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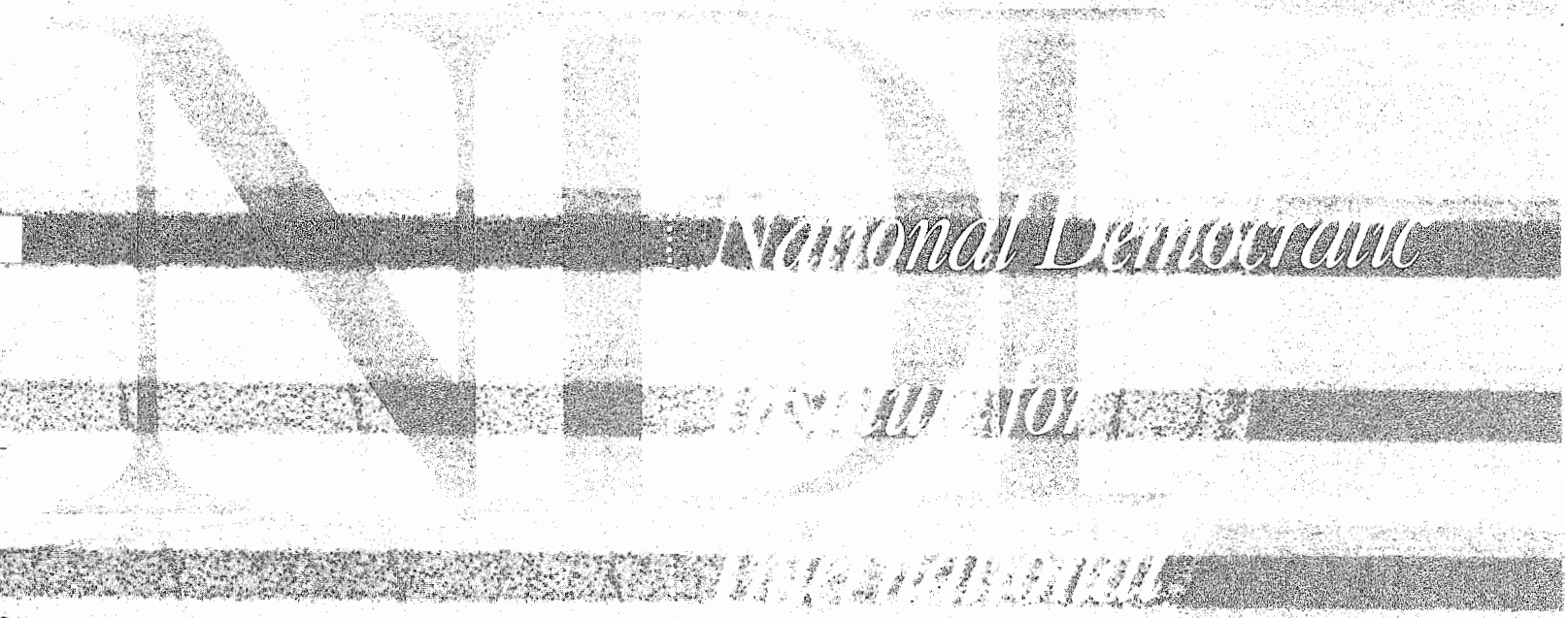

Final Report
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND

USAID Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
August 1992 to June 1996

Final Report
NDI PROGRAMS CONDUCTED UNDER THE
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
USAID Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
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NDI PROGRAMS CONDUCTED UNDER THE
AFRICA REGIONAL ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE FUND
USAID Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
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OVERVIEW

In August 1992, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) entered into a partnership with the African American Institute (AAI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI), in collaboration with the Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) to conduct programs promoting democratic development in sub-Saharan Africa.

Under the partnership, the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF), NDI conducted a total of 39 individual projects between August 1992 and June 1996 in 18 countries: Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Madagascar, Mali, Malawi, Namibia, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo and Zambia. In addition, NDI conducted a number of regional programs focusing on electoral processes and democratic development and provided subgrants to its regional partner organization, the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES-Afrique) to support GERDDES in its election monitoring efforts. As the AREAF program neared its conclusion in June 1996, NDI conducted a final evaluation project to assess the Institute's AREAF funded programs in Benin and Cote d'Ivoire.

This final report reviews activities under those projects which were completed in 1996 and for which no final report has been submitted previously. Following are individual project reports on NDI programs in Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali, Namibia, Niger and Zambia, as well as final reports on NDI subgrants to GERDDES-Afrique and NDI's AREAF evaluation project.

Final Report
BENIN: ENHANCING TRANSPARENCY AND PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3606
January 1 - June 30, 1996

I. SUMMARY

From January to June 30, 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a program to enhance transparency and public confidence in the March 1996 presidential elections in Benin. NDI sponsored two international election observer delegations to both rounds of Benin's presidential elections on March 3 and March 18, 1996. The international election observer delegations were composed of election experts, political and civic leaders and democratic development experts from Africa, Europe and North America. The principal objectives of the delegations were to monitor the elections, demonstrate the international community's interest in and support for the continued democratization efforts in Benin and provide the international community with an objective assessment of the Beninese electoral process. NDI observers were deployed in all six administrative regions of the country during both elections. NDI's sponsorship of international observers proved invaluable in contributing to an environment which inspired public confidence and transparency.

The observer delegations were preceded by a four-member NDI pre-election assessment mission which traveled to Benin in mid-February in anticipation of the presidential elections in March. The delegation met with political party leaders, civic organizers and members of the election commission at the national and local levels. On February 26, the delegation issued a report which included recommendations on topics such as public access to voter registration and polling site lists, and steps that needed to be taken to increase public confidence in the election in order to avoid election-related violence.

In June 1996, NDI co-sponsored, with two Beninese NGOs (ACCRER and GERDDES), a post-election roundtable at which Beninese election administrators and political and civic activists reviewed lessons learned from the March elections and explored ways of improving election conduct in the future. The roundtable was also attended by political and civic leaders from emerging democracies in the sub-region to learn more about the Beninese independent election commission.

II. BACKGROUND

In light of Benin's political history, the need to enhance transparency and public confidence in the March presidential elections was evident. For a period of 12 years after Benin gained its independence in 1960, its politics were characterized by political unrest and instability. Following

a series of military coups and counter-coups, then-Major Mathieu Kerekou forced his way into power in 1972 and two years later declared Benin a Marxist-Leninist state. In 1989, a combination of factors including widespread corruption within the country, the collapse of the Soviet bloc and pressure from domestic and international sources, forced Kerekou to accede to democratic reform. In 1991, during Benin's first multiparty election, Soglo was elected President in a run-off election against Kerekou with 67 percent of the vote.

Five years later in March 1996, Benin conducted its second competitive presidential election since the advent of a multiparty system in 1991. This election was viewed by many as an important benchmark in the country's transition to democratic rule as it pitted a democratically elected incumbent, Nicephore Soglo, against his predecessor, Mathieu Kerekou, who had assumed power through a military coup. For the first time, an independent election commission oversaw the administration of a presidential election. The election was closely watched in the sub-region because of the lead role that Benin has traditionally played in setting political trends in West Africa.

Benin's second competitive election culminated with the former military ruler Mathieu Kerekou winning the presidency on March 24, 1996, in the run-off election with a slim 52 percent to 47 percent victory over the incumbent Nicephore Soglo. As one of the first countries to organize a second set of national elections since the democratic transitions of the early 1990s, Benin again enhanced its role as one of the pace setters on the continent. NDI's sponsorship of international observers proved invaluable in contributing to an environment which inspired public confidence and transparency.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In support of the 1996 presidential elections in Benin, NDI conducted a three-part program including a pre-election assessment mission to analyze political developments in the period leading up to both rounds of the March presidential election. NDI deployed two international election observation delegations (one 22-member and another 17-member) to the first and second rounds of the elections. The observation missions demonstrated the U.S. and international support for the democratic process in Benin. The presence of international observers also served to encourage and strengthen Beninese initiatives engaged in enhancing the transparency of the electoral process.

Pre-Election Assessment Mission

A four-member international pre-election assessment delegation, organized by NDI, visited Benin from February 20 through February 25, 1996. The delegation assessed preparations for the elections and the prevailing political conditions prior to Benin's March 3 presidential elections. The delegation met with members of Benin's Autonomous National Election Commission (CENA), the Constitutional Court, the High Authority for Audiovisual and Communication (HAAC), representatives of the seven presidential candidates, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), journalists and members of the diplomatic community. The delegation also traveled to

various regions of the country to collect additional information on election preparations and the campaign environment.

The pre-election assessment delegation included election experts and political and civic leaders from the United States and West Africa. The delegation set out to: assess the legal framework for the elections and the election campaign environment; review the state of preparedness of the election commission; gauge the degree to which voters and the public generally were being informed about the electoral process and the candidates; and review measures that were being taken to increase the ability of the public to exercise their voting rights and have confidence in the overall electoral process.

International Election Observation Mission

NDI organized two international observer delegations to both rounds of the presidential elections in Benin. The first round delegation comprised 22 members while the second comprised 17. The delegates were from Africa, Europe and North America. They were deployed prior to election day and witnessed the election in all six administrative divisions of Benin, including the Cotonou metropolitan area. The delegations included elected officials, former diplomats, political party and civic leaders, regional specialists and election experts.

The international delegations were invited and welcomed by the Beninese government, candidates, political party leaders, Beninese authorities responsible for the conduct of the elections and representatives of civic organizations. The delegations were provided access to all stages of the election process. Both delegations were able to demonstrate the international community's continued support for the democratic process in Benin and provide the international community with an objective assessment of the March 3 and March 18 elections. The delegations also sought to learn from the Beninese people about the nature of their electoral process and its implications for further consolidation of Benin's democratic institutions.

The first delegation arrived in Benin on February 28, while the second arrived on March 16. Prior to the elections, the delegates met at the national level with representatives of the Constitutional Court, CENA, the major presidential candidates, representatives of other presidential candidates, news media, national election monitoring groups and civic education organizations. The delegations then divided into small teams and were deployed throughout the country. Upon arrival at their deployment sites, team members met with election commission officials at the divisional and sub-divisional levels as well as representatives of the presidential candidates. The teams observed the final day of campaigning, in addition to the voting, counting and tabulation processes. During each round of voting, team members observed election day activities in approximately 170 polling sites throughout the country. The deployed teams subsequently returned to Cotonou, debriefed on their election day experiences and issued preliminary post-election statements which were widely publicized by the news media in Benin (Attachment 1).

Post-Election Roundtable

As a follow-up to its electoral support activities in Benin, NDI co-organized, with two Beninese NGOs (ACCRER and GERDDES), a post-election roundtable from June 6 to June 8, 1996. NDI invited Beninese who played key roles in the organization of the March presidential election including members of the Constitutional Court, CENA, HAAC, government officials, candidate representatives, the mass media and NGO/civil society representatives. The roundtable provided the first opportunity for key Beninese actors to reflect upon lessons learned from the conduct of the March presidential elections.

The Institute also invited electoral experts, civic organization representatives and political party activists from Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo in order to provide them with the opportunity to directly examine the conduct of the Beninese elections and discuss how lessons learned in Benin could be applied to upcoming elections in their own countries. The international participants also exchanged their election-related experiences with the Beninese participants.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The observer delegations noted that the March presidential elections in Benin represented an important step in the democratic process in the country. Election officials, political leaders and activists and the electorate increased their participation and involvement in competitive multiparty elections. Many factors contributed to the importance of the March 1996 elections including: Benin's political development since the transition to multipartism in 1991, the role of the independent electoral commission (CENA), the monitoring of the campaign period by candidates and monitoring groups and the constructive and objective role played by the Constitutional Court.

Based on the feedback received from Beninese officials and representatives of political parties, candidates, the media and civil society, one can assert that NDI's participation in monitoring the March 1996 elections was well received and appreciated by Beninese. It is fair to conclude that NDI's activities helped promote public confidence and greater participation by Beninese voters in transparent, fair and peaceful elections. Some of the recommendations made by members of NDI's pre-assessment mission and NDI's first round election delegation were implemented by the Election Commission in the second round election.

The high-level of attendance and the interactive discussions among both Beninese and the international participants at the post-election roundtable enhanced continued dialogue among Beninese political parties. It also provided an opportunity to examine areas that may need improvement in order to help promote public confidence and greater transparency in future elections in Benin as well as within the sub-region.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

NDI monitored and evaluated the effectiveness of the program according to its standard procedures which included; conducting staff meetings to review the program as it progressed, collecting comments and suggestions from program participants (leaders of Beninese civic groups, political parties and members of the election commission) and soliciting critiques from other Beninese observers. Initially, NDI developed the following four questions for evaluating the success of its program in Benin.

- *Did the pre-election mission identify areas where the electoral process could be improved? If so, were recommendations acted on?*

The pre-election delegation issued a comprehensive statement which contained specific recommendations on the pre-electoral environment on February 26, 1996. The statement was widely distributed among the Beninese and international communities. Some of the recommendations by the NDI mission were accepted and implemented by the Election Commission prior to the second round.

- *Was information on the campaign environment, electoral preparations and election-day events effectively and efficiently gathered and transmitted to delegation members by the pre-election assessment team?*

The findings and observations of the pre-election assessment delegation provided valuable insight and information to the international observer mission delegations that prepared them to observe and evaluate the electoral environment for both rounds of the March presidential elections. Pre-election statements and daily updates were provided by NDI staff members to the observer delegations in advance of their deployment. The leader of the pre-election mission also remained in Cotonou and briefed the members of the first-round observer delegation upon their arrival.

- *Were international observers successfully assembled and deployed for the presidential elections?*

Twenty-two delegates were successfully assembled and deployed to all six administrative departments of Benin for the March 3 first round of elections. Seventeen delegates were assembled and deployed throughout the six administrative divisions of Benin, including the Cotonou metropolitan area, for the March 18 second round election. The delegations included elected officials, former diplomats, political party and civic leaders, regional specialists and election experts from Africa, Europe and North America.

- *Were reports prepared and distributed that reflect the assessments and observations of the delegates?*

Specific team reports were prepared by NDI delegates to both rounds of the election documenting their assessments and observations. These reports were consolidated into a preliminary statement for both rounds of the presidential elections.

Overall, NDI successfully achieved the proposed objectives and played an important role in enhancing the transparency and increasing public confidence in the March presidential elections in Benin.

Final Report
CÔTE D'IVOIRE: ELECTION SUPPORT
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3603
November 1, 1995 - June 30, 1996

I. SUMMARY

From November 1995 through June 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an election support and post-election consolidation program in Côte d'Ivoire. During the program, the Institute conducted activities focused on promoting public confidence in the electoral and post-electoral periods surrounding the legislative elections in November 1995, and the municipal elections in February 1996. NDI initiated program work with an assessment of the political climate following the presidential elections of October 1995. As a result, NDI organized an international observer delegation to the legislative elections of November and mounted a low-level observation of the municipal elections in February. The program included ongoing consultations with Ivorian political party leaders, civic organizers and members of the newly elected Parliament. The field team originally envisioned the organization of a post-election roundtable intended for political parties, election administrators, members of the judiciary and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs); however, timing and other circumstances beyond NDI's control prevented this activity from taking place before AREAF expired on June 30, 1996.

II. BACKGROUND

From June through October 1995, NDI implemented a political party training program in Côte d'Ivoire. This consisted of conducting two training seminars for political party representatives, one in Abidjan in July and one in Bouaké from late August to early September. The first of these seminars focused on campaign strategies and the second on the role of political parties in the electoral process.

Côte d'Ivoire held presidential elections on October 22, 1995, but they were boycotted by all of the major opposition parties. NDI originally planned to observe these elections but, due to the contentious political climate that prevailed in the pre-election period, NDI chose not to send an international observer delegation because a fair and competitive process did not seem probable. However, prior to the legislative elections, the Ivorian government and opposition parties reached a compromise on the framework which allowed for greater opposition participation. In response, NDI co-organized, with the African-American Institute (AAI), a joint delegation to the legislative elections on November 26, 1995. The joint delegation comprised 43 observers from North America, Europe and Africa who were deployed to 20 sites in all 10 regions of the country. The NDI/AAI delegates subsequently observed the voting process at 451 polling stations. A copy of the joint delegation's preliminary statement is attached to this report (Attachment 2).

Following the legislative elections of November 1995, NDI began planning post-election activities. These included the organization of a roundtable and an orientation program for the newly-elected members of the Ivorian National Assembly once it convened in April 1996. The field staff also prepared to unofficially observe the municipal elections of February 1996.

III. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The main focus of the program was centered around monitoring the legislative elections in November 1995. NDI also observed the municipal elections and planned post-election consolidation work. The election-related activities complemented NDI's work with political parties from June through October 1995, which was also funded by AREAF and reported in a final report in June 1996.

NDI worked in Abidjan to lay the groundwork for the Institute's observation of the legislative elections of November 26, 1995. NDI, in conjunction with AAI, assembled a joint delegation of 43 observers from North America, Europe and Africa. These included election officials, political organizers, academics and members of professional and civic organizations. The delegation's mandate was to examine three aspects of the election process: 1) the pre-electoral environment; 2) the proceedings on election day; and 3) the tabulation of results. The joint delegation was co-chaired by the Honorable Karan English, former U.S. Congresswoman from Arizona (for NDI) and Dr. Guy Martin, professor of African politics at Clark-Atlanta University (for AAI). After their arrival in Abidjan, the observers received intensive briefings from NDI and AAI staff on the political situation in Côte d'Ivoire as well as the specific administrative regions of the country to which they would be deployed on election day. Two days prior to the elections, the delegation members were deployed to 20 sites in all 10 regions of the country where they subsequently observed the voting process at 451 polling stations. After the observation itself, the observers returned to Abidjan for a series of debriefing sessions with NDI and AAI, and drafted a preliminary statement which was released to the Ivorian government, political parties, civic organizations and the press on November 28.

The NDI field representatives returned to Washington in January 1996 for an internal Institute debriefing and consultations with the U.S. Department of State and USAID. Upon returning to Abidjan, NDI observed the municipal elections which took place on February 11, 1996. Although voter turnout was low, the municipal elections proceeded smoothly and calmly. The ruling PDCI party won the majority of seats and municipalities.

NDI had planned to organize a post-electoral roundtable once all of the elections, including the legislative by-elections, had taken place. NDI also planned to conduct an orientation program for the newly-elected National Assembly. Unfortunately, due to unavoidable scheduling conflicts within the leadership of the National Assembly and the fact that some legislative elections had not taken place in western districts, NDI could not conduct the training or assessment as planned prior to the expiration of the AREAF program on June 30, 1996. Given that the Ivorian Assembly

leadership and the U.S. Embassy are still interested in the post-election activities, NDI anticipates conducting the training and legislative assessment under a different grant in 1997.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

NDI met most of its outlined objectives for the election-related activities program in Côte d'Ivoire. With respect to the legislative elections of November 1995, the Institute conducted a pre-election assessment that gathered information on the campaign environment and electoral preparations and successfully assembled and deployed a team of international observers in conjunction with AAI and the United Nations. The joint NDI/AAI delegation gathered, analyzed and disseminated information on election-day procedure and issued a statement assessing the elections and offering constructive recommendations on how the process could be further improved. NDI also conducted an unofficial observation of the municipal elections in February 1996. The Institute then began the post-election consolidation phase of the program by continuing ongoing consultations with political party, NGO and legislative leaders while planning the post-election roundtable and parliamentary training.

However, the post-election roundtable, which was intended to serve as a forum for election administrators, parties and NGOs to discuss the electoral process and recommend possible improvements, could not be conducted before elections were organized in all regions. As the AREAF program expired on June 30, 1996, the delayed legislative elections still had not been rescheduled; therefore, NDI did not conduct this activity. Similarly, the legislative training seminar, which was designed to help newly elected parliamentarians understand their roles and responsibilities, encountered scheduling difficulties that made it impossible to proceed as planned. Nevertheless, NDI received encouragement from the leadership of the National Assembly regarding prospects for conducting the legislative training in 1997.

NDI conducted its election-related activities program in order to promote public confidence in the Ivorian electoral process, provide credible witnesses to observe the legislative elections and report to the international community on the electoral process in Côte d'Ivoire. The Institute adapted its program to evolving political developments such as the continued delay of the annulled legislative elections, and sought, whenever it could, to provide technical assistance and support to Ivorians working to make their electoral process more transparent.

Final Report
GERDDES: ELECTION OBSERVATION PROGRAMS
Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3602
October 1995 - September 1996

I. SUMMARY

In October 1995, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) received AREAF funding to provide a subgrant to the Study Group for Democratic Development and Economic and Social Research (GERDDES-Africa) for the purpose of expanding GERDDES' capacity to train domestic election monitors and to observe elections. The subgrant was a follow-on to a similar NDI-GERDDES project supported by AREAF from January 1994 to April 1995. A final report on the previous project was submitted as part of NDI's proposal for the current subgrant. The follow-on subgrant provided funding to enable GERDDES to conduct two regional seminars, one country-specific training seminar, and three election observation missions.

II. BACKGROUND

One of the most important areas of work that NDI has developed has been in the field of civic organization development, a key element of democratic political culture. NDI recognizes that civic organizations are an integral component of democratic development. Democratic political institutions will not endure unless that are buttressed by a strong civic culture and supported by a populace that is committed to such ideals as the rule of law, individual liberty, freedom of religion, free and open debate, majority rule, and the protection of minorities. Intermediary groups promote democratic values, and civic and political participation.

When NDI began working extensively in west and central Africa in 1990, it became clear that civil society sectors were spearheading the push for democratic change throughout the region. As a result, NDI placed emphasis on developing relations with the existing and emerging civic organizations. A central partner in this regard has been the Benin-based Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES-Africa).

Founded in Benin in 1990, GERDDES was the first civic organization in Africa to organize an independent election observation mission, which it conducted during the 1991 elections in Benin. GERDDES subsequently broadened its mission to encompass wide range of democratization initiatives, and quickly developed a reputation as a professional, nonpartisan civic organization, that was well positioned to play a significant role in democratic development in west and central Africa. As democratic transitions gathered strength throughout the region, GERDDES chapters were established in more than a dozen countries.

NDI has forged productive working relationships with GERDDES-Africa and with several GERDDES country chapters. Collaborative efforts have included: pollwatcher training and

election observation seminars in Benin, Cameroon, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Niger, Senegal and Togo; a series of civic education seminars in Togo; political party training in Benin; civic organization training in Benin and Cote d'Ivoire; and election observation missions in Burundi, Central African Republic, Niger and Senegal.

With support under the initial NDI subgrant, GERDDES conducted election observation missions in 1994 in South Africa and Guinea Bissau and organized a May 1994 regional conference in Benin on lessons learned from elections in west and central Africa. GERDDES also helped to organize a series of training seminars for civic groups, political parties and Election Commission representatives prior to Niger's January 1995 legislative polls and observed those elections. Finally, GERDDES helped to train members of the Election Commission, local election officials and domestic monitors for Benin's 1995 elections and helped coordinate international observers for those elections.

III. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Legislative Elections, Cote d'Ivoire, November 1995

GERDDES organized a 30-member international observation mission to Cote d'Ivoire's legislative elections, held on November 26, 1995. Participants, almost all of whom had previously participated in observation activities, came from seven countries in the region. The mission took place between November 24 and 30.

For these elections, GERDDES participated in an NGO monitoring coalition which was supported by a number of international donors. The coalition observed voting in almost 700 polling places, approximately 5% of the total. The GERDDES delegation issued a post-election statement which was generally supportive of the process, but noted a number of areas needing further improvement, including methods of assuring the independence of election authorities, voter registration, and the centralization of results by polling place.

Pre-Election Evaluation and Training, Chad, March 1996

GERDDES President Sadikou Alao visited Chad in March to assist in a pre-election assessment and to help conduct training of monitors.

Presidential Elections, Niger, July 1996

GERDDES organized a 20-member multinational observation mission to Niger's presidential election, the first after a coup by General Mohammadou Mainassara. GERDDES President Alao headed the delegation. Public statements by Alao, and the delegation's official report, stressed a generally positive interpretation of the process. Most other international and domestic observers, however, expressed the opinion that the election was illegitimate. In reaching this conclusion they cited widespread irregularities, including the government's dismissal

of the independent electoral commission after the first day of a two-day voting period when it appeared that General Mainnissara was in danger of losing the election.

