-depth analysis through multi-disciplinary pre-election survey teams which prepare on-site diagnostic surveys and needs analyses that address the following elements:

1. Internal Political Climate;
2. Electoral Law and the Electoral Commission;
3. Voter Registration;
4. Role and Duties of Poll Workers;
5. Act of Voting;
6. Distribution, Collection and Counting of Ballots;
7. Use of Election Commodities and Equipment;
8. Status and Role of Political Parties;
9. Role of Election Observers;
10. Civic Education and Training;
11. Election Official Training; and
12. Process of Adjudication of Election Infractions.

The results of pre-election analyses are conveyed to appropriate U.S. Government officials, host-government officials, and other organizations seeking to aid the democratic process in the country of study. IFES has sent pre-election survey teams to Brazil, Bulgaria, Comoros, Congo, Chile, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Lesotho, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, and Romania.

### **B. Specific Problem Analysis**

IFES can also respond to requests for assistance or evaluation of specific problems. The Foundation utilizes international experts and resources that reflect the diversity of election systems around the globe to match specific needs with those who have a working knowledge or expertise in a given area. This assistance can provide electoral commissions with the temporary assistance that may be needed to fine tune an existing electoral system or to establish an entirely new system.

## **II. Technical Election Assistance**

Technical assistance is a major component of IFES programs. Utilizing information obtained from its pre-election technical assessment teams, IFES has the capability and the experience to implement several types of assistance packages.

### **A. On-Site Technical Assistance**

IFES can provide electoral councils with assistance in the procurement of election equipment and commodities, design of election documentation, logistics planning, expedition of workflow, design of civic education materials, poll worker training and logistical planning for international observers.

When complete election assistance is required, IFES places an international project team in a temporary IFES office established in the capital city. Through its database, IFES has identified a core group of election specialists capable of implementing full-scale technical assistance projects. This network of specialists is most beneficial because it enables IFES to use the services of election administrators from other countries.

If a lesser degree of assistance is necessary, IFES sends one or two technical specialists to work with an electoral council to solve a specific problem. For example, the Government of Bulgaria recently asked IFES to send a three-person team specializing in re-districting and single-member parliamentary districts to Sofia, Bulgaria.

IFES has responded to requests for election commodities and technical assistance in the areas of electoral law, establishment and maintenance of voter registries, training, ballot security and voter education and motivation. To date, IFES has responded to requests for technical assistance by numerous individuals, groups and countries including Bolivia, Bulgaria, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, Mali, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Panama, Poland, Romania and Venezuela.

### **B. Training**

The success of any free and fair election is determined to a considerable extent by how well poll workers have been trained. Election officials must understand both the importance of fair and impartial elections, and the elements of the process such as the election law, election procedures, use of the voter registry, use of election materials and commodities, counting procedures, and the final reporting process. Because poll workers

represent the only actual link between the average voter and the electoral system, they play a critical role in ensuring the sanctity of the vote and the integrity of the election process.

IFES possesses the capability to design and oversee implementation of effective short-term in-country poll worker training programs. Using a basic model developed in Haiti, IFES identifies a local organization to conduct the actual training--guaranteeing that the newly acquired expertise remains where it will be most useful.

The design of the basic training program and the development of training materials take place in cooperation with the electoral council of the country requesting assistance. IFES develops a core poll worker training curriculum that can be adapted to each country. This curriculum includes a basic training manual and contains samples of training materials utilized in other countries. Special care is given to develop materials targeted to both literate and illiterate poll workers and voters.

Training covers such topics as:

1. Role of the Electoral Commission;
2. Review of Constitution, electoral laws, codes and regulations;
3. Creation and maintenance of voter registration lists;
4. Role and duties of poll workers;
5. Mechanics of the process and procedures at voting places;
6. Proper use of election commodities including storage, distribution, implementation and final disposition of commodities and equipment;
7. Counting, reporting and certification of ballots;
8. Proper distribution and collection of voting materials;
9. Planning and implementation of ballot security measures; and
10. Administration of the election-day process.

### C. Election Commodities and Equipment

A fundamental IFES goal is to act as a resource center from which emerging democracies can obtain information, advice and technical assistance regarding election commodities and equipment. During pre-election technical assessments IFES team members are directed to identify local suppliers of election commodities and to investigate appropriate local technology to meet the need for election commodities and equipment.

When selected items cannot be purchased in-country, IFES assists election tribunals

in locating, selecting, procuring and transporting election commodities and equipment.

IFES can provide requesting election commissions, governments, or organizations with the following:

1. Development of a comprehensive needs analysis of the type of commodities or equipment required. This would include product descriptions, quantities and cost figures. Each analysis will emphasize the selection of appropriate, locally available commodities when possible;
2. Assistance in the procurement and shipping of election commodities and equipment;
3. Oversight of any equipment or materials shipped and provision of appropriate training for election officials and poll workers in the use and final disposition of the commodities and equipment. These conditions are required for IFES procurement of election equipment;

4. Clearinghouse service for requests for election commodities and equipment and assistance in the search for in-kind donations from all possible sources. IFES has worked effectively with international donors in arranging for the donation of equipment including voting screens, computer paper and ballot boxes; and
5. Preparation of post-election evaluations on the use and effectiveness of both training and commodities. This information is vital for future programming.

#### D. Civic Education

IFES recognizes the importance of civic education as a means of ensuring a free and fair political and electoral process. Because so many of the countries that have recently joined the community of democratic nations have few or no democratic traditions, the work of civic education groups is critical. Such groups as Via Civica in Nicaragua and the National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines help to stimulate interest and involvement in the fundamentals of democracy including the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Civic education also conveys important information such as the dates and procedures for voter registration and voting, the form of government, the offices to be elected, and the candidates and political parties.

IFES can assist civic education programs by:

1. Locating civic-education specialists through the IFES database for possible technical assistance;
2. Furnishing sample civic-education materials from IFES' extensive collection;
3. Organizing civic-education training seminars to train volunteer coordinators in such topics as the fundamentals of democracy, the electoral law, basic procedures for voter registration and voting, the role of in-country independent organizations, organization of parallel vote count projects, and understanding the role of international election observers;

4. Developing a core curriculum for civic education training programs that can be adapted to each country. This will include development of a basic training manual for instructors and a training booklet for participants dealing with basic concepts of democracy; and
5. Sending civic education specialists to assist in the design of materials appropriate to the requesting country, taking age distribution, ethnic background, literacy levels and other relevant factors into consideration.

### **III. Information Services**

#### **IFES Resource Center**

In addition to its other activities and capabilities, IFES serves as a clearinghouse of election information about individual countries, electoral scholars and technicians and election systems around the world. The IFES Resource Center consists of three components: the database, an elections library and country files.

*Database:* IFES maintains a computerized database containing a country-by-country file that includes general background information, prescribed election dates, names and addresses of pertinent election officials, voting eligibility requirements and types of governmental systems. The database also contains additional files with listings of experienced election technicians, country scholars and potential election observers. A vendor file for election-related commodities and equipment represents the third component of the IFES database.

*Elections Library:* IFES continues to build a library of books, videos, magazines, journals, election observer reports and other reference materials pertaining to the field of elections. Housed within IFES headquarters in Washington, D.C., this library is available to interested persons for research on specific countries and electoral systems. IFES missions collect valuable information for the library from the countries that are visited.

*Country Files:* IFES maintains hard-copy country files containing constitutions, election laws, election statistics, sample ballots, sample election documentation, news articles and sample civic education materials. These files are valuable for both background information and in-depth research on specific countries.

#### **IV. Election Observation**

The main function of IFES election observer teams is to engage in a factual assessment of the election process in other countries and produce a detailed report on the election. These reports provide a study of each country's electoral process and examine the free and fair nature of the elections.

To maximize the effectiveness of election observation, IFES recommends that election observer teams be preceded by pre-election assessment missions. Ideally, these pre-election assessment teams ideally visit the host country at least three to six months prior to an election. Information obtained during the pre-election phase serves to enhance the work of an election observer team.

IFES has adopted strict criteria for observer team selection. Observers are selected based on several factors including experience, knowledge of the electoral process, language capability, prior service on other observer missions, and host-country background knowledge. Observers are selected on a non-partisan basis and IFES strives to make its observer teams international in character. Individuals who have served on IFES teams include election administrators, election technicians, political scientists, campaign finance specialists, country scholars, secretaries of state, former government and foreign service officers, and chairmen of electoral administrator associations in other countries.

Observers are provided with detailed briefing materials, including the pre-election assessment report, in advance of their departure. IFES expects observers to examine all aspects of the election process including the following ten critical elements:

1. Electoral Commission & Electoral Law;
2. Voter Registration;
3. Polling Place Procedures;
4. Logistics;
5. Voting Materials;
6. Ballot Security;
7. Poll Worker Competence;
8. Counting, Reporting and Certification of Votes;
9. Systems Management;

## 10. Voter Education and Motivation.

All of these items are addressed in the IFES election observer report along with an examination of the prevailing political atmosphere, descriptions of emerging political parties or coalitions and their access to resources, and an overall assessment of the democratic nature of the process. The reports also highlight election system strengths and weaknesses, recommend possible future technical assistance, and note the investment needed to implement each recommendation.

Observer teams also collect pertinent election documentation for the IFES Resource Center, such as copies of electoral laws, sample ballots, facsimiles of the voter register, sample voter identification cards and election-related press accounts. All of this information is filed and made available through the IFES Resource Center.

To date, IFES has sent observers to presidential and legislative elections in Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Grenada, Honduras, Nepal, Panama, Paraguay, Romania, Taiwan, and Tunisia.

## Select IFES Activities

### A. Symposia and Election Administrators' Network

An important part of the IFES mandate is to build a worldwide network of election officials. IFES is pursuing actively ventures that will bring election officials together and is working with international organizations around the world to establish this network.

*Interamerican Electoral Systems Conference.* IFES has been working closely with the Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL) in San Jose, Costa Rica, to build a network of contacts in Latin America. IFES and CAPEL sponsored the Interamerican Electoral Systems Conference during May 15-19, 1990 in Caracas, Venezuela.

This conference brought together election officials, scholars and party activists to focus on the key elements of a fair and free democratic election. Special attention was focused on training of election officials and use of election commodities.

*Central European Electoral Systems Symposium.* IFES sponsored the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEESS) held in Budapest, Hungary July 30 through August 2, 1991. The organizational plan for the CEESS followed that of the Interamerican Electoral Systems Conference. The CEESS brought together election officials and democratic activists from Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia with international electoral scholars and experts to discuss the purpose and means to free and fair elections.

*Asia and Africa.* IFES plans to hold symposia similar to the above in Asia and Africa in the near future. In addition to sharing information among regional election officials, these symposia will offer an opportunity to extend the networking of election administrators around the world.

## B. Bulgaria

IFES sent a pre-election assessment team to Bulgaria during Spring 1990. Among other needs identified by the team were those for computer paper for printing the voter registry, over two hundred tons of multi-colored ballot paper, and a means to secure ballot tally sheets. One member of the survey team, Ron Gould, Assistant Chief Electoral Officer of Elections Canada, arranged an in-kind transfer of computer paper from the Government of Canada to the Bulgarians. IFES procured and shipped three hundred reusable security pouches to Bulgaria to protect ballot tally sheets against tampering. After research on the ballot paper, IFES advised the Bulgarian government that there were difficult logistical barriers in locating and shipping the two hundred tons of multi-colored ballot paper. Although the Bulgarians initially resisted IFES advice to simplify the balloting system to reduce required resources, the balloting system was modified to allow in-country resources to fill ballot paper requirements.

## C. Côte d'Ivoire

In June 1990 IFES was contacted by a visiting delegation from Côte d'Ivoire requesting information on civic education programs. IFES shared information developed by Via Civica, a civic education group that IFES assisted in Nicaragua. The Ivorians received a presentation on Via Civica from IFES including the program goals, basic organizational structure, overview of programs and sample copies of educational materials. In December 1990 the Ivorians notified IFES that the Ivorian Association for Civic Education and Civic Thinking had been established in Côte d'Ivoire utilizing the basic Via Civica model.

## D. Haiti

In July 1990 IFES was awarded a \$1.8-million grant by USAID/Port-au-Prince to implement the Haiti Election Training and Commodity Project. The primary purpose of the grant was to provide technical assistance to the Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) of Haiti to conduct the first free and fair elections in that country's history. This included assistance in the areas of training, civic education, procurement of election equipment and commodities, and overall technical assistance related to the electoral process. This project posed a special and unique challenge given the tragic conclusion of the failed Haitian elections in 1987. Because of the memories of the violence and loss of life that occurred during those elections, IFES was faced with the task of assisting the CEP in organizing elections in the face of overall disillusionment and fear on the part of the Haitian population.

Initial IFES activities in Haiti were directed toward helping the CEP prepare for and implement voter registration. Following the voter registration period, IFES worked closely with the CEP to prepare the voter registration list and to organize all aspects of the successful elections that were conducted on December 16, 1990. IFES also provided assistance to the CEP for the successful run-off elections conducted on January 20, 1991.

Because of the Haitian population's apprehension about the election process, IFES had to work closely with the CEP to design and implement an effective civic education program. The program, developed by IFES personnel, included posters, brochures, booklets and production of audio and video tapes explaining the entire election process from voter registration to election day. IFES provided funds for and assisted the CEP in developing a radio and television public service announcements encouraging Haitians to register and vote.

#### E. Guyana

Following a two-person pre-election assessment visit to Guyana in October 1990, IFES is providing a full range of technical assistance and electoral materials to the Elections Commission of Guyana. IFES staff are working with the Elections Commission, the Registration Commission, and the National Data Management Authority to ensure prompt delivery, proper storage, and correct and timely utilization of commodities provided by IFES. IFES is also inviting other countries to provide material assistance to the Elections Commission.

#### F. Nepal

IFES sent a pre-election assessment team to Nepal in October 1990 to evaluate the country's preparations for its first multi-party elections since 1959. Planning by the Election Commission of Nepal indicated that elections would be held as scheduled during the spring of 1991. The team noted that civic education efforts and an international observer presence would strengthen the election process. Following IFES' assessment, USAID/Kathmandu awarded a grant to a local organization for civic education efforts. IFES sponsored an election observer mission to the May 12, 1991 Nepalese elections that concluded that the elections were held in a generally free and fair environment.

### G. Nicaragua

Since June 1989, IFES has been working with Via-Civica, a non-partisan civic education movement in Nicaragua. This group was established in May 1989 for the purpose of encouraging Nicaraguans to register and vote in the elections of February 25, 1990. In spite of numerous acts of violence and other forms of intimidation by the authorities of the former Sandinista regime, Via Civica was able to build a dedicated core of 2,500 volunteers that played a key role in convincing the electorate in Nicaragua of the secrecy of the ballot. The Vice President of Nicaragua, Virgilio Godoy, credited Via Civica with having made a decisive impact on the elections by instilling confidence in the electorate.

IFES has provided a wide variety of support for Via Civica. The Via Civica Board of Directors requested IFES to prepare a recommended plan to organize civic education programs. Examples of civic education materials including booklets, brochures, posters, audio and video tapes, and materials gathered in the IFES Resource Center were shared with Via Civica. IFES also assisted with the development of a Via Civica logo and procured and shipped 10,000 buttons, 10,000 bumper stickers, 10,000 sample ballots, fax paper, office supplies, a laser printer, computer and computer software. In October 1990, IFES purchased two vehicles for use in implementing Via Civica's programs.

Via Civica has concentrated its efforts in three phases. During the registration phase, Via Civica was able to recruit 1,500 volunteers to go door-to-door to urge Nicaraguans to register to vote. They used a combination of radio and newspaper advertisements, billboards and information seminars. As a result, a total of 80% of the eligible voters registered.

Because of their effectiveness and high profile during the registration period, both Via Civica and IFES were harassed by the Sandinista press, the police, Sandinista vigilantes and government officials. In spite of constant intimidation, the board members, staff and volunteers of Via Civica never wavered in their determination to encourage the people of Nicaragua to participate in the political process. During the election phase, Via Civica continued to recruit volunteers, signing up an additional 1,000 volunteers. The entire group of 2,500 volunteers participated in seminars, radio programs, public opinion surveys, and an extensive door-to-door campaign to distribute civic education manuals and to explain the voting process.

Since the election, Via Civica and IFES have concentrated on the third phase - building a permanent civic education organization. Via Civica continues to hold seminars and participates in regular radio programs focusing on the fundamental elements of democracy and a free society. The organization is also active in providing assistance for secondary school and university elections. In April 1990, Via Civica supplied ballots, ballot boxes and voting screens for nationwide student elections. Via Civica is now producing a newsletter and monthly magazine with the laser printer and desktop publishing software supplied by IFES. Another major civic education initiative is the promotion of the blue and white flag of Nicaragua as a unifying and non-threatening patriotic symbol. In April and May 1990, Via Civica distributed more than 100,000 Nicaraguan flags.

Via Civica is also working very closely with the Ministry of Education and mayors' offices in cities throughout Nicaragua. In October 1990, Via Civica, the Ministry of Education and the Mayor's Office of Managua sponsored the first celebration of Columbus Day in Nicaragua since 1979 when it was banned by the Sandinistas. At the Columbus Day celebration, more than 1,000 Via Civica volunteers and supporters turned out to show their support for the work of Via Civica.

Via Civica is a vital, dynamic and on-going program. In spite of many difficulties, IFES has assisted in the establishment of Via Civica as an integral participant in the full democratization of Nicaragua.

#### H. Paraguay

IFES' experience in Paraguay represents an example of the critical nature of poll worker training to ensure that proper procedures are followed and that election commodities are properly used. In preparation for the May 1, 1989 elections in Paraguay, the government decided to forego poll worker training. This resulted in numerous problems including the improper use of indelible ink and improper distribution of ballots. Results were so flawed in four towns that the Central Electoral Council was forced to discard the results and conduct the elections again on June 4, 1989.

IFES was asked by the Central Electoral Council to design and implement a pilot training program for poll workers in the four towns where results were flawed. The training provided the necessary instruction in the proper use of the indelible ink as well as in

proper election procedures. Using a local contractor, IFES implemented a one-day training program in each of the four towns. On June 4, 1989, the elections were conducted smoothly and without incident. Officials of the Central Electoral Council of Paraguay recognized the critical importance of poll worker training and the benefits of IFES assistance in this area.

#### I. Romania

IFES' pre-election assessment mission to Romania determined that international election observers were essential to assess the credibility of that country's May 1990 elections. IFES also received a request from the Romanian Central Electoral Bureau for assistance in credentialing international observers. With the assistance of the Polaroid Corporation, IFES was able to provide the materials and training to credential all international observers. This was essential in guaranteeing observers free access to all polling sites throughout the country.

## **VI. Conclusion**

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems was founded on the premise that each nation requires an electoral system tailor-made to its unique culture and environment. IFES recognizes that there is no single model of democracy and utilizes international experts who reflect the diversity of electoral systems around the globe.

The capabilities presented in this volume represent a valuable tool for any nation seeking to fine tune an existing electoral system or to establish an entirely new system. Whatever the case may be, IFES' international resources allow the Foundation the flexibility to match individual needs with appropriate assistance.

Elections are not an end in themselves but are part of a larger process that constitutes a democratic form of government. Credible elections are, however, the foundation upon which a successful democracy can be built. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems is committed to assisting those who support democracy through free and fair elections.

## IFES BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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**Richard W. Soudriette, Director**

# Richard W. Soudriette

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Richard W. Soudriette is the Director of the Foundation and is responsible for the overall management of its activities. He has 16 years of experience in public administration and in international development.

Mr. Soudriette's extensive knowledge of Central and South America has enabled IFES to become actively involved in those regions. In addition to his overall responsibilities, he has developed the successful program which supports a local civic education organization in Nicaragua. The organization promotes the participation of local citizens in the democratic process. Most recently, Mr. Soudriette has focused on initiating similar programs in Romania and Cote d'Ivoire.

Mr. Soudriette previously served four years as Country Director for the U.S. Peace Corps. He directed two of the largest Peace Corps programs in Latin America, serving first in the Dominican Republic and later in Paraguay.

Prior to joining IFES, he also served as Staff Director to U.S. Representative James M. Inhofe (R-OK), supervising the Congressman's Washington and district offices.

From 1978 to 1983, Mr. Soudriette was Chief of Staff to the Mayor of Tulsa, Oklahoma. He supervised the Mayor's office and all the departments of the city, including Budget, Legal, Purchasing, Personnel, City Development, Management Systems, and the Municipal Court.

Mr. Soudriette holds a Master of Public Administration degree from the University of Oklahoma and a B.A. degree in Political Science from the University of Tulsa.

He has also been listed in the Who's Who in American Politics and in 1983 was a Finalist in the White House Fellowship Program.

# Sarah Tinsley

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Sarah Tinsley serves as Deputy Director and Program Director. She currently manages IFES programs including pre-election assessment missions, on-site technical assistance and election observer delegations.

In May 1990, Ms. Tinsley served as Chief of Delegation for the IFES team sent to Romania to observe the presidential and legislative elections.

From 1981-1986, Ms. Tinsley served in a variety of positions with A.I.D. In 1981 she was named Special Assistant to the Administrator. While at A.I.D. she managed a small grants program overseeing development and training projects in more than 20 countries and ultimately served as the Acting Assistant Administrator for the Bureau of External Affairs.

Before joining A.I.D., Ms. Tinsley served as a Legislative Assistant to Bill Gradison (R-OH) and in several positions with the Republican National Committee. She also advised numerous statewide political campaigns around the country.

She currently chairs the Board of Directors of the International Center for Research on Women and is a member of the Board for the International Women's Media Foundation.

Ms. Tinsley received a B.A. degree from Skidmore College and studied British political systems at the University of London, England.

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# Paige Carlson-Heim

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Paige Carlson-Heim is the Financial and Administrative Officer for IFES. Her experience includes government contract and grant administration for international development projects. Her current responsibilities include oversight of all accounting and financial management functions as well as the management of the IFES office. She has been working to automate the IFES accounting system and to improve IFES' financial and internal controls. She has focussed on systematizing the management of grants and contracts to ensure complete compliance. From July to October she was largely responsible for the management of IFES' project in Haiti, which had a \$1.1 million procurement component. Ms. Carlson-Heim has assisted with the development of personnel policies.