NDI believes that GERDDES' perspective was not reflective of a lack of experience or skill in monitoring electoral processes. Rather, it represented a policy decision, for whatever reasons, by GERDDES' leadership to accept the fait accompli of the incumbent president's manipulation of the process.

Seminar on Electoral Trends in the Region, Benin, September 1996

The last activity conducted under the subgrant was a seminar in Cotonou, Benin, on electoral trends in the region. Approximately 150 participants from 10 countries in west and central Africa assessed the results from recent elections, and highlighted a number of principles central to legitimate elections in the regional context, including the need to strengthen independent electoral authorities.

The occasion was also important in that it provided a forum for frank and open discussion by the leadership of GERDDES' national chapters regarding the position taken by the GERDDES delegation and GERDDES president Alao on the Nigerien election. This session, which was in effect a meeting of the GERDDES Board of Directors, took place after the conclusion of the formal program. Participants reiterated as central conclusion of the meeting, the vital need for GERDDES to adhere to impartial and focused criteria in assessing the bona fides of elections.

Miscellaneous

During the life of the subgrant, key GERDDES staff members participated in numerous local and short-term programs related to elections. They also supported missions undertaken either by or in conjunction with other national and international NGOs. For example, GERDDES was very active in local NGO election-related training initiatives at the time of the Benin elections. GERDDES also participated in assessments of elections, including the forum undertaken after the Benin polls. Other examples included participation in a seminar in northern Benin on the role of civil society in organizing peaceful electoral processes.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

As a result of the subgrant, GERDDES expanded its ability to conduct election-related programming. It also succeeded in establishing itself as a key, if not unique, regional NGO actor on democratization and particularly election-related issues. Perhaps ironically, the breadth and content of reactions to GERDDES' Niger statement served to demonstrate both the extent to what GERDDES says is noted by domestic and international actors, and the fact that its reputation had been highly viewed.

The September meeting was an important step in the maturation of the organization. A highly contentious issue, which pitted most of the key members and rank and file of the organization against the leadership, appears to have been resolved. The meeting ended with a restatement of its commitment to fostering its reputation as a leading, impartial and non-partisan democratic development NGO. The challenge now to GERDDES is to translate that resolve into concrete actions.

Final Report
DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN MADAGASCAR:
THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3604
November 1995 - June 1996

I. SUMMARY

In November 1995, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) received AREAF funding to conduct a three-phase legislative training program for the National Assembly of Madagascar. The program was formulated to meet requests for legislative assistance made by the Malagasy National Assembly, the U.S. Embassy, and the USAID mission in Madagascar and included: 1) a survey mission to identify key issues and program opportunities; 2) establishment of a field office to provide technical assistance to the Assembly; and 3) specific activities to address issues of immediate concern to Malagasy parliamentarians.

In December, NDI sent a survey delegation to Madagascar to assess the status and functions of the Malagasy parliament and to refine program plans. In April 1996, NDI opened a two-person field office in Antananarivo, to implement a two-month legislative training program entitled *Democratic Consolidation: the Role of an Effective Legislature*. The program included a series of training seminars and a study tour of national and provincial legislatures in Southern Africa. The seminars and study tour were carried out with the assistance of facilitators from Canada, Hungary, Niger and the United States and with NDI staff members from Namibia, South Africa and Washington, D.C. In all, more than 150 parliamentarians and parliamentary staff participated in the program, an excellent turnout given the uncertain political context in which the program took place.

The overall objective of the program was to enhance the Malagasy National Assembly's capacity to propose legislation and check executive authority as well as to examine mechanisms that could render the assembly more responsive to constituents' concerns. Based on participant evaluations and comments, Malagasy parliamentarians and staff came away with a deeper understanding of the roles and functions of the legislature, especially parliamentary committees, and a strong commitment to improving the Assembly's relations with other branches of government and civil society. The participants, seeking to improve the internal functioning of the Assembly and its relations with the executive, submitted recommendations to the President of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister. As a direct result of these recommendations, the Bureau for Institutional Affairs was established one week later in the Ministry of Communication and Culture.

NDI's program in Madagascar received high-level support, at both the national and international levels. The National Assembly leadership and members, the U.S. Embassy and USAID, among others, provided positive and constructive feedback. The Institute, in a brief period

of time, carried out an intense and focused program that succeeded in meeting the objectives identified by the survey mission.

II. BACKGROUND

Recent Political Background

The Democratic Transition

Madagascar's democratic transition dates back to March 1989, when former President Didier Ratsiraka was overwhelmingly re-elected for a third seven-year term. Despite measures undertaken by Ratsiraka to liberalize economic and political life, growing public disillusionment with the Ratsiraka administration put pressure on the government to legalize opposition political parties. More than 20 opposition parties immediately emerged with the two main parties being the National Union for Development and Democracy (UNDD-*Union Nationale pour le Développement et la Démocratie*), headed by medical professor Albert Zafy, and the Militant Party for the Development of Madagascar (MFM-*Parti Militant pour le Développement de Madagascar*). In December 1990, these and several other parties along with trade unions and other groups formed a loose coalition known as the Committee of Active Forces (FV-*Comité des Forces Vives*) to lobby on behalf of constitutional reform.

In May 1991, the FV increased its calls for constitutional reform and organized a nationally-observed general strike to force Ratsiraka to resign. In the face of Ratsiraka's refusal to relinquish power, the FV announced that it would form its own "parallel" administration with Jean Rakotoharison, a retired general, as president and Albert Zafy as prime minister. In July, Ratsiraka imposed a state of emergency and detained members of the opposition including Zafy.

In August 1991, President Ratsiraka appointed Guy Razanamasy, the mayor of Antananarivo, as Prime Minister and invited the FV to participate in the new government. The FV responded by organizing a massive protest march at the presidential palace which was violently dispersed when Ratsiraka's bodyguards fired into the crowd, reportedly killing 100 protesters. Because of the bloodshed throughout the country, France, Madagascar's former colonial power, suspended military aid and advised Ratsiraka to resign. Powerful church organizations joined the call for the president's resignation and international donors increased pressure on both sides to reach an agreement.

On October 31, an interim agreement was signed by Razanamasy and representatives of the FV as well as other groups. The agreement called for Razanamasy to form a 24-member transitional government. Proposals for a new constitution and electoral code were compiled at a series of regional forums. The resulting Constitution called for a parliamentary regime with a bicameral legislature (a Senate and a 138-member National Assembly) elected by proportional representation; a president with reduced authority; and executive power vested in a Prime Minister appointed by the National Assembly. Under the proposed Constitution, the prime minister would appoint a Council of Ministers to preside over the day-to-day operation of the country and initiate and execute

legislation. Despite opposition from Ratsiraka and his supporters, the new Constitution was approved by referendum in August 1992, thus opening the door for new presidential and legislative elections.

The Third Republic

Madagascar's first multiparty presidential elections were held November 25, 1992, with eight candidates competing for the presidency, including Ratsiraka and Zafy. Three months later, in the second round of the elections, Zafy secured 67 percent of the vote to Ratsiraka's 33 percent. Zafy took office in March 1993, initiating the Third Republic amid violent clashes between pro-Ratsiraka protestors and security forces in the northern part of the island. Post-election violence continued and, in June 1993, two people were killed in rioting. Many other protesters were arrested and jailed.

Pro-Zafy forces won 75 of the National Assembly's 138 seats in the legislative elections on June 16, 1993. The remaining seats were distributed among 24 opposition groups. Francisque Ravony, Deputy Prime Minister of the transitional government and leader of the Support Committee for Democracy and the Development of Madagascar (CSDDM/FV- *Comité de Soutien à la Démocratie et au Développement de Madagascar/ Forces Vives*) party, was elected prime minister by the newly-constituted National Assembly.

Although Zafy ran on a campaign of economic recovery, abolition of corruption and decentralization, the economy continued to decline. Public confidence in the government and other public institutions was generally low due to increasing allegations of corruption, notably the "parallel financing" debacle of 1995. Decentralization implementation has been slow. Thus far, local government elections have occurred only at the municipal and communal levels. A complex proportional representation system ensures a wide representation of party interests in the National Assembly but complicates efforts of the deputies to achieve consensus and exercise effective oversight of the executive branch. Party allegiances are fluid and caucus memberships change regularly.

Since 1994, relations between the President of the Republic and the National Assembly continued to deteriorate. The parliament no longer contained a majority of presidential (pro-Zafy) supporters and many MPs became decidedly antagonistic toward President Zafy.[1] In June 1994, 31 deputies joined forces to propose a motion of censure against the Assembly-appointed Prime Minister. This motion of censure, which was originally undertaken to pressure the PM into signing the IMF accords, was opposed by the President and later defeated in the National Assembly. In July 1995, a second motion of censure was proposed, this time with Zafy's support. Despite the President's support for the motion of censure, many deputies within the president's coalition supported the Prime Minister, leaving only 45 MPs committed to Zafy.

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[1] Rumors of a possible impeachment motion circulated for several weeks before the motion was formally proposed.

Although the motion failed, Zafy seized the occasion to call for a constitutional referendum to increase the executive powers of the president.[2] The public approved in a landslide vote, granting the President, rather than the National Assembly, the authority to appoint the prime minister. Ravony, who had been elected by the National Assembly in 1993, resigned and Zafy appointed a close friend and political ally, Emmanuel Rakotovahiny, despite opposition from a broad spectrum of political parties. The public proceeded to criticize Rakotovahiny's cabinet, many of whom had served under Ravony and had been accused (at least indirectly) of corruption by Zafy during the referendum campaign.

Immediately following the referendum, deputies began discussing the possibility of yet another motion of censure against the newly-appointed Prime Minister. Amid intense political jockeying and negotiations that dominated the opening of the spring parliamentary session, The National Assembly voted to censure (and effectively "resign" Prime Minister Rakotovahiny and his cabinet) in late-May 1996. Within a few days, President Zafy appointed Norbert Ratsirahonana, former president of the High Constitutional Court, to the prime ministership and a new cabinet of ministers.

Previous NDI Involvement in Madagascar

Until the survey mission in December 1995, NDI had conducted no activities in Madagascar. However, Malagasy delegates had been involved in some of NDI's regional programs including the Regional Seminar on Multiparty National Assemblies in Emerging Democracies in Bangui, Central African Republic in October 1994, and the Pan-African Democracy Materials Development Seminar in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire in July 1995.

III. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Decades of one-party authoritarianism have mitigated against a strong and effective National Assembly. Since the election of the first multiparty legislature in 1993, the deputies, most of whom are holding elected office for the first time, have struggled to define their role vis-à-vis the executive. In its attempts to balance the increasing power of the executive branch, the Assembly has relied almost exclusively on its right to censure the government. The National Assembly leadership, seeking to create a more functional, representative and independent institution, requested the assistance of the international community.

In response to that request, NDI designed a training program to enhance the Malagasy National Assembly's capabilities to propose and enact legislation, check executive authority, and be more responsive to constituents.

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[2] Under the amended constitution, each parliamentary group is allowed to present candidate(s) for the president to consider when he appoints the prime minister.

IV. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

December 1995 Survey Mission:

At the invitation of the National Assembly of Madagascar, USAID, and the U.S. Embassy, NDI sent a survey mission to Madagascar in December 1995, to assess the functioning of the National Assembly and to determine what kind of programming the Institute could implement. The survey mission conducted extensive meetings with the National Assembly leadership, all parliamentary caucuses, staff members, representatives of local civic organizations, the media as well as key interlocutors at the U.S. Embassy and USAID.

The survey mission determined that the primary objective of an NDI presence in Madagascar should be to assist the nascent legislature in increasing its effectiveness, thereby enhancing the prospects for consolidation of democratic governance. Survey mission delegation members expressed the hope that a legislative training program might help establish a more effective distribution of power among the legislative and executive branches of government. According to the survey mission's findings, the program would have to include an orientation to the representative, legislative and oversight roles of an MP in a democratic legislature. Other topics to be addressed included: MP-constituent relations; interpretation, research and drafting of legislation; the role of parliamentary committees in the legislative process; skills training for parliamentary staff; relations with NGOs and the media; and assistance in improving the physical infrastructure of the Assembly, notably the library facilities, communications equipment and meeting space for committee meetings.

Antananarivo Field Office:

Based on the survey mission's findings, NDI determined that the most effective means of carrying out the program was to open a field office in Madagascar immediately before the May parliamentary session commenced. In late April 1996, NDI sent two representatives to Madagascar to begin implementation of a two-month legislative training program. The program consisted of three seminars and a study tour to southern African legislatures as well as individual consultations with parliamentarians and staff. The three main issues featured in the program activities were the role and function of a deputy, internal parliamentary organization (*i.e.,* committees) and legislative-executive relations.

Three-Day Seminar:

Democratic Consolidation: the Role of an Effective Legislature
May 29-31, 1996, La Résidence d'Ankerana

The first NDI legislative seminar took place in late-May, at a time when much public attention was focused on the National Assembly as a result of the motion to censure and the pending

nomination of a new prime minister.[3] Therefore, the program received extensive coverage in the local media including television footage of the opening and closing ceremonies and interviews with the trainers. This may have enhanced the interest of the deputies in the topics addressed. The NDI team suspected that the intense political positioning that ensued after the motion of censure might detract attention from the seminar. As a result of the intense behind-the-scenes negotiations going on at the time, the NDI team had difficulty arranging meetings with parliamentary groupings and committee leadership before the program. Nonetheless, attendance was high and consistent at all of the seminar's activities.

More than 60 Malagasy deputies and parliamentary staff members participated in this seminar, which was facilitated by five international trainers: Laszlo Rajk, deputy from Hungary; Adamou Kombo, former Vice President of the Transitional Council in Niger; Karan English, former U.S. Congresswoman from Arizona; and Lise Bourgault, former member of the Canadian Parliament. NDI East and Central Africa Regional Director Ned McMahon provided senior-level management and oversight for the program while NDI/Namibia Field Representative Jean Lavoie participated as a trainer and provided expertise in the drafting and analysis of legislation. NDI/Madagascar Field Representatives Derek Butler and Yamilee Bastien were also assisted in the logistical organization and administration of the program by administrative consultant Eric Lamm.

Representatives from the U.S. Embassy, USAID, the South African and French Embassies, the IMF, civic organizations and the local media attended the opening ceremony as observers. Howard Perlow, the Chargé d'Affaires of the U.S. Embassy, spoke at the ceremony which was officially opened by Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, President of the National Assembly, who is commonly referred to as "the second-most important man in Malagasy politics."

The seminar consisted of a series of plenary sessions with panel discussions, question and answer sessions as well as small group workshops to ensure in-depth discussion of topics addressed in the larger forums. Topics covered included: relations between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government; the roles and responsibilities of a deputy; constituent relations; the roles and functions of legislative organs, especially parliamentary committees; and transparency and access to information.

Throughout the first day, the mood was generally one of discontent, as the participants focused on the deficiencies in their legislative system and spoke extensively on areas of conflict rather than examining areas of cooperation. The participants continually made references to the divisive politics and the lack of resources in Madagascar. They often stated that although they would like to implement some of the mechanisms that exist in other countries, resources were unavailable. However, the discussions were still productive because they allowed participants and trainers alike

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[3] The new prime minister, Norbert Ratsirahonana, was appointed on May 28, 1996, the night before the opening of NDI's three-day seminar.

to acknowledge openly the challenges that Madagascar's new legislature faces in the consolidation of democracy. The clear identification and acknowledgement of these challenges and legitimate criticisms laid the groundwork for the following day's activities when the participants began to focus on common solutions.

The second day focused on the internal organization of parliaments and the functioning of parliamentary committees. Participation numbers rose even higher than the first day. A more optimistic mood prevailed as the participants began to interact more closely with one another and with the trainers. All of them participated in workshops on the following topics: internal rules and procedures of committees; analysis of proposed legislation; public hearings; and legislative research. On the second day, the participants, of their own volition, first discussed the possibility of drafting a set of recommendations to present to the National Assembly leadership.

The third day of the seminar sought to address ways to enhance transparency and access to information as well as to improve the oversight functions of the legislature. That afternoon, participants divided into small groups to carry out an exercise on relations between the legislature and the government. Each group chose a speaker who would present the findings of the small group when the seminar reconvened. Each group had the following task:

- Identify the areas or modes of interaction between the two branches of government that function well.
- Summarize the advantages associated with each mode of interaction identified in the previous question.
- Identify the areas of modes of interaction where there could be improvement.
- Summarize the advantages associated with each of the improvements suggested in the previous question.

This discussion formed the basis of the recommendations that the participants submitted to the President of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister (Attachment 6). The participants, wishing to incorporate the lessons learned in the seminar and press for immediate change, convened on their own and drafted recommendations on ways to enhance the institutional effectiveness of the Assembly and improve relations between the Assembly and the executive. They presented their recommendations at the seminar's closing ceremony which was presided by Pastor Andriamanjato. One of the recommendations was for the creation of a parliamentary liaison within the new government. This recommendation arose from a discussion during the first day's workshop on constituent relations, when the group concluded it was the duty not only of the deputy, but of the state in general, to educate electors on the role of the legislature. Participants believed that if the public was more informed about the unique responsibilities of each branch of government there would be less conflict among the branches and a better separation of powers. They concluded that a ministerial-level office could help clarify the roles and competencies of deputies and government

to citizens. That night, after the closing ceremony, a delegation of deputies met with the new prime minister to discuss their recommendations. As a direct result of these recommendations, a Bureau for Institutional Affairs was established the following week within the Ministry of Communication and Culture.

Another recommendation was that the deputies should be able to hold regular consultations with the prime minister and one cabinet minister should visit the Assembly each week or twice a month to brief the deputies on the work being carried out in that ministry. The aim of this initiative is to foster a better exchange of ideas and to promote dialogue and constructive debate between the legislature and the executive. Room arrangements were being made for these meetings at the Assembly and a schedule was underway as NDI prepared to leave the country in late-June.

Another set of recommendations were submitted to the President of the Assembly. They addressed issues such as the revision and streamlining of internal rules and regulations of procedure, an orientation program at the beginning of the deputies' terms in office, more on-the-job training for deputies, internal budget matters and greater interaction between deputies and parliamentary staff.

Democracy Study Tour:
A Comparative Look at Southern African Legislatures
June 8-16, 1996

NDI's survey team also recommended that NDI organize a democracy study tour "...to take selected MPs to a country in the region where NDI has staff presence....to meet with MPs in that country." A delegation of Malagasy deputies and staff participated in a one-week study tour of legislatures in South Africa and Namibia. The delegation was led by NDI/Madagascar Field Representative Derek Butler. The study tour offered the Malagasy MPs and staff a comparative view of dynamic legislatures in transition. The study tour reinforced the lessons learned in the three-day legislative training program conducted in late May. The delegates were impressed with the transparency they witnessed in the South African and Namibian legislatures.

Additionally, the delegation may be seen as the first attempt to develop closer inter-parliamentary relations between Madagascar and the countries of Southern Africa, an appropriate initiative given that Madagascar welcomed several South African refugees during the apartheid regime. This delegation clearly marked the beginning of closer relations between the respective parliaments. The Speaker of the South African National Assembly, for instance, spoke of offering internships to Malagasy parliamentary staff. Such an initiative would be financed by the South African Assembly, perhaps, with additional logistical support from NDI.

The study tour consisted of three working days in Cape Town, the legislative center of South Africa, and two working days in Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. NDI Consultants Palmer Kipperman and Eric Lamm and NDI Field Representative Roger Berry arranged a series of meetings in South Africa. Jean Lavoie, NDI's legislative consultant in Namibia, and NDI/Namibia Director Erin Martin arranged meetings in Namibia (Attachment 7).

The delegates were selected based on the recommendations of the international trainers from the May seminar, the Second Questeur of the National Assembly, embassy officials, and NDI staff. The trainers, Mme. le Questeur, and the embassy officials were asked to submit a list of six candidates to participate in the delegation. Those candidates who were recommended most often were invited to participate, as long as they met minimal "other" criteria (such as active participation in all of NDI's three-day seminar). Given that only six candidates could be invited to participate, it was impossible to ensure a balanced representation of the various political tendencies in the Assembly. Four deputies were selected, as were two high-level staff members, in keeping with the recommendations of the survey mission to include the staff in technical training activities.

Without exception, the delegation members participated substantively in all meetings and were impressed by the high level of enthusiasm accorded them. They received briefings from NDI representatives in Cape Town and Windhoek, met with their South African and Namibian counterparts and witnessed open committee sessions in progress. They were received with great interest and had the opportunity to discuss issues of parliamentary procedures and democratic governance with a wide variety of people, including Dr. Frene Ginwala, Speaker of the South African National Assembly; Mr. Willem Doman, Speaker of the Western Cape Assembly; and Dr. Z. Kameeta, Deputy-Speaker of the Namibian Assembly. By sharing information with their counterparts regarding the functioning of their own National Assembly, the Malagasy delegates came away with a strong appreciation for the importance of exchanging ideas and sharing experiences with others in countries undergoing democratic transition.

Media coverage, both during the study tour and upon the return of the delegation, was extensive, thus ensuring that the delegates' experiences were shared widely. Upon their return, the delegates stated at a press conference held at the American Cultural Center (USIS) that they were impressed with the discipline and work that they witnessed at the national and provincial legislatures during their tour.

The principle lessons reinforced and appreciated by the delegation were the following:

- the importance of strong party lines and positions;
- the importance of transparency and public participation in parliament;
- the rules and strict procedures in the functioning of an effective legislative assembly; and
- the importance of maintaining the dignity and respect of the parliamentary institution.

The latter point merits further explanation. While the South African and Namibian legislatures clearly possess more resources with which to maintain and promote themselves, the institutional character of the assemblies impressed the Malagasy delegation members. They were particularly impressed by the remarks of the South African Director of Public Relations who spoke

during the press conference about the Assemblies as places of pride and stature, with art from the struggle for liberation hanging prominently throughout the building, historical documents displayed in cases, and tours by schoolchildren on a regular basis.

One-Day Seminar:
Enhancing the Role of Parliamentary Committees in the Legislative Process
June 20, 1996

NDI's second seminar focused on two main themes: the internal functioning of parliamentary committees and how committees can increase public participation in the legislative process. Ambassador of the United States Vicki Huddleston and President of the National Assembly M. Richard Andriamanjato spoke at the opening ceremony, which was well-attended by Embassy and USAID representatives as well as representatives of civic organizations and the local press. Committee presidents, vice-presidents and members from most of the 19 parliamentary committees attended the seminar, which was facilitated by Ms. Lynda Chapin, a consultant with 25 years of experience as a civil servant and legislative aide in the Canadian parliament, and Mr. Fred MacDonald, a Canadian civil servant with extensive experience in the Canadian Liberal Party and the Department of Health. Twenty-six parliamentarians attended the seminar.

While public hearings were a major focus of the seminar, at the prodding of the participants, the discussion turned to issues of party and campaign finance. McDonald previously served as the Liberal representative on an all-party Consultative Committee to the Director General of the Chief Electoral Office (CEO) and advised on legislation regulating election spending. The CEO is responsible for the organization and oversight of federal elections and referendums in Canada. This flexibility in the seminar's agenda allowed the participants to examine an issue that is particularly timely in Madagascar, since legislative elections are scheduled for the fall of 1997.

During the seminar, participants watched a short video titled *Izwi Labantu*. This video was produced by NDI/South Africa in collaboration with the South African civic group, Project Vote. *Izwi Labantu*, which means "We Are the Voice of the People," has been translated in six languages and widely diffused throughout Africa. The translation of the video into French was done by NDI's East and West Africa teams. The video, the first such documentary on an African parliament, examines the internal functioning of the provincial parliament of Gauteng. The Malagasy deputies felt the video reinforced the topics covered in the seminar, especially issues related to legislative initiative and separation of powers. They appreciated seeing examples of how deputies in another emerging democracy dealt with issues of public participation, transparency and legislative-executive relations.

Based on written evaluations, the participants seemed to leave the seminar with a strong understanding of the role that they can play in ensuring public participation in the legislative process. Several of them spoke of measures that they would like to undertake such as: better relations with the media (especially radio) and civil society; summarizing and publishing laws and explaining

them through the media so that the public can understand them; and working more closely with NGOs in conducting research related to pending legislation.

One-Day Seminar:
Skills-Building for Parliamentary Staff
June 21, 1996

NDI conducted a third and final seminar for parliamentary staff. Directors and service managers as well as chiefs of staff and assistants were invited and asked to include two other members of their staff. While the importance of working with deputies and Assembly leaders is self-evident, technical assistance to the parliamentary staff is also crucial to the successful functioning of a National Assembly. The Speaker of the National Assembly noted that following next year's elections, some legislators will not return, therefore technical training and professional development of parliamentary staff must be considered a priority in developing legislative functions and capacities. More than 60 staff members attended this seminar opened by Mr. James Knight, Political Officer at the United States Embassy, and the Secretary General of the National Assembly, the most senior staff member in parliament.

The seminar began with an overview of the branches of government and perspectives on the idea of democracy. Participants who watched the *Izwi Labantu* video were enthusiastic about the opportunity to see a comparative example of a legislature's function and organization. The morning sessions covered basic topics such as: the role of a legislature in a democracy, parliamentary committees and the role of an MP. For many staff members in the National Assembly this was the first exposure to these topics. The rest of the day was devoted to discussions on questions of resource management, human resources, financial management and project planning.

V. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

NDI's program in Madagascar was well received by many sectors of Malagasy society. National Assembly members requested a permanent NDI presence in Madagascar to work with the legislature and possibly initiate a similar program with the executive branch. While the program was short, it accomplished many of the objectives set forth by the NDI Survey Mission of December 1995. The NDI/Madagascar field office conducted three seminars with significant attendance and impact, and organized a study tour of legislatures in southern Africa and various one-on-one consultations with parliamentarians.

The Survey Mission anticipated the following outcomes from a legislative program:

•Assembly members would examine how other selected parliaments organize and conduct legislative business.

•Assembly members would examine and assess various methods of relating to other branches of government and to other parties within the legislature.

•Assembly members would more fully understand and utilize their constitutional and statutory powers.

•Assembly members would develop a better sense of their roles and responsibilities as representatives and the communication skills necessary for an effective relationship with other entities such as the civil service, the press and the public.

As has been illustrated throughout this report, each of these goals has been realized through NDI's two-month legislative training program. Assembly members were able to develop an appreciation for the organization and operation of several parliaments through their interaction with the trainers from the United States, Canada, Hungary and Niger as well as the study mission to the legislatures of South Africa and Namibia.

Through discussions in the various seminars, Assembly members worked together to foster greater cooperation and understanding among themselves. In so doing, they were able to learn from each other by discussing common challenges that they face as parliamentarians, regardless of party labels. In this respect, participants found the seminars very useful and held extensive discussions regarding the relationship of the Assembly to the executive branch of government which resulted in the drafting of concrete recommendations which were submitted to the prime minister.

Assembly members expressed a greater understanding and appreciation for their representative functions. They also expressed their commitment to use the limited resources of the parliament more effectively in the examination and critique of legislative proposals from the executive and to explain to constituents the nature and function of the legislature in the Malagasy political system. Members expressed to NDI their interest in holding regular committee meetings, examining and critiquing legislation and conducting public hearings, in accordance with their constitutional mandate and the rules and regulations governing assembly functions.

Finally, Assembly members were encouraged to realize that the challenges they face are not unlike the challenges facing parliamentarians around the world. Participants developed a better sense of their roles as guardians of public trust and responsibility including regular communication with their constituents. Several seminar participants suggested that a similar legislative training program would have been an ideal orientation immediately following the 1993 legislative elections and recommended a similar program be conducted following the 1997 legislative elections.

VI. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

NDI's legislative training program in Madagascar struck a resonant chord with National Assembly members and staff. Attendance was constant despite feverish consultations and positioning regarding a new government. Concrete results flowed from the three-day seminar in addition to more general learning throughout the program. Recommendations for improvement made to the President of the National Assembly were the initiatives of the Malagasy participants and

not the NDI trainers. There was a total degree of ownership on their part which was exciting to observe.

The study tour was an essential part of the program because it reinforced the lessons and themes presented in earlier seminars. Participants benefited from the comparative experience of seeing other legislatures in operation. Where time and budgets allow, similar study delegations should be an integral part of programming. While Madagascar is culturally very different from AFRICAN nations, participants noted developments in South Africa and Namibia represent bright lights for all nations in transition, politically as well as economically.

The success of this program cannot be separated from its timing. It took place at a time when the parliamentarians were striving to clarify and improve their role and function in the political process. The seminar agendas focused on specific issues identified to be of greatest value by the NDI survey mission. Additionally, the international group of trainers — Laszlo Rajk from Hungary; Adamou Kombo from Niger; Karan English from the U.S.; Lise Bourgault, Lynda Chapin, and Fred MacDonald from Canada; as well as NDI Field Representative Jean Lavoie — performed extremely well together and offered a broad array of comparative examples to Malagasy participants.

One recommendation that emerged for future programming would be to conduct a similar legislative training seminar at the beginning of a new legislature which is scheduled for next fall. Deputies were unanimous in expressing the wish that such a program had been available three years ago when they first took office. Given the antagonistic relationship between the legislative and executive branches of government, NDI's future programs may wish to consider how that might affect its work in the country. NDI would not want to subject itself to accusations of political bias or interference. While this did not seem to be an issue in this program, the current Prime Minister did ask why NDI had not conducted an executive-level program. Other interlocutors also suggested that such a program would be highly beneficial. While another program with the legislature might subject NDI to criticisms of bias, it would consolidate the accomplishments of the legislature, following the success of this two-month program.

Specific guidelines and recommendations, aimed at enhancing the effective functioning of the legislature, were submitted to the leadership of the Assembly and the government. As previously mentioned, several of these recommendations have already been implemented. Dialogue has been facilitated among various parliamentary groupings, between deputies and staff and it has increased between the press and NGOs. Each seminar was attended by press representatives including the press conference following the delegation's study tour to Southern Africa. NGOs also participated in the opening ceremonies of all of the seminars and were able to meet with Assembly members.

While a two-month program may have obvious limitations, it is important to recognize the benefits and strengths of such a program which include concise focus. Three seminars and a study tour were conducted in a two-month period, whereas a longer program might have accomplished the same level of program activity but over a longer period. Concentration was given to the program by National Assembly interlocutors and Malagasy media, perhaps in part because of the short time span.

When participants requested NDI address topics not included in the original program, NDI was able to accommodate the revisions.

Given the success of the program in Madagascar, the NDI field representatives made the following program recommendations should NDI be presented with further opportunities for work in the country.

- Various groups and individuals in civil society expressed great interest in NDI's program with the National Assembly and requested similar sessions for civil sector groups and associations. The objective of such a program would be to inform civil society on the role of the National Assembly in society.

- The new prime minister expressed interest in a similar program at the executive level.

- The Speaker of the National Assembly of South Africa offered internships for Malagasy parliamentary staff and recommended that NDI coordinate this activity.

- Deputies requested that NDI coordinate a similar orientation program for newly elected deputies following next fall's legislative elections.

- Deputies and staff recommended the permanent presence of NDI to continue to work with the National Assembly as the deputies and staff members continue to increase their institutional effectiveness and consolidation of democracy in Madagascar;

- The activity with the CNOE represented an important success in civic education activities and should continue to be incorporated into NDI's civic education programs elsewhere in the region. This could be done by hosting democracy study tours of civic group leaders from other countries to observe the activities of CNOE and to learn about their organizational structure.

NDI's two-month legislative program made a significant investment in the long-term institutional strengthening of Madagascar's National Assembly. It would do well to build on the success of this program and follow-up with future programming in the areas of legislative training and legislative-executive relations.

Final Report
MALI: ELECTORAL LAW ASSESSMENT
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3605
January 1 - June 30, 1996

I. SUMMARY

Between January and June 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) reviewed the electoral framework of Mali. NDI sent a four-member assessment mission to Mali followed by a preliminary review and presentation of the mission's findings and recommendations to the Malian government, political parties and civic organizations. This program was designed in response to a request from the Malian government for assistance in reviewing the Malian constitutional and electoral framework as the country prepares for elections. The electoral calendar for Mali currently envisions municipal elections taking place in late 1996, and legislative and presidential elections in early to mid-1997.

The initial four-member delegation of electoral law experts arrived in Bamako in February 1996, and held 10 days of meetings with the Head of State, other government officials, representatives of civic organizations, political parties and various judicial bodies. The delegation sought to assess the Malian electoral system, offer recommendations for revisions or changes to the electoral code and evaluate the applicability of different models of independent election commissions to the Malian context. The delegation drafted a report of its findings and recommendations for presentation to various Malian interlocutors.

In late May and early June 1996, part of the original delegation returned to Mali to review NDI's preliminary report with representatives of political parties, civil society, courts and the government. The delegation also convened a day-long roundtable with approximately 80 Malian political party leaders, civic organizers, jurists and government representatives to discuss the report in detail. To gain a more comprehensive view of the political landscape in Mali, some members of the NDI delegation traveled to the interior of the country — first to Timbuktu and then to Mopti — to consult with local political party, civil society and government representatives regarding their role in the upcoming elections and their impressions of NDI's report. NDI is currently finalizing its electoral law assessment report, which will include feedback received during the second mission and roundtable discussion. As a result of NDI's recommendations, the Malian government submitted to Parliament a draft law that proposed revise the electoral code. The National Assembly is currently meeting in extraordinary session to consider this piece of legislation.

II. BACKGROUND

Despite the existence of multiple political groupings in the pre-independence period, Mali's experience in liberal democracy and competitive elections is in its infancy. From 1960, until the overthrow of President Modibo Keita in 1968, the *Union Soudanaise-Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (US-RDA) was the sole legal party. It dominated all governmental institutions including the National Assembly.

In 1968, the Comité Militaire de Liberation Nationale (CMLN), a splinter military faction led by then-Lieutenant Moussa Traoré, staged a coup, overthrew President Keita, declared himself Head of State, dissolved the National Assembly and banned political activity for 10 years. In 1974, Traoré and the CMLN imposed a new constitution which called for a one-party system to follow five years of military rule. As a result of the 1974 provisions, a new ruling party entitled the *Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien* (UDPM) was formed in 1979. Single candidate presidential and single party legislative elections followed in the Summer of 1979, with Traoré and the UDPM claiming 99 percent of the vote. In 1981, the UDPM-controlled Assembly passed a constitutional amendment extending the presidential term from five years to six, allowing the now-General Traoré to serve another year. He was re-elected unopposed in June 1985.

Despite the wave of democratization across the sub-region in the early 1990s, Moussa Traoré has been unwilling to open the political process to multiparty politics. In 1991, the impasse between the government and civil society came to a crisis when civic activists and a group of progressive military officers overthrew the Traoré regime. The group of officers and civic representatives called themselves the Comité de Reconciliation Nationale (CRN). The CRN subsequently evolved into the Comité du Transition pour le Salut du Peuple (CTSP) which was tasked with leading the democratic transition.

The UDPM was banned, parliament dissolved, the 1974 constitution abrogated and political parties officially legalized. The CTSP then instituted an *Acte Fondamental*, an interim constitution, to guide Mali as it transitioned back to democratic civilian rule. Then Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Toumani Touré, as head of the CTSP, assumed leadership of the government and quickly convened a national conference to begin the democratic transition. The national conference met from July 29 to August 12, 1991. It drafted a new constitution and electoral code and scheduled national elections for 1992. The constitution and electoral code which emerged from the conference constitutes the legal framework presently in place in Mali.

The national elections of 1992, resulted in a surprisingly low voter turnout owing to several factors; voter fatigue from numerous elections occurring almost simultaneously, the unreliability of electoral lists and the proliferation of multiple candidates without ample opportunity for the electorate to evaluate the choices. Despite the low turnout and some election-related disputes, the national elections of 1992 resulted in major gains for the lead opposition party, *Alliance pour la démocratie au Mali* (ADEMA). The ADEMA candidate, Alpha Oumar Konaré, was elected President.

President Konaré has expressed his commitment to democracy and his desire to ensure that the next elections are as free and fair as possible. Konaré's government has demonstrated this commitment by creating an independent electoral commission to administer the next round of elections. Konaré specifically requested NDI's assistance in bringing this to fruition. The practicalities of such a commission — its composition, member selection, scope and authority — were therefore among the main focuses of NDI's initial assessment mission.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

From February 11 to 22, 1996, four international electoral law experts accompanied by NDI regional staff members traveled to Mali to meet with government officials, political party leaders and civic organizers. NDI's delegation was comprised of Professor Anne-Emmanuelle Deysine of the University of Paris-X, France; Professor Jonathan Gould, Assistant Director of the International Human Rights Institute of DePaul University, United States; Richard Stephenson of the Assessment Review Board of Canada; and Professor Agnès Zanouvi, former Vice President of the Independent Electoral Commission of Benin.

The delegation began by meeting with President of the Republic Alpha Oumar Konaré to discuss the goals and methodology of the electoral law assessment mission. After meeting with President Konaré, the delegation met with the Prime Minister and Minister of Territorial Administration (Interior). The following days featured meetings with representatives of political parties, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and various judicial and administrative bodies. The delegation also conducted several working sessions with representatives of the Ministry of Interior and the Constitutional Court, among others. During the weekend, delegates traveled to the region of Ségou, an opposition stronghold, to speak with political party representatives about the electoral framework, the elections of 1992, and their expectations regarding the conduct of the elections of 1996/1997. During the last few days of the mission, the delegation again met with President Konaré and the Prime Minister to discuss the mission's activities and to address any supplemental questions or concerns that they may have had. After these meetings, NDI released a press statement outlining the mission's preliminary findings and indicating that it would release a report of its findings and recommendations at a later date.

At the end of May 1996, several members of the original electoral law assessment delegation returned to Mali to present NDI's preliminary report. The delegation met with the Head of State, cabinet ministers, representatives of political parties, NGOs and the courts with whom the original delegation had consulted. On June 6, NDI convened a day-long roundtable discussion with representatives of Malian political parties, civic organizations, courts, government and the press to discuss the preliminary report in more detail. The format involved plenary sessions on comparative electoral systems, a case study of the independent electoral commission of Benin and synthesis and evaluation. The roundtable format allowed time for interactive discussions among the participants. Approximately 80 representatives of 15 political parties, seven NGOs and 13 domestic and international press sources (including print, radio and television) attended the round table. Also attending were representatives of the Constitutional and Supreme Courts, the Committee for Equal

Access to Media, the Offices of the President, Prime Minister and Minister for Territorial Administration, USAID and the U.S. Embassy.

A final version of NDI's electoral law assessment report is currently being drafted by NDI staff members with assistance from the assessment mission rapporteur. This report will include information added or revised during the roundtable discussions as well as contextual information on Mali's political, historical and electoral framework. The report will be bound and distributed to NDI contacts worldwide.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In February 1996, NDI began its first program work in Mali by deploying an international electoral law assessment mission for a series of meetings and consultations. Through their various consultations, the delegation members developed a better understanding of the issues at play on the Malian political landscape. All of the interlocutors with whom the delegation spoke were open and helpful, notably President Konaré and political party leaders across the board. The opposition political parties engaged in substantive discourse with the delegation, taking advantage of NDI's advance notice to prepare documentation on their suggestions regarding electoral law reform. The delegation found that Malians are deeply interested in suggestions and clarifications on various aspects of electoral systems, especially those that relate to the election administering body, the type of electoral system, civic/voter education and the training of polling officials.

Before leaving Mali, each of the delegates prepared a report detailing individual observations and recommendations. The four individual reports were then compiled into one final report drafted by the mission rapporteur with assistance from NDI/Washington. NDI presented the preliminary report to the Malian government, Malian political parties and civic organizations at the end of May 1996, and is in the process of publishing a longer, book-form version of the report for wider dissemination.

The assessment mission's report contained recommendations on specific actions that needed to be taken to enhance prospects for future fair and transparent elections as well as the most appropriate means of implementing them. The report was divided into four sections: areas of consensus, areas in which consensus had yet to be reached, inaccuracies in the electoral code and key recommendations. NDI sought to release the report as widely as possible in hopes of encouraging further discussions among Malians regarding electoral law reforms. By identifying areas of the electoral law which are potentially controversial, presenting tangible recommendations and suggesting the means through which to address the controversies that effect electoral reforms or modifications, NDI's report contributed positively to the ongoing debate on the electoral framework in Mali.

In August 1996, the Malian National Assembly began to meet in extraordinary session to consider a government-sponsored bill to revise the electoral code. Many of the proposed changes were raised in NDI's preliminary report, including the recommendation to institute an independent

election commission. In a letter to NDI President Ken Wollack, President Konaré thanked the Institute for its contribution in producing the report and facilitating constructive dialogue among the Malian political actors. President Konaré also indicated that he looks forward to further collaboration with NDI as Mali prepares for national elections (Attachment 9).

Final Report Addendum
NAMIBIA
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 2760
September 1992 - June 1996

I. SUMMARY

This addendum covers program activities from January through June 30, 1996 in Namibia under NDI AREAF Project 2760. All earlier program activities under this project were described and evaluated in the final report , *Voter Education in Namibia: October 15 - December 15, 1992* (Attachment 10).

In March 1993, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) submitted a final report for its voter education project to support participation in regional and local government elections in Namibia. The program was carried out on public radio through a cooperative agreement with the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The project educated, motivated and informed Namibians about the process and the purpose of the elections as well as how to participate by registering to vote and cast their ballots. The project sought a voter turnout of approximately 60 percent of eligible voters. In spite of a late start and delay in equipment deliveries that necessitated major last-minute program revisions, the project was a considerable success. National voter turnout was 82.9 percent. In many of Namibia's more heavily populated constituencies more than 90 percent of the registered voters turned out.

From July 1994 to December 1994, NDI conducted a second voter education program for the December 1994 Presidential and National Assembly elections with a second AREAF grant *Namibia: Voter Education* (NDI Project 3415). The project involved the use of broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, political parties and key campaign issues and aimed to promote greater involvement of the electorate during and after the 1994 elections. To achieve these goals, NDI worked with a cooperative partner, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), other Namibian NGOs and governmental institutions. After the elections, the focus of democratic development in Namibia shifted from elections to the democratic institutions that flow from them. To this end, NDI distributed two reports on the December 1994 election; one making specific recommendations about the election process and the election bodies. The second reviewed the effectiveness of the NBC voter education program. Finally, NDI established a framework for a series of town meetings that were eventually postponed.

In 1995, NDI reprogrammed the remaining funds from this project (2760) and AREAF project 3415 to conduct a series of focus groups to ascertain Namibians' perceptions and attitudes toward democratic institutions, the political situation and the overall direction of the country. The focus groups explored the effectiveness of voter and civic education campaigns on the urban and rural electorate providing critical information about the consolidation of democracy in Namibia.

In 1996, the Institute again reprogrammed the remaining AREAF project funds to conduct a second focus group study. The research allowed NDI to measure the effectiveness of its AREAF-funded voter education efforts in both 1992 and 1994. Moreover, the focus groups allowed NDI to assess Namibians' level of understanding of democratic concepts and processes, ascertain perceptions of legislators' performance as elected representatives and explore the most effective methods of communication between Members of Parliament and the public. In addition, the data collected and reports produced will continue to help NDI determine ways to proceed in implementing programs. After five years of AREAF funded project activities, the focus group research offered perspective on their contribution to consolidating Namibian democracy.

Please reference NDI's final report for AREAF project *Namibia: Voter Education* (NDI Project 3415) which describes and evaluates the 1996 focus group study at length.

II. PROGRAM ACTIVITY

Focus Group Study

NDI conducted a focus group study to explore participation trends outside of an election year as well as the connection that Namibian voters draw between elections and the democratic institutions that flow from them. NDI worked in conjunction with George Eiseb and Ben Fuller, two University of Namibia researchers, and Lake Research, a Washington, D.C. based survey research firm, to lead this series of focus groups. This was the first time a study was conducted in Namibia on perceptions of democracy and Parliament.

Fifteen focus groups were held from March 8 to April 26, 1996, in Aminuis, Bethanie, Katima Mulilo, Odibo, Oshakati, Ngoma and Windhoek. The group discussions were carried on in six languages: Afrikaans, English, Nama/Damara, Oshiwambo, Otjitherero and Silozi. Participants varied in gender, levels of education, employment and socioeconomic background. Although each respective group was homogenous (so as to facilitate discussion and debate), the focus groups as a whole were reflective of the many regional, social, linguistic and economic differences of the Namibian population.

Through the focus groups, NDI was able to assess Namibians' perceptions and attitudes toward democratic institutions, the overall direction of the country since the 1994 elections and feelings about continued participation in the democratic process. The report by Eiseb and Fuller entitled *You Need Five Fingers to Pick Up a Stick, Perceptions of Political Institutions in Namibia* stated, "Generally a positive mood about Namibia was obtained. Respondents appreciated a democratic form of government both for the freedoms it provided and for the process of thorough discussion of the issues that took place between the ruling party and the opposition."

The findings indicated that while individuals did acknowledge that Namibia faced real and, perhaps, growing problems, there was little disillusionment with the democratic system the country had adopted at independence. In addition, while the individual had a relatively good grasp of the

role of the National Assembly and the National Council, they desired considerably more contact with their representatives and more information about the activities of Parliament. Eiseb and Fuller also found an overwhelming majority of the study's participants had voted in all three national elections and "there is an equally generalized belief that participation in the democratic process is necessary."

The Lake Research Group report focused primarily on suggestions for democratic development. Foremost among their findings was the need for a constituent relations program that would institutionalize constituent contact, particularly for the regional council and National Councils. Another recommendation was to expand information services throughout Namibia and "make radio...a priority." For the more remote areas of Namibia, the Lake report suggested increasing the language services available and, for the larger towns, the report advised the continuance of the radio "chat" shows which appeared to be effective and drew a large audience.

On April 30, a briefing was held at NDI's office in Windhoek to discuss the general findings of the focus group research. The briefing was conducted by NDI Namibia Country Director Erin Martin with Eiseb, Fuller and Tjiuee Kanguatjivi, one of the focus group moderators. A small group of individuals were invited. Attendees included Speaker of the National Assembly Dr. Mosé Tjitendero, U.S. Ambassador to Namibia Marshall McCallie, NDI Regional Director for Southern Africa Patricia Keefer and Professor Andre du Pisani, a senior lecturer in the Political Science Department at the University of Namibia. Also in attendance were Stephanie Winson, Acting Secretary of the National Assembly; Lou Mazel, First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy; and Christiaan Keulder, lecturer at the Political Science Department at the University of Namibia. Kandy Nehova, Chairman of the National Council, and Dr. Herman Henning, Jr., USIS Director, were also invited but unable to attend. The briefing presented initial findings and solicited suggestions from the attendees as to how NDI should use and disseminate this information.

In June, Eiseb and Fuller submitted their report on the focus groups detailing the methodology employed and the data collected. Their report provided general recommendations for Namibia. Lake Research also submitted a report on the focus groups that made specific programmatic suggestions for NDI and Namibian NGOs. Under the current USAID grant, Namibia: Parliamentary Development, these reports are being printed for distribution to MPs and the public.

The focus group study was a useful assessment tool to analyze the progress of democratic institutions in Namibia over the past eight years and the role that NDI, with AREAF funding, played in that process. While it would be inappropriate to claim credit for the successes of Namibia's democracy, NDI's assistance did make a difference in Namibia's evolving democracy.

Final Report
NAMIBIA: VOTER EDUCATION
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3415
July 1994 to June 1996

I. SUMMARY

From July 1994 to June 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an AREAF-funded voter education program for the December 1994 elections and a follow-on focus group study in 1996. Initially, the project involved the use of broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, political parties and key campaign issues. The project aimed to promote greater involvement of the electorate during and after the 1994 elections. To achieve these goals, NDI worked with cooperative partner, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), other Namibian NGOs and governmental institutions.

After the elections, the focus of democratic development in Namibia shifted from elections to the democratic institutions that flow from them. To this end, NDI distributed two reports on the December 1994 election; one making specific recommendations about the election process and its election bodies. The second reviewed the effectiveness of the NBC voter education program. Finally, NDI established a framework for a series of town meetings that were eventually postponed.