She comes to IFES from the American Council for Young Political Leaders (ACYPL) where she served as Deputy Director for Finance. While there she developed new and improved existing accounting, budgeting, procurement, management and grant compliance procedures. ACYPL is a non-profit organization which arranges political exchanges between young political leaders from the US and those from other countries.

Ms. Carlson-Heim has also served as Financial Management Officer in the USAID Controller's Office in Bamako, Mali. She managed fifteen employees who were responsible for the accounting functions of a \$30 million annual mission budget. She worked to improve project financial systems and assisted the Controller's staff with streamlining voucher review and audit procedures.

Ms. Carlson-Heim received a Bachelor of Science degree from Georgetown University and served as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer in Central Africa. She speaks fluent French and German.

# Nolida O. Peterson

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Nolida O. Peterson is the Management and Information Systems Director for IFES. She has eight years experience in computer systems management and is currently expanding the IFES information network concentrating specifically on the international database. She manages the IFES Resource Center and is responsible for all research and information dissemination at the Resource Center. She recruits, trains and supervises all IFES research interns. Ms. Peterson is also responsible for the production of the quarterly IFES newsletter.

Prior to joining IFES, Ms. Peterson served as Computer Systems Manager for The Circle, Inc., a health consulting firm in McLean, VA. She managed The Circle's Clearinghouse Information Management System (CIMS), a comprehensive information retrieval and processing system utilized by all Circle clearinghouses. Her responsibilities included modifying software, maintaining the system and training all employees on proper computer utilization. In addition, she developed databases and software applications programs as required by project and administrative staff.

From 1983 to 1985, Ms. Peterson served as Production Manager for Interface Conversion Services where she participated in state-of-the-art media conversion to and from word processors, personal computers, 9-track magnetic tape and photo-typesetting equipment. She was responsible for testing new application software packages, wrote programs as needed and maintained customer support on site and by phone.

Ms. Peterson also served briefly as Software Training Specialist for Behavioral Technology Consultants where she taught and developed tutorials on a variety of computer software.

Ms. Peterson received her Bachelor of Science degree from the University of the Philippines.

# J. Ray Kennedy

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J. Ray Kennedy joined IFES in November 1990 as the Program Officer for Latin America and the Caribbean. He recently managed the IFES election program in Haiti, which supported the first successful free election in that country's history.

Mr. Kennedy has ten years of experience in international relations and has a strong background in international economics. He is co-chair of the Society for International Development's Latin American Roundtable and a member of the Northeast Association of Brazilianists.

From 1983 to 1989, Mr. Kennedy was Coordinator of the Center of Brazilian Studies at The Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. In that capacity, he organized frequent public policy seminars, supervised the Center's quarterly newsletter on Brazil and coordinated a summer corporate internship program.

Mr. Kennedy also served as Senior Assistant to the Editor of the Handbook of Latin American Studies, an annual multidisciplinary bibliography on the region compiled in the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress.

In addition, Mr. Kennedy has been a regular lecturer at the Foreign Service Institute, has appeared on radio and television programs on Brazil and has served as editorial consultant to the National Geographic Society and the Embassy of Brazil.

Mr. Kennedy earned a Masters Degree in International Relations from The Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies and a B.A. Degree in Economics from the University of Virginia. He also served one year as English instructor at a university in Brazil. Mr. Kennedy speaks fluent Portuguese and Spanish and has a working knowledge of French.

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# Christopher S. Siddall

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Christopher Siddall serves as Program Officer for Soviet and Central-East European Affairs. He was responsible for the planning and execution of the U.S.-Soviet Electoral Officials Exchange; Civic Education Programs for Romania; the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium; and the Hatfield-Dixon Election Internship Project.

Before joining IFES, Mr. Siddall served in Account Services for SMC Advertising and Public Relations in Richmond, Virginia. While at SMC, he provided advertising service support for the Virginia Department of Taxation, Reston Land Corporation, Perpetual Savings Bank, Fairfax County Economic Development Authority and the Moscow Circus.

In 1988, Mr. Siddall worked in the office of the President's United States-Soviet Exchange Initiative at the U.S. Information Agency. He studied at the Pushkin Institute of Languages in Moscow and the Middlebury College Summer Russian language immersion program. He graduated with a B.A. in Slavic Languages from the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Siddall speaks fluent Russian and has a working knowledge of Spanish.

# Thomas B. Whatman

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Tom Whatman serves as Program Officer for Asian Affairs. He monitors democratic and electoral advancement in Asian countries and assists in the development and implementation of IFES programs in that region.

Mr. Whatman is coordinated IFES' observer delegation to the 1991 Nepalese elections and IFES participants for the international observer delegation to the 1990 Pakistani national elections. Mr. Whatman also played an integral role in organizing IFES technical teams for pre-election assessments in Romania, Bulgaria and Nepal. He participated in the IFES international observer delegation to the first Romanian multiparty elections in over forty years in May 1990.

Before joining IFES, Mr. Whatman served as Assistant to the Director at the Ohio based John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs. He was responsible for organizing the Center's first corporate public affairs seminar and assisted in recruiting students to the Center's academic program.

Mr. Whatman's broad background in the democratic elections process includes directing a 1986 campaign for the Ohio state legislature and participating actively in numerous national, state and local political campaigns. He has also participated in organized grassroots political activity.

Mr. Whatman earned a B.A. in Political Science and Economics from Ashland University and is a 1991 candidate for a Masters of Public Policy from Georgetown University.

# Laurie A. Cooper

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Laurie Cooper is a Program Assistant for IFES. She is in charge of logistical organization of observer and technical assistance missions. She was involved in coordinating the US-USSR Election Official Exchange Program and is currently developing IFES technical assistance and training projects in Mali, Lesotho, Côte d'Ivoire and other African countries. Ms. Cooper is a member of the group that will compile and edit the Election Administration Guide, produced from the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium.

Ms. Cooper has participated in various programs since the early operations of IFES including the development of the election equipment vendor list, cataloguing the contents of the Resource Center, diversifying the database file of international election experts, editing and producing the IFES newsletter, and providing administrative support as IFES' program activities expanded.

Ms. Cooper received a Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service degree from Georgetown University. She speaks Spanish, Portuguese and French.

**IFES Election Studies Reports  
available through the  
IFES Resource Center**

**IFES African Election Studies**

Lesotho, A Pre-Election Assessment  
August, 1991

Mali, A Pre-Election Assessment  
June, 1991

Report on the First Tunisian Multiparty Legislative Elections  
April, 1989

Status of Nigerian Election Preparation  
December, 1988

**IFES Asian Election Studies**

The Kingdom of Nepal, Parliamentary Elections, May 12, 1991  
August, 1991

The 1991 Nepalese Elections, A Pre-Election Survey  
November, 1990; Addendum, January, 1991

The 1989 Indian National Elections, A Retrospective Analysis  
February, 1990

Republic of China, Pre-Election Observations  
December, 1989

**IFES Eastern European and Soviet Election Studies**

An Orderly Rebellion, Bulgaria's Transition from Dictator to  
Democracy; August, 1990

The 1990 Bulgarian Elections: A Pre-Election Assessment  
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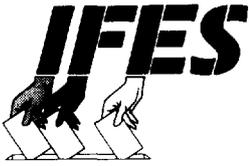
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IF NOT--FILL OUT THE  
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WITH A COPY OF YOUR RESUME  
TO IFES**

**The International Foundation for Electoral Systems maintains a database of electoral, country, and regional experts capable of providing technical assistance to emerging democracies. IFES uses this database to facilitate requests for short-term consulting for Foundation projects and for other organizations or countries looking for particular expertise.**

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10/98

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**Experience Summary**

Languages spoken: (indicate degree of fluency using FSI 1-5 rating)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Please describe any relevant domestic political/professional experience: (Include titles, dates, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_

Please describe any overseas experience: (Include titles, dates, country)

A) Participation in U.S. delegation abroad:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B) Business Activities in Foreign Countries:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

C) Other: (Foreign service, study tours, extended stays in a country, Peace Corps Assignments, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If you have any expertise or experience in any of the following categories, please signify with either (1) exposure, (2) substantial experience, or (3) expert; according to your level of experience in each area.

- \_\_\_ 1. Electoral Laws/Constitutions
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- \_\_\_ 9. Role of Election Observers
- \_\_\_ 10. Role of Media
- \_\_\_ 11. Maintenance of Public Order During Elections
- \_\_\_ 12. Citizen Participation and Training
- \_\_\_ 13. Training of Election Officials
- \_\_\_ 14. Adjudication of Election Grievances and Infractions

Research:

Please describe any research you have been involved with relative to International Elections, Developing Democracies, Survey Research, Issues Research and other pertinent research.

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Publications:

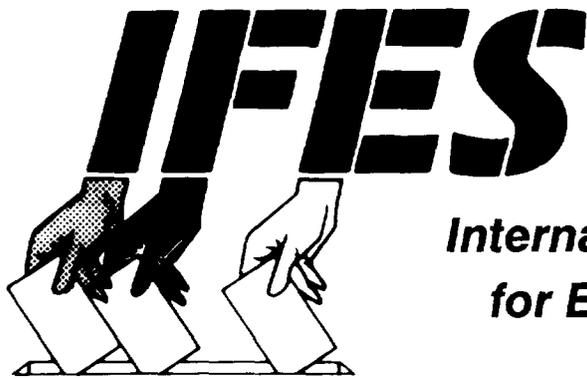
Please identify any relevant publications, and if possible include a copy for our Resource Center.

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**International Foundation  
for Electoral Systems**



Elections: The Roots of Democracy

Fall 1991

Volume 2, Number 4



Photo by Randy Teague

IFES symposium proceedings were simultaneously translated into seven languages.

**REGIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS FOUNDED  
AT IFES SYMPOSIUM**

Participants from twenty nations gathered in Budapest, Hungary on July 30 - August 2 to attend the 1991 IFES Central European Electoral Systems Symposium.

The culmination of the symposium was the founding of the Association of Central and Eastern European Electoral Administrators. The decision to form the association was a concrete step in encouraging regional cooperation and improvement of democratic governance. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia were the founding members of the Association.

The National Election Office of Hungary has offered to serve as the Association's Secretariat. Dr. Zoltan Toth of the Elections Office traveled to

Washington in mid-October to discuss the plans for the association's first meeting scheduled for November 18-19 to be held in Budapest.

**Symposium Provides A Forum**

In their effort to administer free elections, Central and Eastern European governments have been working towards the development and interpretation of electoral laws. The IFES symposium provided a forum for electoral officials from Central and Eastern Europe to find practical solutions to electoral problems in their region.

In a statement to symposium delegates, Prime Minister of Hungary József Antall stressed the importance of competent organization of elections along with "techniques, technologies and methods" for

*(continued on page 2)*

**IFES ACCEPTING  
PROPOSALS FROM AFRICAN  
COUNTRIES**

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has committed one million dollars to IFES to enable the Foundation to provide technical electoral assistance to African countries.

The Africa Human Rights Committee, which underwrote IFES' pre-election assessments in Mali and Lesotho, has informed its posts in Africa that IFES should be considered an experienced and easily accessible resource for electoral information and assistance.

Electoral commissions may now submit requests from local electoral officials to U.S. Embassies for IFES technical assistance. Once approved, IFES will work directly with the electoral officials, civic organizations, USAID and the sponsoring U.S. Embassy. ■

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# CENTRAL & EAST EUROPE

(continued from page 1)

"curing the ills of our new-born societies."

Research presentations and workshops at the symposium focused on:

- The role of an electoral council as an institution;
- The role of political parties in the candidate selection and election processes;
- The voter registration process and the establishment of a registry;
- Voting procedures and election day activities;
- Vote counting and verification of the count;
- Election result certification and analysis; and
- Civic education by governmental and non-governmental organizations.

The electoral administrators attending the Budapest symposium agreed that analysis of past elections is key to refinement of electoral laws and procedures for future contests. The vehicle chosen by election officials and experts present at the symposium for this continuous analysis and exchange of information was a professional association of electoral administrators.

## Participants Included UN, USIA, & Helsinki Commission Office

"Clearly, one outgrowth of this conference will be the establishment of closer relations between election officials worldwide so that experience and expertise in the 'nuts and bolts' of the electoral process can be effectively shared," said Paula Dobriansky, Associate Director for Programs at the U.S. Information Agency to the 150 symposium participants.

Other Symposium participants included election officials and experts from the United Nations, the Helsinki Commission Office for Free Elections, the U.S. Information Agency and members of the international democratic initiative community.

Dr. Hamdan Ben Aissa, Director of Development Administration at the UN, organized a Latin American team of officials to join him at the symposium. Mr. Mariano Fiallos Oyanguren of the Association of Central American Electoral Organizations was among the Latin Americans offering expertise in regional networking.

Other participants at the symposium were Hungary Ministry of the Interior Peter Boross, Deputy State Secretary of Hungary Dr. Pal Kara, Mr. Horacio Boneo of the UN, Ambassador Luchino Cortese of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and Office of Free Elections in Poland, Chief Electoral Officer Jean-Pierre Kingsley of Elections Canada, Political Scientist Dr. Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, Mr. Charles Lasham from Association of Electoral Administrators in the U.K., and Professor Richard Smolka of American University.

## The First Election Commodities and Equipment Exhibit in Central Europe

A Central European Election Commodities and Equipment Exhibit at the Symposium displayed quality election commodities to top election officials and procurement officers of the region.

Voting machines, ballot boxes, portable voting booths, computer hardware and software, and many other election-related commodities were accessible for hands-on demonstrations. Dr. Hamdan Ben Aissa, UN Director of Development Administration, said of the commodities were "at the edge of technology."

American Information Systems (U.S.A.), Business Records Corporation (U.S.A.), I.B.M. (Hungary), Pakflatt (U.K.), Polaroid Corporation (U.S.A), Ometa Innovation AB (Sweden), Optimum (Hungary) and Allami Népeességnyilvántartó Hivatal (Hungary) were all present to showcase their products.

The participating election officials echoed the exhibitors' belief that it is essential for electoral administrators to have access to practical equipment necessary for running a successful election. ■

## Romanian Fulbright Fellow Visits IFES Resource Center

Lucian Mihai, a constitutional scholar and the first Romanian lawyer to be named a Fulbright Fellow, visited the IFES Resource Center as part of a research project on the citizens' initiative process in the US. At meetings with IFES program staff, Mihai outlined his areas of interest in the field of constitutional reform and citizen empowerment through the initiative process.

Several U.S. state constitutions permit citizens to propose amendments to the state constitution as well as state legislation. Citizens' initiatives are carried by a majority vote of the electorate.

Secretary of the State of Nebraska, Allen J. Beermann, offered to assist Mihai in his research at the recent conference of the National Association of Secretaries of State. As State Secretary for 21 years, Mr. Beermann has had extensive experience with the initiative process.

Nebraska, where the initiative applies to both statutory and constitutional law, has often seen initiatives end up on the ballot. On November 6, 1934, the Nebraskan citizenry fundamentally restructured their system of state government using the initiative process. They voted to abolish the bi-cameral legislature in favor of one legislative body.

In the months ahead, IFES will work with Secretary Beermann to provide Mihai with research materials on this grassroots-oriented process.

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## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

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### IFES Team Meets in Moscow to Discuss Technical Assistance

A three-member IFES team traveled to Moscow in the aftermath of the August coup attempt to discuss with Soviet and Russian Republic election officials practical steps for assistance to the Soviet Union in the field of democratic election reform. The team consisted of U.S. Federal Election Commissioner Danny L. McDonald; the Honorable Ralph Munro, Secretary of the State of Washington and immediate past President of the National Association of Secretaries of State; and IFES Program Officer for Soviet and Central European Affairs, Christopher Siddall.

The IFES team met with Vladimir Orlov, Chairman of the Soviet Central Electoral Commission (CEC) and with Vladimir Manin, CEC Secretary. Chairman Orlov strongly recommended that IFES provide technical assistance directly to the republics which are planning elections.

Chairman Orlov and Chairman of the Russian Republic CEC Vasily Kazakov helped the team arrange meetings to discuss technical assistance to the Russian Republic before the next round of elections. Chairman Kazakov stressed the importance of timely technical assistance to Russia in the field of election reform.

Several other senior Russian Republic officials, including Sergey Filatov, Secretary of the Presidium of the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet, expressed interest in election assistance. Meetings were also conducted with one of Boris Yeltsin's top advisors, Serguei Stankevich, State Counselor of Russia on Public Policy Affairs and with Valery Borshev and Galina Bodrenkova of the Moscow City Council.

IFES is grateful to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation for its support of this project and looks forward to continuing US/USSR election official exchange and technical assistance efforts. ■

In 1789 during the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia Benjamin Franklin uttered the famous words "a democracy if you can keep it." Franklin's words underscore the most critical challenge confronting emerging democracies around the globe. Once democracy is established the most difficult task is to sustain and strengthen it.

The ouster of the first democratically elected President of Haiti Jean Bertrand Aristide is a dramatic example of the fragile nature of democracy. Speaking before the United Nations Aristide eloquently stated, "Military boots are always ready to crush a people who are trying to stake their lives and live peaceably for democracy". He went on to say, "The threat to democracy in Haiti constitutes a threat to democracy everywhere. What is happening in Haiti can occur elsewhere."

One critical way to build lasting democracy is to strengthen democratic institutions of government. Unfortunately there is a serious lack of understanding regarding the importance of strengthening governmental institutions mandated with carrying out the election process. Many emerging democracies as well as international donors concentrate on the success of a country's first democratic election. Subsequently the electoral commission is disbanded and everybody forgets about elections until the next election cycle. In the case of Haiti the Provisional Electoral Council was disbanded and the government of President Aristide did not make establishment of a permanent Electoral Council a high priority. The existence of a strong permanent electoral council in Haiti could have served as an important institution to counter the influence of the coup plotters in the military.

It is imperative that existing democracies recognize professionalism and institutionalization of election administration as the bedrock of a sustained free and fair election process. Lack of professionalism and planning in the conduct of elections leads to chaos and thereby undermines the integrity of the democratic process in the minds of the voters and ultimately can encourage intervention by anti-democratic forces.

IFES is working worldwide to build lasting democratic election institutions. By working with election professionals from around the world in providing vital technical assistance to emerging democracies in the field of election administration, IFES is dedicated to helping make the 1990's truly the decade of democracy.

Richard Soudriette



A barricade stands outside Russian parliament as a reminder of the coup attempt.

Photo by C. Siddall

## PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT IN LESOTHO

In July IFES sent a team to Lesotho to perform an assessment of that country's progress toward parliamentary elections.

The team was asked to assist the Government of Lesotho in formulating the procedures of election preparation, particularly those relating to the registration of eligible voters.

The military Government of Lesotho has been preparing for a transition to a civilian, multi-party democracy since February 1990. The national legislative elections currently scheduled for 1991 will be the first multi-party elections held in the Southern African country since 1970.

In June 1991, a National Constituent Assembly completed drafting a new constitution. At that time the Lesotho Government requested the assistance of foreign governments in meeting the material, technical, and financial demands of their return to democracy. In response, the U.S. Embassy in Lesotho contracted with IFES to send a team on a ten-day pre-election assessment visit to Lesotho.

The team spent the bulk of its time in discussions with the Government's Working Group on Elections--a committee of senior civil servants responsible for the preparations for registration and elections. With the Working Group, the IFES team reviewed current provisions of the electoral law, recommended revisions to election procedures and developed a budget for all extraordinary expenses related to holding elections.

The IFES assessment report will serve as a planning tool for the Government of Lesotho. The report also makes recommendations to USAID and other embassies for providing cost effective assistance to Lesotho's democratic transition. ■



IFES assessment team discusses election issues with Malian village chief.

Photo by Louis Lavoie

## IFES ASSISTS IN PREPARATION FOR MALIAN ELECTIONS

The USAID mission in Bamako, Mali has selected IFES to conduct a comprehensive technical assistance project in preparation for that country's first democratic elections. The new four month project focuses on civic education, logistical support of election administration, and training of election officials and pollworkers.

In June, IFES sent a team of four election law and constitutional experts to study the Provisional Government of Mali's electoral system. The team met with Soumana Sako, the current Prime Minister of Mali, members of his Cabinet, and several members of the *Comite Transitional pour le Salut du Peuple* (People's Transitional Salvation Committee). ■

Mali's limited public transportation and significant illiteracy rate are factors which will affect organizational preparations for the elections.

Civic education efforts will be challenged by the traditional exclusion of women in the political process. Also, the demands of the Tuareg nomads for sovereignty must be addressed.

Mali's ambitious election schedule begins with a constitutional referendum to be held on December 1. Municipal and legislative elections will follow later in December. The process will culminate with the election of a president in January 1992. ■

# LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

## SPECIAL REQUEST FROM THE GUYANESE

Twelve manual office typewriters were unearthed and shipped to the Elections Council of Guyana for use in preparing for the general elections there later this year. Frequent power outages in Georgetown make electric typewriters impractical, yet manual office typewriters are unavailable in Guyana. Manual typewriters have not been manufactured in the United States for at least fifteen years. Several vendors failed to locate the needed typewriters but Ray Kennedy, IFES' program officer for Latin America & the Caribbean, learned that Mount Vernon College in Washington, DC was planning to discard a number of manual typewriters. He called Mount Vernon and explained the need to Martha Evelyn, program coordinator in the School of Continuing Education there. Once the college's administration approved the donation, the typewriters were picked up, packed, and shipped to Guyana.

Other items supplied to the Guyanese included a fax machine, instant cameras, film, laminating equipment and supplies for 80,000 photo identification cards, generators, computer diskettes, typewriter ribbons, and over 20 tons of paper for the voter registration list. These procurements are part of a project financed by the Agency for International Development's Latin America & Caribbean Democratic Initiatives Office.

The IFES project team is now turning its attention to the acquisition of Election-Day commodities such as ballot paper, indelible ink, ballot-box seals, calculators, and battery-powered lamps.

IFES is also assisting the Elections Commission in its logistics planning. The question of transportation of Election-Day commodities is especially critical in Guyana, which has an extensive river network but few paved roads. IFES is working with the Elections Commission to identify potential sources of boats, helicopters, and light airplanes to assist in

the distribution of election commodities to remote locations.