In 1995, NDI reprogrammed the remaining funds from this project and a previous AREAF project in Namibia (NDI Project 2760) to conduct a series of focus groups to ascertain Namibians' perceptions and attitudes toward democratic institutions, the political situation and the overall direction of the country. The focus groups explored the effectiveness of voter and civic education campaigns on the urban and rural electorate providing critical information about the consolidation of democracy in Namibia.

II. BACKGROUND

The completion of this program marks NDI's eighth year of program activity in Namibia and its third project involving elections. Prior to the November 1989 elections for a pre-independence Constituent Assembly, NDI brought a team of election experts from five countries to Namibia to critique the proposed election system and recommend specific changes. Subsequently, NDI carried out a voter education project in the run up to the first elections. NDI staff members also served as international observers during the election.

During that election, NDI determined that utilizing broadcast media, both radio and television, was the most effective method of providing voter education to the majority of Namibians. Radio is the primary means of communication in the country due to Namibia's dispersed and diverse

population: Namibia is larger than Germany and France, has a predominantly rural electorate, more than 10 spoken languages and an illiteracy rate of 60 percent.

In 1992, using AREAF funds from project 2760, NDI cooperated with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) in its first voter education project on regional and local elections. NBC radio conducted programming on both the National Service and each of the nine language services. These broadcasts were able to reach approximately 90 percent of the Namibian population. However, NBC television reached less than 45 percent of the population and was broadcast in English. Using radio to broadcast in all nine NBC language services, activities included panel discussions, quiz programs, a radio play and a "Town Meeting of the Air." NBC considered the project a success, limited only by the lack of fruitful cooperation between the broadcasting corporation and the political parties (Attachment 11 and 12).

In 1994, the Institute agreed to undertake an election education project that focused on using broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, competing political parties and key campaign issues. The project again incorporated a subgrant to the NBC to facilitate the use of broadcast media to conduct voter education.

The elections in 1994 marked the third time in which Namibians voted. Each of the previous elections differed significantly in character. The first, for a Constituent Assembly in November 1989, used a national party list system of proportional representation. The Constituent Assembly constituted itself as the first House of Parliament, the National Assembly, and elected one of its members president of the country. The 1992 regional and local government elections, the first administered by Namibians, incorporated two systems: the "winner-take-all" system and proportional representation using candidate lists in demarcated districts. During the 1994 elections, voters elected a president and a new National Assembly. The president was directly elected by the "first-past-the-post" system and the parliamentary election used the national party list system of proportional representation.

Following the 1994 elections, NDI held preliminary discussions with parliamentary leaders and representatives of NBC, including NBC Director General Nahum Gorelick, on the possibility of conducting and televising town meetings throughout each region to promote community participation in debate over issues of local concern. NDI discussed the town meeting idea with a number of parliamentarians including National Assembly Speaker Mosé Tjitendero and National Council Chairman Kandy Nehova. Members of the National Council had been considering a similar set of meetings but were concerned about their capacity to organize them. NDI, the parliamentary leaders and NBC agreed on the need for such a program based on the perception that, despite widespread enthusiasm for elections and high voter turnout rates, the public lacked a profound understanding of the day-to-day functioning of a democracy and the role of the individual citizen in it.

However, in light of NDI's other program commitments and its limited resources in Namibia, the Institute decided not to conduct town meetings in 1995. Furthermore, NDI's USAID-funded

parliamentary development program funded in 1995 provided funds to support similar public forums. In 1996, the Institute reprogrammed the remaining AREAF funds to conduct a focus group study. The research allowed NDI to measure the effectiveness of the AREAF-funded voter education efforts in 1992 and 1994. Moreover, the focus groups allowed NDI to assess Namibians' level of understanding of democratic concepts and processes, ascertain perceptions of legislators' performance as elected representatives and explore the most effective methods of communication between Members of Parliament and the public. In addition, the data collected and reports produced will continue to help NDI to determine ways to proceed in implementing programs. After five years of AREAF-funded project activities in Namibia, the focus group research offered NDI perspective on its contribution to consolidating Namibian democracy.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

The Election Forum

When a voter education project was proposed for the 1994 presidential and general elections, NDI suggested involving political parties more directly in the NBC voter education programming. The NDI proposal stated that, "As a first step, NDI and the NBC will ask each political party to select two representatives to serve as a party liaison committee to provide party input into programming and help bring agreement on the information to be broadcast."

The establishment of this group was one of the project's primary accomplishments which encouraged routine communication between the political parties and the NBC. This was important as opposition parties had previously questioned NBC's objectivity. Cooperation between the parties and NBC was evident in the decision to divide air time equally among parties, instead of dividing it according to percentages of parliamentary representation.

This committee met weekly from September 14 to November 29, 1994, under the chairpersonship of Vitura Kavari, NBC's Senior Controller for News and Current Affairs, with NDI attending as an observer. The committee became known as the Election Forum. The major political parties (SWAPO, DTA, UDF, DCN, FCN) sent senior representatives to the Forum meetings which proved vital to NDI and NBC's working relationship and the voter education program.

Voter Education

Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

In preparation for the Namibian General elections on December 7 and 8, 1994, NDI and its subgrantee NBC conducted a voter education project. The campaign ran from September 1 through December 15, and was intended to educate and motivate the electorate through broadcast media. The project's aim was to promote greater involvement by the electorate and enable citizens to cast a more informed ballot during the December presidential and parliamentary elections. NDI's role in this partnership fell into two broad areas: 1) sponsoring NBC's already-scheduled voter education

activities; and 2) creating new opportunities for voter education programming on both radio and television. NDI also helped fund the purchase of additional television camera recording cassettes for NBC's expanded voter education programming. Television news coverage of the registration process and campaign was expanded with NDI's help, making it possible to air more political rallies and other election-related activities. This was especially important on registration coverage. The Directorate of Elections extended the registration period because of technical problems and the low percentage of people registered. NBC was able to inform the voters of the extension and promote further registration. NDI flew five reporters to the north and south of the country to cover registration in those regions.

NBC's radio staff developed many of their own voter education program ideas during the 1989 and 1992 elections, which they improved upon in 1994. The broadcast media voter education projects developed by NBC, with help from NDI Consultant Sean Kelley, included: expanded news coverage of election events, radio dramas, quiz shows and panel discussions. A four-week radio drama entitled *The Silent Voice of the Ballot Paper* was written by Moshe Baitsewe. It addressed specific election-related topics and was broadcast in nine languages. Because of radio staff shortages and to ensure the widest possible listenership, NDI wrote spot announcements used to promote the radio drama for all nine language services. Additionally, NBC with NDI's assistance tried to organize a presidential debate. SWAPO first reacted enthusiastically but later withdrew. In the interest of having some live election coverage on NBC, Kelley suggested changing the already scheduled election panel discussion to a live 90-minute "Town Meeting of the Air." All political parties sent representatives to answer questions from a panel of local and international reporters. The program was broadcast live in a simulcast on radio and television on December 1, a week prior to the actual voting. Finally, in an effort to motivate voters on the first day of voting, NBC language services reporters and local print reporters (on a space-available basis) traveled to distant locations on three NDI-chartered planes to gather news and interview voters for its programs.

Radio 99

NDI also expanded the original parameters of the project to include Namibia's first commercial radio station, Radio 99. In FM Stereo, Radio 99 offered news and music in English, Afrikaans and German. By paying for the production and air time for political party advertisements, NDI supported the development of Namibia's independent broadcast media and reached a distinct listenership with information about the political parties. Four Namibian political parties took advantage of Radio 99's facilities. The DTA, UDF, SWANU and the FCN all prepared political announcements that were broadcast during the week prior to the election. Radio 99 also carried several "Get-out-the-vote" public service announcements prepared by NDI. Additionally, one of their two reporters was included in the chartered flights to political rallies and polling stations on the day of the election. Working with Radio 99, NDI was able to reach additional groups of voters around the capital thus augmenting the NBC voter education program.

Directorate of Elections

Throughout the voter education program, NDI and the Directorate of Elections met biweekly to coordinate efforts and assist each other whenever possible. The coordination proved indispensable to both organizations. In one case, NDI distributed 20,000 posters, 7,000 sample ballots, glossaries of election terms and polling station lists across the country, and the Directorate helped NDI staff conduct a one-day training session for those participants planning to conduct party agent training workshops around the country.

Media Training Program

To help parties prepare for media coverage, NDI conducted a two-stage media training program. In mid-October, NDI worked with the U.S. Information Service to conduct an interactive video teleconference that focused on the importance of media strategy in a campaign. The teleconference linked three political experts in Washington with 70 people representing six parties in Windhoek. The teleconference laid the groundwork for the second stage of media training: individualized party consultations.

NDI conducted media training sessions for various parties from November 16 to 19, 1996. NDI facilitated four days of individualized party consultations that were offered to all parties competing in the December election. DTA, SWANU, UDF and FCN participated. SWAPO declined to attend. The program focused on increasing political parties' access to and effective use of broadcast media. The parties who participated were able to put their knowledge to use by producing announcements for Radio 99. NDI sponsored the production and air time for the advertisements, which aired several times a day during the week prior to the elections. Workshops focused on developing a media strategy, crafting a message and conducting interviews for radio and television.

Post-Election Activities

In addition to post-election consultations to assess NDI programs prior to the election and close-out of the NBC cooperative agreement, NDI supported the NBC's efforts to develop a manual on how broadcast media should cover elections. NDI held meetings with several officials from each of the parliamentary political parties to discuss each party's past activities and possible collaboration on future events.

NDI's major activity during the post-election phase was the compilation and distribution of two reports on the December 1994 Namibian elections. One report, entitled *Comments on the Namibian Presidential and National Assembly Elections: December 7-8, 1994*, examined the electoral process from registration to counting the ballots. It was presented to Prime Minister Hage Geingob and President Sam Nujoma during a visit by NDI President Kenneth Wollack and NDI Regional Director for Southern Africa Patricia Keefer. Later it was distributed to Namibian political and NGO leaders. This report was based on NDI's observation of electoral developments in Namibia and upon the activities of the field staff, who interacted with the Directorate of Elections as well as political and civic leaders. The report offered recommendations in the spirit of international

cooperation and ongoing support for Namibia's democratization process. The report suggests revision of the electoral law specifically recommending that the Directorate of Elections be made independent of the Prime Minister's office. This recommendation was the only one raised by the 1989 NDI delegation that was not incorporated into the Electoral Act. In addition, the report recommended changes to the process for challenging election results, claiming that the process was overly complicated and time consuming. NDI's second report entitled *Reaching Namibia's Voters through Radio and Television: 1994 National Elections* specifically described the NDI and NBC program throughout the electoral period. (Attachment 12)

Focus Groups

As the final project within the AREAF funded Voter Education Program, NDI conducted a focus group study to explore participation trends outside of an election year as well as the connection that Namibian voters had drawn between elections and the democratic institutions that flowed from them. NDI worked in conjunction with George Eiseb and Ben Fuller, two University of Namibia researchers, and Lake Research, a Washington, D.C. based survey research firm, to lead this series of focus groups. This was the first time a study was conducted in Namibia on perceptions of democracy and Parliament.

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Through the focus groups, NDI was able to assess Namibians' perceptions and attitudes toward democratic institutions, the overall direction of the country since the 1994 elections and their feelings about continued participation in the democratic process. The report by Eiseb and Fuller entitled *You Need Five Fingers to Pick Up a Stick, Perceptions of Political Institutions in Namibia* stated, "Generally a positive mood about Namibia was obtained. Respondents appreciated a democratic form of government both for the freedoms it provided and for the process of thorough discussion of the issues that took place between the ruling party and the opposition."

The findings indicated that while individuals did acknowledge that Namibia faced real and, perhaps, growing problems, there was little disillusionment with the democratic system the country had adopted at independence. In addition, while the individual had a relatively good grasp of the role of the National Assembly and the National Council, as a group, constituents desired considerably more contact with their representatives and more information about the activities of Parliament. Eiseb and Fuller also found that an overwhelming majority of participants voted in all three national elections and "there is an equally generalized belief that participation in the democratic process is necessary."

The Lake Research Group report focused primarily on suggestions for democratic development. Foremost among these findings was the need for a constituent relations program that would institutionalize constituent contact, particularly for the regional and National Councils. Another recommendation was to expand information services throughout Namibia and "make radio...a priority." For the more remote areas of Namibia, the Lake report suggested increasing the language services available and, for the larger towns, the report advised the continuance of the radio "chat" shows which appeared to have been effective and drew a large audience.

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In June, Eiseb and Fuller submitted their report on the focus groups detailing the methodology employed and the data collected. Their report provided general recommendations for Namibia. Lake Research also submitted a report on the focus groups that made specific programmatic suggestions for NDI and Namibian NGOs. Under the current USAID grant, Namibia: Parliamentary Development, these reports are being printed for distribution to MPs and the public.

The focus group study was a useful assessment tool to analyze the progress of democratic institutions in Namibia over the past eight years and the role that NDI, with AREAF funding, played in that process. While it would be inappropriate to claim credit for the successes of Namibia's democracy, NDI's assistance did make a difference in Namibia's evolving democracy.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

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

At the center of this NDI program was the subgrant partnership with NBC. Together, NBC and NDI educated voters about their rights and responsibilities through broadcast materials produced about voting procedures and campaign issues; interactive programs and interviews with party officials; public forums, panel discussion and debates; radio dramas, plays, videos and skits. Also, NDI staff members regularly met with representatives from all seven registered parties and played a role in regularly scheduled meetings between NBC and the political parties. NDI's voter education program marks the first time that Namibian election officials, political parties and the media have cooperated fully in a nationwide voter education effort. The result was a national voter turnout of more than 76 percent of the registered voters, despite widespread predictions that Namibian voters were apathetic and would not turn out for the election. To promote similar or better future results, NBC developed a workable framework for covering future elections from registration to reporting the results.

In May 1989, NDI made 11 recommendations to UNTAG for the conduct of elections. All but one was accepted. The one that was rejected, the creation of an independent electoral commission, continued to be an important issue and was again recommended in the December 1994 *Comments on the Namibian Presidential and National Assembly Elections* report. The report points out that Namibia's Electoral Commission is an independent body as provided under the Electoral Act and is responsible for the administrative and clerical work of the Electoral Commission (Article 11). The Directorate is administered by the Director of Elections, who exercises powers subject to the direction and control of the Electoral Commission (Article 11). However, the Directorate of Elections is a division of a ministry (Article 11) and is placed under the budget controlled by the Prime Minister's office. In addition, the Electoral Commission must reach agreement with the ministry concerning personnel to assist in administering its activities. These provisions may create bureaucratic complications and lead to a perception that the Directorate might be unable to function impartially. For these reasons, NDI recommended that the Directorate of Elections be independent of the Prime Minister's office. The report makes seven more recommendations, although none as controversial. As a result of the report, some political leaders from the opposition political parties called for a full discussion of some of these and other issues related to the country's electoral system. NDI met with the Prime Minister to discuss the recommendations, but he continues to believe that the Directorate of Elections should remain part of his office.

The focus group study held in 1996 assessed Namibians' perceptions and attitudes toward democratic institutions, their views on the overall direction of the country since the 1994 elections and their feelings about continued participation in the democratic process. Thus, NDI was able to further assess its voter education program's effectiveness in informing voters about their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. Both reports, the Eiseb and Fuller and the Lake Research Group, suggested that people do understand the importance of and why they are participating in democracy through voting.

Participants' Comments on Participation:

The reason that others do not vote is that even if they vote they will see the same thing. According to how I see it those who do not vote are wrong because in case the person you wanted to vote for could have helped the nation. Therefore to refrain from voting is a wrong notion.

- Ngoma respondent

The first time I voted.....I will vote again .... But I think I'm speaking for 99% of Namibians, especially white Namibians. They feel just as helpless as I do when they vote because things are out of our control.

- Windhoek respondent

Yes, they have an obligation to vote because if you do not vote no one will know where you stand. People elect leaders in order for there to be order and the rule of law. If people do not vote there will not be any order. Everyone will just do as they wish. Voting is therefore very necessary.

- Odibo women

V. EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

In evaluating the effectiveness of the voter education program, NDI assessed the following: 1) quality of materials produced; 2) their ability to reach the targeted audiences; 3) their effectiveness in educating the public about the elections; and 4) the results of the focus group findings. NDI also evaluated the media training for political parties and their involvement with NGOs. NDI assessed the aforementioned through consultations with parties, civic organizations, parliamentary leaders, international observers and NDI staff members.

Quality of Materials Produced

Beginning in August, radio listeners and television viewers heard at least one election related story per day until the elections. Voter education efforts intensified as the elections approached, with one service broadcasting as many as 14 quiz shows before the elections. NBC was also able to reach beyond its original plan for a single radio drama about the elections and produced a four-week radio series. Three days before the elections, NBC broadcast an unprecedented, live 90-minute panel discussion between political party leaders. Additionally, political parties produced advertisements for Radio 99. Most of the NBC and Radio 99 productions were translated for the radio language services. Considering that most Namibians do not understand English, these services were vital to the success of the voter education materials. Many voters learned about the process and the different parties through the Namibian media. Also, Moshe Baitsewe, an NBC staff member who broadcasts on the Tswana service and wrote several of the radio serials, was invited to a Pan African conference on civic education to discuss his work, an indication that the election material he wrote was recognized favorably outside of Namibia.

Ability to Reach the Targeted Audiences

The election-related radio programs and announcements were translated and broadcast in nine languages making them more accessible to their targeted audiences. As the focus group findings suggested, radio was the best medium to reach Namibians considering the population demographics in the country. Sixty percent of the population is illiterate, thus radio was an integral part of voter education. The combination of radio coverage from both NBC and Radio 99 successfully reached all areas of Namibia and each population group.

Effectiveness in Educating the Public about the Elections

A voter turnout of 76 percent was a testament to the effectiveness of the voter education materials. The turnout was higher than many had anticipated and was an excellent voter turnout by international standards. In addition, less than 2.5 percent of the ballots were spoiled, indicating the electorate's understanding of the voting procedures. Finally, according to party agents and international observer reports on election day, the balloting appeared transparent, orderly and well-administered with few problems. The NDI sponsored voter education campaign certainly contributed to this success.

Results of the Focus Group Findings

The focus group findings demonstrated the vast knowledge most Namibians have pertaining to their government. The Lake Research report states, "In virtually every focus group, including the most remote, there were participants who articulated an understanding that they have a National Assembly charged with making laws that are in the national interest, and that regional council and National Council members are charged with carrying regional concerns to the National Assembly." Additionally, Eiseb and Fuller write, "There is a general understanding of the nature of both Houses." The reports demonstrated the effectiveness of past educational programs in reaching the people and clearly explained what they were voting for in 1994.

Media Training for Political Parties

The one-hour NDI-sponsored interactive satellite video conference was well attended and participants were very responsive to the interactive format. This led to the second stage of media training — the individualized political party consultations. The success of the program was made clear during the political announcements created by the DTA, UDF, SWANU and the FCN that were broadcast on Radio 99 the week prior to elections. They followed some of the suggestions made during NDI's media consultations, including the use of sound effects and clear, simple writing styles.

Lessons Learned

Some political parties were unable to take advantage of some or all of the media opportunities. Jan Poolman, a senior reporter at NBC, stated that many of the political parties were not "geared up," just six weeks prior to the elections. For example, some of the political parties were unable to use the free five-minute air time slots that NBC offered (each party received the same number of opportunities).

The NDI and NBC working relationship was occasionally strained by NBC's assumption that it had been granted voter education funds for use on an as-needed basis. When NDI asked how the money was being used or suggested that more voters might be reached by NBC radio language services than NBC television, there was an occasional note of resentment expressed by NBC. In spite of these problems, NBC succeeded in educating voters in how and why to participate in the 1994 electoral process. They also did outstandingly in their attempts to report this process to the Namibian people by radio and television. The extent to which NDI was able to expand these efforts through AREAF funding does credit to both AREAF and NDI.

Vitura Kavari, the chairperson of both the Election Forum and the NBC Task Force, expressed in his final recommendations NBC's preference that they should have been granted the voter education funds to determine allocation independently. However, the U.S. Government accounting procedures rarely allow such programming flexibility. Kavari nonetheless took time out in his report to express NBC's gratitude to NDI and its Windhoek team, as well as NDI in Washington. "We want to take up this opportunity to thank the National Democratic Institute for its most needed assistance. The success that the NBC boasts pertaining to the public information/education campaign would not have been possible without the financial and moral assistance from NDI."

Overall the AREAF-funded NDI voter education program in Namibia was successful. NDI received a letter from Professor Gerhardt Tötemeyer, Director of Elections from the Directorate of Elections, outlining NDI's contribution and praising the work: "All in all, the NDI made invaluable contributions to the voters enlightenment process during the election period."

Final Report Addendum
NIGER
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3502
May to June 1996

I. SUMMARY

NDI's work in Niger under the Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF) grant fell within the context of the Institute's most recent long-term and multi-faceted program in Niger. With a separate grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) mission in Niger, NDI established a field office in Niamey in October 1995 to conduct a program to support the consolidation and more effective functioning of democratic institutions in the post-election period. However, On January 27, 1996, a *coup d'état* forced NDI to reorient its program in order to provide continued assistance to Nigerien civic organizations prior to and during presidential elections set for July 7 and 8, 1996.

NDI then utilized left over funds from an AREAF project originally earmarked for domestic observer training seminars for the 1995 legislative elections in Niger. With the remaining AREAF funds, NDI provided a subgrant to its partner domestic organization, the *Collectif.* Because the *Collectif* was a nascent coalition of local organizations, NDI's subgrant provided timely financial assistance to cover the group's start-up administrative costs. The subgrant also provided the *Collectif* with the necessary financial support to conduct 13 training seminars for domestic monitors at the grassroots level throughout the country. Through the training seminars, the *Collectif* was able to train over 710 Nigerien election monitors who subsequently undertook a comprehensive monitoring effort of the entire election process.

II. BACKGROUND

The consolidation of Niger's fragile democratic institutions was abruptly interrupted on January 27, 1996, when Ibrahim Bare Mainassara staged a *coup d'état,* dissolved the nascent National Assembly, and suspended the constitution and political parties. Bowing to internal and external pressure, Bare stated his intention to hand over power to a civilian government, and he began implementing a transition timetable for democratic elections to be held in July 1997.

Once Niger's transition timetable was finalized, NDI encouraged several relatively heterogeneous groups, with a common goal of monitoring the election process, to form a coalition in order to maximize their resources and potential impact. Six of these groups came together to form the *Collectif des Associations de Defense de Droits de l'Homme et de la Promotion de Democratie (Collectif ADDHPD - Observatoire National des Elections).* The *Collectif* comprises the following Nigerien organizations: *l'Union des Syndicats des*

Travailleurs de Niger (USTN); *l'Association Nigérienne pour la Défense de Droit de l'Homme* (ANDDH); *l'Association des Femmes Juristes du Niger* (AFJN); *La Ligue Nigérienne de Défense des Droits de l'Homme* (LNDH Garkwa Dan Adam); *Le Reseau d'Integration et de Diffusion du Droit en Milieu Rural (RIDD-FITILA)*; and *Le Rassemblement Démocratique des Femmes du Niger* (RDFN).

The *Collectif's* defined mandate is to contribute to the development of a democratic culture in Niger and to create a political environment in which the Nigerien people could participate fully in the political and electoral processes. Their main objective during the transition process was to promote transparency and social peace, and to encourage a system of good governance. The *Collectif's* overarching goal is to establish an enduring coalition that enhances democratization in Niger. The coalition also planned to conduct civic education activities and to train domestic election monitors to assess the pre-election process, election day proceedings, as well as political developments in the immediate post-election period. Through the use of the remaining AREAF funds, NDI provided the *Collectif* with a subgrant to assist them in achieving these goals.

This subgrant complemented the ongoing technical assistance NDI provided to the *Collectif* throughout the election process. This assistance included: organizing a national training seminar and three additional seminars at the regional level, training a core group of *Collectif* observers, many of whom also served as trainers for the follow-on AREAF-financed training seminars; organizing a pre-election day press conference; encouraging the *Collectif* to observe the pre-election period, the establishment of election lists, the validation of candidacies and the post-election climate; and ensuring that all nonpartisan monitors were accredited and deployed on election day.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

In order to train as many domestic observers as possible, NDI first organized, in collaboration with the *Collectif*, a national training seminar in Niamey and three regional seminars held in Tahoua, Zinder and Dosso. The *Collectif* then received the subgrant from NDI to conduct follow up training at the subregional level in all eight regions of the country. Not including the four pilot seminars organized by NDI and the *Collectif*, 13 seminars were conducted allowing for a total of 710 Nigerien monitors to be trained. NDI entered the names and addresses of the trainees into a data base which was later provided to the *Collectif* for future use.

The *Collectif's* training seminars focused on the role of the observer within Niger's specific political context. Seminar participants reviewed the election code and pertinent provisions governing the observation of the election process. Plenary sessions were also devoted to explaining the techniques used to observe the establishment of electoral lists, and activities conducted during the campaign period and on election day. Discussions also focused on how to fill out questionnaires, the registration of information on various election day checklists, and the

transmittal and centralization of observations. The seminars closed with a simulation exercise on voting at a polling site on election day.

Pedagogic materials, many of which had been produced in collaboration with the *Collectif* through the existing AID mission funds, were distributed during the 13 training seminars. These included among others: an observer manual; copies of the election law and other relevant texts; a pre-election day questionnaire; election day check lists; and a campaign period complaint form.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

On election day and despite tremendous logistical difficulties, all of the *Collectif's* observers were at the polls and observed the proceedings. Shortly after the election, the *Collectif* developed and widely distributed their observation report, criticizing numerous electoral irregularities. The report summed up the election process as follows: "...because of the logistical insufficiencies and the non-transparency of the election held on July 8, the presidential elections of July 7 and 8, 1996 lost all credibility."

The 13 seminars conducted by the *Collectif* helped to expand and solidify the coalition's network of volunteers. Through the training seminars, the *Collectif* was empowered early in the election process and was consequently able to conduct a comprehensive monitoring effort on election day and during the pre-election period. By organizing this monitoring effort, the *Collectif* provided an avenue for the more active political participation of Nigeriens at the grassroots level.

NDI staff in Niamey provided continuous assistance to the *Collectif*, in the conception, development and daily management of the subgrant. The subgrant allowed the *Collectif* to build their capacity to conduct and oversee such nationwide projects, and to adhere to USAID guidelines for reconciling expenses and maintaining files and records. Regardless of the regime in power in Niamey at this time or recent political developments in the country, the skills acquired by members of the *Collectif* in the course of working on the project will remain with them in the future, thereby strengthening Nigerien civil society's ability to contribute to democratization efforts in the country.

AREAF Final Report
ZAMBIA: SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN ZAMBIA
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3601
October 15, 1995 to May 9, 1996

I. SUMMARY

From October 1995 to May 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a program to support the electoral process in Zambia. During this period, there were significant changes in the political environment including a postponement of the November 1995 local elections, an extension of the voter registration process to almost three months and an increase in overall political tension. With each development, NDI attempted to adjust its programming to respond to the changing political climate. NDI also sought to build upon its previous election support program in Zambia in 1991, as well as its more recent work with political parties in 1993 and 1994.

Despite the lack of a scheduled date for local elections and a highly charged political environment, NDI continued program activities preparing for upcoming elections and emphasizing voter education and clean campaigning. NDI focused attention on the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) and worked with NGOs in distributing voter education information and encouraging women's political participation. Consultations with political parties continued in an effort to discuss training for political party polling agents and the creation of party codes of conduct. While increased political tensions and difficulties with party cooperation made work more difficult, they underscored the importance of NDI activities within an environment of uncertainty and public frustration.

II. BACKGROUND

In 1996, Zambia is scheduled to hold national elections for local government councils, parliament and the presidency. There also could be a national referendum on major constitutional revisions. The Zambian government, political parties, NGOs and other interested sectors face a variety of political issues that could impact negatively on the legitimacy of the upcoming elections.

Voter Registration

With the last registration of voters occurring under one-party rule in 1987, the Zambian government undertook an effort to create a new voters list beginning in December 1995. However, voter registration was hampered by scarce financial resources, poor timing

and logistics, a dearth of voter education, voter skepticism and apathy and a lack of transparency concerning the role of a foreign company contracted to complete some components of the process. These problems were exacerbated by the unavailability of National Registration Cards (NRCs) which prospective voters needed in order to register. Opposition party leaders publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the low number of registrants. As of February 22, government figures indicated that approximately 1.6 million out of an estimated 4.6 million (less than 35 percent) voting age citizens had registered. The government extended registration three times and ended it on March 15, 1996. Sources estimated the total number registered to be approximately 2.3 million. By comparison, in 1991 an estimated 2.9 million Zambians were registered to vote, and about 1.3 million cast ballots. Some opposition parties have threatened to boycott the elections if voters roll figures remain low, unless there is more transparency in the registration process in general. Some have also threatened to disrupt the upcoming elections. (Attachment 13)

Constitutional Revision Disagreement

There are several provisions in the presidential qualification clause of the constitution that have severely limited the opposition's participation in the 1996 elections. The first provision requires that presidential candidates be second generation citizens, which would disqualify UNIP's presidential candidate Kenneth Kaunda. The second provision requires that presidential candidates be domiciled in Zambia for the previous 20 years, which disqualifies the Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC) president candidate Dean Mung'omba. Another provision bars traditional chiefs from running for election unless they step down as rulers of their communities; this affects UNIP's vice president candidate, Chief Inyambo Yeta, who is also chief of the Lozi community in Zambia.

Political Party Dialogue

Currently, there are no avenues for interparty dialogue. The lack of formal dialogue and conflict resolution mechanisms have resulted in an increase in political tension. This tension has manifested itself in small-scale violent clashes between party activists.

As of the writing of this final report, no official dates had been announced for either local government, presidential or parliamentary elections. Local government elections have been postponed since November 1995. Given the logistical demands and time needed to examine the voter rolls and to distribute the voters cards, it is unlikely they will occur before the end of October. There has been some speculation that local elections could be postponed further and held simultaneously with presidential and parliamentary elections. This would save resources and certainly result in a higher turnout for local government elections. The presidential and parliamentary elections most likely will occur in November but could be delayed further as the situation progresses.

Finally, during a two-week assessment mission conducted by NDI Southern Africa Regional Director Patricia Keefer and resident staff in late February 1996, individuals representing a wide spectrum of Zambian government and society cited the need for international involvement (specifically that of NDI) in the 1996 elections. During the meetings, comparisons were made between the 1991 elections and the impending 1996 election. Unlike in 1991, when most citizens voted against a system of government rather than for a particular political platform, the 1996 elections would be the first chance for Zambians to choose among opposing political parties operating in a genuine multiparty environment. As a result, the integrity and sustainability of Zambia's new political system will be tested.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI activities were designed to encourage Zambian citizens to take part in local elections and supplement the voter assistance program by providing educational materials to voters, election officials, NGOs and political party members on the importance of citizen participation in the political process. As a result of the postponement of local and national elections, NDI shifted its attention and attempted to promote an environment conducive to open and fair elections.

Despite the difficult and unpredictable political environment, NDI activities also strived to meet the following objectives:

- to examine the outcomes of local government elections so as to assist in preparation for 1996 national elections;
- to work with Zambia political parties in increasing party agent capacity to encourage voter registration and engage in election monitoring activities;
- to increase public confidence in political parties and the political process as a whole by assisting in the production of voter education materials and political education newsletters for wide distribution as well as radio public service announcements;
- to support Zambia's political parties in a campaign for clean elections and implementation of a code of conduct; and
- to encourage Zambian citizens to register to vote and to participate in elections.

Provincial NGO Network

NDI conducted a series of provincial survey missions in an effort to build a network of existing NGOs throughout the country. Visits were made to Ndola and Kitwe in Copperbelt Province, Livingstone in Southern Province, Kabwe in Central Province, Kasama in Northern Province and Mongu in Western Province. During the provincial assessment, NDI staff

members met with NGOs, church leaders, student groups and trade union representatives in an effort to identify contact persons in the nine provincial urban centers. These individuals were advised how to set up a far reaching network of NGOs and individuals in his/her given area using already established contacts. The network served to: 1) distribute voter education material; 2) create public interest and awareness in promoting a clean campaign; and 3) organize an election monitoring effort throughout the country.

The missions also provided a forum in which NGO's, church groups and labor organizations could establish a working network in their provinces. The provincial NGO network is intended to be part of the clean campaign effort of nonpartisan groupings that encourage Zambian citizens to demand a political atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect during presidential and national assembly elections.

Utilizing the provincial NGO network, NDI distributed information on how to register. The Electoral Office asked for NDI's assistance in distributing information on voter registration; subsequently, NDI also distributed materials produced by the Electoral Commission that educated voters about where they can vote and provided information assisting them in casting their ballots. (Attachment 14)

Political Party and NGO Databases

NDI conducted consultations with the four main political parties including: the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), United National Independence Party (UNIP), National Party (NP) and Zambian Democratic Congress (ZDC). (Attachment15)

Contact information from the provincial NGO missions was also entered into an NGO and community-based organizations (CBO) database created by NDI. The information was made available to Zambian NGO's, international NGOs and appropriate election authorities. The database provides information on who the NGOs are, what they do and where they can be found. NDI shared the information gathered with the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) to facilitate their activities.

Party Agent Training

NDI conducted party agent training for most of Zambia's political parties between April 18 and April 23 at the Mulungushi Village Complex. The agenda included an overview on elections and democracy; the role of political parties and their agents; the relationship between agents and nonpartisan monitors; pre-election and election day monitoring; an overview of the Zambian electoral law; a review of the NDI Zambia Party Agent Training Kit; and an election-day simulation.

The following parties participated in the workshops: Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD), United National Independence Party (UNIP), National Party and Zambia Democratic Congress. A separate, all-party workshop for the smaller opposition parties was held for the Liberal Progressive Front, National Democratic Alliance, National Party for Democracy and Labour Party.

It became apparent during the workshops that a high degree of mistrust exists between the parties concerning issues such as the use of multiple voter cards and voter certificates. NDI attempted to use the party agent training as a way to inform the parties about techniques for monitoring this aspect of an electoral process, in hopes of alleviating mistrust between electoral stakeholders. Among the specific concerns raised was the possibility of an inaccurate voters' register, switching of ballot boxes, ghost voters and partisan security personnel. (Attachment 16)

Committee for a Clean Campaign

In preparation for October elections, NDI assisted in the creation of the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC), a nonpartisan group of NGOs, student organizations and church leaders interested in encouraging the political parties to adhere to pre-established codes of conduct for election campaign activities. The clean campaign effort encouraged citizen participation by promoting an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect as well as assisting indigenous NGOs with their election-related civic education programs. The "Clean Campaign" was based around the following general principles: 1) zero tolerance for violence and intimidation; 2) open and fair campaigning; and 3) overall ethical behavior on the part of political parties and their candidates.

NDI initially served as facilitator at the CCC weekly meetings. Members included the Youth and Women Catholic Association (YWCA), Christian Council of Zambia, the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Church of God, Zambian Independent Monitor Team (ZIMT), Institute for African Studies, Youth Federation for World Peace, Women for Change, Non Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee (NGOCC), National Women's Lobby Group, University of Zambia (UNZA) Students Union, the Zambia Congress and Trade Unionists (ZCTU) and others. The official chairman was Ngande Mwanajiti of Inter-African Network for Human Rights and Development (AFRONET).

In time, NDI played less of a facilitator role in an effort to consolidate the CCC as an independent organization and encourage political parties to engage in a "clean campaign." After convening the CCC, NDI removed itself from day-to-day functioning and took a more consultative role in the interest of maintaining its nonpartisan status in the country. During the month of February, NDI and the CCC constructed and signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) defining duties and responsibilities of each organization and solidifying their relationship. Under the MOU, NDI facilitated printing and dissemination of voter education

materials, made its NGO database accessible to the CCC and served in a consultative capacity. Currently, the CCC operates as an independent organization and receives funds from participating organizations for its activities. Program activities between NDI and the CCC included the Voter Education Newspaper and Radio Dramas, drafting of proposals for funding and organizing the CCC official launching. (Attachment 17)

Voter Education Newspaper

In March 1996, NDI published the first edition of a four-page newspaper, entitled *Elections '96*. The paper served as a motivational and informational tool encouraging Zambian citizens to vote. Information included where and why to vote, the different roles of various elected officials and bodies and the relationship between voting and day-to-day life. Details about upcoming local elections were also provided.

The paper consisted primarily of photographs and illustrations with some narrative, all of which depicted Zambian citizens actively participating in the electoral process. *Elections '96* was published in English as well as in four indigenous languages: Bemba, Chewa (Nyanja), Lozi and Tonga. The papers, 500,000 in all, were stored at the CCC secretariat and distributed by the committee to all nine provinces through the CCC/NDI provincial network and via NDI provincial civic education and political party workshops, which began the first week of April 1996. (Attachment 18)

Radio Dramas

NDI also produced and broadcast a 30-minute radio drama, translated into seven local languages as well as English, addressing the topic of voter registration. The dramas were produced in conjunction with the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC), with technical and creative support by the Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) Radio 1 and Radio 2. Using the radio stations allowed these educational dramas to reach most of the country. The dramas, targeted specifically at women and youth living in rural areas, were intended to educate people on the importance of voting in upcoming local elections as well as to motivate them to participate by registering and then voting. The dramas featured Zambians interacting on a normal day-to-day basis discussing issues pertinent to the upcoming elections. The dramas were used to educate and motivate people on the importance of voting in upcoming local elections. The radio dramas provided NDI and the CCC with a cost-effective, accessible and timely vehicle for reaching rural Zambian voters. (Attachment 19)

High Level Visits including NDI President Ken Wollack

On March 27 to 28, NDI President Ken Wollack visited Lusaka to meet with government and opposition officials, the U.S. Embassy and USAID. His primary objectives were threefold:

1) to meet with Zambian government and main opposition (UNIP) officials to re-enforce NDI's position as a neutral body which seeks to encourage dialogue among the parties; 2) to assess the viability of NDI's future involvement in Zambia; and 3) to re-establish NDI's relationship with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). (Attachment 20)

Regional Director's Visit

NDI Southern Africa Regional Director Patricia Keefer visited Lusaka from February 12 to February 22. Keefer assessed the current political situation in Zambia with specific reference to electoral activities where NDI could provide assistance and to determine roles it might play in facilitating a dialogue between the various political parties. In particular, NDI was interested in ascertaining interest from different sections of Zambian society about the possibility of an international observer mission.

Meetings were held with representatives of all the major political parties, the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), the Christian Council, the National and Local Government Election Commissions, trade unions, the U.S. Embassy and USAID to determine areas where NDI could provide support for the local governmental, parliamentary and presidential elections. FODEP and ZIMT specifically requested international organizations to assist in the election monitoring effort.

Based on the findings of this trip, NDI began the process of composing a new project proposal to AREAF to continue the work on the Zambian electoral process through the elections, scheduled for October 1996. NDI would cultivate a role to facilitate inter-party dialogue as well as continue its work with the CCC. (Attachment 21)

Senior Consultant's Visit

From March 21 to April 9, NDI Senior Consultant Keith Jennings traveled to Lusaka with the following objectives: 1) to develop a plan and lay the foundation for the intra-party dialogue envisioned for the new grant period; 2) to help explain NDI's terms of reference to political party leadership and activists; 3) to seek agreement among the political parties for a new relationship expressed in a memoranda of understanding; and 4) to assist the Lusaka-based staff with developing new approaches to bring parties to participate in provincial workshops. During a meeting with the Foreign Affairs Minister, Wollack, Jennings and Black discussed NDI/MMD relations and international perceptions of the current Zambian political environment including possible NDI contributions over the next few months. (Attachment 22)

Student Debates

NDI co-sponsored a one-day series of debates featuring four secondary schools on the topic of voter registration. The co-sponsoring organization was a youth NGO called the Youth

Activist Organization (YAO). This was their first opportunity to work on a "major" event. YAO President Nalumino Nalumino appeared on ZNBC News to publicize the event and encouraged Zambian youth to register and vote. NDI provided the winners with certificates of participation and also provided voter education materials to participants and audience members.

In all, the event was well-received with more than 100 people attending the debates including representatives of three Zambian NGOs and several members of the local media. The debate was an excellent opportunity for participants and observers to analyze the issue of voter registration from more than one point of view. In doing so, it helped inform people that the problems associated with the voter registration exercise are extremely intricate and deserving of a wider public debate.

IV. PROGRAM EVALUATION

NDI's support for the electoral process in Zambia achieved most of the initial goals outlined in the AREAF proposal. Due to the postponement of the local elections and the need to adjust to the changing political environment, NDI broadened its focus to concentrate on the formation of the Committee for a Clean Campaign, work with the political parties and the production of voter education materials. In order to support political parties in their effort to mobilize members and supporters to register, NDI assisted parties in increasing awareness of various issues among their active party members by circulating, in the Southern and Eastern provinces, the *Election '96* newspaper.

During the course of the program, NDI/Zambia continually evaluated project activities through individual interviews with political party representatives, leaders of NGOs and international consultants; verbal and written feedback from participants in training sessions; and reports from short term consultants. Suggestions for modifications to NDI programs were offered by political party representatives, NGO representatives and elected officials.

NDI's electoral support activities were heavily influenced by stipulations mandated by the U.S. Embassy and the USAID Mission. NDI was required to work under an umbrella of Zambian NGOs and to build in program flexibility in order to easily adapt to the ever-changing political climate. Establishing a provincial network of NGOs, CBOs, religious organizations, trade unionists and student organizations enabled NDI to establish a foundation which could later be used for the distribution of voter education materials and to facilitate communication among these organizations throughout the country. This network was built upon already established networks of indigenous organizations which enabled NDI to assist them in accomplishing their goals.

The points of inquiry utilized by NDI to conduct an internal evaluation of its electoral support program in Zambia included the following:

- Did the NDI program stimulate political party and nonpartisan NGOs to conduct voter registration and election activities?

- Did NDI work with political parties to increase their participation in election monitoring activities?

- Was NDI successful in organizing local groups for election monitoring?

- Did NDI work with local organizations to produce voter education materials?

- Was NDI successful in informing the electorate about various aspects of elections, including why voting is important, how and where to register and where to vote?

V. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In conducting this program, NDI worked closely with local organizations. Due to the postponement of the local elections and related political developments, NDI concentrated on the formation of the Committee for a Clean Campaign, work with the political parties and the production of voter education materials. Utilizing the provincial network of NGOs, NDI was able to assist other indigenous organizations in accomplishing their goals by facilitating dialogue among various groups doing similar work throughout Zambia. As public frustration with the registration process rose, NDI's production of voter education materials and radio dramas provided valuable information to on how to register to voter and why it is important to vote.

In keeping with the objectives outlined in the project proposal, NDI achieved the following results through its activities.

- As a direct result of NDI's consultations and facilitation, the Committee for a Clean Campaign was created. The CCC's mandate included a call to all Zambian political parties for a clean campaign and implementation of a universal code of conduct.

- NDI met its objective of supporting the electoral process in Zambia by conducting several rounds of consultations and training with NGOs and CBOs in each of the nine provinces to establish a distribution network for voter education materials. Each of the consultations was attended by an average of 15 individuals. As a result, NDI was able to create a national database of NGOs, CBOs and religious organizations which was used to update and expand the existing Zambian NGO Directory.

- Through production of radio dramas and a voter education newspaper, NDI encouraged Zambian citizens to become involved in the electoral process by registering and voting. NDI also assisted in educating them about the political system including why voting is

important, how and where to register and where to vote. This effort expanded on the objectives by reaching previously disenfranchised Zambian groups such as rural women and youth.

- In addition to being involved in putting radio dramas on the air and ZNBC's involvement in radio spot production, NDI encouraged participants of Zambia's state-run media in conducting nonpartisan voter education efforts. NDI established a good working relationship with ZNBC and, as a result, will continue to produce radio spots as the electoral process continues through 1996.

- Through NDI senior staff visits to Lusaka, provincial survey missions and consultations with political party officials, civic organizations, USAID and the U.S. Embassy, NDI assisted Zambians in an evaluation of the Zambian electoral process, including an assessment of structures supporting voter registration and education (particularly in anticipation of 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections).

- Finally, NDI senior staff visits to Lusaka laid the groundwork for interparty dialogue in a volatile political environment.

Final Report
ZAMBIA: SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS
AREAF Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3607
May 1 - June 30, 1996

I. SUMMARY

From May 1 through June 30, 1996, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a follow-on program to support the Zambian electoral process for the local government and national elections. NDI worked with political parties and individuals who were attempting to consolidate and enhance democratic gains made since the country's multiparty elections in 1991.

NDI worked closely with various Zambian political parties to promote interparty dialogue and political tolerance. In addition, NDI continued its work with the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) to enhance its ability to effectively monitor the 1996 political campaigns. These efforts became increasingly difficult due to the continuing deterioration of the political environment in the country, which was characterized by rapidly diminishing political space, increasingly threatening political rhetoric and a lack of commitment by the Zambian government to address the very serious issues at hand. After extensive consultations and deliberations, NDI reluctantly concluded that democracy is in a state of regression in Zambia, making the Institute's program objectives unattainable. NDI therefore decided to discontinue its work in Zambia effective June 30, 1996, in order to avoid lending legitimacy to a seriously flawed process.

II. BACKGROUND

For the past year, Zambia has been caught in a spiral of democratic backsliding. When the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) took power in 1991, on a platform of democratic reform, it was heralded as the leader of the growing trend toward multiparty political transformations taking place in Africa. Unfortunately, many of the reforms promised in the 1991 MMD platform were never implemented, and many reforms that were implemented have been negated by recent government actions. Government policies and laws enacted in the past year now pose threats to matters such as press freedom, freedom of assembly and open parliamentary debate as well as basic principles such as the definition of Zambian citizenship and the rights of that citizenship. These steps away from the democratic principles that were the MMD's platform have caused great concern and disappointment within Zambia and the international community.

Zambia's democratic regression has been manifested in many different ways including: abuse of the state owned media; the arrest and detention of independent journalists; the banning of entire issues of independent newspapers as "prohibited material"; a new law that effectively bars several major opposition candidates from contesting the scheduled presidential elections; the arbitrary expulsion of opposition members of parliament without opportunity for appeal; the arrest and detention of opposition party members and possible denial of *habeus corpus* rights to those individuals; the operation of a voter registration exercise marked by a lack of transparency and serious logistical flaws; the continued unequal enforcement of the public order act governing public rallies; and the blatant use of state resources for party-specific functions.

The most serious problem was the inability of any of the political parties in Zambia to engage in meaningful interparty dialogue. While all of the parties share responsibility for this situation, the MMD's complete refusal to compromise with the opposition has been the major stumbling block. The leaders of the MMD and the opposition have not met in a formal setting to discuss issues of national concern since 1992. The opposition parties have made several requests to the government to discuss these issues but the MMD has either ignored the requests or refused to participate. The one time the MMD called for discussions between the presidents of political parties, President Frederick Chiluba did not attend. Dialogue, if achieved, would likely result in many of the contentious issues between the parties being resolved so that a legitimate electoral competition could occur. However, with the MMD's continued refusal to participate in interparty talks or to engage in any sort of consultative process around issues concerning the election, the chances for a fair, competitive electoral process are slim.

Promotion of Interparty Dialogue

The promotion of interparty dialogue was a key component of NDI's program to support the electoral process. Vice President Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda told NDI President Kenneth Wollack on March 28, 1996, that he would support an interparty conference that would focus on areas of cooperation surrounding the election process. Following that meeting, NDI staff produced a draft agenda for a conference entitled "In Search of Common Ground," as well as a schedule to conduct the program at the provincial level. In consultations with the various political parties, the Common Ground conference was tentatively set for May 10 through 12. All of the major parties told NDI that they were committed to holding the conference during that weekend and that their participants would include high level decisionmakers within each party. (Attachment 23)

In an effort to build trust and cooperation between the parties, NDI organized a meeting between the five chairmen of the main political parties. The intention was that the chairmen of the parties, all of whom are seen as elder statesmen in Zambia, would lead the call for dialogue among their individual parties. The meeting would establish the groundwork

for the conference by building a level of trust between the political parties thereby instilling confidence in the dialogue process. The first meeting of party chairmen was scheduled for Tuesday, May 7.