President Desmond Hoyte dissolved Parliament on September 28 and issued a formal call for the elections before December 28. Problems with the completion of a final voter registration list, however, may lead to a postponement. ■

## ARGENTINA DISCUSSES ELECTORAL REFORM

At the request of the Government of Argentina, IFES organized a symposium on electoral reform in Argentina in cooperation with the Fundación Banco de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. The event was held September 16-20, 1991 in the Chamber of Deputies Annex in Buenos Aires.

IFES developed the program and as-

sembled a team of international experts for the event. Topics covered in the symposium included the role of civic groups and political parties in the evolution of consensus, the formation and internal functioning of political parties, candidate selection, campaign finance, the role of the media in the formation of public opinion, and proportional versus majority representation.

In addition to taking part in the symposium sessions, the team met with President Menem's deputy chief of staff, members of Argentina's electoral court, the mayor of Buenos Aires, members of the centrist Unión del Centro Democrático, political scientists at the University of Buenos Aires, and leaders of the Buenos Aires branch of the Unión Cívica Radical, the party led by former president Raúl Alfonsín, to discuss election reform. ■



Photo by Wes Davis - Stabroek News

Project Manager Jeff Fischer presents Guyanese election officials cameras for voter ID cards.

## IFES HOSTS CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER OF NEPAL

Surya Prasad Shresta, Chief Election Commissioner of Nepal and Achyut N. Rajbhandari, Secretary of the Nepal Election Commission participated in an election study tour in Washington, D.C., Annapolis, MD, and New York City August 31 through September 7, 1991. The tour was sponsored by IFES as part of its ongoing program to assist the newly-constituted democratic process of Nepal.

Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari were largely responsible for conducting the first multiparty elections in over thirty years in Nepal during May 1991. International election observers, including a U.S. team sponsored by IFES in cooperation with the National Democratic and National Republican Institutes for International Affairs, concluded that the May 12, 1991 parliamentary elections were generally free and fair and set a new standard for the Indian subcontinent. Observers were also impressed by the degree of organization and professionalism with which the elections were administered under the direction of Chief Election Commissioner Shresta.

While in Washington Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari met with IFES Director Richard Soudriette to discuss the establishment of a worldwide network of election officials. Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari offered their support to establishing a regional electoral association in Asia.

During their time in Washington, Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari also met with the U.S. observers who were in Nepal to discuss the May 12 elections. The Nepal election officials also met with William Kimberling, Deputy Director of the Federal Election Commission Clearinghouse; Emmett H. Fremaux, Jr., Executive Director of the District of Columbia Board of Elections; and representatives of nongovernmental organizations working in Nepal. Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari were hosted in Annapolis by Maryland State Senator Howard Denis for an ex-



*Photo by Tom Whatman*

Chief Election Commissioner Surya Prasad Shresta and Secretary Rajbhandari meet with Maryland State Election Administrator Gene Raynor.

amination of the state electoral, legislative and political process. The IFES guests had an opportunity to meet with Maryland Lieutenant Governor Steinberg, Senate President Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr., and State Election Administrator Gene

Raynor. The study tour concluded in New York City where Mr. Shresta and Mr. Rajbhandari met with Mr. Hamdan Benaissa and Mr. Horacio Boneo, United Nations officials involved in electoral assistance around the world. ■

### **SPOTLIGHT: Summer Interns Add International Flair**

IFES would like to take this opportunity to thank its staff of summer interns.

Maria Avgousti of Cyprus, American University  
Jacqueline Bass of Bolivia, American University  
Silviana Deak of Romania  
Rene Dominguez of El Salvador, Fulbright Scholar, American University  
Michael Guerin, Richland University, Indiana  
Deborah Levy, Cambridge University, UK  
Nazalee Topalian, Ashland University, Ohio

IFES offers internships throughout the year to students interested in political science, international affairs and international development. For further information contact Lida Peterson at (202) 828-8507.

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# Election Calendar

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## Selected Election Results:

**Argentina:** Mid-term legislative elections were held September 8, 1991. Twelve governors, 86 deputies and some 10,000 provincial and municipal authorities were chosen in twelve provinces and the Federal Capital. According to preliminary results, the Judicialist (Peronist) Party clinched ten districts against two for the Radical Civic Union (UCR) and one for the Neuquen Popular Movement. The Peronists achieved an upset victory over the Radicals in a tight race in Santa Fe and also won the highly disputed province of Tucuman. The UCR, led by Deputy Fernando de la Rúa, prevailed in the congressional elections in the capital and returned Eduardo Angeloz, the party's 1989 presidential candidate, for his third term as governor of the province of Cordoba. A final round of elections, for governors and deputies in seven provinces and for deputies only in two others, will be held October 27. In the first round of elections on August 11, the Peronists won two governorships and the Radicals one.

**Hong Kong:** Hong Kong's first direct elections in 150 years of colonial rule were held September 15, 1991. Eighteen of the 60 seats in the Legislative Council were contested. According to official results, United Democrats led by Martin Lee, a 53 year old barrister and Szeto Wan, a 60 year old headmaster, won twelve seats. The Liberal Party took three seats and the remaining seats were won by independents. None of the candidates backed by China were able to win a seat. There are 3.6 million eligible voters, but only half of them registered. Of the 1.9 million registered voters only 40 percent turned out.

**Kiribati:** Teatao Teannaki of the National Progressive Party was elected President July 3, 1991. The former Vice-President becomes the second head of government since independence from Britain in 1979. He received 10,123 votes.

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## ELECTIONS TO WATCH

**Bulgaria:** Parliamentary, October 13, 1991

**Burkina Faso:** Presidential, December 1991

**Comoros:** Legislative, Nov/Dec 1991

**Ecuador:** Presidential, May 1992

**Fiji:** Parliamentary, July 1992

**Gambia:** Presidential, September 1, 1992

**Guyana:** Presidential/Legislative, December 1991

**Indonesia:** Parliamentary, April 1, 1992

**Liberia:** Presidential, October 15, 1991

**Mali:** Constitutional referendum, December 1, 1991; Legislative, December 22, 1991; Presidential, January 5, 1992

**Papua New Guinea:** Parliamentary, June 1, 1992

**Philippines:** Presidential/Legislative, May 11, 1992

**Poland:** Parliamentary, October 27, 1991

**Romania:** Local, Early 1992

**St. Lucia:** Parliamentary, April 1, 1992

**Trinidad & Tobago:** Parliamentary, March 1992

**Turkey:** Parliamentary, October 20, 1991

**USSR (Ukraine):** Presidential, December 1, 1991

**Zaire:** Presidential, December 1991

**Zambia:** Presidential, October 31, 1991

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His closest rival Roniti Teiwaka, an independent Member of Parliament, received 9,162 votes. The other candidates were Bemimina Tinga, another independent, who received 1,581 votes and Boanareke Boanareke, a former government minister, with 994 votes.

**Mauritius:** Sixty of the 70-member Legislative Assembly were elected on September 15, 1991. According to preliminary results, the ruling coalition won a sweeping victory. The MSM-led (Mauritian Socialist Movement) alliance took 57 seats. The remaining three seats went to the opposition.

**Mexico:** The ruling party Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) claims victory in Mexico's mid-term legislative election held August 18, 1991. Of the 500 seats in the Chamber of Deputies 300 are elected by relative majority and 200 are elected on the basis of proportional representation. Preliminary results indicate that PRI won 63 percent of the elected seats, while the National Action Party (PAN) with eighteen percent and the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) took eight percent. Official results for the 32 Senate and six Governor seats are not yet available but PRI claims to have won all governor seats and all but one of the senate seats. PAN on the other hand, won its first ever senate seat ever in the northern state of Baja California. Of the 36 million eligible voters, 60 percent turned up for this election.

**Singapore:** General Elections in Singapore were held August 31, 1991. The ruling party, People Action Party headed by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, won 77 of the 81 seats at stake in this election (61 percent of the valid votes cast). The opposition party fielded candidates for only 40 of the seats. According to official results, the Singapore Democratic Party won three seats and the Worker's Party took one. ■

## RECENT VISITORS TO IFES:

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**ENRIQUE MENDOZA D'ASCOLI**, Mayor, Municipio Sucre, Venezuela  
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**FABIEN ASSIGARA**, Representative to U.S.A., Cameroon Democratic Party  
**TIEBILE DRAME**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mali  
**JACQUELIN EUGENE**, Mayor, Cap Haitien, Haiti  
**CARLOS JULIO MACERO HEY**, Mayor, Bolivar, Venezuela  
**CARLOS HUMBERTO TABLANTE HIDALGO**, Governor, Aragua State, Venezuela  
**MOSES K. KATJIUONGUA**, INPF, Namibia  
**DR. LOUIS TOBIA MBIDA**, President, Cameroon Democratic Party, Cameroon  
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**DOMINGOS JARDO MUEKALIA**, UNITA, Angola  
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**OSWALDO ALVEREZ PAZ**, Governor, Zulia State, Venezuela  
**ACHYUT N. RAJBHANDARI**, Secretary, Election Commission, Nepal  
**CLEMENTE SCOTTO**, Mayor, Ciudad Guyana, Venezuela  
**SURYA PRASAD SHRESTA**, Chief Election Commissioner, Nepal  
**DR. LIDIO DE SILVA**, President, PTC, Cabo Verde  
**DR. TOGBA NAH TIPOTEH**, President, Movement for Justice in Africa, Liberia  
**H.E. MOHAMED ALHOUSSEYNI TOURE**, Ambassador of Mali to the U.S.A.  
**ANDRES MANUEL VELASQUEZ**, Governor, Bolivar State, Venezuela  
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Elections: The Roots of Democracy

**IFES SENDS EIGHT-MEMBER OBSERVER TEAM TO NEPALESE ELECTION**

On May 12, 1991, the people of the mountain kingdom of Nepal went to the polls to elect 205 members of parliament in an extraordinary exercise of democracy. This small landlocked nation at the roof of the world peacefully and successfully conducted its first multi-party parliamentary election since 1959.

The election produced some surprises. Although the Nepali Congress Party led by Prime Minister K. P. Bhattarai won a majority, 110 of the 205 parliamentary seats, Bhattarai went down to defeat in his own district by a margin of less than 800 votes out of almost 54,000. Nationwide the United Marxists Leninists (UML) ran second garnering 69 seats, but the UML swept Kathmandu by winning four of the five constituencies in the capitol. The Nepali Congress Party has formed a government with Girija Prasad Koirala as the new Prime Minister. For more detailed election results please see the Election Watch section of this newsletter.

IFES fielded a U.S. team to observe the elections as part of a 65 member multinational observer delegation coordinated by the Nepal Election Observation Committee (NEOC). The IFES team was led by Charles Greenleaf, Jr., former Assistant Administrator for the Asia/Near East Bureau of the United States Agency for International Development. The other members of the team included two former U.S. Ambassadors to Nepal, Leon J. Weil and Carleton S. Coon; Martha Keys, former Member of Congress from Kansas; Kenneth Melley, Assistant Executive Director of the National Education Association; and State Senator Howard A. Denis from Maryland. Also participating on the team were Mark Freeman, IFES Nepal



*Nepali voters prepare to cast their first ballot in over thirty years*

consultant and Program Officer at Meridian House, and Richard Soudriette, IFES Director. The U.S. observer team was organized by IFES in cooperation with the National Democratic Institute and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs. IFES Program Officer Thomas Whatman coordinated the observer mission.

The team arrived in Nepal several days prior to the elections to participate in a series of briefings that included political party representatives and election officials. The briefings included a meeting with Prime Minister K.P. Bhattarai. The IFES team was briefed by U.S. Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch and American Embassy personnel. Ambassador Bloch also hosted a dinner in honor of the U.S. delegation.

Observer teams were formed with each U.S. delegate joining two to three other international observers from

Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Italy, the Neatherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Sweden and the United Kingdom. These teams travelled to a total of 22 districts throughout Nepal. Each team was assigned a Nepali coor-

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## NEPAL (cont.)

dinator who acted as a resource person and translator. The teams arrived in localities well in advance of the election to spend time interviewing local representatives and candidates of political parties, election officials and various voter groups.

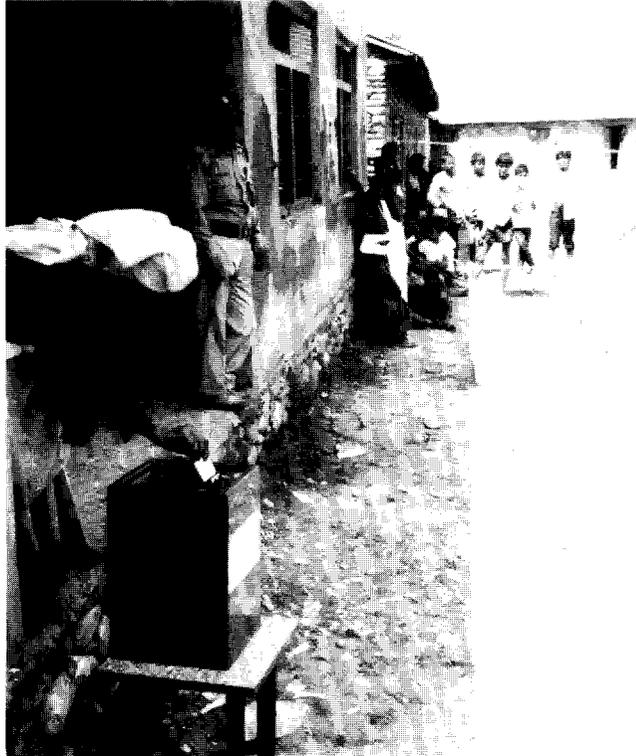
On election day, more than 75% of all registered voters turned out to cast their first vote in over thirty years. Polling took place at 8,225 locations around the geographically diverse country. The members of the U.S. team observed countless voters who had walked or ridden a yak for miles only to wait for up to three hours to cast their vote.

The election commission performed well in organizing all aspects of the election. Procedures were planned and election officials appeared well trained. In the face of the tremendous challenge posed by the rugged and mountainous terrain of Nepal and the limitation of the transportation system, the election commission conducted the process admirably. The general uniformity of the operation of the polling centers speaks well for operation of the Nepal Election Commission under the direction of Mr. Surya Prasad Shrestha.

The solemnity and ceremony observed by election officials both in sealing ballot boxes at the end of the day and in opening them at the counting center was impressive. The Election Commission had done an excellent job in stressing the need for impartiality on the part of election officials involved in all levels of the process.

All counting of ballots was done at district counting centers. At the end of the day the Indian-supplied ballot boxes were sealed and then transported by police to the counting centers. Representatives of political parties were invited to accompany the ballots from the polling station to the counting center. Counting was conducted in an efficient manner which provided final results within five days for all but a few of the most remote districts.

The IFES team contributed to the findings of the 65 international observers through Kenneth Melley serving as prin-



< 90 year old  
Nepalese woman  
places her vote in  
the ballot box

cipal writer on the report drafting committee. The report was approved by the delegation and published by NEOC. The delegation concluded that on the whole the elections were conducted in a free and fair manner. Aside from a few isolated incidence of violence, the election was generally calm, peaceful and orderly. Above all, the observers were struck by the amazing resolve of the Nepali

people to brave the hot sun and long treks on foot to exercise their right to vote. Because of the people's determination, it appears that Nepal is now firmly committed to the path of multi-party democracy.

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## THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

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The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) foundation dedicated to providing assistance in monitoring, supporting and strengthening the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies. For additional information contact: The International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 1620 I Street, NW, Suite 611, Washington, DC 20006; (202) 828-8507.

## NEPAL AT THE POLLS



< *Unloading the ballots at the counting center*

v *Sealing the ballot box in preparation for transport to a counting center*



< *Members of the IFES observer team with U.S. Ambassador to Nepal Julia Chang Bloch (back row l-r Howard Denis, Al Thibault, Eric Sanson, Leon J. Weil, Ken Melley, front row l-r Martha Keys, Ambassador Bloch, Richard Soudriette, and Charles Greenleaf, Jr.)*

v *Counting of ballots*



### *One-Vote Election*

Warsaw

A by-election candidate in Mragowo, northeastern Poland, voted courteously for his opponent and lost the seat because he was the only person of 595 eligible to vote.

*Reuters*

## **MALI REQUESTS ASSISTANCE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM**

A four person IFES team left for Bamako, Mali on June 8 to conduct a technical electoral assessment and to assist the Malian Government as it drafts a new constitution. Hilary Whittaker, former Peace Corps Director of Mali, Linda Edgeworth, former Assistant to the Director of Elections for the State of Alaska, Louis Massicotte, Chief of Policy and Strategic Planning for Elections Canada and Louis Lavoie, Director of Operational Planning and International Services for Elections Canada, will spend ten days working with officials of the transitional Malian government. Mali has requested assistance from IFES as it prepares for multiparty elections and transition to

civilian rule by the end of this year.

The single party (UDPM - Malian Peoples' Democratic Union) government of General Moussa Traore has been surprisingly challenged by the media and civil society during the past two years. Three newspapers expressing frank opposition to the UDPM began and continue to publish; government officials requested political pluralism through an open letter to the President; several prodemocracy groups were formed and allowed to exist under the existing government. ADEMA (Mali Democratic Alliance), CNID (National Democratic Initiative Committee) and

AEEM (Malian Youth and Students' Association) are comprised largely of young professionals and university students, but also include a number of public servants. Meanwhile, the Tuareg, a nomadic people living in northern Mali,

**For the first time in more than a decade, the citizens of Mali began to participate in mass demonstrations calling for a change in government.**

### **IFES Begins Phase Two in Guyana**

IFES' involvement in the 1991 Guyanese elections entered a second phase in May when IFES consultant Jeff Fischer made his first trip to Georgetown and delivered a facsimile machine to Lionel Ferreira, secretary to the Elections Commission. In the months leading up to the elections, IFES will provide the Elections Commission with election commodities including photo identification equipment, indelible ink and ballot paper.

The first phase of the project included an on-site pre-election assessment visit in October 1990 by Randal Teague, IFES' legal counsel, and Ronald Gould, Assistant Chief Electoral Officer at Elections Canada, and the preparation of a pre-election assessment report for the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) and the Government of Guyana. The report identified technical and supply needs of the Elections Commission and is being used as the framework for IFES's procurement program.

Under a grant from A.I.D., IFES has taken a lead role in the identification, procurement, and delivery of supplies and equipment required for the 1991 Guyanese elections. The elections are now expected to take place sometime between September and December.

These elections are significant because they are the first since the enactment of several electoral reform measures following charges of fraud after the 1985 elections. Two reforms of particular interest are the change from a central vote count to a polling-place ballot tabulation and the creation of a new voter registration list based on a house-to-house enumeration completed on May 17, 1991.

The next step for the voter registration lists is the data input of names, followed by the printing and posting of lists for public review. Photographic identification cards will be issued to those requiring them.

IFES is working closely with other organizations involved in the election process including the Carter Center and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, who are handling technical and political party organization issues. IFES consultants and staff are working with potential donors of elections supplies and services to assure a coordinated and effective procurement process.

have engaged in rebel activities since June of 1990 in an effort to form a separate Tuareg state.

For the first time in more than a decade, the citizens of Mali began to participate in mass demonstrations calling for a change in government. A CNID/ADEMA march on December 10 drew 15,000 people. By December 30, up to 50,000 nonviolent demonstrators had taken to the streets. The UNTM (Malian Workers' National Union), the only union recognized by the government, officially broke from the Party by organizing a successful general strike on January 8 and 9.

The former government of Mali does not have a reputation of systematic human rights violations. The arrest of approximately 25 protestors and the death of at least fourteen during demonstrations that developed into riots in late January was unexpected by citizens and government officials. The worst of the violence appeared to be over by mid-February. Nevertheless, students mounted demonstrations in the last weeks of March calling for widespread educational reforms and the resignation of Bakary Traore, Minister of Education. They were joined on March 22 by thousands of citizens demanding the resignation of President Traore as well. This demonstration, confronted by security forces, resulted in 22 deaths that day, three more days of rioting, 150 more

*(continued on page 8)*

## **ELECTION CALENDAR**

*The information contained here is current as of press time.*

### **Selected Election Results:**

**Albania:** The first multiparty elections in 68 years were held on March 31, 1991 for the People's Assembly. The communist Party of Labor retained control of the parliament by winning 162 of the 250 seats. The opposition Democratic Party won 65 seats, and two smaller parties, the Greek Party Omonia won 4 seats and the Veteran's Committee won 1 seat. Of the 1.8 million people eligible to vote, 95 percent voted. International observers said the elections fell short of being free and fair as there was widespread intimidation against opposition party candidates at the polls. In 5 cities, protests against the communist win were held.

**French Polynesia:** The right wing People's rally party or Tahoeraa Huiraatira won 18 of the 41 seats in the territorial assembly in the elections held on March 18, 1991. Polynesian union led by Polynesian President Alexandre Leontieff only won 14 seats. The People's rally party head, Gaston Flosse can take the helm of the territorial government if he can forge alliance with the new fatherland party headed by Emile Vernaudon who took 5 seats. The voter turnout was 78.34 percent.

**India:** India's 10th national election for its parliament, the House of the People, began as scheduled on May 20, 1991. However, with the assassination of Congress Party leader, Rajiv Gandhi, the remaining phases of the election were postponed until June 12 and 15. According to preliminary results, Congress Party won 242 of the 511 seats. Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, 70 was named new Prime Minister. He will now need to form a coalition with another party in order to gain majority. The rest of the seats are distributed as follows: BJP and allies with 123 seats; Janata Dal Party with 70 seats; and Communist Parties with 58 seats. According to Indian press, 18 seats are unaccounted for. Speculations distribute them as 15 seats going to independents and 3 others to be pending.

**Nepal:** Nepal held its first fully democratic elections in 30 years on Sun-

day May 12, 1991 for its House of Representatives. The Nepali Congress Party retained control of the parliament by winning 110 of the 205 seats. The party's General Secretary, Girija Prasad Koirala, became the elected Prime Minister on

elections took place in Sri Lanka. The voter turn-out was 75-80 percent, an overwhelming number considering the country is in the middle of a civil war. The only area in which elections did not take place is the north-east due to the intense fighting between the army and the Tamil Tigers. The election reconfirmed the power of Mr. Premadasa's and the United National Party which won nine out of ten municipal councils, 26 out of the 32 urban councils and 156 out of 235 village councils.