However, political events derailed planning for the conference. During the last week of April, Zambian political parties attempted to engage in interparty talks which were intended to address the Constitutional Amendment Bill then under debate in parliament. The talks were initiated after the MMD responded to an opposition party request for a meeting that had been pending since December 1995. After both sides failed to agree on a mutually acceptable chairperson for the meeting, the MMD walked out. The MMD insisted that President Chiluba chair the meeting while the combined opposition insisted that the church, an objective body, should chair. The opposition refused, accused the church of being "timid" and requested that the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) chair the meeting. Each side felt that the chairmanship of the meeting was crucial to controlling the direction of the dialogue. The MMD wanted to maintain the meeting as a consultation, while the opposition parties wanted the meeting to be a negotiation. When the two sides reached an impasse over the issue, the MMD delegation left the meeting, but LAZ proceeded to chair the meeting for the remaining opposition parties.

Given these developments, NDI felt that it was best to postpone the first interparty consultation meeting between the chairmen scheduled for Tuesday, May 7. MMD Elections Chairman Ackson Sejani and MMD Chairman Sikota Wina agreed that it would be better to postpone the discussions. Wina was concerned that the dialogue would not be constructive so close to the aborted party talks.

In further discussions with MMD Organizational Secretary Mikatazo Wakumelo, NDI was assured that MMD would be at any rescheduled meeting for the chairmen. The meeting was rescheduled for Tuesday, May 14, and NDI received confirmations from the five political parties who had been invited: MMD, United National Independence Party (UNIP), Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC), National Party (NP) and the Liberal Progressive Front (LPF). NDI's goal was that this meeting finalize the agenda and set a firm date for the "In Search of Common Ground" conference.

Unfortunately, the MMD pulled out of the proposed meeting four hours before it was set to commence. Wina stated that following a 10-hour meeting of the MMD National Executive Committee (NEC) the day before, President Chiluba decided that the party would not engage in any interparty dialogue. No indications were given that this was only a postponement or that the ruling party would be willing to sit down with the opposition in the future.

The delay in the conference dates affected the planning of the provincial training component of the program. Because of the top-down authority structures of the Zambian political parties, any attempt at substantive interparty dialogue at the provincial level had to be initiated by dialogue at the national level. Without the example of the national party leadership, the

provincial leaders would be suspicious, if not hostile, to interparty dialogue in the provinces. Once the initiatives at national level dialogue failed, NDI decided to initiate provincial training with parties in a single party format focusing on party agent training with an emphasis on issues of tolerance and cooperation in an election. The program was designed to correspond with the training of domestic monitors in the provinces. (Attachment 24)

Adoption of the Constitutional Amendment Bill

On May 28, President Frederick Chiluba signed the 1996 Constitution (Amendment) Bill, effectively barring UNIP leader and former President Kenneth Kaunda from contesting the election. The clause also barred UNIP Vice President Chief Inyambo Yeta from standing for president, as it prohibited traditional rulers from participating in partisan politics. Another provision in the bill stipulated that presidential candidates must be domiciled in Zambia for 20 years. This provision eliminated several other prominent Zambian politicians from the presidential contest. President Chiluba had personally assured the international community that he would not sign the constitutional bill into law until after the election. Because of his reversal on his commitment to not sign the bill and the continued deterioration in the democratic process, several international donors indicated that they were reviewing their options of withholding aid to Zambia.

The Government of Zambia has made a conscious decision to limit the Zambian electorate's options for presidential candidates. This, combined with the lack of commitment to dialogue, continuing questions about the integrity and legitimacy of the various electoral institutions, and the overall lack of commitment to basic democratic principles at the highest levels within the MMD government, has closed political space, threatening to cut off all possibilities of dialogue and compromise. The political environment made it difficult, if not impossible to fulfill NDI's objective to bring the political parties together. After taking these issues into careful consideration and after discussions with representatives of the USAID mission in Zambia, NDI discontinued its programs in Zambia on June 30, 1996.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

Party Agent Training/Domestic Monitor Training

In consultation with various political parties, NDI designed a train-the-trainers program for political party polling agents. The program focused on the training of party polling agents with an emphasis on issues of tolerance and cooperation during an election and the need for a universal party code of conduct. The training workshops were conducted in a single party format and initially were scheduled to take place in the eight provincial capitals outside of Lusaka.

Three teams traveled throughout the country, conducting simultaneous workshops following standard agendas. The first day of each provincial visit consisted of a series of political

party consultations with the four main political parties: MMD, UNIP, ZDC and NP. The second day featured pre-election domestic monitor training for local NGOs including the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) and the Zambia Independent Election Monitoring Team (ZIMT), two organizations with which NDI has worked closely since the 1991 elections. The final four days consisted of individualized basic election and party agent training for the political parties. The training in each province was sequentially scheduled with the MMD, UNIP, NP and ZDC.

On June 5, 1996, NDI sent three teams into the provinces to begin training domestic monitoring groups and political parties. Adrian Muunga and Jack Goma traveled to Choma and Livingstone in Southern Province and Mongu in Western Province. NDI Field Representatives David Stearns and Greg Starosky traveled to Kasama in Northern Province and Mansa in Luapula Province. Branel Mwangala and Stephen Phiri accompanied the team that traveled to Kasama before they branched off to Solwezi in the Northwestern Province and then to Kitwe in the Copperbelt.

The entire schedule of training was completed in Livingstone (Southern), Choma (Southern) and Kasama (Northern). However, due to political developments in Lusaka and NDI's subsequent decision to discontinue the Zambia program, the rest of the training schedule was terminated. Teams were notified of the decision to cancel the remaining workshops and returned to Lusaka on June 15. While NGO workshops were held in Mansa (Luapula), Mongu (Western) and Solwezi (Northwestern), all political party activity in these three cities was canceled. In Kitwe (Copperbelt), Chipata (Eastern) and Kabwe (Central), both political party and NGO workshops were canceled.

The training workshops that were conducted illuminated the continued need for political party development in Zambia. Most of the participants were receiving information on basic election techniques for the first time and several suggested that the most valuable use of resources in the future would be to conduct training at the district level where information could be disseminated to grassroots political organizers more effectively and efficiently. Participants indicated that the party agent simulation was extremely beneficial to their parties. Participants demonstrated a deep understanding that effective election day monitoring is an intrinsically valuable aspect of party activities, in particular so that a party can guarantee that its hard work and use of resources during the election period are not wasted by an illegitimate voting process. NDI was able to effectively convey the message that party agent training can instill confidence in the electoral process, so that all stakeholders will respect the results.

More significantly, the training and consultations illustrated that interparty cooperation is possible on the provincial level with the approval of the national leadership. In Northern Province, for example, political party leaders meet on a weekly basis to discuss issues of local importance. Party leaders also talked with each other on a regular albeit informal basis. When parties failed to participate, it was almost always the result of orders emanating from the national party structure. (Attachment 25)

Committee for a Clean Campaign

NDI continued its work with the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) by supporting and training the provincial coordinating committees, distributing *Elections '96* voter education newspapers, conducting an advocacy training workshop for the members of the CCC central committee and organizing and funding a study mission to the Kwazulu/Natal local government elections in South Africa.

NDI conducted domestic monitor training with the members of the provincial coordinating committees of the CCC and FODEP. The agenda for the domestic monitor training was developed in consultation with the CCC, FODEP, NDI South Africa Program Officer Michael Stoddard and NDI Zambia field staff. The one day workshops focused on pre-election monitoring and reporting. (Attachment 26)

Materials Distribution

In addition to conducting party agent/domestic monitor training, the NDI provincial teams also transported about 20,000 copies of the CCC *Elections '96* newspaper to political parties and the CCC committees in the provinces. NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala organized and shipped approximately 175,000 newspapers by bus and rail to the NGO Provincial Committees for distribution into rural areas. NDI also distributed several hundred copies of its *A-Z* domestic monitoring handbook to NGOs involved in the monitoring process throughout the country. (Attachment 27)

Advocacy Training

NDI Consultant and former Zambia Project Director Keith Jennings and NDI Senior Consultant Ed Brown led an advocacy training workshop for the CCC on Friday, June 14, in Lusaka. The meeting was attended by more than 30 people from various NGOs represented on the CCC. The training focused on coalition building and the role citizens' actions can play in promoting democracy as well as aspects of grassroots organizing and civic education. (Attachment 28)

Zambia Youth Federation (ZYF)

In a continued effort to support the activities of the CCC and its member organizations as well as promote interparty dialogue, NDI helped design and sponsor a program by the Zambia Youth Federation (ZYF), a member organization of the CCC. The ZYF is an NGO that includes representatives of the youth wings of the major political parties. Work with the ZYF was valuable because these youth leaders are represented on the central committees of each party, thus they have a national platform for promoting their stated objective of achieving interparty dialogue. In addition, maintaining dialogue at the youth level could prove a valuable tool in

maintaining a peaceful atmosphere in Zambia, especially considering the significant role played by youths in confrontations in the past. NDI assisted in the design of the agenda and provided trainers for the workshops which were conducted in a multiparty setting with the provincial youth wings of the MMD, UNIP, ZDC and Labour party.

The "Non-Political Violence and Clean Campaign" conference took place in Ndola, the capital of Copperbelt Province. NDI Trainer Greg Starosky conducted workshops on how political parties can effectively prepare for an election and Branel Mwangala conducted a workshop on the importance of elections and election monitoring groups in strengthening and institutionalizing democracy. Other subjects covered in the workshops included the role of civil society in ensuring access to voting, the role of the police in an election, the role youth play in ensuring free and fair elections and the causes and effects of political violence. A second program scheduled for Lusaka was canceled due to the closing of the NDI office. (Attachment 29)

KwaZulu/Natal Study Mission

NDI sponsored and organized, in conjunction with the CCC, a delegation of 10 Zambians to travel to KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa for a study mission to the local government elections. The delegation consisted of representatives of five political parties and five civic organizations. NDI Program Officer Adrian Muunga accompanied the delegation and provided programmatic guidance. The program was designed to study the use of elections as a dispute resolution mechanism. The political parties and peace monitors in KwaZulu/Natal created many unique mechanisms to increase tolerance and cooperation in a contentious political environment, therefore making it particularly applicable to the Zambian context. The program therefore exposed Zambians to South Africa's electoral mechanisms as well as promoted interaction between the members of the various Zambian political parties represented on the delegation.

The delegation traveled to Durban on June 23 and remained until June 28. The program agenda included meetings with the police, ANC, IFP, Network of Independent Monitors, Local Government Elections Task Group and the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa. The delegation divided into four teams and observed the voting on election day as well as the counting process. The Zambians on the delegation were: Mikatazo Wakumelo (MMD); Mary Fulano (UNIP); Derrick Chitala (ZDC); Rose Mulamo (LPF); Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika (NP); Peter Mulenga (Zambia Congress of Trade Unions); Pamela Pio (Committee for a Clean Campaign); Sr. Celine Namalambo (Catholic Justice and Peace Commission); Mahongo Fumbelo (Youth Federation for World Peace); and Ben Kangwa (News Director, Zambia National Broadcasting Company). (Attachment30)

Party Consultations

NDI continued its efforts to strengthen political parties through consultations with the various parties. Former Member of the House of Commons and member of the UK Conservative Party Michael Knowles traveled to Zambia in April for individual consultations with the MMD. Mr. Knowles' meetings focused primarily on consultations with MMD Chairman Wina and stressed the need for interparty dialogue.

In May, NDI Senior Consultant Ed Brown met with various members of the UNIP Central Committee to discuss political and campaign strategies for the upcoming election. Brown met with UNIP President Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP Chairman Gen. Masheke, UNIP Administrative Secretary Basil Kabwe, as well as the UNIP secretaries for International Affairs and Women's Affairs. Brown emphasized the need for non-violent approaches in returning to a democratic order.

In addition, NDI Zambia Director Rob Black, Keith Jennings and Ed Brown conducted political party consultations with the MMD, UNIP, National Party, ZDC and LPF. These consultations centered around the development of strategies to resolve the current political impasse in Zambia. The meetings were also intended to stimulate interparty dialogue. Meetings were conducted with the following individuals: UNIP President Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP Secretary for International Affairs Rupiah Banda, UNIP Administrative Secretary Basil Kabwe, UNIP Chairperson General Masheke, MMD Chairman Sikota Wina, MMD Organizational Secretary Mikatazo Wakumelo, MMD Minister of Health Dr. Katana, LPF President Rodger Chongwe and ZDC Deputy Secretary General Azwell Banda. During the consultations NDI informed the parties that the Institute was considering suspending its activities in the country. (Attachment 31)

Cancellation of Program Activities and Office Closure

Regional Director Patricia Keefer arrived in Zambia on Wednesday, May 29, to meet with representatives of the US Embassy and USAID. Keefer and Black met with Ambassador Roland Kuchel, Deputy Chief of Mission Stevenson McIlvaine, Political Officer Ed Stafford and USAID Director Joseph Stepanek. The meeting reviewed NDI's program and the possibility of a cessation of NDI's activity due to the deteriorating political environment and the reversal of a commitment to democratic practices by the MMD. Keefer informed Ambassador Kuchel that NDI was very concerned that its continued presence in the country could lend legitimacy to an otherwise illegitimate process. Termination of the AREAF grant mechanism on June 30 meant that NDI would have to make a decision regarding its continued operations in Zambia by June 15 in order to have time to effectively close down its operations.

Ambassador Kuchel felt that continued consultation was important and asked for a meeting the following week to reassess the situation, especially given the perception that all of

the political parties, including UNIP and MMD, were interested in continuing preparations for the upcoming elections and working with NDI.

After the meeting, NDI wrote three separate proposals for the future of NDI's program in Zambia. Option 1 consisted of the complete shutdown of NDI's activities and complete withdrawal of staff by June 30. Option 2 consisted of a withdrawal of the American staff and the placement of the NDI local staff within the secretariat of the Committee for a Clean Campaign, and a subgrant agreement with the CCC. This option would have resulted in the termination of all political party-related work and would focus on the development of the CCC's pre-election and election-day monitoring capabilities. Option 3 proposed to continue the existing program, working with the political parties in preparation for parliamentary elections as well as continued work with the CCC and its member organizations. (Attachment 32)

The three proposals were presented to the USAID Mission on June 5 at a meeting attended by Ambassador Kuchel, Stevenson McIlvaine and Jim Polhemus (USAID Democracy/ Governance Advisor). Keefer, Black and Jennings represented NDI. Keefer outlined the various proposals with the mission. Ambassador Kuchel indicated that he would examine the proposals and respond to NDI; however, he also stated that the likelihood of new funding for election work was very unlikely, given the fact that the U.S. government was following a policy of a reduction in aid to Zambia. On Thursday, June 6, Jim Polhemus informed Rob Black that the mission had decided to support NDI's program termination.

Once the final decision to pull out had been made, NDI continued to work very closely with USAID, USIS and the Embassy in designing the most effective approach for announcing its program cancellation. These steps included consultations with Stedman Howard of USIS and prior review of the statement by the Mission. Keith Jennings, Rob Black and Ed Brown conducted preliminary meetings with various political parties and NGOs to inform them of the likelihood of the NDI closure.

On Monday, June 17, NDI President Kenneth Wollack delivered the official statement that explained the Institute's decision to leave Zambia to representatives of the diplomatic community, political parties, NGOs and media organizations. Keith Jennings and Rob Black responded to questions from the diplomatic community, press and political parties. Rob Black and David Stearns conducted final briefings and exit meetings with representatives of the Embassy on June 27 and USAID on 28 June. (Attachment 33)

Preparations for the closing of NDI's program in Zambia began the first of June. A tentative withdrawal schedule and list of activities was developed and immediately put into action. This included moving the office and staff residence into a local hotel on June 14 and notifying all contractors and vendors of the decision so they could prepare final invoices for NDI before the end of June. Office Manager Christina Sikanyika undertook the task of informing the contractors involved and within 10 days all outstanding bills had been settled to the satisfaction

of the vendors involved. Severance packages were calculated and provided to all staff members. This was followed by the closing of NDI's bank accounts and retrieval of any significant banking documents. Confirmation of the transfer of equipment purchased under the AREAF grants was granted by USAID D/G Advisor Polhemus, and accepted in writing by the CCC. Office equipment and furniture purchased under NDI's former USAID grant also was donated to the CCC. NDI completed its pullout with the departure of the field staff on June 30, 1996.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

NDI's support for the electoral process in Zambia was curtailed by the deteriorating political atmosphere that hampered the Institute's ability to conduct many of its program activities. The conduct of interparty dialogue at both the national and provincial levels proved to be impossible despite several initiatives by NDI to enhance the process. This included repeated trips to Lusaka by NDI President Kenneth Wollack, NDI Southern Africa Regional Director Patricia Keefer and several other experienced consultants. Several attempts to meet and discuss the situation with President Chiluba were repeatedly denied.

However, NDI was able to achieve several other goals. Most significantly, NDI was able to facilitate the consolidation of the Committee for a Clean Campaign as a significant player in Zambian politics during this period. NDI brought the members of the CCC together on a formal basis beginning in November 1996. However, over the last two months, the group became more focused with the procurement of office space for secretariat functions and the hiring of a program staff who are beginning to lay the groundwork for future initiatives. The coalition of NGOs and other groups representing a wide spectrum of Zambian society is becoming increasingly active as an election monitoring agency. It has produced three issues of a weekly newsletter called *The Monitor,* providing nonpartisan coverage of political party activities in an effort to publicize events and hold parties accountable for their actions. The CCC received donor funding enabling it to increase its efforts to promote fair elections in 1996 held within an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect between all of the competing parties. In this regard, the CCC has implemented its pre-election monitoring effort by bringing in legal experts, media observers, seasoned reporters and other staff to complement the efforts of its individual member organizations. NDI played an instrumental background role in facilitating these activities by providing consultation and advice regarding the structure, functions and tactics of the committee.

In the CCC, Zambians now have a powerful and legitimate group monitoring the fluid political situation. The CCC will maintain strong contacts outside of the country to focus international attention on developments. NDI is confident that the CCC will effectively continue its efforts at promoting peaceful elections in Zambia.

In addition, NDI was successful in training more than 180 domestic NGO members on key elements of pre-election monitoring. These individuals received training as well as materials which can be utilized in events such as election rallies, media coverage, candidate nomination verification of voter rolls and other campaign-related activities.

Despite the early termination of the program, NDI was able to train political party cadres from the MMD, UNIP, ZDC and National Party in Northern and Southern Provinces during this phase. As a result, more than 250 political party members from these parties have received training on organizing for an election. In addition, NDI trained these party members in party agent pollwatching as well as techniques for monitoring the election so that their party will be confident in accepting election results and, conversely, so that their party can make legally powerful claims and objections against the results if the process is less than satisfactory.

Visits to six provinces also provided NDI with useful information regarding the possibility for renewed program involvement in Zambia should the political environment change.

Final Report
EVALUATING AREAF PROGRAM ACTIVITY
Grant No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00
NDI Project No. 3610
May 1 - June 30, 1996

I. SUMMARY

In May 1996, the AREAF partners approved the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI's) proposal to conduct an evaluation of the Institute's AREAF funded programs in Benin, Cote d'Ivoire and the Central African Republic (CAR). These countries were selected because of the number and the diverse nature of AREAF funded programs conducted there by NDI. The May 18 mutiny by a part of the CAR Army and ensuing departure of American personnel from CAR required NDI to limit the evaluation to programs conducted in Benin and Cote d'Ivoire. An evaluation team conducted the assessment between May 23 and June 27, visiting Benin and Cote d'Ivoire and produced a draft report of its findings. The evaluation report is in final preparation and will be submitted separately.

II. BACKGROUND

NDI has been involved actively in programming in countries in sub-Saharan Africa over the past four years with support under AREAF. The Institute has conducted programs in four key fields: civic organization development, political party development, elections processes, and parliamentary training. An interim AREAF evaluation conducted after two years of programming provided a number of useful lessons learned to the AREAF partners. With the conclusion of AREAF on June 30, 1996, approaching, NDI felt it was important and timely to further assess the impact of its work under AREAF. The Institute thus proposed to conduct an evaluation of a selected number of countries.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI retained an outside evaluator, consultant Tom Lansner, and former NDI staff member Mikaela McDermott to provide staff support, to conduct the evaluation. Lansner and McDermott conducted the evaluation, which took place between May 23 and June 27, 1996, through a series of 75 interviews in Washington, D.C., Benin, and Cote d'Ivoire, were the team respectively spent eight, 11 and 12 days. In addition to meeting with individuals in the capital cities of Cotonou, Benin and Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, the team traveled to the provincial cities of Parakou, Benin and Bouake, Cote d'Ivoire.

The team interviewed individuals who had been involved or were familiar with NDI's work as well as persons who did not know NDI but could discuss knowledgeably the political situations and the effects of international assistance on the democratization process. Interviewees included NDI staff members, U.S. Department of State officials, USAID officials, representatives of international NGOs, Beninese and Ivorian government officials, leaders of civic organizations, parliamentarians, political party activists, foreign and local journalists, academics, and retired military personnel. The team also conducted a focus group with a group of Beninese citizens in Parakou.

While the emphasis of the interviews varied, the team generally asked interviewees for: their impressions of the democratization process and political situation; their evaluations of the effects of international democratic development programs in general; their views on NDI's work in particular; and their suggestions for future programs. The team also sought to elicit information about coordination among international organizations and about women's political participation.

The evaluation team returned to Washington to conduct follow-up interviews and prepare the evaluation report. A draft report of the evaluation findings has been submitted to NDI and is now under review. The final evaluation report will be submitted as soon as it is available.

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Congolese Observatory of
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Mr. Bah N'DIAYE
Secretary General
CNID-FYT
National Congress for
a Democratic Initiative
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Hon. Lazlo RAJK
Member of Parliament
Alliance of Free Democrats
HUNGARY

Ms. Dominique TREMBLAY
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Mr. Nicholas WURF
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Ms. Maxine GRIFFITH
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PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FEBRUARY 26, 1996

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NDI INTERNATIONAL PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT DELEGATION TO BENIN ISSUES FINDINGS

Cotonou, February 26, 1996 -- A four-member international delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has issued its pre-election statement assessing the pre-electoral environment and preparations for Benin's March 3 presidential election. Included in the delegation's report are seven recommendations covering such topics as improving public access to voter registration and polling site lists, increasing domestic voter education activities and taking steps to avoid election-related violence.

The delegation's findings, which are described in a eight-page report, are based on meetings with Benin's Autonomous National Electoral Commission (CENA), Constitutional Court, High Authority for Audiovisual and Communication (HAAC), representatives of the seven presidential candidates, non-governmental organizations, journalists and others. The delegation also traveled throughout various regions of the country to collect additional information on election preparations and the campaign environment.

The NDI delegation included Edith Coliver (United States), a former leader of the League of Women Voters and participant in numerous election-related programs in Asia; Honoré Guie, professor of constitutional law at the University of Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire) and president of the Côte d'Ivoire chapter of the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES-Afrique); Yaovi Crespin Leguede (Togo), co-secretary general of GERDDES-Afrique; and Patrick Merloe (United States), delegation leader and NDI's senior official for electoral programs.

NDI, based in Washington, DC, has conducted election-related programming in more than 40 countries around the world. The pre-election delegation is the latest in NDI's nonpartisan activities to assist the democratic process in Benin, which will also include international observer delegations to the March 3 election and to the March 17 run-off, if a second round of voting is necessary. NDI staff will remain in Benin until the final results of the election are determined. Additional statements will be released by the NDI observer delegations, and NDI will release a final report after the official election results are announced.

The statement of the NDI pre-election assessment delegation is available in English and French. A copy of the statement is attached.

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENT BY THE NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO THE MARCH 3 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN BENIN

March 6, 1996

I. INTRODUCTION

The international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is pleased to offer this preliminary statement on the March 3, 1996 presidential election in Benin.

Our delegation comprised 22 members from Africa, Europe and North America who witnessed the election in all six administrative divisions (*départements* or *préfectures*) of Benin, including the Cotonou metropolitan area. The delegation was led by former United States Congressman Edward Feighan and Andrésia Vaz, president of the Senegalese Court of Appeals and former president of Senegal's vote counting commission. The delegation also included elected officials, former diplomats, political party and civic leaders, regional specialists and elections experts.

This international delegation was invited and welcomed by the Beninese government, candidates, political party leaders, electoral authorities and civic organizations. We were provided access to all stages of the election process. Our delegation came to witness the elections. We did not seek to supervise the elections or certify them. Ultimately, it is the Beninese people who will determine the legitimacy of the electoral process.

The primary purposes of the delegation were to demonstrate the international community's continued support for the democratic process in Benin and to provide the international community with an objective assessment of the March 3 election. We also sought to learn from the Beninese people about the nature of their electoral process and its implications for the further consolidation of Benin's democratic institutions.

The delegation's mandate included the examination of the pre-election environment, election day proceedings and the tabulation of results to date. This statement is a preliminary assessment of theses issues, based on direct observations of delegation members, information gathered during the pre-election period by a four member pre-election assessment delegation also organized by NDI, as well as information gathered by NDI staff who arrived in Benin February 18.

We note that the announcement of official results and the resolution of any electoral complaints that may arise by Benin's Constitutional Court have yet to be completed. We also note that the ultimate conclusion of this electoral process may entail a run-off election between the top two contenders of the first round if none of the candidates receives an absolute majority. NDI will continue to monitor developments during the immediate post-election period. If a second round becomes necessary, NDI plans to deploy another international observer delegation for that election. A more detailed report on the election process will be issued by NDI at a later date.

The delegation arrived in Benin on February 28. Prior to the election, the delegates met at the national level with representatives of the Constitutional Court, the National Autonomous Electoral Commission (CENA), the major presidential candidates, representatives of other presidential candidates, news media, national election monitoring groups and civic education organizations. The delegation then divided into 10 teams and deployed throughout the country. Upon arrival at their deployment sites, team members met with election commission officials at the divisional (*préfecture*) and sub-divisional (*sous-préfecture*) levels, as well as representatives of the presidential candidates. The teams also observed the final day of campaigning, in addition to the voting, counting and tabulation processes. Team members observed election day activities in approximately 170 polling sites throughout the country.

II. THE PRE-ELECTION PERIOD

The delegation was impressed that the campaign took place for the most part under peaceful conditions. Candidates traveled freely to all parts of the country, campaigned openly without disturbances and respected the legal requirements to end their campaigns 24 hours before election day. Political activists enthusiastically campaigned for their candidates. The press generally provided active and equitable French-language election coverage during the campaign period, and civic and voter education programs took place during the run-up to election day.

The delegation also noted the substantial and positive contribution to electoral preparations made in the pre-electoral period by Beninese nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Network of Beninese NGOs, Association of Women Jurists (AFJ), GERDDES and others. The activities of these groups, which included civic and voter education about the need for peaceful competition and instructions about voting procedures, enhanced public officials and candidate representatives. This underscores the importance of cooperation among election authorities, political parties, candidates and NGOs.

There were, however, isolated incidents of reported voter intimidation, and defacing of some candidates' campaign materials. Additionally, there were reports from the Atacora region of the kidnaping of an official of the Soglo campaign and the subsequent arrest of a former president of Benin in connection with the kidnaping. Also in Atacora, the attempted arrest of a former soldier wanted in connection with a failed coup attempt resulted in the shooting deaths of a policeman, the soldier and two civilians. These incidents raised concerns about potential election related violence,

especially after the Constitutional Court ruled the detention of the former president to be unconstitutional.

The delegation observed serious shortcomings in the organization of the electoral preparations by the CENA, which is the institution responsible for organizing the election. The late appointment of the CENA on January 17 created problems in conducting voter registration, issuing voter cards, updating voter lists, training election officials, identifying polling stations and preparing and distributing election materials. Additionally, the CENA in some cases had to rely overly on prefects, sub-prefects and mayors for logistical support. When the CENA first organized national legislative elections in 1995, a number of officials were trained and gained experience in conducting multiparty elections. However, as required by current Beninese law, new membership to the CENA must be named before each election. This lack of continuity in CENA membership made it more difficult for the Commission to accomplish its work in an effective and efficient manner for the March 3 election. A number of Beninese also complained about perceived partisanship of some CENA members.

Additionally, the delegation noted that no legal provisions existed concerning a deadline for posting of the final electoral lists and lists of polling stations. Political parties, candidates or NGOs were not explicitly given the right to review the final lists before election day. Ambiguities in the electoral law concerning the distribution and use of ballot envelopes also caused concern for the delegation, as did rules concerning proclamation of official results by the Constitutional Court. The delegation also heard complaints about violations of provisions in the electoral code that prohibit the use of state resources less than three months before an election and the use of personal resources to improperly gain voter support. NDI made known its concerns and recommendations in a pre-election assessment report of February 26, 1996, which was sent to the CENA, the candidates, NGOs concerned with electoral matters and the media.

III. ELECTION DAY

This election represents an important step in the democratic process in Benin as election officials, political leaders and activists and the electorate continue to improve the conduct of elections. The delegation was particularly impressed by the calm, patient and peaceful manner with which the Beninese electorate conducted itself on election day. To the delegation, this was another demonstration of the intense interest of the Beninese people in expressing their political will and making public policy choices through the ballot.

The delegation was also impressed with the high voter turnout and the commendable level of citizen participation in the election. Candidates actively deployed representatives at the polling sites to observe the voting and counting process. Representatives of nonpartisan civic groups also stationed numerous pollwatchers to help ensure the integrity of the process and provided, as did CENA, voter education materials that were observed at many voting sites. The Constitutional Court also dispatched its representatives throughout the country for the first time. These activities substantially increased prospects for transparency in the conduct of the election and the likelihood

that Beninese voters would consider the outcome to be a tangible expression of their commitment to democracy.

Delegation members were inspired by those citizens who served as polling officials and who worked diligently for long hours and often found creative ways to build consensus in resolving provisions in the electoral codes. The delegation also noted that many candidate representatives worked cooperatively at the polling places and easily built consensus on how to resolve problems that arose on voting day in spite of the partisan affiliation of these delegates.

Benin's election law stipulates that ballots are to be counted at the polling stations, that candidate representatives may be presents in the polling stations, and that these representatives may sign and should receive copies of the tally sheets. Candidate representatives may also have their written observations included in the record of election-day events. The delegation noted that, generally, these provisions, which are meant to help better organize the election, deter fraud and increase public confidence in election results, were applied by the polling officials. The polling officials and the representatives of the CENA at the local and sub-divisional levels deserve recognition for their contribution to much of the success that was achieved in the conduct of the March 3 election.

Despite these positive and encouraging aspects of the electoral process, the delegation was concerned by a number of problems. These included:

- delays in the delivery of voting materials;
- significant delays in the opening of some polling stations, especially those in the southern parts of the country;
- lack of uniform guidelines regarding placement and nature of receptacle for disposing of unused ballots, which may have affected adversely the secrecy of the vote in some instances;
- shortcomings in the set-up of voting booths, which in some cases could also jeopardize the secrecy of the vote;
- women in at least one part of the country were asked to vote only after the men had cast their ballots, thereby rendering the voting process more burdensome for women;
- lack of clear understanding on the part of some government officials at the national and local levels regarding the relationship between the CENA and the Ministry of Interior;
- inequalities in coverage of campaign activities in the local language broadcasts of public media;
- poor state of handwritten electoral lists that could be easily damaged; and

- complaints that voter registration lists were not posted in all parts of the country for public review before election day.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The delegation noted the many positive elements of the pre-election and election day environment, electoral organization and the legal framework for the elections. In addition, the delegation appreciated the openness and serious attitude of election officials, party and candidate representatives and NGO leaders with whom it met. In the spirit of international cooperation and in light of these positive factors, the delegation offers the following recommendations, some of which could be implemented before the second round should it be necessary.

- CENA should be established at a sufficiently early date to allow for the adequate and timely organization of elections and should be provided with the necessary material and logistical support to accomplish its work;

- Steps should be taken to further clarify the respective roles and responsibilities of CENA and Ministry of Interior officials in organizing the election at both the national and local levels;

- Increased education should be provided to the public about the role of the CENA as a means of improving public confidence in the electoral process;

- Continued and improved training should be provided for polling officials;

- Civic and voter education programs should continue and be intensified before the second round election, if a second round is required;

- Women should continue to be encouraged to participate fully in the political process and steps should be taken to guarantee equal access for women to the electoral process;

- Ballot envelopes could be marked or initialed by polling station officials just before being given to voters to help build the public's confidence in the validity of election envelopes;

- More durable voter registration lists should be established;

- Steps should be taken to ensure that critical elements of the voting process, such as voting booths and unused ballot receptacles, guarantee the secrecy of the vote;

- Voter registration lists should be posted early enough to allow for public review of the lists;

- News coverage of candidate activities in the national languages should be regulated by the High Authority on Audiovisual Communications (HAAC) to allow for equitable media treatment of all candidates, as was the case with French-language broadcasts; and

- Steps should be taken by the government, CENA, candidates and candidate representatives to help ensure that the second round election will also take place in a calm and peaceful environment if a run-off is required.

NDI will make further recommendations in subsequent reports.

The delegation greatly appreciates the hospitality extended to it by government officials, the Constitutional Court, CENA, presidential candidates, NGOs, mass media, traditional and civic leaders and other Beninese. The delegation could not have accomplished its tasks without the cooperation of those with whom it met. NDI remains committed to assisting those who are working to advance the democratic process in Benin, a process that reflects the hopes and aspirations of the Beninese people and influences democratic development throughout the sub-region. The Institute will continue its activities in Benin through the work of its international election observer delegation to the next round of presidential elections and staff presence throughout the election and immediate post-election periods until the proclamation of the final official results by the Constitutional Court.

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENT BY THE NDI INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION TO THE MARCH 18, 1996 PRESIDENTIAL RUNOFF ELECTION IN BENIN

Cotonou, March 21, 1996

I. INTRODUCTION

The international delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is pleased to offer this preliminary statement on the March 18, 1996 presidential runoff election in Benin.

Our international delegation comprised 18 members who witnessed the election in all six administrative divisions (*départements* or *préfectures*) of Benin, including the Cotonou metropolitan area. The delegation was led by Harry Johnston, member of the Africa Subcommittee of the United States Congress. The delegation also included elected officials, political party and civic leaders, regional specialists and elections experts from Africa, Europe and North America.

This international delegation, like its predecessor to the March 3 first-round election and NDI's pre-election assessment delegation, was invited and welcomed by the Beninese government, candidates, political party leaders, electoral authorities and civic organizations. We were provided access to all phases of the election process. Our delegation came to witness the elections. We did not seek to supervise the elections or certify them. Ultimately, it is the Beninese people who will determine the legitimacy of the electoral process.

The primary purposes of the delegation were to demonstrate the international community's continued support for the democratic process in Benin and to provide the international community with

an objective assessment of the March 18 election. We also sought to learn from the Beninese people about the nature of their electoral process and its implications for the further consolidation of Benin's democratic institutions.

The delegation's mandate included the examination of the pre-election environment, election day proceedings and the tabulation of results to date. This statement is a preliminary assessment of these issues, based on direct observations of delegation members, information gathered during the pre-election period by a four member NDI pre-election assessment delegation, observations made by the 22-member NDI international delegation to the March 3 first-round election, as well as information gathered by NDI staff since their arrival in Benin on February 18, 1996.

We note that the announcement of official results and the resolution of any electoral complaints by Benin's Constitutional Court have yet to be completed. NDI will continue to monitor developments during the immediate post-election period and will issue a more detailed report on the election process at a later date.

The delegation arrived in Benin on March 15, shortly after Beninese authorities announced March 18 as the date for the second-round election. The majority of the delegation members participated in monitoring the first-round election and, prior to the elections, had met at the national level with representatives of the Constitutional Court, the National Autonomous Electoral Commission (CENA), the major presidential candidates, representatives of other first-round candidates, news media, national election monitoring groups and civic education organizations. After a day of briefings in Cotonou, the delegation was divided into nine teams and deployed throughout the country's six divisions, including the Cotonou metropolitan area. Upon arrival at their deployment sites, team members met with election commission officials at the divisional (*préfecture*) and sub-divisional (*sous-préfecture*) levels, as well as representatives of the presidential candidates. The teams subsequently observed the voting, counting and tabulation processes. Team members observed election day activities in approximately 175 polling sites throughout the country.

II. THE INTERIM ELECTION PERIOD

The delegation was impressed that the campaign took place under peaceful conditions, as it did for the first round. Candidates traveled freely to different parts of the country, campaigned openly without disturbances and respected the legal requirement to end their campaigns 24 hours before election day. Political activists enthusiastically campaigned for their candidates. The public media provided active and equitable election coverage during the campaign period. However, the delegation deeply regretted that Constitutional Court members and their families reportedly had been threatened following the announcement of first-round election results.

The delegation noted that disagreements among various Beninese institutions concerning the date of the second round negatively affected specific measures that could have been taken to improve electoral preparations. This may also have negatively affected public confidence in the organization of the second round. For example, once the official results of the first round were announced by the

Constitutional Court on March 11, the CENA requested that the Court provide details on the 494,673 votes the Court had annulled from the first round. Because some of the annulments were attributed to the inefficiency of some polling officials, the CENA planned to conduct detailed training sessions for polling officials before the runoff. When March 18 was finally announced as the election date, there was little time remaining before the election for the CENA to organize comprehensive training programs.

Additionally, the High Authority for Audiovisual Communications (HAAC) was planning to organize a debate between the two candidates in the final days before the end of the official campaign period. The debate would have been broadcast simultaneously on radio and television and would have provided an opportunity for the candidates to focus political discourse on the major substantive issues facing the country. Such a debate would also have provided important voter education for the Beninese electorate. Unfortunately, changes in the election date made it impossible for the HAAC to organize the debate. Also, recommendations concerning additional matters were made by NDI's observer delegation and were well received by the CENA and the HAAC, but the limited time precluded their implementation.

III. ELECTION DAY

This election represents an important step in the democratic process in Benin as election officials, political leaders and activists and the electorate continued to improve the method of conduct for elections. The delegation was particularly impressed by the calm, patient and peaceful manner in which the Beninese electorate conducted itself on election day, as had been the case for the first round election on March 3. To the delegation, this was another demonstration of the intense interest of the Beninese people in expressing their political will and making public policy choices through the ballot.

The delegation was also impressed with the high voter turnout and the commendable level of citizen participation in the second round election. For the second time, candidates actively deployed representatives at the polling sites to observe the voting and counting process. Representatives of nonpartisan civic groups also stationed numerous pollwatchers to help ensure the integrity of the process and provided, as did the CENA, voter education materials that were observed at many voting sites. The Constitutional Court again dispatched its representatives throughout the country. These activities substantially increased prospects for transparency in the conduct of the election and the likelihood that Beninese voters would consider the outcome to be a tangible expression of their commitment to open elections.

Delegation members were inspired by those citizens who served as polling officials and who worked diligently for long hours and often found creative ways to build consensus in resolving technical problems they faced, such as whether or not to count folded ballots, while respecting provisions in the electoral code. The delegation also noted that in most cases candidate representatives worked cooperatively at the polling places and successfully built consensus on how to resolve problems that arose on voting day in spite of the partisan affiliation of these representatives.

Benin's election law stipulates that ballots are to be counted at the polling stations, that candidate representatives may be present in the polling stations, and that these representatives may sign and should receive copies of the tally sheets. Candidate representatives may also have their written observations included in the record of election day events. The delegation noted that, generally, these provisions, which are meant to help better organize the election, deter fraud and increase public confidence in election results, were applied by the polling officials. These officials and the representatives of the CENA at the local and sub-divisional levels deserve recognition for their contribution and dedication.

The delegation noted that steps had been taken by the CENA to avoid repeating some of the organizational problems that were encountered during the first round. For example:

- voting materials were generally delivered earlier to the administrative headquarters and distributed to polling sites before the opening of the election, thereby minimizing delays in the opening of polling stations;

- at most polling sites visited by the delegation, the placement and nature of receptacles for disposing of unused ballots were effectively organized to guarantee the secrecy of the vote. Additionally, there was a conscientious and largely successful effort to construct voting booths in a way that would not jeopardize the secrecy of the vote;

- there was improved collaboration for the second round at the national and local levels in the relationship between the CENA and the Ministry of Interior; and

- the HAAC made a concerted effort to further educate Beninese journalists regarding the necessity of equitable coverage of campaign activities by the public media, in both local- and French-language broadcasts.

Despite these improvements, the delegation was concerned with shortcomings observed in some aspects of the second-round electoral process. These included:

- apprehensions by some polling officials regarding the Constitutional Court's criteria for correct polling place operations and completion of polling place tally sheets. These concerns were due in large part to the Court not having provided specific details on those polling sites where results had been annulled after the first round;

- the lack of full knowledge on the part of polling officials and voters concerning the specific responsibilities of roving Constitutional Court representatives at the sub-divisional and divisional levels;

- the lack of specific instructions regarding whether the envelopes containing tally sheets and other voting materials were required to be sealed by polling station officials before transmission to CENA representatives at the sub-divisional and divisional levels;

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- confusion over the validity of folded ballots;
- the presence at some polling stations of village chiefs, mayors and/or law enforcement personnel, and other representatives of the administration, which may have unduly influenced some voters;
- the lack of uniform and efficient application of indelible ink, which sometimes blurred voters' thumbprints and spoiled electoral lists;
- inconsistencies in the numbering of polling stations, ballot boxes and polling station electoral lists, which made it more difficult for some polling officials to correctly fill out tally sheets and minutes;
- apparent underage voting in some areas; and
- circumvention in some cases of CENA procedures for transmission of polling station results.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The delegation again noted the many positive elements of the pre-election and election-day environment, electoral organization and the legal framework for the elections. In addition, the delegation appreciated the openness and serious attitude of election officials, party and candidate representatives and others with whom it met. In the spirit of international cooperation and in light of these positive factors, the delegation offers the following recommendations, some of which NDI expressed in its March 6 statement on the first-round election. These recommendations are made in the hope that their implementation will help consolidate the democratic and electoral processes in Benin.

- The CENA should be established at a sufficiently early date to allow for the adequate and timely organization of elections and should be provided with the necessary material and logistical support to accomplish its work;
- Further consideration should be given to the question of establishing a permanent CENA and/or a small permanent secretariat for the CENA to ensure better continuity in electoral administration;
- Steps should be taken to further clarify the respective roles and responsibilities of the Constitutional Court, CENA and Ministry of Interior officials in organizing and supervising the election at both the national and local levels;
- Local authorities, such as mayors and village chiefs, should refrain from interfering in the electoral process;
- Education should be provided to the public about the role of the CENA as a means of enhancing public confidence in the electoral process;

- Continued and improved training should be provided for polling officials;
- Continuous civic and voter education programs should be conducted to allow the electorate to familiarize itself with specific voting procedures and the requirements for each particular election;
- Women should continue to be encouraged to participate fully in the political process and steps should be taken to guarantee equal access for women to the electoral process;
- More durable voter registration lists should be established and publicized in time for review and verification by voters and political party/candidate representatives before every election;
- Legal mechanisms should be found to properly address voter identification to avoid underage voting;
- Steps should continue to be taken to ensure that critical elements of the voting process, such as voting booths and unused ballot receptacles, guarantee the secrecy of the vote;
- News coverage of candidate activities in the national languages should be regulated by the High Authority on Audiovisual Communications (HAAC) to ensure future equitable media treatment of all candidates, as is the case with French-language broadcasts;
- Steps should be taken by the HAAC well before future elections to secure the approval and participation of candidates in any planned broadcast debates and candidate fora;
- Steps should be taken by the government, CENA, candidates and candidate representatives to help ensure that elections in Benin take place in a calm and peaceful environment; and
- The CENA, HAAC, other institutions and candidates and their representatives, with the assistance of the Constitutional Court, should undertake a comprehensive review of Beninese electoral procedures to enhance prospects for the proper organization of future elections.

The delegation greatly appreciates the hospitality extended to it by government officials, the Constitutional Court, CENA, presidential candidates, NGOs, mass media, traditional and civic leaders and other Beninese. The delegation could not have accomplished its tasks without the cooperation of those with whom it met. Since 1991, Benin has successfully completed two presidential elections and begun the process of consolidating independent, democratic institutions. NDI remains committed to assisting those working to further advance the democratic process, a process that reflects the hopes and aspirations of the Beninese people.

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STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI) PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT DELEGATION

Cotonou, February 26, 1996

I. THE DELEGATION AND ITS WORK

A four-member international pre-election assessment delegation organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) visited the Republic of Benin from February 20 through February 25, 1996. The purposes of the delegation were to demonstrate the interest of the international community in the democratic process underway in Benin and to examine conditions prior to Benin's March 3 presidential elections.

The delegation's work was part of NDI's election-related activities in Benin, which will also include international observer delegations to the March 3 election and to the March 17 run-off, if a second round of voting is necessary. NDI staff will remain in Benin until the final results of the election are determined. Additional statements will be released by the NDI election observer delegations, and NDI will release a final report after the definitive election results are announced. NDI's international observer delegation for the March 3 election is arriving in Cotonou on Wednesday, February 28, to continue monitoring the election process. The delegation is comprised of members from Africa, Europe and North America.

This pre-election assessment delegation included election experts and political and civic leaders from the United States and West Africa. Delegation members have participated in numerous electoral assessments and international election observer delegations around the world. The members of the delegation included: Edith Coliver (United States), a former leader of the League of Women Voters and participant in numerous election-related programs in Asia; Honore Guie (Cote d'Ivoire), professor of constitutional law at the University of Abidjan and President of the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES-Afrique), Cote d'Ivoire chapter; Yaovi Crespin Leguede (Togo), co-secretary general

of GERDDES-Afrique: and Patrick Merloe (United States), leader of the delegation and NDI's senior official for electoral programs. The delegation was assisted by NDI program staff.

The delegation was charged with several tasks: (1) to assess the legal framework for the elections and the election campaign environment in light of international standards for fair electoral competition; (2) to review the state of preparedness of the electoral administration; and (3) to gauge the degree to which voters and the public generally are being notified about the electoral process and about the candidates so that they may make an informed choice, feel free to exercise that choice and have confidence in the electoral process to determine accurately and respect the will of the electorate.

The pre-election delegation conducted meetings in Cotonou with members of the Autonomous National Electoral Commission (CENA), the Constitutional Court, the High Authority for Audiovisual and Communication (HAAC), representatives of the presidential candidates, leaders of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working on fair election processes, journalists and others concerned with the presidential election. The delegation divided into two teams, which traveled respectively to Abomey and Parakou. The teams also met with election and government officials, candidate representatives, local traditional and civic leaders, journalists and others involved with the upcoming elections. In addition, the team received information from NDI staff who traveled to other places in the country in preparation for NDI's election observer delegations, including the cities of Lakossa, Natitingou, Kandi, Djougou, Banikoara and Malanville.

II. FINDING S AND OBSERVATIONS

A. Legal Framework for the Elections

In addition to its meetings noted above, the delegation reviewed the Constitution of the Republic of Benin and laws, decrees and decisions relating to the 1996 Presidential election. The delegation observed that, in general, the legal framework for the elections compares favorably to the legal structures in other transitional democracies. In particular, the delegation noted the following points.

1) The constitutional provisions for the creation of the CENA as an independent body responsible for conducting elections provide a basis for increased public confidence in the election process. Those with whom the delegation met almost uniformly emphasized that CENA's actions in the 1995 elections reinforced public confidence. In addition, members of the CENA and its subsidiary bodies presently functioning (CEDs and DELs) appear to be conscientiously approaching their work.

2) The Constitution and election laws confer jurisdiction for determining final election results and for resolving most election disputes to the Constitutional Court. The delegation noted that the Constitutional Court has acted with a great sense of diligence and independence in approaching its election-related mandate. The Court ordered repeat elections for 13 National Assembly seats in 1995 due to irregularities in the validation of tally sheets. It ruled unconstitutional certain aspects of the election law passed in December 1995, and it has taken a vigorous approach to resolving election complaints presented to it thus far in the pre-election period. The Court's reputation for independence adds significantly to public confidence in the election process.