### **ELECTIONS TO WATCH**

**Algeria:** parliamentary, June 27, 1991

**Bangladesh:** presidential, October, 1991 (no date set)

**Bulgaria:** parliamentary, September, 1991 (no date set)

**Burkina Faso:** presidential, December, 1991 (no date set)

**Fiji:** parliamentary, July, 1992 (no date set)

**Liberia:** presidential, October 15, 1991

**Mali:** presidential, December, 1991 (no date set)

**Mozambique:** presidential, 1992 (no date set)

**Poland:** parliamentary, October 27, 1991

**Zaire:** presidential, December, 1991 (no date set)

**Zambia:** presidential October 1, 1991

May 29. The Communist Party of Nepal won 69 seats, capturing 4 of Katmandu's 5 seats, and thus will form a strong opposition in the legislature. Of the others, the United People's Front had 9 seats; the pro-India Sadbhavana Party with 6 seats; the National Democratic Party (Chand) and independents 3 seats each; the Nepal Workers' and Peasants' Party and the Nepal Communist Party 2 seats each; and the National Democratic Party (Thapa) with 1 seat. Of the 18.9 million people living in Nepal, 11 million were eligible to vote.

**Sri-Lanka:** On May 11, 1991 local

**South Korea:** On March 26, 1991 South Korea held its first local government elections in 30 years. 9,963 candidates contested the 4,304 seats on the local councils. According to the official results, the governing party, the Democratic Liberal Party led by President Roh Tae Woo, won a majority of those seats. The opposition party, led by Kim Dae Jung, experienced a setback as it won only 18 percent of the seats. The voter turnout for the elections was 55 percent, a much lower percentage than the 89 percent who voted in the presidential elections in December.

**Suriname:** On May 25, 1991 voters went to the polls to elect members of its legislature. The Front for Democracy and Development, the party that has traditionally dominated politics in Suriname, won 29 of the 51 legislative seats. A new party, the Democratic Alternative 91, won 9 seats. Together these two parties which support stronger relations with the Netherlands and subordination of the military to civilian control, will control two-thirds of the legislature. However, the National Democratic party, a group with close ties to the military won 13 legislative seats.

**Western Samoa:** The first elections by universal suffrage were held on April 5, 1991 for the Legislative Assembly. The ruling Human Rights Protection Party (HRPP) won 26 seats, the Samoa National Development Party (SNDP) won 18 seats, and Independent candidates captured 3 seats in the 47 seat

*(continued on page 6)*



*Mr. Shrestha speaking to members of the international observer delegation*

## **SPOTLIGHT: INTERVIEW WITH NEPAL CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER S.P. SHRESTHA**

*by Charles W. Greenleaf, Jr.*

On May 16th, four days after Nepal's first multiparty election in more than 30 years, the Chief Election Commissioner, Surya Prasad Shrestha, was beginning to relax a bit.

During an interview in his spacious office in a former palace, he was still receiving messages about results in 10% of the parliamentary constituencies that had not yet declared winners. Since the final tallies nationwide were not available, Shrestha was not making any public statements. However, he did express to me the view that voting had proceeded generally in an orderly manner. He did acknowledge that there had been some violence and that the Election Commission had ordered repolling at 44 out of 8225 cities.

As Shrestha discussed the election process in this Himalayan nation of 18 million people, he described with enthusiasm how the final preparations for voting day were made. The number of parties fielding candidates shrank from 40 to 20 during the campaign period. With just over two weeks to go before the May 12 vote, the Commission had to print a much shorter ballot than originally planned. The ballots had to be delivered by the army to 8225 polling places. With very few roads in the hilly and mountainous regions of Nepal, home for half the population, the delivery was quite a challenge. Fortunately, the formidable task was accomplished well within two weeks and the election was held on schedule with surprisingly few problems. Tallying the votes was an arduous process. Ten percent of the 205 constituencies lacked telephones. The Commission had to collect results via radio instead of by telephone and fax.

### **ELECTION WATCH (cont.)**

parliament. Prime Minister Tofilau Ati Alesana, of the HRPP, retained his post winning 30 votes in the parliament. Of the 161,000 people living in Western Samoa, 56,000 were eligible to vote, and 78 percent of these did turnout. Notably, this was the first election in which all those 21 or older were eligible to vote. Since 1962, only family heads, known as Matai, were eligible. Election officials noted that the elections were basically free and fair, although there was some alleged bribery in far eastern island villages.

**Yugoslavia (Croatia):** A Referendum took place on May 19, 1991. Ninety four percent voted for an independent and sovereign Croatia, 4 percent voted against it and 2 percent of the ballots were declared invalid. To the question "Are you in favor of the Republic of Croatia remaining in Yugoslavia as a Federal State?" only 5.4 percent voted for the measure. The elections had a positive overall turn-out with 84 percent of the registered voters in attendance.

When I asked Shrestha what could be done to improve the system for the next election, he said that relatively few changes would be needed. One improvement he recommended was a more precise voters list. Some critics had argued that 10-15% of the names on the list were incorrect. Shrestha strongly disagreed with that view but did admit that the next list should have fewer errors. He also acknowledged that it would be useful to have a common voter identification card. None exists, and it causes confusion especially among illiterate voters who comprise two-thirds of the electorate.

The Chief Election Commissioner spoke positively about the role of the election observers. He said that organizing the Nepali observers and those from other countries had "worked as a deterrent to people who contemplated any mischief against a free and fair election process." In acknowledging thanks from one international observer, he said, "if the international community is interested in the Nepal election, we must provide them information and help."

Shrestha had good reason to be pleased. For the second time in the history of his country, an election with political parties had been held. He and the Nepali people could be optimistic that parliamentary democracy would endure.

*Charles W. Greenleaf is the former Assistant Administrator for the Asia/Near East Bureau of the United States Agency for International Development. Mr. Greenleaf chaired the IFES observer mission to Nepal, May 6-16, 1991.*

## **Nellie White: IFES Volunteer**

Wynelle W. White has a flair for changing the ordinary into the extraordinary and that is precisely her job for the IFES-sponsored Central European Electoral Systems Symposium to be held July 30 through August 2, 1991, in Budapest, Hungary.

Nellie, as she likes to be called by her friends and colleagues, became an IFES volunteer during the early planning of the symposium to ensure that "the substance was balanced with just enough panache to make it enjoyable," Nellie says with a smile.

Born and raised in Alabama, Nellie endures the occasional teasing about her "southern hospitality" from her colleagues at IFES. She brings a real sense of practicality and style to the planning and implementation of the symposium.

"Nellie pays attention to details that will turn a good event into a great event," comments IFES Director Richard Soudriette. "Nellie's contributions have ensured that the symposium will be a smashing success."

As she shrugs off the compliments as just doing her job, Nellie is back on the phone to Hungary to check details. All who attend the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium can bet that they will enjoy the symposium thanks to Wynelle White.



*Nellie White in Budapest while inspecting accommodations for the Symposium*

## **UNITED NATIONS SUPPORTS FOR CENTRAL EUROPEAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS SYMPOSIUM**

United Nations Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (UNDTCD) representatives and U.N. sponsored delegates to the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium will speak on the benefits of forming regional and international associations of election officials. The participation of the United Nations is part of a joint IFES-UNDP effort to provide support for an association of election officials in the region. This association would be designed to facilitate exchange of expertise on the electoral process between the election officials of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and other countries outside of the region.

United Nations sponsorship adds to the list of private and public groups and individuals to be present at the Symposium to be held at the Hilton Hotel in Budapest, Hungary, July 30-August 2, 1991. Delegates to the Budapest Symposium from twenty nations and several international organizations will convene to discuss the practical means of strengthening the democratic electoral process in Central Europe. Election officials, experts and civic education leaders from as far away as Hong Kong and Chile will attend the Symposium.

United Nations support for the Symposium is part of a history of U.N. leadership in promoting open and competitive elections around the world. The U.N. Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) organized the first elections ever in Namibia in 1988. In 1989, the U.N. Development Programme played a

leading role in the elections in Nicaragua and Haiti. IFES cooperation with the United Nations began during the organization of last year's free elections in Haiti.

### **The Central European Election Commodities and Equipment Exhibit: The First of its Kind**

The election officials of Central Europe are eager to see election equipment, products and services from around the world. Vendors of all types have responded to the interest on the part of these decision makers by registering for the Exhibit.

Several North American and European firms have already signed up for the Symposium Exhibit to display their products and to meet with the top election officials and procurement officers of the region. Polaroid Corporation (U.S.A.), Pakflatt (U.K.), American Information Systems (U.S.A.), Ometa Innovation AB (Sweden), Állami Népeségnyilvántartó Hivatal (Hungary), Business Records Corporation (U.S.A.), United Systems Technology (U.S.A.), IBM (USA) and OPTIMUM (Hungary) will all be present to showcase their products.

### **For more information on the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium contact:**

**Christopher S. Siddall, Program Officer, Soviet & Central European Affairs**  
**IFES, 1620 I Street, N.W. Suite 611, Washington, D.C. 20006; Telephone: (202) 828-8507; Fax: (202) 452-0804**

**MALI (cont.)**

deaths and 1000 injuries. The government of General Traore ended with his arrest on the night of March 25. By the next morning about 60 people including the Minister of Education had been killed.

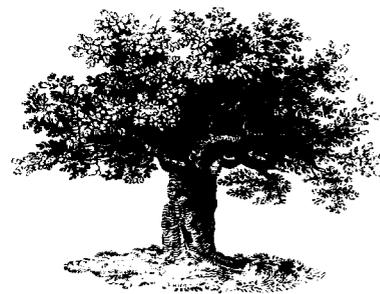
The Committee of National Reconciliation, led by Lt. Col. Amadou Toure, disbanded the government and the UDPM during the following week. On April 3, it named Soumana Sako, a senior official with the United Nations Development Program, to direct the Transitional People's Salvation Committee (CTSP). This committee, composed of civilians, is the transitional government of Mali. It has pledged to administer multiparty elections by the end of this year and to draft a new constitution reflecting the diversity of political parties by the end of this summer.

IFES will offer technical assistance on the drafting of the new Malian constitution. In a two part project, the team will evaluate the technical needs of the CTSP with the specific aim of conducting presidential and legislative elections in six months. The team will simultaneously examine, in conjunction with the constitutional drafting committee, the Acte Fondamentale (the provisional constitution of Mali) and make recommendations in the development of electoral laws. The team report will be available from IFES by the end of July, 1991.

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Elections: The Roots of Democracy

**VIA CIVICA TRANSLATES TO VIE CIVIQUE IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE**

IFES recently assisted two citizens of Côte d'Ivoire with the development of the first Ivorian civic education association. Modeled on the structure of Via Civica of Nicaragua, one of IFES' most successful ongoing projects, the Ivorian Association for the Civic Education of its Citizens (IACEC) will use the next five years to provide information to the Ivorian electorate. IACEC's goal is to make all voters aware of the part they play in the electoral process and to develop nationwide participation in that process.

The political climate of Côte d'Ivoire experienced several changes in 1990. Bowing to universal public pressure, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny (of the ruling Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire) opened the system to all interested political parties on April 30. Within weeks, twenty-five parties had registered with the intention of presenting candidates for the October 28 elections. Several parties later withdrew their presidential candidates following the emergency declaration of a financially prohibitive candidate's fee, reimbursable if the candidate received 10% of the vote. During the November 25 legislative elections, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire won 163 out of 175 available seats, but the average voter turnout was barely 40%.

IFES was approached last year by Robert Tagro and Robert Mahounou, the founders of the Ivorian Association for the Civic Education of its Citizens, to provide assistance in the development of a civic education organization. They were concerned that a potentially decisive shift in government power in the next presidential and legislative elections was stymied by such a weak voter turnout.

**Côte d'Ivoire**

*Capital:* Abidjan  
*Population:* 11.6 million  
*Languages:* Baule (24%)  
 French (1%)  
 Regional Languages (75%)

*Political Parties:* Ivorian Democratic Party (PDCI)  
 Ivorian Popular Front (FPI)  
 Ivorian Workers Party (PTI)  
 Social Democrat Party (USD)  
 Ivorian Socialist Party (PSI)  
 Republican Party (PR)

*Note: All parties except PDCI were illegal until fall '90.*

*Next Presidential and Legislative Elections: 1995*

Tagro, himself an unsuccessful parliamentary candidate, was further galvanized by the fact that he had had difficulty convincing people to vote. Citizens did not understand or were not yet comfortable with the electoral system and did not see the rise of several new political parties as providing more of a choice than they had previously enjoyed.

IFES supplied Tagro and Mahounou with initial program outlines, pamphlets, course descriptions, newsletters, buttons, flyers and financial information from the Via Civica project in Nicaragua. Using these as a guide, Tagro and Mahounou outlined a civic education organization that will target all sectors of the Ivorian population including children. While the next presidential and legislative elections are not scheduled to take place until 1995, redistricting will necessitate repeat local elections in several departments early this summer.

Tagro's vision is to see all voters enthusiastic and fully knowledgeable about their rights, their choices and their responsibilities as citizens for the next and all future elections. During the first year of its existence, IACEC will lay the groundwork for the achievement of this objective. IACEC's long term goal is to

*(continued on page 6)*

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## NOTE FROM THE DIRECTOR

In increasing numbers, countries are turning towards free and fair elections as fundamental building blocks of democracy. As the democratic revolution has spread around the globe, IFES has been in the forefront of international efforts to assist and support emerging democracies in the field of elections. IFES' activities have mirrored the trend of democratization, beginning in Latin America, spreading to Eastern Europe, and now moving into Asia and Africa as well (see the cover article in this issue).

IFES was established in 1987 as a clearinghouse of election information. In early 1988, IFES began collecting and cataloguing electoral information from around the world. Today, the IFES database contains a country-by-country file of general background information, election dates, names and addresses of election officials and offices, and voter eligibility requirements. There is also a file containing names of experienced election technicians, country scholars, and potential election observers. A vendor file for election-related commodities and equipment comprises the third component of the database.

In addition to the database, IFES' resource center maintains manual files containing constitutions, election laws, election statistics, sample ballots, election documentation, news articles, and sample civic education materials.

IFES also encourages the exchange of information by organizing conferences and symposia. In May 1990, IFES organized the InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference, which it co-hosted along with the InterAmerican Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (a special program of the InterAmerican Institute of Human Rights in San Jose, Costa Rica) and the Supreme Electoral Council of Venezuela. This meeting brought together election officials from 23 countries in the Americas who focused on the elements of the democratic election process. The conference also featured the first major exhibition of election equipment in South America.

IFES is currently organizing the Central European Electoral Systems



*IFES Haiti Project team receives thanks from the Director*

Symposium to be held in Budapest, Hungary from July 30 to August 2, 1991. This important gathering is co-hosted by the Hungarian National Election Office and will bring together election officials from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia to reflect upon case studies of the elections that have taken place in the region during the past 24 months. The symposium will afford election officials the opportunity to build a professional network in the region to assist in strengthening the election institutions in all of the participating countries. The symposium will also feature an exhibition of producers of election equipment.

IFES generally receives requests for assistance in two ways. A number of requests have been channeled through the U.S. Embassy, while others come directly from countries seeking assistance.

IFES has provided technical assistance to many countries, including on-site technical assistance, training, and procurement of election commodities.

The types of assistance provided are based on the recommendations of IFES pre-election technical assessment teams which generally visit countries requesting assistance. In Paraguay, Bulgaria, and Romania, IFES assisted in procuring and shipping election commodities such as indelible ink, ballot manifest security bags, and photo-identification equipment. In Haiti, IFES provided a full range of long-term on-site technical and material assistance to the Provisional Electoral Council.

IFES has also worked to support non-partisan civic education groups. For the past two years, IFES has served as the U.S. grantee for National Endowment for Democracy grants to Via Civica, a non-partisan civic education organization based in Managua, Nicaragua. IFES has also provided technical assistance to Via Civica, which played a key role in encouraging Nicaraguans to register and vote in the elections of February 25, 1990. Since then, Via Civica has become a permanent civic education or-

*(continued on page 8)*

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The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) foundation dedicated to providing assistance in monitoring, supporting and strengthening the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies. For additional information contact: The International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 1620 I Street, NW, Suite 611, Washington, DC 20006; (202) 828-8507.

## **Central European Electoral Systems Symposium Receives Wide Support**

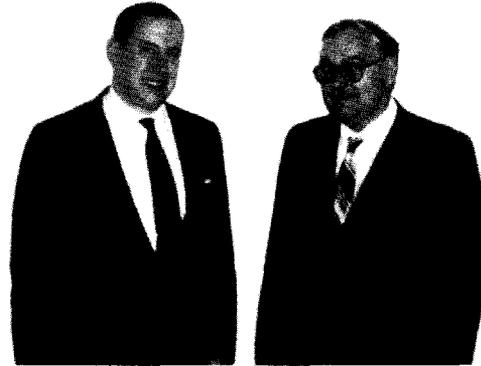
On July 30 through August 2, 1991 the top election officials of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia will convene at the Hilton Hotel in Budapest, Hungary for the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium. The three-day symposium will bring these election officials from throughout the region of Central Europe together with election officials and experts from Western Europe, Latin America and North America to focus on the mechanics of the electoral process using the past round of elections in Central Europe as a basis for discussion.

Symposium plenary sessions and small group discussions will focus on the following topics:

- Election Administration and Voter Registration
- Voting and Vote Counting
- Role of Political Parties in the Electoral Process
- Civic Education, Participation and Training
- Election Day Procedures
- Analysis of the Democratic Election Process

After the plenary session topics are presented to the full assembly of delegates in an original research paper, the topics will be openly debated during small group discussions.

IFES is pleased to have received extensive support for the Symposium from election officials of the region as well as from the National Election Office of Hungary, a permanent body responsible for all aspects of the Hungarian election process. Dr. Pal Kara, Deputy State-Secretary of the Republic of Hungary, will deliver the first plenary session paper on the subject



*Dr. Pál Kara, Deputy State Secretary of Hungary meets with IFES Director Richard Soudriette*

of the role of a permanent election body in the Hungarian electoral process. In addition to his duties as Deputy State-Secretary, Dr. Kara is responsible for oversight of National Election Office activities.

The original research papers presented at the Symposium will be compiled in the Central European Election Administrator's Guide, which will be edited by Dr. Richard Smolka, Editor of Election Administration Reports and Professor in the School of Public Administration at American University.

The Symposium will officially open on July 30 with a tour of historic Budapest followed by the Symposium inaugural dinner. Prime Minister of the Republic of Hungary, József Antall has been invited to deliver the keynote address at this

*(continued on page 4)*

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### **PRE-REGISTRATION/REQUEST FOR INFORMATION**

CENTRAL EUROPEAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS SYMPOSIUM  
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY  
JULY 30 - AUGUST 2, 1991

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_

Organization \_\_\_\_\_

I am interested in attending the Symposium. Please send additional information about the workshops, speakers, hotel information and symposium costs.

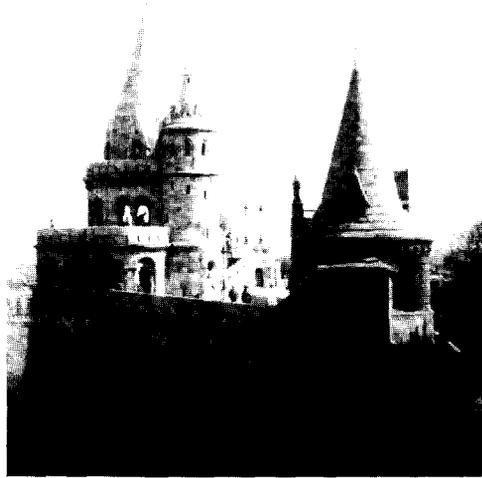
***SYMPOSIUM (cont.)***

opening dinner. After the first working day, an outdoor reception will allow the delegates to enjoy the view from Castle Hill in historic Buda. The following night, the Symposium will bring the delegates onboard a Danube river cruise ship for a buffet reception.

The centerpiece of the Symposium will be the Central European Election Commodities and Equipment Exhibit. The key decision makers regarding election administration in Central Europe will be given "hands-on" access to election commodities and equipment. To date, more than twenty vendors have expressed interest in exhibiting and attending the Symposium.

IFES is pleased to add the National Endowment for Democracy, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, RJR Nabisco and NYNEX Corporation to the list of corporate and charitable sponsors of the Symposium.

For more information on the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium contact Christopher Siddall at (202) 828-8507; Fax: (202) 452-0804 or send enclosed pre-registration/request for information form to IFES, 1620 I Street, N.W. Suite 611, Washington, D.C. 20006.



*View from Fishermen's Bastion, Castle Hill, Budapest*



*Dr. Zoltán Tóth and Dr. Edit Szépe meet with IFES delegation*

Place stamp

here

**Central European Electoral Systems Symposium  
c/o International Foundation for Electoral Systems  
1620 I Street, NW  
Suite 611  
Washington, DC 20006 USA**

## **ELECTION CALENDAR**

### **Selected Election Results:**

*The information contained here is current as of press time.*

**Albania:** Legislative elections were held on March 31, 1991. Results were not available as of press time. They will be published in our next issue.

**Bangladesh:** The centrist Bangladesh Nationalist Party won 140 of 300 seats in National Parliament elections on February 27, 1991. The party is lead by Khaleda Zia, widow of assassinated president General Ziaur Rahman. The rival Awami League, an eight party coalition led by Sheikh Hasina, gained 84 seats and outgoing President Ershad's Jatiya Party won 35 seats. Jamaat-e-Jalami, a right-wing Muslim fundamentalist group won 17 seats, while 11 seats went to small party alliances of the Awami League and 6 went to other small parties and independents. International observers declared the election to be fair.

**Benin:** In the February 17, 1991 parliamentary elections, none of the 20 parties fielding candidates emerged with a majority of the 64 parliamentary seats, although the backers of Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo won 11. In the first free presidential elections in nearly 30 years held on March 10, 1991, Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo garnered 36% of the popular vote, while President Mathieu Kerekou captured 26%. The rest of the vote was fragmented among the other 11 candidates. Because none of the 13 candidates received a majority of the vote, a run-off election between the top two contenders, Prime Minister Soglo and President Kerekou, will take place March 24. The turnout of voters from among 2 million eligible was high in this election, with some areas reporting an 80% voting rate.

**Barbados:** In the parliamentary elections held on January 22, 1991, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP) retained its position as the ruling party, garnering 18 of 28 seats. The Barbados Labor Party reduced the DLP's majority with a significant gain of 10 seats. The National Democratic Party was shut out. Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford will remain for a second-term. 62% of registered voters cast their ballots in these elections.

**Cape Verde:** The opposition party, Movement for Democracy, won 66.6% of the vote and 56 of 79 seats in legislative elections January 13. On February 17, approximately 60% of voters turned out

parties, won 8 seats. Three smaller parties split the remainder of the vote: the rightest Party of National Conciliation won 9 seats, the Authentic Christian Movement, also rightist, won one, and the Nationalist Democratic Union, a Marxist party, won one seat. Fifty three percent of the 2.18 million Salvadorans eligible to vote turned out at the polls.

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### **ELECTIONS TO WATCH**

**Algeria:** legislative, before July, 1991 (no date set)

**Bangladesh:** presidential, June 6, 1991 (tentative)

**Bulgaria:** parliamentary, by June, 1991 (no date set)

**Guyana:** legislative/presidential, Summer/Fall 1991 (no date set)

**Kiribati:** parliamentary, by May, 1991 (no date set)

**Mozambique:** legislative/presidential, late 1991 (no date set)

**Nepal:** parliamentary, May 12, 1991

**Suriname:** presidential/legislative, May 25, 1991

**Trinidad and Tobago:** parliamentary, by December 1991 (no date set)

**Vanuatu:** parliamentary, by November 1991 (no date set)

**Zaire:** presidential, December 1991 (no date set)

**Zambia:** legislative/presidential, October 1991 (no date set)

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to elect opposition candidate Antonio Masdarenhas as president, who won with a 72% margin.

**El Salvador:** According to the official results of the March 10 legislative elections, the governing conservative party, the Republican Nationalist Alliance (Arena) lost its majority in the new legislature although it won 39 seats in the new 84-seat legislature, Assembly of Deputies. The Christian Democratic Party (PDC) garnered 26 seats while the leftist coalition, the Democratic Convergence (CD), an alliance of three socialist

**Guatemala:** In the presidential runoff on January 6, Jorge Serrano won with a wide margin over Jorge Carpio. Gathering support from the growing evangelical sector, the conservative businessman drew 68% of the vote while Carpio finished with 32%. With only 45% of the electorate participating, voter turnout was moderate. As the first transfer of power from one elected president to the next, the election was free from acts of violence.

**Haiti:** On December 16, 1990, Haitians went to the polls for its first democratic presidential election in five years. The Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, representing the National Front for Change and Democracy (NFCD), garnered an overwhelming majority of the popular vote, sixty-seven percent. His closest competitor from amid a field of eleven candidates, Marc Bazin of the Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti (MIDH), won less than fifteen percent. Aristide, a former priest popular among most of the country's poor, must now address the challenges of leading a country with staggering economic and social problems while assuaging business and international interests about his program and objective.

Haitians also voted for members of the National Assembly, a bicameral legislature, in the December elections. Legislative run-off elections were held on January 20, 1991 which determined most of the legislative races. Although no party achieved a majority in the National Assembly, the National Front for Change and Democracy won a plurality with 13

*(continued on page 6)*

## **ELECTION WATCH (cont.)**

of 27 Senate seats and 27 of 83 deputies's seats. The National Front for Change and Democracy elected Renee Preval as the Prime Minister during the last week of February. A center-left bloc supporting Aristide, consisting of the National Front for Change and Democracy and other parties is expected to form a ruling coalition.

**Sao Tome and Principe:** The opposition group, the Party of Democratic Convergence (PCD) gathered 70% of the vote in the first multi-party elections held in Sao Tome and Principe. The PCD placed 33 deputies in the 55-seat National Assembly. The ruling MLSTP party won approximately 30% of the vote, placing 21 deputies in the National Assembly. Two smaller parties, The Democratic Front and the Christian Democratic Front, picked up 2% of the vote. The Democratic Coalition holds 1 seat in the National Assembly. Although the MLSTP called for people to refrain from voting in the presidential election on March 3, 65% of voters went to the polls to elect Miguel Trovoada of the PCD. Because the two smaller opposition parties withdrew their candidates the day before the election, Trovoada won with an 80% majority as the only candidate. The Appeals Court of Sao Tome rejected charges of corruption and slander brought forth by the smaller opposition parties. Portuguese election observers stated that the elections were conducted peacefully.

**Yugoslavia:** On December 23, 1990, the second-round of elections for Serbia's multi-party parliament, the People's Assembly of Serbia, were held. The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) claimed a majority in the parliament, adding 107 more seats to the 87 seats won in the first-round for a total of 195 seats out of 250 seats. The opposition parties and independent candidates garnered 47 more seats to add to the 9 won in the first-round for a total of 56 seats. Approximately 49% of the electorate voted in these elections.

In Slovenia, the electorate voted overwhelmingly (88.5%) in favor of an autonomous and independent Slovenia on December 23, 1990. Ninety four percent of the electorate or 1,361,738 people, voted in the plebiscite on Slovenian independence.

## **VIE CIVIQUE (cont.)**

be the site of the Ivorian Institute for Political Studies, with local offices providing continuous civic education and training.

IACEC is firmly committed to the development of democracy in Côte d'Ivoire and the process it has outlined to achieve that goal. It has demonstrated its commitment by the extensive use of Via Civica of Nicaragua as a model for its organization. During the two years of its existence, Via Civica has grown to be a worthwhile institution unflinchingly dedicated to ensuring voter education and participation of all citizens. IFES was proud to offer Via Civica as an exemplary organization to IACEC.

The citizens of many African countries are now challenged to examine the current electoral system, to develop new political parties and to ensure that all enfranchised citizens are fully aware of their rights and responsibilities. Well educated, interested and participating voters are critical to the democratic election process and its ultimate success as a form of government in Africa. IFES is very enthusiastic about the sweeping changes in Africa and will expand its program activities as opportunities arise.

## **Focus On Africa**

*The invasion of Kuwait and subsequent war have occupied international headlines since August. Events occurring in the Persian Gulf have almost completely obscured the dramatic political changes occurring in sub-Saharan Africa. As the dust settles, IFES and other international organizations will look to several African countries as they focus on the status of their electoral systems.*

*From Algeria to Lesotho, governments are responding to pressure from local organizations as well as international human rights groups to expand their electoral systems to include the participation of opposition parties. Such organizations are increasingly linking their financial support directly to opportunities for people to take part in the selection of their nation's leaders.*

*Most of the former protectorates of the United Kingdom, France and Portugal had direct electoral systems in place upon independence in the 1970s. These systems quickly degenerated into one party autocracies, with opposition parties declared illegal. Some, like Sierre Leone and Kenya, constitutionally decided on a one-party election system. Others, like Liberia, ignored their constitutional provisions and created authoritarian regimes.*

*A partial list of other African countries that have experienced changes and calls for electoral reform: Angola, Burkina Faso, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Togo, Zambia and Zaire. South Africa is also to be counted as it prepares for the first time in its history to enfranchise and confer elective office upon the majority of its population.*

*There is no specific area of assistance that can be applied universally to the African countries. For example, civic education is essential to those countries with low voter turnout. Electoral law reform is relevant when no law exists, or when the system set up by the law no longer reflects the needs of the government. Each country must be studied to determine the particular needs of its electoral process and the degree of assistance required. During this exciting period in African history, IFES will provide comprehensive needs assessments of individual country governments and suggestions for the development of effective technical assistance programs.*

## **SPOTLIGHT: Gonzalo Brenes Camacho**

One of the key participants in IFES' Haiti project was Gonzalo Brenes Camacho, president of Costa Rica's Supreme Elections Tribunal. Mr. Brenes' years of experience in organizing elections in Costa Rica enabled him to provide Haiti's Conseil Electoral Provisoire (CEP) with advice on every aspect of the December 16, 1990 elections, from the design and printing of forms and the compilation of a national voter registry to the briefing of international observers.

In addition to his experience in Haiti with IFES, Mr. Brenes has worked with the Organization of American States in evaluating the civil registry system in the Dominican Republic and was a personal advisor to Secretary-General João Clemente Baena Soares throughout the 1990 Nicaraguan election process. He has also worked directly with the election commissions of the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Panama, Bolivia, and Paraguay. Mr. Brenes has served as an international observer in recent elec-



*Gonzalo Brenes Camacho (center) at the InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference held in Caracas, Venezuela*

tions in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, and Haiti.

Mr. Brenes was a featured speaker at the first InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference, co-sponsored by IFES and CAPEL in Caracas, Venezuela in May 1990, where he addressed the topic of

election day planning and logistics.

Mr. Brenes became president of Costa Rica's Elections Tribunal in 1986, a year after joining that body. Prior to that, he was chief judge of the Costa Rican administrative court system, secretary-general of the Costa Rican Supreme Court, and a judge in Costa Rica's civil courts.

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## **CIVIC ALLIANCE IN ROMANIA**

IFES Romania Program Consultant Anca Hassing spent February 1 through February 13 in Bucharest and Timisoara, Romania. The purpose of her visit was to assess non-partisan pro-democracy forces in Romania and to meet with potential participants of the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEEES) being held by IFES in Budapest later this year.

According to government officials, local elections, initially planned for March 1991, will be held in the fall of 1991. All 110 registered parties still exist, although many of them do not have clear platforms.

While in Romania, Ms. Hassing interviewed prominent members of non-partisan pro-democracy groups, to determine their strengths and requirements for civic and voter education.

A recent, most positive development has been the emergence of a surprisingly energetic civil society, consisting of a large number of civic-minded groups willing and able to organize and pursue their purposes independently of state control. These independent civic groups have played and will continue to play a major role in Romania's arduous and

unsteady passage to democracy. Of them, the largest and most far-reaching is Civic Alliance, established in the fall of 1990.

Civic Alliance emphasizes its determination to carry on "a balanced and patient struggle to help each citizen rise above personal interests and become responsible for the destiny and future of the country." The main goal of Civic Alliance is to encourage the development of civil society. Civic Alliance can be joined by individual members only, and is thus the first genuine grass roots organization in Romania. Political parties and other organizations are not admitted as members, but their support and endorsement are valuable assets for the newly formed organization. Civic Alliance branches have opened up in almost all 40 districts. The first Civic Alliance convention is scheduled for June 1991, at which time the coordinating committee and the commission of auditors will be elected. If necessary, changes in the statute of the organization will be operated.

A large number of smaller independent civic groups have endorsed Civic Alliance and its goals, including privatization of the economy and the return of the land to the peasants, rule of law, and the country's rapid integration in Europe.

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**DIRECTOR'S NOTE (cont.)**

ganization dedicated to encouraging the people of Nicaragua to support the democratic process.

As I travel, I am constantly reminded that there are many who are unaware of the critical importance of the mechanics of the democratic election process. IFES is dedicated to focusing attention not only on the process itself, but also and more importantly on the types of assistance that emerging democracies require to help provide for a free, fair, and smooth-running election process. IFES is also dedicated to promoting the concept of civic education as the best means to encourage people to exercise their duties and discharge

their responsibilities as they participate in the democratic process.

By focusing on the election process and on civic education, IFES is working to ensure that the gains of the democratic revolution are consolidated. We seek to strengthen those institutions directly involved in implementing democratic elections to ensure that the 1990s truly becomes the decade of democracy.



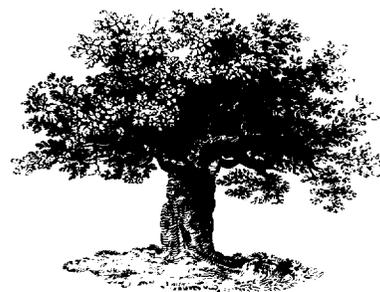
Richard W. Soudriette

IFES Director

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***IFES PLAYS KEY ROLE IN FREE ELECTIONS IN HAITI***

Haiti held its first free democratic elections on Sunday, December 16, 1990 under the watchful eyes of hundreds of international observers and the international press corps. IFES played a decisive role in promoting these elections through direct technical and material assistance to the Provisional Electoral Council (Conseil Electoral Provisoire - CEP). IFES' activities in Haiti were supported by a \$1.86 million grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

Preliminary results indicate that Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide won a sweeping victory, rolling up large majorities in most areas of the country. The IFES team, including Ray Kennedy, IFES' Program Officer for Latin America and the Caribbean, and project co-manager Jeff Fischer, witnessed vote tallies in Port-au-Prince giving Aristide margins as great as 10-to-1.

The general atmosphere of the election was very calm, as the army and security forces worked closely with the CEP to ensure a peaceful election. Despite logistical problems such as late delivery of election materials and delayed opening of some polling stations, international observers agreed that most Haitians who wanted to were ultimately able to vote. IFES Chairman F. Clifton White praised the CEP for its hard work in making the elections a reality.

IFES' assistance to the CEP began in early September 1990. The first segment involved the procurement of election commodities, including



*International election observers watch counting of ballots at a precinct in Port-au-Prince*

nearly 4 million registration cards in Creole. With IFES' assistance, the CEP dispatched over 6,000 registration kits to electoral offices throughout the country. IFES project managers and local consultants also designed and administered a training program for poll workers, who ultimately registered nearly 3 million voters during the official registration period (October 5-27). Additionally, IFES helped the CEP acquire a computer system to process the registration forms, produce voter lists for distribution on Election Day, and tabulate the election results.

After pre-election assessment indicated a need for assistance in the area of communication, IFES procured a nationwide radio system for use by the CEP and its departmental and communal offices. This system has allowed uninterrupted communication between outlying areas of the country, many of which are not dependably

served by regular telephone service, and the CEP in Port-au-Prince. The system was critical in enabling election officials to identify and communicate logistical problems to the CEP.

IFES and the CEP also collaborated in a civic education

*(continued on page 3)*

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## ***IFES Announces The Central European Electoral Systems Symposium***

Over the past 12 months the world has witnessed a tidal wave of democracy that has swept Central Europe. One by one each of the countries of the region have rejected the old communist order in hopes of establishing new governments based upon democracy and the rule of law. A fundamental cornerstone of the new order is the concept of free and fair elections. Now that the fanfare of the initial elections is over it is imperative that the United States and other members of the democratic community of nations lend full support to institutionalize the changes that have taken place.

Therefore, IFES announces the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium (CEESS) to be held July 30-August 2, 1991 at the Hilton Hotel in Budapest, Hungary. The Symposium will provide a forum for the top election administrators, scholars, and leaders of Central Europe to examine the essential elements of the democratic election process, using the recent elections in the region as case studies. The Hungarian National Election Committee will be hosting this important event.

The CEESS is modeled after the IFES sponsored InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference held in Caracas, Venezuela, in May, 1990. Senior election officials, civic education leaders, political party representatives and academics from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia will be invited to participate in the symposium.

Symposium research presentations and workshops will focus on such topics as electoral law and the role of the electoral council, voter registration, voting procedures, vote counting and control of fraud, the role of political parties, civic education, election day activities and an overview of the election process.

Election officials from each participating Central European nation and election specialists from around the globe will address the plenary sessions during the three day

symposium. Small group discussions will focus on each topic in workshop sessions. The plenary sessions and workshops will include case studies on the election experiences of all the countries of Central Europe over the past year.

Another feature of the Symposium is the Election Commodity and Equipment Exhibition. This is the first election equipment and commodity exhibit of its kind to be held in Central Europe and will feature such equipment as voting and vote counting machines, ballot boxes, ballot security bags and locks, portable voting booths, computer hardware and software, security paper and indelible ink.

Finally, the Symposium will produce the **Election Administrators Guide** that will consist of the papers commissioned by IFES and presented at the Symposium. The manual will be serve as a practical reference guide for professional election administrators and will be distributed to all participants and election offices in the participating countries.

For more information on the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium contact Christopher Siddall at (202) 828-8507 or write to IFES, 1620 I Street, N.W., Suite 611, Washington, D.C. 20006.



*IFES Chairman F. Clifton White, Director Richard Soudriette, and consultant Peter Schramm meet with Dr. Csaszky Gyorgy and Dr. Szepe Edit of the Hungarian National Election Commission*

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## HAITI ELECTION (cont.)

program. Project Co-Manager Marta Maria de Ordonez designed the extensive program, which included videos on registration, voting, and the polling place, as well as frequent public service announcements on radio stations and cable television throughout the country urging citizens to register and vote. Because the multiple ballots used were quite different from those used in previous elections, the announcements were carefully designed to instruct voters on correct procedures for casting their ballots. The program appears to have been a tremendous success, as the number of spoiled ballots was minimal.

IFES also arranged for Dr. Gonzalo Brenes Camacho, President of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of Costa Rica, to assist the CEP in logistics planning for the entire election process, from design, production, and transportation of election materials to the communication of election results.

IFES will also assist the CEP with its preparations for the second round of the elections, which is now scheduled for late January.



*IFES Haiti staff (front row l-r Pierre Andre Gilles, Jeff Fischer, Marta Maria de Ordonez, Gussie Georges, back row l-r Ray Kennedy, Georges Brunet, Deborah Levine, Charles Tardieu)*

**IFES is accepting resumes for experts in the fields of election administration, law, or area studies. We are also looking for Interns to start immediately. For more information, contact Lida Peterson at 202/828-8507.**



*Haitian Election workers assembling 12,000 voter registration kits*



*CEP pollworkers count ballots as Georges Brunet (second from right) of IFES looks on*

## *IFES Hosts Soviet Delegation: Illinois Election Observed*

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems and the U.S. Federal Election Commission hosted the visit of a delegation from the Soviet Central Electoral Commission (CEC) to observe the November elections in Illinois. Vladimir P. Orlov, Chairman of the Soviet CEC led the delegation which met with persons directly involved in the election process in Washington, New York, and Chicago.

While in Chicago, the CEC delegation met with Mayor Richard M. Daley and members of the state and

local election boards. On election day, the delegation visited area campaign headquarters, phone banks, polls, and the watch party of the victorious candidate for Governor.

Soviet CEC Chairman Vladimir P. Orlov praised the U.S. system of elections in an interview with the Soviet news agency TASS, "The U.S. election system has many valuable elements which can be successfully used to perfect the Soviet election process." Orlov did, however, save some criticism for the U.S. system of

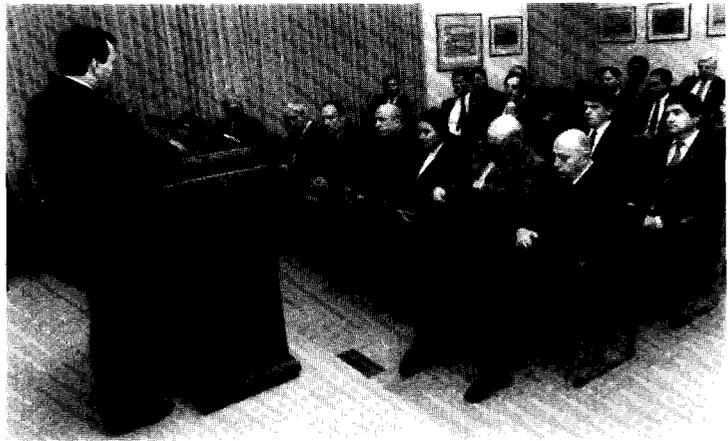
voter registration which he termed "rather cumbersome."

The timing of CEC Chairman Orlov's visit to the U.S. was auspicious. During the course of next year the Soviet CEC will entirely rewrite the existing Soviet electoral law to allow for a multiparty system.

IFES is indebted to the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, which continues to provide primary funding for this historic exchange.



*IFES hosts Soviet and US election officials*



*Chicago's Mayor Daley with members of the CEC Delegation*

## *IFES Delegates Observe Pakistan Vote*

Voters opted for new political leadership during the October 24, 1990 elections in Pakistan. Despite some instances of violence, IFES observers noted, that in many regions voting proceeded in a calm and orderly fashion without hint of internal tension and turmoil.

IFES observers were Dr. William Richter, head of the Department of Political Science at Kansas State University and a respected scholar on Pakistan and Indian Affairs; Mr. Peter Hatch, the Elections Officer for the city of Birmingham, England, the largest electoral district of England, and an election expert with more than 20 years experience; and Professor

Minoru Nakano, a respected political scientist of Tokyo, Japan who has done extensive work in comparative election systems.

The IFES observers were part of the International Observer Delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. The 40 member delegation included nationals of 17 countries and was led by former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Vahit Halefoglu and Polish Senator Stanislaw Dembinski.

The delegation was considered crucial to reporting on the credibility of elections in Pakistan during a time of domestic turmoil and upheaval. The dismissal of Prime Minister Benazir

Bhutto just prior to the elections had cast some doubts on the ability of the Pakistani government to hold free and fair elections.

Although some questions were raised by the delegation about possible irregularities, it was indicated that widespread electoral fraud was not a factor. Although some charges of fraud are yet to be resolved in Pakistani courts, election experts agreed that the final results of the election were little affected by reported isolated infractions of the electoral law. The final report on the 1990 Pakistani elections is available from the National Democratic Institute.

ELECTION CALENDAR**Selected Election Results:**

**Brazil:** Brazilians elected 503 deputies and 31 of 81 senators in legislative elections on October 3, 1990. Candidates from nineteen parties won seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and from eleven parties in the Senate. The once-dominant centrist Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) slipped from about 130 deputies to 107 and won 8 senatorial seats. The center-right Liberal Front Party (PFL) elected 86 deputies and 8 senators. Other winning parties include the center-left Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) (37 deputies and 1 senator); the conservative Social Democrat Party (PDS) (43 and 2); the left Democratic Workers Party (PDT) (47 and 1); the left-wing Workers Party (PT) (35 and 1); and the center-right Brazilian Workers Party (PTB) (36 and 4) and the National Reconstruction Party (PRN) (40 and 2). Party affiliations do not, however, necessarily mean very much in Brazilian politics. Politicians frequently change parties, and President Collor cannot count on center-right (or even PRN) deputies and senators to vote for his policies.

**Cote d'Ivoire:** In presidential elections on October 28, 1990, long-time leader President Felix Houphouet-Boigny won 81.7 percent of the vote while the leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), Laurent Gbagbo, won 18.3 percent. The first contested presidential election was marred by violence and allegations of extensive fraud. Gbagbo unsuccessfully appealed to the Supreme Court to annul the election. Mr. Gbagbo alleges that President Houphouet-Boigny and his Democratic Party of Ivory Coast-African Democratic Rally (PDCI) merely want to give the impression of democracy to please the IMF and the World Bank. The government, on the other hand, accuses the FPI of promoting hatred and violence. The Ivorian Workers' Party, the Ivorian Socialist Party, and the Republican Party declined to participate in the presidential race. In legislative elections on November 25, 1990, the PDCI won 163 of 175 seats,

leaving 12 seats for the opposition parties. Voter turnout was 35 to 40 percent compared to 60 percent for the October 28 presidential election.

**Egypt:** A referendum called by President Husni Mubarak on October 11 to dissolve the People's Assembly passed with 94 percent of the vote. New elections were held November 29, with runoffs on December 6. The main

Gabonese Democratic Party (PDG) won 59 of the 120 seats in the National Assembly, with an affiliated party picking up 3 more thereby providing the PDG with a majority. The National Recovery Movement-Lumberjacks (MORENA-Bucherons) won 20 seats, the Gabonese Party for Progress won 18, MORENA-Original 7, the Union for Socialism in Gabon 6, and the Circle for Renovation and Progress and the Union for Democracy and Development one each. Fifty-eight seats were decided in the initial first round on September 16, but results were cancelled in 32 districts after opposition parties protested "massive fraud," and another first round was held on October 21. Father Paul Mba Abessole, leader of MORENA-Bucheron, called on his party to boycott the second round (October 28) because of continuing election irregularities.

**Guatemala:** A little known candidate, Jorge Serrano Elias of the Solidarity Action Movement (MAS), won 24.21 percent of the vote in the November 11 first round of presidential elections and is the favorite to win the January 6 runoff. Serrano was only slightly behind front-runner Jorge Carpio (25.72 percent) of the Union of National Center (UCN), and he is expected to pick up the votes of Alvaro Arzu of the National Advancement Party (PAN) who won 17 percent of the vote and is a rival of Carpio. The incumbent Christian Democratic Party's (DCG) candidate, Alfonso Cabrera, placed third with 17.48 percent. Serrano, an evangelical businessman, is expected to do well among evangelical protestants who comprise one-third of the population. In the National Congress elections, the UCN won 41 seats, the DCG won 28, MAS won 18, PAN won 12, and General Rios Montt's party won 11. Montt had been considered the front-runner in the presidential campaign, but his candidacy was constitutionally barred because he led a coup in 1982.

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**ELECTIONS TO WATCH**

- Albania** -- legislative, February 10, 1991
- Algeria** -- legislative, before July 1991 (no date set)
- Bangladesh** -- legislative/presidential, (no date set)
- Bulgaria** -- parliamentary, May, 1991 (no date set)
- El Salvador** -- legislative, March 17, 1991
- Guatemala** -- presidential runoff, January 6, 1991
- Guyana** -- legislative/presidential, March 1991 (no date set)
- Mozambique** -- legislative/presidential, late 1991 (no date set)
- Paraguay** -- municipal, May 26, 1991
- Zaire** -- legislative/presidential, late 1991 (no date set)
- Zambia** -- legislative/presidential, by October 1991 (no date set)

opposition parties boycotted the election after their demands for judicial supervision of the polls and repeal of emergency laws were not met. Although some opposition candidates ran as independents, the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) won overwhelmingly. Unofficial results gave the NDP 348 seats in the 454-seat People's Assembly, the National Unionist Progressive Party 6, and independents 83.

**Gabon:** In the first multi-party elections in Gabon, the ruling

(continued on page 7)

## *IFES Pre-election Assessment Team Travels to Guyana*

Randal C. Teague, counsel to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), and Ronald A. Gould, assistant chief electoral officer at Elections Canada, traveled to Georgetown, Guyana October 8-13, 1990 to conduct an on-site technical assessment of Guyana's electoral system for IFES. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has awarded IFES a grant of \$389,000 to assist the Elections Commission of Guyana prepare for general elections to be held in 1991.



*Work continues on Guyana's registration list*

The IFES team examined the electoral process, including the role of the constitution, electoral laws, the composition and role of the Elections Commission, national registration and voter list compilation procedures, ballot security, vote counting and verification, and contest appeals

*(continued on page 7)*

## *IFES Assesses Electoral System of Nepal*

Members of a pre-election survey team recently returned from the Kingdom of Nepal where a grass roots democratic movement convinced King Birendra to pave the way for multi-party elections. IFES was asked by the United States Embassy in Nepal to send the survey mission in order to assess preparations for elections currently scheduled for Spring, 1991.

Team members included Mr. Lewis Macfarlane, an international affairs consultant and retired Foreign Service Officer who served as Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge d' Affaires in Nepal from 1985 to 1988; Professor Rei Shiratori, Professor of Political Science and Dean of Political Science, Tokai University, Director of the Research Institute of Social Sciences, and Chairman of the Institute for Political Studies in Japan (IPSJ); and Dr. Richard Smolka, Professor, School of Public Affairs, the American University, and author, editor, and publisher of Election Administration Reports.

The IFES team travelled through Nepal October 24 - November 4, 1990, to interview Nepalese government officials, election officials, political party representatives, journalists, business leaders, scholars, and U.S. Embassy officials. The team conducting 37 meetings which included an interview with Prime Minister Krishna Prasad Bhattarai.

The team was impressed by the organization and work done so far to prepare for the elections, and believes that the elections will be held next spring as promised. At the same time the team noted that many challenges lie ahead for the Nepalese. Questions of campaign practices and financing, possible violence and voter intimidation and duplication of names on voter registries remain obstacles to successful elections.

An international observer delegation for the elections has been suggested as one way to assist the democratic process in Nepal. Many of

the Nepalese interviewed expressed hope that there would be such a delegation. Fielding observers in Nepal will be a formidable task given the terrain and infrastructure of the country. Some observers may have to trek miles into the mountains to reach polling sites, but reaching such sites is considered crucial for a comprehensive assessment of the elections. The Nepal election is sure to be fascinating, and IFES looks forward to contributing to the democratic transition in that country.

The official results of the pre-election mission were released at a briefing in Washington by Mr. Macfarlane and Mr. Smolka on December 6, 1990. Findings and recommendations presented at the briefing are contained in the IFES report The 1991 Nepalese National Elections, A Pre-Election Survey. This report is available from IFES.

## ELECTION WATCH (cont.)

**Malaysia:** Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad announced the dissolution of Parliament on October 4, 1990. Elections were held October 20-21 to fill the 180 seats in the Dewan Rakyat, or lower house. The ruling Barisan Nasional (National Front) coalition (dominated by Dr. Mahathir's United Malays National Organization, UMNO) won 127 seats, followed by the Democratic Action Party (DAP) with 20, Parti Islam (PAS) with 7, Semangat '46 (Spirit of '46) with 7, Parti Bersatu Sabah (PBS) with 14, and independents with 4. Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, a former trade minister and member of UMNO, led two loose coalitions of opposition parties: Gagasan Rakyat (the "people's might") consisting of his Semangat '46, the DAP, and smaller parties; and Angkatan Perpaduan Ummah (Islamic Unity Movement) consisting of Semangat '46, PAS, and the Malaysian Islamic Council Front. Opposition parties won all of the seats in two states--Kelantan and Sabah, but very few elsewhere. The opposition claims they were denied access to the mainstream media and that the campaign period of nine days was too short. Commonwealth observers, however, concluded that despite concerns about "imperfections" the elections "were free in accordance with Malaysian law and circumstances."

**Poland:** With over 75 percent of the vote, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa won a landslide victory over Stanislaw Tyminski, a previously unknown emigrant businessman who returned to Poland after making millions in Canada and Peru. Tyminski shocked many political leaders and foreign observers by placing second in the November 25 first round with 23 percent of the vote, compared to Walesa's 40 percent and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's 18 percent. This forced a runoff, held December 9, with Walesa and the resignation of the Mazowiecki government. Alarmed by Tyminski's strong showing, Mazowiecki urged his supporters to back Walesa in the runoff, and polling responses indicate that they heeded that advice.

**USSR-Georgia:** In the USSR's first

officially-sanctioned multi-party elections, the non-Communist Georgian Round Table beat the Communist Party by 2 to 1. A total of 35 parties contested the elections. The Round Table, a coalition of seven parties led by former dissident Zviad Gamsakhurdia and supporting independence from the Soviet Union and creation of a free-market economy, won 110 of the 250 seats in the Georgian Soviet, while the Communist Party won 25. Most of the smaller parties that won the remaining seats are closer to the Round Table than the Communists. The National Democratic Party, led by Giorgi Chanturia, boycotted the elections and set up a "shadow parliament"--the Georgian National Congress.

**Western Samoa:** Seventy-four percent of registered voters participated in an October 29 referendum on universal suffrage. Forty-nine percent voted in favor of universal suffrage, and 44 percent against, a difference of less than 2,000 votes. The opposition suspects that the fact that 21,000 eligible voters were not registered was deliberate. Prime Minister Tofilau Eti has said that as a result of the referendum he will offer legislation to introduce universal suffrage by elections scheduled for February, apparently contradicting a statement he previously made in parliament.

**Yugoslavia:** The hard-line leader of the Serbian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party, Slobodan Milosevic, won an overwhelming 60 percent of the vote in *Serbia* in that republic's December 9 presidential election. He beat his primary opponent, Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement, by a 4 to 1 margin. In parliamentary elections, the Socialist won 87 of 250 seats, and the opposition won 9; the remaining contests were decided in a December 23 runoff, the results of which will be reported in the next issue.

## GUYANA (cont.)

procedures. Team members also researched the role of political parties, minority parties' coalitions, and civic reform organizations and returned to

Washington with copies of election regulations and other relevant material for IFES' resource center.

The team presented an extensive report to IFES which has been forwarded to the Government of Guyana and to AID for consideration. The report contains recommendations of specific commodities that could be provided by AID or other donors.

Widely reported charges of fraud in the 1980 and 1985 elections have focused international attention on the upcoming balloting. At the same time, the majority People's National Congress Party recently stated its commitment to holding free and fair elections and its desire to eliminate structural opportunities for election fraud. True to this position, President Desmond Hoyte joined the opposition parties in inviting former president Jimmy Carter, as president of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, to lead a group of international observers during the elections. Mr. Gould of the IFES team briefed Carter during the latter's visit to Georgetown in October 1990 on IFES' findings and recommendations.

Under the 1980 constitution, Guyana's National Assembly comprises 53 members elected directly through a single-list proportional system and 12 regional representatives elected indirectly. The head of the majority party in Parliament serves as Executive President. Guyanese campaigns, following the general Commonwealth model, are generally only five to six weeks long.

The beginning of the campaign period will have to wait, however, as the government and opposition are currently negotiating over provisions for a nationwide enumeration of voters. Opposition leaders have long charged the majority party with concealing irregularities in the voter registry, and a nationwide canvass to register all eligible voters was agreed upon in October by the majority and minority parties. The means of implementing that enumeration, however, have now engendered a spirited debate.

## VIA CIVICA UPDATE



*Via Civica Executive Director Dr. Carlos Quinonez (top row, center) and a group of young volunteers*

Since July 1990, Via Civica has concentrated its efforts on educating all Nicaraguan citizens regarding roles and responsibilities in the political and social framework of their country. Current programs include a heavy promotion of the blue and white Nicaraguan flag, ongoing seminars in high schools and the production of a civic education text for preschool children. Via Civica continues to conduct periodic civic education seminars in Managua, and has volunteers working in other provincial cities, with the goal of providing education all the way to the Atlantic Coast. While Via Civica stresses the importance of youth education, it is increasing its efforts to encompass the adult population in seminars and community activities. IFES has supported Via Civica's

inroads in gaining access even to Nicaragua's mountainous regions to provide local transportation to seminars and other community projects.

On October 12, Via Civica sponsored the first Columbus Day celebration in Managua in more than 10 years along with the Ministry of Education and the Mayors Office of Managua. They organized a number of activities that culminated in a program that attracted 1,000 participants. Future plans include a civic education seminar for city officials, establishment of a Nicaraguan election resource center, and a conference on civic education.

Via Civica is dedicated to establishing a permanent organization to promote participants in the democratic system in Nicaragua through its dedicated group of volunteers.

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**SPECIAL REPORT: INTERAMERICAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS CONFERENCE**

Twenty-five nations from South, Central, North America and the Caribbean participated in the InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference in Caracas, Venezuela from May 15th through May 19th. Fourteen presidents of Supreme Electoral Councils or their equivalents were in attendance.

The nations represented were: Antigua, Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Grenada, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, St. Lucia, Uruguay, the United Kingdom, the United States and Venezuela.

The fourteen presidents of Supreme Electoral Councils in their various nations who attended the conference were Alvin A. Emmanuel of Antigua; Rodolfo Emilio Munne of Argentina; Juan Ignacio Garcia R. of Chile; Gonzalo Brenes Camacho of Costa Rica; Alvaro Campo Posada of Columbia; Francisco J. Ramon G. of Ecuador; Jaime Francisco Romero Ventura of El Salvador; Alphonsus C. Redhead of Grenada; Roberto Antonio Callejas Zuniga of Honduras; Gladstone E. Mills of Jamaica; Miguel Acosta Romero of Mexico; Jose Luis Ibarra Llanos of Paraguay; Justin McClair Daniel of St. Lucia; and Carlos Delgado Chapellin of Venezuela.

**PRESIDENT CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ KEYNOTE SPEAKER**

Carlos Andres Perez, President of the host nation Venezuela, opened the conference with his keynote address to the participants. He thanked the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the



*Conference participants view demonstration of computer voting equipment.*

InterAmerican Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance (CAPEL) for jointly sponsoring the event along with the Supreme Electoral Council of Venezuela.

CAPEL, headquartered in Costa Rica, is a branch of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, and its main goal is to provide technical electoral assistance to countries that request it, with particular emphasis on the Americas.

President Perez welcomed the delegates to the conference, and stated that an election process "that promotes citizen participation in political activities, and in making decisions that affect their lives individually and collectively, is indispensable in the consolidation and perfection of a democratic system."

He spoke of the historic process currently taking place in which Latin America - with two notable exceptions - was implementing free, open, and democratic elections throughout the hemisphere. "The conference takes place," he said, "as

Latin America culminates in an historic process of the consolidation of representative democracy through secret direct popular election of their dignitaries and legislative bodies."

Recognizing the socio-economic problems that still exist in the region, President Perez maintained that they could best be dealt with through the

*(continued on page 2)*

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direct participation of the people in the democratic process.

### **PAPERS, CRITIQUES, AND WORKSHOPS**

Following the keynote address, various participants at the conference presented a series of papers dealing with the "Essential Elements of a Democratic Electoral Process," which was the theme for the gathering.

Topics included the different aspects of election administration; voter registration; voting secrecy and vote tabulation; the role of political parties in the electoral process; civic education, participation and training; election day activities; the importance of the technical aspects of the election process such as ballot boxes, ballot paper, the proper use of ink, voting booths, and more.

The speakers presenting papers were Francisco Ramon Gallegos of Ecuador who discussed "The Electoral Tribunal;" Ruy Ribeiro Franca of Brazil on "The Electoral Register;" William C. Kimberling of the United States who talked about "Voting, Vote Counting and Fraud Control;" Juan Carlos Rey of Venezuela who discussed "The Role of Political Parties;" Monica Jimenez of Chile on "Civic Education, Participation and Training;" Gonzalo Brenes of Costa Rica on "Election Day;" and F. Clifton White, Chairman of IFES, who gave an "Analysis of the Democratic Election Process."

The papers, along with the critiques and other information germane to each topic, will be published this year as a manual, edited by Dr. Gabriel Murillo Castano. IFES will make it available to election administrators and scholars throughout the world.

### **ELECTION EQUIPMENT EXHIBIT**

Another major feature of the conference was an exhibit of critical election equipment by vendors of these products from various nations.

Participants at the conference had the opportunity to view, as well as to witness demonstrations of such equipment as direct recording electronic voting systems from Shouptronc and Votex Systems, Inc.; indelible ink from Criminal Research

Products; vote counting machines and optic scan from American Information Systems; portable and durable voting booths from Pakflatt Ltd; an imagery voting system from Nixdorf; an official documents printer from Transkrit; central optic scan counting systems, punchcard voting systems, direct recording electronic systems, and other products from Business Records Corporation. All of the vendors expressed their appreciation to IFES for the extensive opportunity to meet these important election officials.

The importance of such equipment in the electoral process cannot be overemphasized. The secrecy of the vote, proper voter registration, prevention of fraud, procedures at the voting stations, security, the counting, reporting and certification of votes, availability of educational materials, the ability of voters to get to the voting stations (or the voting stations to be brought to them) are all vital elements in the electoral process. The proper use of ink, for example, to identify voters and make sure they don't vote more than once is critical in certain areas. Portable voting booths which can be transported to remote regions that don't have adequate public transportation facilities can ensure that everyone has the opportunity to cast a vote. The products that are necessary to ensure a free and competitive election process were a primary concern of all the participants at the conference, and the vendors who were present had an appreciative audience for their wares.

The conference went a long way to dispelling any doubts that democracy is on the rise throughout the world, and that Latin America is on the cutting edge of this historic development. Increasingly, the ballot box is becoming the dominant means of effecting political change within a nation, and the citizens of all Latin American countries with two exceptions have gone to the polling station to vote for the government of their choice at this writing.

Carlos Delgado Chapellin, President of the Supreme Electoral Council of Venezuela, expressed the spirit of these changes concisely when he stated, "One can appreciate that this conference will be extremely helpful in the continuing revelation of essential elements in the different electoral areas that will be discussed here."

F. Clifton White, Chairman of IFES, elaborated on Latin America's role in the advance of democracy in his own message to the conference. "Latin America is leading the world in the development of democratic institutions," he said, "and will set the pace for new democracies in Eastern Europe, Africa and Southeast Asia. In the future we look forward to holding similar events in order to promote the exchange of information and experience among democratic nations around the world."

Sonia Picado Sotela, the Executive Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, underlined the historical importance of  
*(continued on page 3)*

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The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) foundation dedicated to providing assistance in monitoring, supporting and strengthening the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies. For additional information contact: The International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 1620 I Street, NW, Suite 611, Washington, DC 20006; (202) 828-8507.

## ***OBSERVER REPORT: ORDERLY BULGARIAN ELECTIONS PRODUCE ASSEMBLY WITH STRONG OPPOSITION***



*Members of a Bulgarian precinct electoral commission verify counts at polling station in Gotse Delchev.*

On November 10, 1989, Bulgarians were startled to hear the "voluntary resignation" of dictator Todor Zhivkov, a Khrushchev protege who had ruled the nation since 1956. The coup d'etat, organized by fellow Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) leaders, arose from an increased awareness of Bulgaria's international isolation, the declining economic situation, and Zhivkov's increasingly erratic and arrogant behavior.

Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's longtime foreign minister, emerged as the new party leader. He quickly pledged to welcome and promote the development of pluralism and the rule of law, allowing opposition groups to register as legal entities and promising to eliminate the feared State Security police. By February, the BCP had become the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and had taken the first steps to separating state and party.

Meanwhile, fourteen of the fifty or so new political parties had formed the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). The UDF quickly showed its ability to stage mass demonstrations, and its leaders gained the agreement of the BSP to enter into roundtable discussions on the future of the country. The roundtable, which came to function as a substitute parliament, decided to conduct elections to select members of a Great National Assembly that will draft a new national constitution.

On March 12, 1990, the Election Act for Bulgaria established the rights of political parties, the timing of the elections, and a new national electoral law.

Under the new law, the Assembly would be composed of 400 delegates. Of these, 200 would be selected on party ballots from single member districts; 200 would

be selected from 28 proportional representations, multi-candidate regions. The primary elections would be held on June 10, with June 17 runoff elections in single-member districts where no candidate had received more than 50% of the vote.

In April, IFES sponsored a three person pre-election technical assessment team's meetings with the Bulgarian Central Electoral Commission (CEC), the major political parties, trade unions, media sources, and citizen organizations. The team was composed of Dr. Richard Smolka, editor and publisher, Election Administration Reports; Dr. John D. Bell, scholar of Bulgarian history at the University of Maryland; and Ronald A. Gould, Chief Electoral Officer, Elections Canada.

The team examined the new law and procedures being developed for its implementation, then published an analysis of potential difficulties and necessary electoral commodities. Gould arranged for the Canadian government to donate and ship to Bulgaria ten tons of computer paper, for use at the CEC facility. To promote voter confidence in the new system, IFES purchased ballot security pouches for transporting the regional vote tally protocols to the CEC. IFES also responded to CEC requests for

*(continued on page 7)*

### ***InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference (cont.)***

these events in her own message to the conference. "The occasion of the InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference coincides with the latest phase of the democratization process that transformed the Latin American political map," she said. "It makes sense now to consolidate the respect and the effective exercise of human electoral institutions."

"It will make a very important contribution to the development of rights, particularly political rights, whose operation is fundamental to the democratic system of government. To this end, the activity that gathers us should serve to identify guidelines that perfect the mechanisms through which people design their own governments."

One message that came through loud and clear at the conference is that there is no single way to make democracy work. The purpose of the conference was for participants to exchange information and ideas. Every democracy requires an electoral system tailored to its own particular cultural and social traditions.

Democracy is dynamic and evolving, not static. These concepts were demonstrated during the critiques that followed the presentation of each paper, then in the workshops that came after the critiques. All participants spoke from personal experience about systems and techniques that worked - or did not work - in their own countries. As such, the workshops were exercises in democracy.

Dr. Manuel Rafael Garcia Lizardo (Dominican Republic) gave an enthusiastic assessment of conference results. Election expert Dr. Richard G. Smolka commented in Election Administration Reports that "The conference was the first time that chief electoral officers of North, Central and South America and the Caribbean assembled to discuss common problems... Perhaps the most provocative idea was the possibility of developing an electoral code of behavior."

## OBSERVER REPORT:

### IFES Delegation Travels to Romania to Observe May 20 Elections

IFES sent a ten-member international delegation of election specialists and Eastern European experts to observe the May 20, 1990 election of the Romanian President and Constituent Assembly.

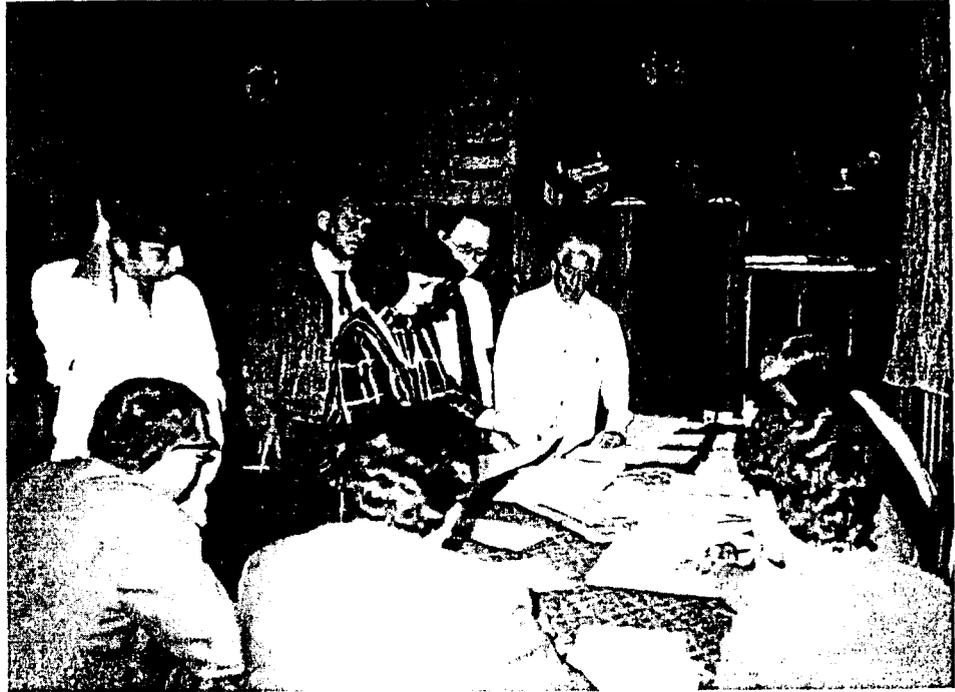
Members of the delegation observed the electoral process between May 10-26 in some fifty polling stations in three regions of Romania: Bucharest and adjoining judets (counties); Brasov and Covasna Judets; and the Bacau and Harghita Judets. The delegation both observed election day procedures and conducted meetings with the primary political actors to discuss the electoral process.

The IFES delegation was offered free access to all stages and elements of the electoral process during its visit to Romania. This was the result of the Romanian Government's decision, soon after the announcement of the May election, to open the process to international observers. The Central Electoral Bureau (CEB) was authorized to invite and accredit international observers. Approximately 500 observers monitored the May 20 election.

In the race for president, National Salvation Front candidate and interim president Ion Iliescu won with 85 percent of the popular vote. Radu Campeanu, National Liberal Party candidate, garnered 10 percent of the vote, while National Peasants' Party candidate Ion Ratiu received 4 percent of the vote.

#### Overall Impressions of the Election

Based upon its observations and interviews, the delegation concluded that the choice of Ion Iliescu as President and the composition of the Constituent Assembly appeared to reflect accurately the ballots cast during the May 20 election. Iliescu, candidate of the National Salvation Front, won the election with 85% of the votes. The delegation found, with only few exceptions, that individuals were able to cast their ballots in secret and



*IFES consultant Michael Radu (second from left) looks on as registration lists are checked at a polling station in Brasov.*

without fear of intimidation, and that ballots were counted accurately.

However, the delegation did find significant cause for concern with the Romanian electoral process. Specifically, the delegation was concerned with 1) flaws in election day procedures, 2) a lack of understanding and appreciation of the electoral process among the electorate and 3) the violent character of the campaign period. Because of the magnitude of these latter two concerns, most in the delegation departed Romania with serious reservations about the viability of the electoral process as a whole.

#### Inconsistencies in the Process

First, by the standards of elections in countries with established democratic traditions, the Romanian electoral process showed significant procedural flaws. The delegation witnessed the following inconsistencies on election day:

1. Unauthorized persons providing unsolicited assistance to voters;
2. Unauthorized persons assisting in vote tabulation procedures;
3. Technically inaccurate implementation of tabulation procedures;
4. Campaign propaganda posted within 500 meters of the polling stations;
5. Improperly sealed or unsealed ballot boxes;
6. Inconsistent implementation of the national identification stamping procedures;

The above procedural inconsistencies did not appear to influence profoundly the outcome of the election. However, measures must

*(continued on page 7)*

## ELECTION CALENDAR

### *Selected Election Results:*

**Algeria:** Algeria conducted its first multiparty elections on June 12, 1990. 11 parties and 1365 independent candidates competed for seats on the local and regional councils. On the municipal level, the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) prevailed by a narrow margin (32%) over the National Liberation Front (FLN) (29%), with the remaining percent divided among the independent candidates. Regionally, FIS won with 53% of the vote to the FLN's 32%. Although voter turnout was less than 20 percent in the southern, historically Berber areas, overall turnout averaged 65%. Voting proceeded for the most part without incident; however, some parties later questioned the effectiveness of proxy voting. National elections are scheduled to take place before mid-1991.

**Burma/Myanmar:** Despite military repression including the arrest and intimidation of opposition leaders, the National League for Democracy (NLD) won an estimated two-thirds of the vote in parliamentary elections held May 27. They were the first multiparty elections in 30 years. The vote for the NLD and against the pro-military National Unity Party was a clear expression of the people's hatred for the military. Although official results were slow to come in, there was no question that the NLD won a landslide victory, claiming over 350 of the 575 seats in the National Assembly. Voting overall was considered heavy, although it was lighter in some areas because of the fear of army reprisals. The military government has remained silent about exactly when it will transfer power.

**Colombia:** Colombians elected the ruling Liberal Party's candidate Cesar Gaviria Trujillo as president in balloting on May 27. Gaviria garnered 48 percent of the vote, followed by Alvaro Gomez of the Movement for National Salvation with 25 percent, Antonio

Navarro of the M-19 guerrilla movement with 12 percent, and Rodrigo Lloreda of the Social Conservatives with 11 percent. In spite of threats of violence by drug traffickers, the election was peaceful, but voter turnout was relatively low at about 50 percent. The election campaign was fraught with violence; three presidential candidates, the

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### ELECTIONS TO WATCH

**Brazil** -- legislative,  
October 3, 1990

**Haiti** -- legislative/presidential,  
November 4, 1990

**Guatemala** -- legislative/presidential,  
November 4, 1990

**Lesotho** -- legislative and presidential,  
September 1990

**Mongolia** -- legislative/presidential,  
July 29, 1990

**Sao Tome/Principe** -- legislative/  
presidential, December 1990  
(no date set)

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popular Liberal Party candidate Luis Carlos Galan, Patriotic Union candidate Bernardo Jaramillo, and M-19 candidate Carlos Pizarro Leon Gomez, were assassinated, and dozens of people were killed by car bombs.

In March 11 elections to Colombia's bicameral Congress, the ruling Liberal Party won a majority (59%) of the seats in both houses.

**Czechoslovakia:** With a remarkably high voter turnout of 95.39 percent, the

parliamentary elections in the Czech and Slovak Republics resulted in a clear victory for the Civic Forum/Public Against Violence coalition on June 10. For the Czech National Council, the Civic Forum won 126 of 200 seats, while the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won 30 seats. In the Federal Assembly, composed of the House of the People and the House of Nations for each republic, Civic Forum won 84 out of 150 seats in the House of the People, and 80 of 150 seats in the House of Nations. The Communist Party won 20 seats and 20 seats respectively. On July 5, the new Federal Assembly elected interim president Vaclav Havel as the country's president for the next two years.

**Dominica:** The Dominican Freedom Party led by Prime Minister Eugenia Charles won 11 of the 21 constituencies in Dominica's May 28 parliamentary elections, giving the DFP the majority required to form a government. It will be Mrs. Charles' third consecutive five-year term as prime minister. Fifty-nine candidates from three parties contended for the parliamentary seats. The United Workers Party won 6 seats, and the Dominica Labor Party won 4. Dominica gained independence from Great Britain in 1978.

**Dominican Republic:** The results from the May 16 presidential election gave Joaquin Balaguer of the Social Christian Reformist Party (PRSC) a narrow lead over Juan Bosch of the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD). However, following allegations by Bosch that he had been defrauded of victory, the Central Election Board agreed to a procedure to verify the vote. The final results gave Balaguer 35 percent of the vote, Bosch 34 percent, and Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) candidate Jose Francisco Pena-Gomez 24 percent.

In legislative elections on the

*Election Results (cont.)*

same day, the PRSC won 16 seats in the 30-seat Senate and 42 or 43 seats in the 120-seat House of Deputies. The PLD won 41 or 42 seats in the House of Deputies, and the PRD won 34 to 36. Many of the results are being challenged and will not be published for several weeks.

Peru: Mario Vargas Llosa, a candidate who barely finished first in the first round of the Peruvian presidential and legislative elections, conceded defeat on the evening of June 10 to Alberto Fujimori, presidential candidate representing the Cambio [Change] '90 party. Vargas, nominee of the FREDEMO party, garnered 34% of the total vote to Fujimori's 57%. In the legislative elections, however, Cambio '90 won only 25% of the available seats, while FREDEMO secured 34%. APRA, a historically strong party in Peru, won 23% of the seats, with the Leftists taking 13%. Voter turnout was 80% of the electorate.

*InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference  
May 15 - 19, 1990  
Caracas, Venezuela*

*Carlos Andres Perez, President of Venezuela, delivers keynote address at Conference.*



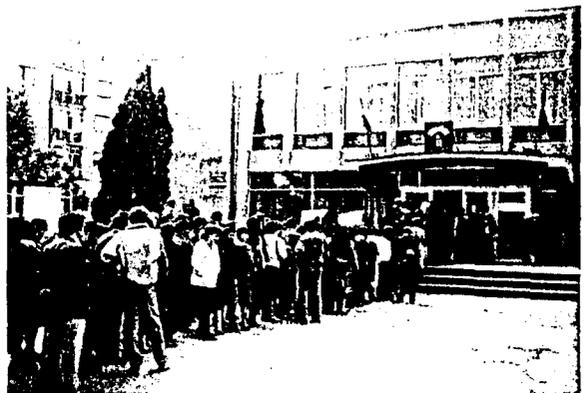
*Below, l. to r.: Dr. Gonzalo Brenes Camacho, Nicaraguan Vice President Virgilio Godoy, Chairman F. Clifton White, Via Civica Director Dr. Carlos Quinonez, Director Richard W. Soudrette and Robert Hutchings.*



*Romanian Election Observer Mission  
May 20, 1990*



*At left, Romanian banner celebrates "First Communist-Free Zone." Anxious voters waited hours to cast historic ballots, below.*



## Observer Report - Romania (cont.)

be taken to resolve these inconsistencies prior to subsequent elections in order to guarantee that future abuses of the electoral process do not occur.

Second, the delegation found a great deal of confusion among voters as to proper balloting procedure and a general lack of understanding about the voting process.

In some instances, voters took up to ten minutes to cast their ballots. The combination of this lack of voter education with severely limited space and inadequately staffed polls resulted in an unbearably slow election: it was typical for voters to wait up to three hours in line to cast their ballots.

A voter education program which adequately prepares the electorate for future elections is therefore highly recommended.

### Official Response

Third, the delegation found reason to be concerned with the conduct of the campaign. Specifically, the delegation was troubled by the unwillingness of President Iliescu to adequately respond to:

1. Genuine and documented instances of violence and intimidation of parties in opposition to the National Salvation Front in the period of election campaigning; and
2. Reasonable complaints by the same parties in the same period of unfair access to radio, television and print media.

Although the delegation did not find evidence to support allegations of conspiracy by the leadership of the National Salvation Front against the political opposition, the unwillingness of the President to acknowledge and to take timely and adequate measures to correct these blatant abuses had a significant inhibiting impact upon the freeness and fairness of the campaign.

In addition to sending an observer mission to Romania, IFES arranged the loan of four Polaroid

cameras and purchased film and supplies for the identification badges used by all international observers.

The Romania observer mission and commodities transfer was made possible through a grant from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

## Upcoming Projects

### HAITI

IFES was recently awarded a \$1.8 million grant from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to provide technical assistance to the Haitian Provisional Electoral Council (CEP) in preparation for presidential elections in November. IFES will assist the CEP in voter registration, election official training and procurement of election commodities.

### NEPAL

IFES has submitted a proposal to USAID for an election assistance project in Nepal. A team composed of specialists in Nepal and election administration would perform a pre-election assessment to determine the Government of Nepal's ability to conduct free, fair and open presidential and parliamentary elections, reporting their findings and recommendations to USAID. King Birendra has stated that elections in Nepal will be held by April 1991.

## Observer Mission - Bulgaria (cont.)

educational materials on parliamentary procedures and separation of powers.

In June, IFES organized a seven-person election observer mission, composed of the three members of the pre-assessment team, plus Norbert J. Yasharoff, a Bulgarian-born former USA official; Morton Sklar, Professor of Law, Catholic University and human rights activist; Charles Lasham, Chairman, Association of Electoral Administrators (U.K.); and Roberta D. Kimball, specialist in electoral administration and finance.

In the June 10 primary elections, each voter cast two votes: one for a political party and one for a candidate in a single-member district. In 81 of the 119 single-member districts, no candidate received more than 50% of the vote, necessitating a runoff election was required. Single-member results were announced nationwide within 48 hours of closing the polls. Winners of the 200 proportional representation (PR) seats were determined by computer, using the d'Hondt system developed in West Germany. The more complicated PR results were determined and announced four days after election day, leading to considerable voter anxiety.

The Assembly convened on Wednesday, July 11. Under its procedures, major agreements must be passed by a 2/3 majority. The elections produced 211 delegates from the BSP (52.75%); 144 from the UDF (36%); 23 from the Turkish Movement for Rights and Freedoms (5.75%); 16 from the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (4%); 2 from the Fatherland - Union (.5%); 2 Independent National Representatives (.5%); 1 from the Fatherland - Labor Party (.25%); and 1 from the Social Democratic Party (Non-Marxists) (.25%).

Throughout the process, observers witnessed a commendable attention to following mandated procedures, to conducting orderly polling procedures, and to scrupulously documenting complaints and allegations of misconduct. Observers expressed admiration for the genuine desire of the members and staff of the CEC, and of the

(continued on page 8)

Observer Report - Bulgaria  
(cont.)

volunteer regional and precinct officials, to conduct an election that would produce a clear mandate for the Grand National Assembly to craft a new government.

IFES played an important role in the Bulgarian elections. The pre-election assessment team worked closely with the CEC staff to identify the potential pitfalls of its law and procedures. The election observer team, in addition to working nationwide to document implementation of the law and avert incidences of fraud, was granted unique access to the CEC computer center where results were tabulated. When voter unrest at the "delay" in counting the ballots was at its height, IFES specialists taped a television program, lending authoritative perspective to the truly minimal gap between poll closing and final announcement of results.

The Bulgarian CEC achieved a remarkable administrative accomplishment. Within 95 days of passage of the new Election Act, an election structure was established, election commissions were formed, registration and voting procedures designed, and a free and competitive election was conducted. The election involved seven million voters selecting from more than 3,000 candidates representing 40 political parties in 228 jurisdictions, with a voter participation rate of more than 90%.

Local elections will be scheduled for November or December. Savvy specialists wonder whether the opposition, with its energetic campaign structure still in place, will make an even stronger showing; or if the local focus will benefit Socialists' reminders of favors only incumbents can deliver.



*Determined Bulgarian Socialist Party members stage final pre-election rally.*

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# **IFES** International Foundation for Electoral Systems



Elections: The Roots of Democracy

Winter 1990

Volume 1, Number 1

## **INTERVIEW WITH THE CHAIRMAN**

F. Clifton White is the Chairman and founder of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. He has been active in American politics for four decades and has advised presidential campaigns both here and abroad. He has been a pioneer in the modern public affairs field.

**Mr. White, the purpose of IFES is to promote free and fair elections in emerging democracies. Why is this important to the United States and its citizens?**

**Mr. White:** I think the answer to that is pretty simple and basic. First, democracies tend to be more peaceful, productive, and stable, which means a more peaceful and productive world.

Second, if we believe in freedom and that all people are entitled to freedom--meaning freedom of choice, freedom to be what they want to be, to go where they want to go, to live like they want to live-- then we ought to be interested in whether people in various other governmental units also have that right.

If we start telling them what they should do with that freedom, then we're going too far. But they should have the right, and the right should be unfettered; it should not be intimidated.

**In your experience, what have you observed to be the impetus for elections?**

**Mr. White:** The fundamental motivator is the desire for freedom, which I believe is an inherent feeling that all people have. What's happening in Eastern Europe and other places supports that belief.

In order to achieve freedom people have to have a voice in what government is going to do to and for them. Recognition of this fact provides the drive behind the demand for a democratic election process that gives the people the power to decide who is going to run their government.

Of course, the right to freedom and to an elective process that protects that freedom also involves tremendous responsibilities. The process only works if people participate in elections by running for office, educating themselves about the candidates and their views, and voting.

**What makes elections so vital? And is there more to a democracy than holding elections?**

**Mr. White:** The function of the election is essentially to be the vehicle through which the people are able to express their opinions.

For an election to work properly, candidates have to articulate a position in regard to public policy that the people can understand and on which they can base a decision.

Ideally, candidates should offer clear and differing views as to what the direction of government should be and how it should get there. By voting for one or the other, the people express their opinion about whose views are better.

I firmly believe that the key to democratic elections is to have competitive political parties. To be competitive means having policy differences as to the government's role and how it should govern. One-party states are NOT democracies. They offer no choices.

(continued on next page)

## **DIRECTOR'S REPORT**

In the closing days of 1989 the world experienced a tidal wave of democracy. With the opening of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of totalitarian regimes throughout Eastern Europe, we begin the new decade with the hope that the 1990's will truly be the decade of democracy. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems is committed to promoting democracy by encouraging emerging democracies to conduct free and fair elections.

Over the past year IFES has experienced phenomenal growth in its program activities to strengthen the election process. IFES has focused its efforts in three main areas: electoral information exchange and assistance, election observation, and organizing a major conference of Latin American election administrators and officials.

In the area of election information exchange and assistance, IFES has responded to requests from 15 countries including Venezuela, Paraguay, Nigeria, and Hungary.

(continued on next page)

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### *Director's Report (cont.)*

One of IFES's most interesting program activities has been the US/USSR Election Official Exchange Project. (Details on next page.)

A second area of IFES program activity has been organizing and sending knowledgeable persons to observe elections. Through an agreement with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, IFES has sent observers to cover elections in eight countries in Latin America. Detailed election reports for each country have been published as part of CSIS's Latin American Election Series. IFES has also received observer reports on elections in Tunisia, Grenada, Taiwan and India.

Finally, IFES is organizing the InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference to be held in Caracas, Venezuela, May 15-19, 1990. This important meeting is being co-hosted by the InterAmerican Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL) and the Supreme Electoral Council of Venezuela.

This conference will bring together senior election officials, representatives of political parties and academics from Latin America and the Caribbean to focus on "The Essential Elements of a Democratic Election Process." A unique feature of the conference will be an electoral products vendors exhibit.

I would like to express my appreciation to our Chairman, F. Clifton White, and to the entire Board of IFES for their tireless guidance and support. Special thanks also go to the Agency for International Development, the Tinker Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, NYNEX, the Adolph Coors Company, the International Exchange Council, and the National Endowment for Democracy for their financial support for the work of IFES.

In the coming year, IFES looks forward to continuing to assist emerging democracies develop and strengthen their election processes, in support of the goal of making the 1990's truly the decade of democracy.

Sincerely,

*Richard W. Soudriette*  
Richard W. Soudriette  
Director

### *Interview with the Chairman (cont.)*

The democratic election process is important because it allows the people to determine who will govern. Not all elections do that. All too often, the outcome is predetermined, and not by the people.

A further requirement for the proper functioning of the election process is that the government officials in power allow it to work even if they lose an election.

The big danger in government is power and people's desire to hold on to power. That's why the process is critical. When there is a process that is clearly established and widely supported by citizen involvement, then it becomes difficult to subvert or ignore the people's choice.

**Are the electoral processes of the U.S. and Western Europe exportable to other nations?**

**Mr. White:** I think they are as examples. However, the process has to be culturally adapted.

With the increasing demand for free elections and the widespread acceptance of elections as a means of legitimizing governments, the next step for an emerging democracy is to develop a process for conducting elections. I think our experience with

the election process can be very helpful in this effort.

Of course, we have to be careful not to imply that all of the particulars of our process--such as registration rules and who's eligible to vote--have to be duplicated in order to have a valid electoral process.

But as to the fundamentals of the process--the secret ballot, how that secrecy is preserved, how votes are counted and reported, the supervision of the electoral process--we have a good system to use as an example.

**What role do you see IFES playing in the effort to promote democracy in countries that do not have a history of popularly elected government?**

**Mr. White:** Our role is to become a widely known and used resource for information about the electoral process.

We are working in that direction by building our database and developing case studies. Through observing and studying elections, we hope to have in our databank that which worked and that which did not.

We want to share this information with others, who can then decide what may be useful in their cultural context.

We are promoting and we believe in what we call a democratic elective process. That is the participation of the citizens of a country in determining who their government is going to be.

## **THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

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The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a private, non-profit 501(c)(3) foundation dedicated to providing assistance in monitoring, supporting and strengthening the mechanics of the election process in emerging democracies. For additional information contact: The International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 1620 I Street, NW, Suite 611, Washington, DC 20006; (202) 828-8507.

## US/USSR ELECTION OFFICIAL EXCHANGE PROJECT

One of IFES's new projects is the US/USSR Election Official Exchange Project. IFES received a \$25,000 grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation to send a thirteen-member delegation from the U.S. Federal Electoral Commission (FEC) to the Soviet Union.

The delegation was officially invited by the Soviet Central Electoral Commission (CEC) to come to the USSR from June 4-14, 1989, for the purpose of sharing information on the systems of elections in the United States.

The FEC delegation traveled to Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev and held extensive meetings with the Soviet CEC.

The FEC delegation also had the opportunity to learn about the recent elections in the Soviet Union and the sweeping changes in the electoral system under the leadership of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

The highlights of the visit included attending a session of the Congress of People's Deputies; meeting with Boris Yeltsin, a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet; and an hour-long session with Soviet Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

A reciprocal visit to the United States was hosted by IFES and the FEC on November 2-11, 1989. The eight-member CEC delegation was headed by CEC Chairman Vladimir Orlov.

While in the United States the delegation traveled to Washington, D.C., Richmond, Virginia, and New York City. During their visit the group held a wide variety of meetings with numerous local, state and federal election officials, Congressmen, Senators, political analysts, and Administration officials. In Washington the delegation met with Vice President J. Danforth Quayle.

This visit was made possible through the generosity of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation which made an additional grant in the amount of \$43,500, NYNEX which sponsored a dinner on behalf of the Soviet CEC, and the International Exchange Council which sponsored a luncheon for the delegation on Capitol Hill.

IFES is now working with the FEC to develop the third phase of the exchange program. It is anticipated this phase will focus on information exchange and additional missions to observe this year's local elections in the Soviet Union and the fall congressional elections in the United States.

IFES wishes to express its appreciation to all of the Commissioners and Staff of the Federal Election Commission for all their help and support in making this exciting and historic project a success.

## VIA CIVICA: Promoting Citizen Involvement in Nicaragua's Elections

Via Civica, a broadly based nonpartisan civic organization, was established in July 1989. Its purpose is to use democratic and impartial civic education programs to promote participation by Nicaragua's citizens in the presidential elections scheduled for February 25, 1990.

A large cross-section of Nicaraguan society, including labor, business and civic groups, are represented on the Via Civica board of directors.

IFES provides technical assistance and material support to Via Civica to enable it to carry out registration, voter education and electoral training projects in Nicaragua.

In order to publicize its voter registration and electoral education programs, Via Civica has produced

radio spots, press releases and other materials such as handbills, T-shirts, bumper stickers and buttons.

Training seminars on electoral procedures are an important part of Via Civica's program activities. Volunteer leaders are participating in the seminars so they in turn can train field volunteers.

Currently the organization has 400 leaders and more than 2,500 volunteers trained and operating in 13 of Nicaragua's 14 departments.

Church groups, labor unions and civic/business associations have supported Via Civica programs nationwide.

IFES consultant Henry Quintero traveled to Nicaragua on several occasions to observe Via Civica operations in Managua and in the

provincial cities and towns of Granada, Masaya, Masatepe and Diriamba.

In all locations, Via Civica operations were well-organized and volunteers strongly motivated and enthusiastic in carrying out civic education programs in a hostile environment.

Via Civica's nonpartisan programs have reached audiences nationwide. Public awareness and acceptance of its goals and objectives have prompted the Sandinista government to take measures to restrict or eliminate the organization's civic education programs.

But even these anti-democratic actions have not deterred Via Civica from continuing and expanding its work throughout Nicaragua.

## **INTERAMERICAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS CONFERENCE: *Identifying the Essential Elements of a Democratic Election Process***

This spring Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez will keynote an historic conference of election officials from twenty-three Latin American and Caribbean nations, to be held at the Caracas Hilton. Costa Rican President Oscar Arias has been invited to address the conference as well.

The InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference, scheduled for May 15 - 19, 1990, will attract some 150 public officials, academics, and leaders of political parties and civic organizations.

During seminars and workshops they will consider the essential elements of a democratic election process using recent and upcoming Latin American elections as case studies.

One seminar in particular should prove to be an extremely interesting case study of the evolution and development of the political parties in

Venezuela. The primary speaker on this subject will be Marco Tulio Bruni Celli, a well known figure in Venezuelan politics for many years.

His remarks will be complemented by commentary from ex-President of Venezuela Dr. Rafael Caldera and from ex-Presidential candidate Dr. Luis Pinerua. All three have played an integral part in the maturation of the political process in Venezuela and will offer valuable insight into the important role of competitive political parties in a democratic electoral process.

The Conference reflects Latin America's leading role in the worldwide movement toward democracy and self-government. It was organized by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (CAPEL), a special program of the Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos (IIDH).

A unique element of the Conference will be an election commodities vendors exhibit providing information on election necessities such as ballot boxes, ballot paper, computer hardware and software, voting booths and indelible ink.

Due to great interest in the exhibit by the members and President of the Venezuelan Supreme Electoral Council, a special reception will be held in the exhibit hall on the evening of May 16, 1990.

IFES is receiving financial support for the conference from the Tinker Foundation, the U.S. Agency for International Development and other sources. The vendor reception is one of several sponsorship opportunities still available.

For information on sponsoring or attending the Conference, please call Nancy Riley, Conference Coordinator for IFES, at 202-828-8507 (USA).

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## **ELECTION COMMODITIES AND TRAINING**

IFES has submitted a proposal for an Election Commodities and Training Project to the U.S. Agency for International Development.

The goal of the project is to develop a comprehensive program for delivering election commodities and equipment to requesting Latin American and Caribbean countries as well as providing specialized training in the use of the equipment.

Trained professionals would offer extensive technical information and advice to election officials and tribunals seeking the most efficient way to conduct elections in their respective countries.

The need for such a project became apparent during the spring of 1989, when IFES fulfilled a request from Paraguay to procure and ship 10,000 bottles of indelible ink to use

for identification in its May 1989 elections.

IFES supplied the ink, but election officials and poll workers had not been sufficiently trained in its use. Lack of knowledge about the proper use of the ink led to election results being discarded in four towns.

IFES responded to this new need by cooperating with FIDELIDAD SRL, a Paraguayan service firm, to offer training sessions for election officials and poll workers. Trainers demonstrated exactly how the ink was to be used, and a comprehensive manual was produced on the whole project.

The elections were conducted again in the four towns on June 4--this time without any problems.

With the rapid increase in the number of elections planned and held

in countries having little or no experience with a democratic electoral process, there is a great need for proper training in all election commodities, especially those that are new to the people using them.

The Election Commodities and Training Project would enable IFES to provide specialized training in the use of commodities to any Latin American or Caribbean country that asks for it. IFES plans to expand the project to offer assistance to any country in the world that requests assistance.

IFES believes that the Election Commodities and Training Project would expand its ability to respond to the needs of emerging democracies while responding to these countries' need for expert advice in the mechanical establishment of their electoral systems.

## ELECTION OBSERVERS

### Observer Mission to Brazil

Observing elections entails more than simply watching voters go to the polls on election day. Ray Kennedy, consultant to IFES on Brazil, observed Brazil's first direct presidential elections since 1960. His activities give some insight into the breadth of knowledge and exposure required to be an effective observer.

Mr. Kennedy visited Brasilia and Sao Paulo in early October and returned to Brazil in November for the election. On the first trip, Mr. Kennedy met with the president of Brazil's Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE); the TSE's secretary-general; a leading constitutional law expert; the director-general and staff of the Regional Electoral Tribunal (TRE) in Sao Paulo; and political scientists at the University of Brasilia and the Institute for Economic, Social and Political Studies.

When Mr. Kennedy returned to Brazil in November, he traveled to additional regions. Party leaders in Florianopolis, Santa Catarina briefed him on problems experienced in past elections. The TRE director-general and staff in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul discussed the computerized voter registry, a pilot project begun in 1983 and implemented on a national scale for the 1986 congressional and gubernatorial elections.

On Election Day, Mr. Kennedy viewed the voting in nearly a dozen precincts in downtown Sao Paulo, discussed the election process with TRE staff, and watched votes from over 400 precincts being counted.

The following day was spent at the Convention Center in Brasilia watching vote tabulation as state results arrived via modem from the TREs and discussing the results with political scientists from the University of Brasilia. [In a December runoff right-of-center candidate Fernando Collor de Mello defeated socialist Luis Inacio Lula da Silva.]

Mr. Kennedy returned with a sizeable collection of electoral legislation, press clippings and campaign material, which are available at IFES' resource center for those interested in learning more about Brazil's electoral system.

### Observer Reports

**Chile** -- William Ratliff of Stanford University observed the December 14, 1989, Chilean elections for President and Congress. Election results: opposition candidate Patricio Aylwin 55.2%; government candidate Hernan Buchi 29.4%.

Even some cynics are optimistic about Chile's return to democracy on March 11 after nineteen years of military-dominated government. No transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Latin America in recent decades has taken place under such auspicious conditions and none offers such hope for the future.

Under the sometimes iron rule of Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean economy was moved from statist to free market, and what was once one of the hemisphere's most polarized political systems has seemingly become one of the most pragmatic.

The new government, headed by Patricio Aylwin as president, will not be fully democratic. Voting restrictions for Congress discriminated against the Marxist left; but the center-right, center and center-left are likely to cooperate in amending the Constitution to restore full democracy. Pinochet, who has retained some power as head of the army, probably will allow these changes, though reluctantly.

Chile's people and leaders will then be challenged to demonstrate, when pressures arise, that they have indeed moved beyond the demagogy, polemics and violence that killed Chilean democracy in the early 1970s.

**El Salvador** -- Eva Loser of the Center for Strategic and International Studies observed the March 19, 1989, Salvadoran elections. Election results: ARENA 53.82%; Christian Democrats 36.03%.

With its victory in the presidential election, ARENA (the Nationalist Republican Alliance Party) controls all branches of the government. Alfredo Cristiani was sworn in on June 1, 1989.

Former president Napoleon Duarte's Christian Democratic Party (PDC) came in a distant second. Widespread dissatisfaction with the performance of the PDC, compounded by allegations of corruption, was key to its defeat, as it was in the 1988 municipal and legislative elections.

The 1989 elections were the first in which the socialist left participated. The newly-formed Democratic Convergence (CD), which maintained its links to the guerrillas (FMLN), sought to become the nation's third electoral force. Instead it came in fourth capturing only 3.8% of the vote.

For a time, uncertainty as to the election date was created by an offer by the FMLN to participate in the elections in exchange for concessions, including postponement of elections for six months; however, negotiations did not yield an agreement.

The FMLN's subsequent actions mirrored previous elections: it utilized violence and intimidation to sabotage the elections. Despite sharply increased terrorist actions, balloting went off as scheduled and in a generally orderly manner.

**Hungary** -- Dr. Peter Schramm of the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University, on an observer team with Richard Bond and Ceci Cole McInturff, went to Hungary for the November 26, 1989 referendum.

The national referendum of November 26, 1989 was the first free election in Hungary in over forty years.

Between May and September of last year, reform elements within the communist party met in Round Table Discussions with opposition groups. Agreements reached were then codified by the still Communist-dominated Parliament.

This process worked well until disagreement arose about the manner and timing of Presidential elections.

All had agreed to free and open Parliamentary elections in 1990 (now scheduled for March 25), but most

(continued on next page)

## Achieving the Mission of IFES

Many organizations and people are responsible for the amazing progress of this young foundation. A major source of our success is the growing list of financial supporters, whose generosity enables IFES to provide on-site observer missions, election administrator training and exchange programs, and a wide variety of technical assistance for election officials and volunteers around the world. IFES also thanks those whose in-kind donations have so enriched our activities.

**U.S. Agency for International Development:** The seed money for IFES is a five year, \$1 million grant from USAID's Office of Democratic Initiatives, approved in October 1987.

IFES is very proud to have surpassed its goal of raising \$50,000 in the second year of the grant to supplement the AID grant funds.

**National Endowment for Democracy:** In FY'88 and '89, NED awarded IFES four grants totalling some \$592,000 to support Via Civica, a grassroots electoral participation organization in Nicaragua.

Funds are being used for nonpartisan electoral training, public information, election infrastructure development, and election monitoring activities.

**Charles Stewart Mott Foundation:** Funds for the two-phase U.S./Soviet election official exchange came primarily from two FY'89 grants from the Mott Foundation, totalling \$68,500.

Funds were earmarked for airfare, hotels and meals, translation services, communications, and surface transit.

**Tinker Foundation:** The initial private funding source for the May 1990 InterAmerican Electoral Systems Conference is a \$50,000 grant from the Tinker Foundation.

Grant funds will be used for travel for election officials, conference materials and the technical elections manual produced from the conference.

**NYNEX Corporation:** The cost of the opening dinner of the U.S./Soviet

election official exchange was donated by NYNEX, as well as company gift boxes for the Soviet delegation.

NYNEX also secured gift boxes from the Cosmetic, Toiletry and Fragrance Association for the Soviets.

**International Exchange Council:** IFES received a \$2,000 grant from the IEC for the U.S./Soviet election official exchange program.

The Council also subsidized a Capitol Hill luncheon for exchange participants and House and Senate leaders.

**Adolph Coors Company:** In November 1988, the Adolph Coors Company hosted a dinner in honor of a visiting delegation of election officials from Costa Rica and Chile.

## Observer Reports (cont.)

of the parties (including the Communists) wanted a separate and direct election for President before the legislative elections.

The Free Democrats and the Young Democrats opposed this decision. Instead of vetoing it, which they had the right to do, they collected more than the 100,000 signatures required to call a referendum.

These parties were certain that the only person with a chance at winning a direct election for President before the Parliamentary elections was the reform Communist, Imre Pozsgay. Opposition parties had not had enough time to develop to give their own members a serious chance.

In effect these so-called radical opposition parties were asking the people to vote in favor of not yet voting. This was a difficult request to make of people who had not had the opportunity to participate in free elections for over forty years.

Most commentators thought the referendum would fail. But it passed by about 7,000 of 4.5 million votes cast (about 58% of those eligible).

The legislature elected in March will decide when and how (directly or by Parliament) the President will be elected. Either way, it seems Hungary will soon be a real democracy.

**Uruguay --** Darren McKewen of the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc. observed Uruguay's national elections in November. Election results: Blanco Party 39.4%; Colorado Party 30.5%; Broad Front 21.1%; New Space 9.0%.

Uruguay's November 1989 election marked that nation's successful return to democracy. Voters selected a conservative opposition senator as president, and in Montevideo -- the capital and home to nearly half the nation's 3 million inhabitants -- a leftist coalition won local control.

From the early 1970s to the mid-80s, Uruguay was ruled by a military government. The November election was the first contest since 1971 to be held under the auspices of a civilian government with all individuals and groups free to participate.

In light of the recent past, and in the current context of economic

stagflation, Uruguay's election was remarkable for its calm and even festive atmosphere.

The traditional Blanco (White) and Colorado (Red) parties and the social democratic Nuevo Espacio (New Space) and Marxist-socialist Frente Amplio (Broad Front) coalitions each fielded candidates for the presidency, vice-presidency, both chambers of congress, local offices, and electoral boards.

The Colorado Party, which has ruled Uruguay during most of the 20th century, lost control of the national government to its Blanco rivals, who also won local control in most of the country's 19 departments.

Campaigning, voting, and ballot counting proceeded without incident and the final results were accepted without question by all political groups.

President-elect Luis Alberto Lacalle, who assumes office in March, has promised an economic revival through deregulation and privatization. Although his party did not win a parliamentary majority, Lacalle should be able to forge a legislative coalition to enact the major elements of his reform package.

## ELECTION CALENDAR

### *Selected Election Results:*

**Belize**--By a very close vote on September 4, 1989, the People's United Party (PUP) won 15 of 28 parliamentary seats, returning George Price as prime minister. The United Democratic Party (UDP) and Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel returned to the opposition with 13 seats.

Esquivel and the UDP ousted Price and the PUP in 1984 in the first elections since independence from Britain in 1981, ending 20 years of PUP dominance.

Seventy-six percent of the eligible voters turned out in September. Although prior to the elections the opposition complained of radio and TV censorship, the elections were free of incidents. Results were not contested even though at least two races were decided by a margin of 50 votes.

**Botswana**--Elections for president and the National Assembly were held on October 7, 1989. Quett K. J. Masire was reelected as President, and his Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) won 31 of 34 parliamentary seats, with 65 percent of the vote.

The Botswana National Front (BNF) won 20% of the vote, with smaller parties dividing the remainder.

Sixty-six percent of the 250,000 registered voters went to the polls. Although there were isolated complaints, the elections were widely considered to be fair.

Botswana has had a parliamentary democracy with active multiparty elections since independence from Great Britain in 1966. Although the BDP retains a large majority in the National Assembly, many individual elections were tightly contested.

**Honduras**--The opposition National Party won the third national elections since Honduras returned to civilian rule in 1981.

The Nationalists and their presidential candidate Rafael Leonardo Callejas received 50 percent of the vote in the November 26 balloting; the ruling Liberal Party and its candidate Carlos Flores followed with 44 percent.

Over 70 percent of the 2.2 million registered voters went to the polls.

The National Party's victory gives it 71 seats in the 134-member unicameral National Assembly--a comfortable majority over the Liberals.

During the campaign, Callejas emphasized free-market policies, less

The National Front, led by V.P. Singh, won 141 seats. With support from the communist parties (51 seats) and from the conservative Hindu Bharatiya Janata Party (86 seats), the National Front formed a coalition government. Mr. Singh, a former minister in the Gandhi government, was elected to be India's new prime minister.

This is only the second time since India's independence in 1947 that the Congress Party has been defeated.

Severe violence, including as many as 110 deaths, disrupted the elections in some areas. Allegations of fraud were widespread. The election in Prime Minister Gandhi's constituency was so marred by irregularities that it had to be rerun. In the end, Mr. Gandhi was elected by 140,000 votes.

**Jordan**--This kingdom's first elections in 22 years were held on November 8, 1989, to elect representatives to the House of Representatives.

Parties are banned in Jordan, but party members were allowed to run as independents; a total of 650 candidates competed for 80 seats.

Of the winning candidates, 39 are considered loyal to the government and king; 20 are members of the Muslim Brotherhood and an additional 11 or 12 are Islamic independents; 10 are leftists, including 2 communists.

Sixty-one percent of the 877,000 registered voters turned out after a 7-month campaign period that was remarkable for its political openness.

Although the House of Representatives has limited authority, its role is expected to grow in keeping with King Hussein's promises to expand political freedoms.

**Namibia**--The Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a Marxist guerrilla group led by Sam Nujoma, won 57.3% of the vote and 41 seats in elections for the new Constituent Assembly.

SWAPO's majority is short of the two-thirds necessary to control the 78-

(continued on next page)

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### ELECTIONS TO WATCH

**Bulgaria** -- parliamentary, May 1990

**Colombia** -- legislative, March 25, 1990; presidential May 27, 1990

**Costa Rica** -- legislative and presidential, February 4, 1990

**Czechoslovakia** -- parliamentary, June 1990

**Dominican Republic** --legislative/ presidential, May 16, 1990

**East Germany** -- parliamentary, March 18, 1990

**Ecuador** -- legislative, June 3, 1990

**Haiti** -- legislative, July 22, 1990; presidential, October 28, 1990

**Hungary** -- parliamentary, March 25, 1990

**Nicaragua** -- legislative and presidential, February 25, 1990

**Peru** -- legislative and presidential, April 8, 1990

**Romania** -- parliamentary, May 20, 1990

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public-sector spending, and cutting the government bureaucracy to address the country's economic problems.

The elections were notable for the peaceful transfer of power, an important achievement for a country so recently returned to democracy.

**India**--In the general election on November 22 and 24, 1989, the ruling Congress (I) Party lost its majority in parliament, winning only 192 of 525 contested seats--a loss of 223 seats. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi subsequently resigned his post.

### *Election Results (cont.)*

seat Constituent Assembly, which has been formed to write a constitution for an independent Namibia.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), a multiracial nationalist coalition led by Dirk Mudge, won 28.5 percent of the vote and 21 seats. The United Democratic Front, a coalition not affiliated with the South African UDF, won 4 seats with 5.7 percent of the vote, and the Christian National Action Party, an all-white party, won 3 seats with 3.5 percent. Three additional parties won one seat each.

Over 97 percent of the eligible voters cast votes during the U.N.-supervised balloting which began on November 6, 1989, and continued for five days. Voting closely followed tribal lines with the dominant Ovambo tribe giving strong support to the Ovambo-dominated SWAPO.

Although prior to the election there were charges of intimidation of black voters and voter registration fraud, there were few incidents during the election which the U.N. certified as

"free and fair" and declared a "shining lesson in democracy."

SWAPO and DTA were satisfied with the process and promised to abide by the results. Mr. Nujoma, however, has indicated that SWAPO may seek a one-party system.

**South Africa**--In elections held September 6, 1989, the National Party retained its majority position in the all-white House of Assembly with 93 of 166 seats, a loss of 30 seats. National Party leader Frederik W. de Klerk was subsequently elected president.

The Conservative Party, which opposes any weakening of apartheid, went from 22 to 39 seats; the new Democratic Party, which campaigned for an end to apartheid, increased its strength from 20 to 33 seats.

The elections for the tricameral Parliament were marked by protests by black South Africans against their disenfranchisement. Several people were killed and wounded in violent clashes on election night.

**Taiwan**--The first multiparty elections to be held in Taiwan occurred on December 2, 1989. The ruling Kuomintang (KMT), the opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), and independents contested elections for county magistrates, mayors, provincial assemblies, and the legislative yuan.

Of the 101 seats in the legislative yuan up for election, the KMT won 72, the DPP won 21, and independents won 8. The legislative yuan is nominally composed of 760 members and is the law-making body for the government of the Republic of China.

In addition to its strong showing in the legislative yuan elections, the DPP won 6 of 21 city and county magistrate elections (including President Lee Teng-hui's home county of Taipei), making the DPP the first significant opposition force faced by the KMT.

These elections were the first held since martial law was lifted in 1987, and the first to allow legal participation by opposition parties. Voter turnout was strong: 75 percent of the over 12 million eligible voters went to the polls.

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