3) The delegation found those with whom it met were in general agreement that the press is free to publish what it chooses, within the limits of Benin's law on defamation. The Constitution provides the HAAC with authority to develop procedures for fair media access and news coverage for candidates during the official election campaign period. The HAAC has provided free access to each presidential candidate, including three 15-minute spots per candidate during the campaign period and one five-minute spot each on the day before the election, on radio and television. The HAAC also has attempted to develop rules for balanced news coverage of the presidential candidates during the campaign. The delegation noted the seriousness with which the HAAC appears to be approaching its election mandate. It observed, however, that it is difficult to distinguish between newsworthy official tasks carried out by incumbent candidates during the campaign and electioneering by those same candidates and that there have been complaints of imbalance in news coverage favoring the incumbent President.

4) The delegation observed that the Constitution and other laws do not provide for delay of the election results or a method of determining who should occupy the Presidency if the presidential mandate ends without the determination of the presidential election. This legal gap could pose a serious problem if such circumstances were ever to develop. The delegation noted that this issue merits consideration in due course.

B. Electoral Organization

As mentioned above, the delegation noted the serious and diligent approach being taken in preparing for the elections The CENA conducted elections in 1995, and a number of persons were trained and gained experience as election officials at that time. The CENA also is looked to as an example in the region by those concerned with developing independent electoral authorities.

The delegation noted the substantial and positive contribution to electoral preparations being made by national nongovernmental organizations, such as the Association of Women Lawyers, Centre Afrika Obota and the GERDDES-Afrique Benin chapter and others. Their activities include civic and voter education about the need for peaceful conduct during the elections and

instruction about voting procedures National NGOs also are playing a vital role in training election officials and political party pollwatchers for the polling places throughout the country. This demonstrates the importance of cooperation between election authorities, political parties and NGOs.

In addition, national NGOs are preparing to conduct nonpartisan election monitoring throughout the country, which can reinforce public confidence. The election monitoring activities of these NGOs as well as of international election observers is proceeding without interference.

Benin's law stipulates that ballots are to be counted at the polling stations, that political party agents may be present in the polling stations, and party agents may sign and should receive copies of the tally sheets. Party agents may also have their written observations included in the record of election day events. The delegation noted that each of these features helps election organization, deters fraud and increases public confidence in election results.

The delegation also observed several important shortcomings in the organization of electoral preparations at this time

1) The CENA was appointed at a late date, January 17, 1996, leaving very little time to organize itself and to accomplish its work. Uniformly, those with whom the delegation spoke emphasized that the late appointment of the CENA created problems in conducting voter registration, issuing voter cards, updating voter lists, training election officials, identifying polling stations and preparing and distributing election materials. The delegation noted that CENA's budget is provided by the government rather than voted on by the National Assembly and that CENA does not have a permanent secretariat. In addition, the CENA must rely on mayors, prefects and sub-prefects for many resources. Each of these features could hinder CENA's independence and effectiveness and should be addressed before future elections.

2) Only two of CENA's 17 members served on the body during previous elections. This lack of continuity makes it more difficult for the CENA to accomplish its task. The same problem seems also to affect the CEDs and DELs to a significant degree.

3) A number of people with whom the delegation met complained that several of the CENA members appear to be approaching their work as advocates for the interests of their political parties rather than as independent actors, as envisioned by Benin's legal framework.

4) In some areas the CEDs and DELs are dependent on the Prefecture and mayor's offices for communications and logistics facilities, which could cause confusion as to the lines of authority on electoral matters.

C. Election Campaign Environment

As noted above, election officials with whom the delegation met are proceeding with their tasks despite difficulties created by the shortness of the preparation period. Political activists are enthusiastically campaigning for their candidates. National NGOs are playing an active and important role in electoral training, monitoring preparations and confidence building. The press is giving active election coverage, and civic and voter education programs are taking place in the rush toward election day.

The delegation was impressed that the election campaign environment for the most part is peaceful and that nearly everyone with whom it spoke was preparing enthusiastically for the elections. The delegation especially noted that the candidates have been able to travel to all parts of the country and campaign openly without disturbances. In some of the places visited the delegation also observed the active participation of women and young people in the election campaign.

At the same time, the delegation noted several reasons for concern, especially regarding the security situation. Several events have taken place that threaten security, and the government has taken measures in light of these events to prevent further incidents. A significant number of people with whom the delegation met expressed the view that the events and countermeasures combine to create unease or insecurity toward the elections. In particular, the delegation noted the following.

Many persons with whom the delegation met expressed deep concern over reports that some presidential candidates have formed private militias. Such actions were seen as intimidating voters and as potential threats to security. The existence of private militias reportedly causes apprehension about violence and potential civil strife among segments of the population.

In Tangieta government officers attempted to arrest a person who was associated with former military figures wanted in connection with a failed coup attempt and who had escaped prison some time ago. The individual shot and killed an officer during the arrest attempt and was shot and killed by other officers as a result. A crowd protesting these developments forced the sub-prefect for the area to leave his car and enter the car of the prefect. The crowd pursued him, and the prefect's bodyguards shot and killed someone in the crowd. While the events may not be politically motivated, the timing so close to the election has caused concern throughout the country. In addition, an alleged kidnapping with potential political overtones also has raised concerns in the population.

The government has taken measures to increase the presence of security forces in some areas as a result of the two incidents. In Parakou, for example, a curfew was imposed until after

the elections and security force reinforcements were dispatched to enforce the curfew. Citizens protested actions by these forces, and the prefect subsequently curtailed the forces' activities. This shows that government officials are trying to respond to citizen concerns and to potential security threats during this sensitive period.

In an environment of even temporarily heightened tensions of this type, smaller incidents that came to the delegation's attention, such as tearing down signs of opposing candidates, an apparently politically motivated firing, problems with distribution of voter cards, potential confusion over where to vote due to the increase of polling stations or similar matters can prompt more serious incidents.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The delegation noted the many positive elements of the pre-election environment, electoral organization and the legal framework for the elections. In addition, the delegation appreciated the openness and serious attitude of election officials, party and candidate representatives and NGO leaders with whom it met. In the spirit of international cooperation and in light of these positive factors, the delegation offers the following recommendations.

1) **Electoral Lists:** The delegation received reports of problems in issuing voter cards and delays in revising electoral lists. Articles 10 and 16 of Law No. 94-013 relate to the electoral lists. Neither these nor other legal provisions set a deadline for posting of the final electoral lists, nor are political parties, candidates or NGOs explicitly given the right to review the final electoral lists before election day. The delegation recommends that the final electoral lists be made publicly available as far in advance of March 3 as possible. The delegation also recommends that in the future the political parties, candidates and NGOs concerned with fair elections be provided access at a sufficiently early date to allow them to verify their accuracy.

2) **Lists of Polling Places:** The number of polling places has been increased for the upcoming election. Many voters therefore will cast ballots in new locations. The delegation recommends that the process of identifying polling places be completed and lists of polling places be published as many days as possible before the March 3 election.

3) **Ballot Envelopes:** Articles 46, 53 and 55 of Law No. 94-013 relate to the ballot envelopes. These provisions leave certain ambiguities or omissions that could be corrected by the CENA or Constitutional Court before the March 3 election. The delegation recommends that the following be provided:

* That the number of ballot envelopes provided to the polling stations should exceed the number of eligible voters by a reasonable number in order to account for the possibility of spoiled ballot envelopes during the voting period.

* That each ballot envelope be signed by a polling station official at the table before giving it to the voter to prevent the smuggling of illegal ballot envelopes into the voting booth and depositing of multiple envelopes and ballots into the ballot box. Envelopes taken from the ballot box would therefore require a valid signature.

* That, in addition to the provisions of Articles 46 and 52, the tally sheets require the entry of (a) the number of ballot envelopes present at the opening of the polling station, (b) the number of ballot envelopes that were spoiled during the voting; (c) the number of ballot envelopes that were unused; (d) the number of ballot envelopes that were found in the ballot box. The total of b+c+d should be reconciled with a.

* That polling station officials be required to return all unused ballot envelopes along with the tally sheets and used and spoiled envelopes.

4) **State Resources:** The delegation received reports from several persons that state projects were used less than three months before the election to gain the support of voters, in violation of the provisions of Article 31 of Law No. 94-013. While the delegation could not investigate these allegations, it recommends that the CENA and Constitutional Court pursue any complaints filed in this respect.

5) **Complaint Mechanisms:** Article 57 of Law No. 94-013 provides that the Constitutional Court is to verify the regularity of the election and declare the final results in a maximum of four days from the election date. Article 95 of the law states that all election-day disputes are to be brought before the Court. These provisions could cause difficulty for the Court to complete its work within the time required. The delegation therefore recommends that adequate resources be made available so that the Court can avoid congestion at this critical juncture of the election process.

6) **Civic and Voter Education:** The delegation noted a variety of civic and voter education programs being carried out in the mass media and by NGOs. All political party and candidate representatives, traditional leaders and others concerned with the election process stressed the value and continued need for such activities. The delegation therefore recommends continued and heightened efforts to conduct education campaigns concerning the importance of voting, voting procedures and the need for peaceful electoral competition.

7) **Public** Assurances: Events have transpired in the country and in the subregion that appear to have brought about apprehension among segments of the population. In such circumstances public confidence in electoral procedures needs to be heightened. The delegation therefore recommends that the CENA, other governmental bodies, candidates and other political and civic leaders take further effecuve steps to assure the people of Benin that the elections will take place in a calm and peaceful environment.

The delegation greatly appreciates the hospitality extended to it by representatives of the CENA, the Constitutional Court HAAC, other governmental officials, presidential candidates, nongovernmental organizations, mass media, traditional and civic leaders and others who received it. The delegation could not have accomplished its tasks without the generous cooperation of those with whom it met. NDI remains committed to assisting those who are working to advance the democratic process in Benin. NDI will continue its activities in Benin through the work of its international election observer delegations and staff presence throughout the election and immediate post-election periods. Further reports will be issued as part of these efforts.

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PRESS RELEASE

The international observer delegation sponsored by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the African-American Institute (AAI) is pleased to offer this preliminary statement on the November 26, 1995, legislative elections in Côte d'Ivoire. The delegation was invited and welcomed by the government of Côte d'Ivoire, Ivorian electoral authorities, political parties and civic groups.

NDI and AAI organized the delegation to demonstrate the international community's interest in and support for the democratic process in Côte d'Ivoire. The delegation comprised 43 observers from North America, Europe and Africa. These included election officials, political organizers, academics and members of professional and civic organizations. Since 1985, NDI and AAI have had an established reputation in this field for professionalism and impartiality. The two institutions have organized more than 30 election observation missions and have conducted election-related programs in over 60 countries. Both NDI and AAI have followed closely events in Côte d'Ivoire, and have maintained field offices in Abidjan over several years.

Our delegation came to witness these elections. We did not seek to supervise the elections or to certify them. Ultimately, it is the Ivorian people who will determine the legitimacy of the elections. We sought to learn from the Ivorian people about the nature of their electoral process and its implications for the further development of Côte d'Ivoire's democratic institutions.

Before the November 26 elections, NDI and AAI evaluated the pre-electoral environment, met with political party leaders, civic organizations and government officials in the capital and in the regions where delegates were deployed. On November 24, the delegation was deployed to 20 different sites in all 10 regions of the country where they subsequently observed the voting process at 451 polling stations.

The delegation's mandate included the examination of three aspects of the election process -- the pre-electoral environment, election day proceedings and the tabulation of results. This statement is a preliminary assessment of these issues. We note that the tabulation of results and the resolution of any electoral complaints have yet to be completed. NDI and AAI will continue to monitor post-election developments and will issue a more detailed report in the near future.

ELECTORAL ENVIRONMENT

Prior to the November 26 elections many Ivorian citizens expressed questions about the character of the election process. In such circumstances it is necessary for governmental authorities to take extra steps to build public confidence. In Côte d'Ivoire the political contestants reached an accord on November 6, 1995, that secured the participation of all political parties in the legislative elections. The political environment that resulted from successful negotiations amongst political parties prior to the electoral period, allowed for the organization of more open

and competitive elections than transpired in October 1995. However, implementation of the accord appears to have been incomplete. Three major problems in this respect emerged in the pre-election environment that cause serious concerns for the delegation.

- Voters and party representatives complained about the accuracy of the electoral lists.

- There were problems with the distribution of voter cards. The delegation was concerned by the number of non-distributed voter cards left uncollected at the closing of the polls.

- Inconsistencies and delays in the implementation of the court order procedure reduced the opportunity to vote for some of the eligible voters whose names did not appear on the electoral lists.

It is important to assure the public that these problems will be addressed before future elections. It is recommended that further analysis and corrective steps be taken to improve the Ivorian election process in the future in order to enhance the confidence of the public. NDI and AAI will continue to monitor these problems and will address these points more fully in the final report.

ELECTION DAY EVENTS

On election day, the delegation observed many positive aspects of the election process, including the following:

- The voting took place in a calm, orderly and peaceful manner. Polling officials and political party representatives generally worked well together and sought consensus in resolving issues that arose in the individual polling stations on election day.

- While the process of accrediting domestic election observers was delayed, and only 100 Ivorian observers received credentials to carry out this task, it is important to note that for the first time members of Ivorian civic groups were authorized as domestic election observers. This increased the involvement of Ivorian civil society in the political process and brought the country into the mainstream of international election practices regarding domestic election observers.

- The voters who participated were, for the most part, serious about voting and knowledgeable about the choice of candidates they had before them.

- The presence of party representatives throughout the voting and tabulation processes, as well as the public announcement of results, served to increase public confidence in election day activities. In addition, the delegation was impressed that ballot boxes and results were

transported in the company of party representatives, even though this was not required by law.

Notwithstanding these positive observations, the delegation also noted some areas of concern in election day processes, including the following:

- There were discrepancies in the application of procedures by polling officials. While some of the polling officials clearly understood their responsibilities, delegation members observed officials who did not fully understand the rules.

- There were numerous problems reported concerning indelible ink that could affect the ability to detect attempts at multiple voting by the same person. In some cases, the availability and quality of the ink was questioned by voters and party representatives. In other instances, ink was improperly used.

- There was no uniformity in the disposal of unused ballot papers. This reflected the absence of specific instructions on the subject.

- The presence of law enforcement personnel, while perhaps intended to insure a peaceful and secure process, could have been perceived as intimidating. In some cases, personnel stood close to the polling sites and in others they entered the building where voting was taking place.

The delegation wishes to stress that it offers this statement in the spirit of international cooperation and in recognition that it is the people of Côte d'Ivoire who must judge their election process. The delegation expresses its appreciation to the people of Côte d'Ivoire for their warm welcome and expresses its gratitude to the government of Côte d'Ivoire, Ivorian electoral authorities, political parties and civic organizations for their hospitality and cooperation.

NEWS RELEASE

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October 20,1995

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NDI URGES IVORIANS TO REJECT VIOLENCE AND CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS OVER ELECTION-RELATED DISPUTES

WASHINGTON, DC -- The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) strongly encourages the government and opposition parties in Côte d'Ivoire to continue negotiations in order to reach agreement on conditions under which meaningful, democratic elections can be conducted. Such negotiations should be carried out in the spirit of openness, tolerance and compromise. All sides should avoid resorting to violence and seek every available means to reach a peaceful political settlement.

NDI had planned to sponsor an international delegation to observe the October 22,1995 presidential election in Côte d'Ivoire. These plans were made in response to the invitation extended by the Ivorian government to the international community through the United Nations. NDI's observer mission was also part of the Institute's ongoing program to support the democratization process in Côte d'Ivoire. Since August 1994, NDI has carried out programs to assist efforts by Ivorian political parties to participate effectively in the electoral process.

Unfortunately, the prevailing political environment in the period leading up to the presidential election makes it impossible for NDI to field a delegation as planned. Following the failure of a commendable mediation effort by Ivorian civic and religious leaders and others, disagreements persist over the legal framework and the conditions under which this election will be conducted. Although NDI will not be deploying an observer delegation for the October 22 election, the Institute's staff in Abidjan will continue to monitor the situation.

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Note: The French translation of this communiqué will follow.
A noter : La version française de ce communiqué suivra.

cc: Ken, Jean, Senior Staff
FYI

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CÔTE D'IVOIRE WATCH #5

October 12, 1995

Abidjan - Major players throughout the Côte d'Ivoire understand that time is running short and are trying to find a compromise solution as quickly as possible.

The Collective Seeks a Compromise

The Collective, an informal grouping of members of civil society including religious groups, trade unions and NGO's, is trying to negotiate a binding agreement between the various parties and the government. The essence of their proposal is a re-examination of the electoral registration lists and cards. The registration process and resulting lists are claimed by the government to be well done, and, by the opposition, to be fraudulent.

If a scientifically irreproachable analysis can be conducted, the proposal is to use the findings of this analysis to determine what will happen next in the current impasse between government and oppostion forces. The idea is that:

- If voter registration lists are proved to have been prepared well, the opposition will call off all boycotts and allow the elections to go forward with the concessions made by the government so far.

- If the lists are proved to have been prepared badly, with a margin of error of greater than an agreed upon percent, then the entire election will have to be postponed until these errors are corrected.

At this moment, the 2 major opposition parties have agreed with the principle of this idea, and the president has yet to speak. He originally proposed re-examination of the electoral lists, and thus is expected to be inclined to agree to the proposal. The details of what each side would cede, what each side will demand, and what each side will risk are yet to be ironed out.

A meeting is scheduled between all of the principals at 4:00 pm Friday with the Prime Minister and at 5:00 pm Friday with the President.

Meeting with Laurent Gbagbo

Today we met with Laurent Gbagbo, secrétaire général of the FPI (Front Populaire Ivoirien) to determine his interest in this proposal and his opinion about its validity.

He is guardedly optimistic, seeing no possibility that such a survey could fail to find fraud. He is insistent, however, that it be beyond reproach, with a margin of error of less than 2%. He would like NDI to help, since we are not only known for being non-partisan, but are also likely to be able to pull together a valid survey.

Gbagbo insists that all current concessions be maintained (indelible ink, semi-transparent ballot boxes, multiple copies of the vote tallies, accreditation for observers), that the presidential election be pushed back until the 29th of October in order to allow adequate time for the survey to be designed, conducted, and analyzed, and that if the results come back as he predicts (he actually says "when the results come back . . ."), that the entire registration and election process be started over under the expert guidance of neutral observers.

Meeting with Djeny Kobina

M. Djeny Kobina, secrétaire général of the RDR (Rassemblement des Républicains) is also eager to find a solution that can avoid bloodshed, and thinks that this may be workable. He, too, is unshakable in his belief that the opposition has the majority in the country, that the voter registration is irreparably flawed, and that if this compromise is agreed to, the opposition cannot fail.

Attempts to contact PDCI

The PDCI campaigning for Bédié is evidently in full swing. Attempts to contact Lennisongui Coulibaly, Secrétaire Adjoint to Min. Dona-Fologo, Secrétaire-Général of the PDCI have been greeted with the news that he is up-country, campaigning. Attempts to contact Bernard Ehui-Koutoua, Special Council at the PDCI, have been met with unanswered phones. We will expand our list of people to try and continue trying these contacts in the upcoming days.

Presidential Campaigns

President Bédié's campaign focussed today on meetings -- with students, youth and women at the party headquarters in Cocody.

M. Mel Theodore, Mayor of Cocody, called for the "huge PDCI family to fight against the only and huge adversary these days, known as abstention." PDCI Secrétaire-général Laurent Dona Fologo added "The level of participation [in the October 22 election] is how we will be judged. That is why we beg our supporters to turn out in grand numbers on election day."

The CNB (Cercle National de Bédié) had a meeting on Wednesday in Grand-Bassam to call on all Ivoirians to respect the laws and institutions of the country.

They are focussed on trying to provide a counterbalance to the opposition's planned marches on Monday, by organizing civil society (they call themselves an NGO) and friendly opposition parties into a "Day of Civil Society for Bédié" at the Bouaké Municipal Stadium. Bouaké is the second largest city in the Côte d'Ivoire, located about 4 hours by car from Abidjan in the center of the country, and has a diverse population that has merged there from all ethnic groups and regions of the country.

PIT presidential candidate Francis Wodiés campaign was in the city of Man, yesterday, in the west of the country. He called for a stronger economy, a mixed economy. He seeks to increase health care and to improve the conditions of life for rural popultations, notably by building better roads, and bringing the amenities of modern life to the rural people. When asked why he, of all of the parties of the Front Republicain is running, he replied by saying that he is a legalist and that things have improved in terms of transparent elections since 1990, when he and his party boycotted the elections.

FESACI says "NON" to fratricidal confrontation

M Etté Marcel, secrétaire général of FESACI, a teachers union, called for the principal parties and the government to stop issuing statements that confirm their resolute wish to force a violent confrontation.

FESACI said that they are opposed to anything that directly or indirectly threatens the freedom, physical safety, material and moral interests of workers. They are one of the organizations who make up the Collective.

Dep. Sarassoro Denies Allegations that He Sold-Out to PDCI

Dep. Hyacinthe Sarassoro, one of the founding members of the RDR, was accused in headline articles in yesterday's "Le Populaire" and "Soir Info" of having accepted 50 million CFA ($100,000) plus 3 cars at a secret meeting with President Bédié in order to betray his party and return to the PDCI.

Dep. Sarassoro responded to the allegations in an interview published in today's "Le Jour." While acknowledging that he did in fact attempt to meet with President Bédié, he denied any wrongdoing, insisting that the visit was for purely personal reasons. Dep. Sarassoro explained that his niece is married to Pres. Bédié's brother-in-law, and that his daughter is also married to a close friend of Bédié.

He claims to have been asked by the uncle of President Bédié's friend to help him to obtain a meeting with the President in

order to discuss a business matter.

Dep. Sarassoro also underlined his unfailing devotion to the RDR and its objectives. He wondered how anyone could imagine that he would return to the PDCI while Min. Dona Fologo remained its General Secretary, his dislike for Min. Dona Fologo being one of the principle reasons for his having left the PDCI.

Declaration by the Central Committee of the FPI

In a long address published in "La Voie," the central committee of the FPI - represented by party "no. 2" Abou Drahamane Sangaré - gave a summary of the actions taken by the FPI to change the electoral code, from 1993 to the present, as well as an outline of the concessions made by the FPI in recent negotiations and the reasons why the FPI insists on a boycott of the Oct. 22 election.

The declaration states that the FPI began negotiating a more equitable electoral code with the government as early as August '93 (while Alassane Ouattara was Prime Minister). After receiving no response from the government, they began meeting PDCI members of Parliament to present their concerns. They purport to have been "indignant" to discover that at the same time as negotiations were underway in Parliament, the Ministry of the Interior was preparing an electoral code which did not take into consideration any of the points agreed upon by the two groups.

The declaration continues that the FPI's major objection to holding the election on Oct. 22 is that they consider the voter registration lists to be highly inaccurate and discriminatory. They note that the commission - called for in the electoral code - to receive complaints and verify inscriptions was never created, making it practically impossible to correct the lists.

Noting their party's original position, the central committee lists the concessions they have made over the course of negotiations:
- the amendment, rather than repeal, of the electoral code;
- the verification of voter registration lists;
- the elimination of vote by court or administrative attestation.

In order to allow for the revision of lists, they demand that the election date be pushed back by a minimum of 2 weeks.

The declaration states that President Bédié has refused to allow more than 3 days to revise the electoral lists, and this before October 22nd.

For this reason, they confirm their boycott of the election, and call on all of their supporters to continue

demonstrating so that no election takes place.

Bédié Receives Message of Friendship from President Eyadema

M. Fambare Ouattara, member of the Togolese parliament and special envoy from President Eyadema, transmitted to President Bédié a message of "friendship and brotherhood within the framework of the good relations existing between the two countries."

"Fraternité Matin" hypothesized that the subject of conversation was the Ivorian political situation, as well as those of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Frat Mat Hails Wodié's Candidacy

Francis Wodié's presidential candidacy is being hailed in today's Fraternité Matin as the single fact that may save the Côte d'Ivoire. They claim that his candidacy proves that it is not impossible to meet the conditions set forth in the electoral code. They go on to say that equitable treatment in the media is being assured by the National Council for Audiovisual COmmunications.

The article concludes by saying that only election day remains to test if the electoral code can assure transparent elections. They are optimistic, based on many of the concessions the government has made: Autonomous election commission, indelible ink, semi-transparent ballot boxes, UN supervised international observers, the possibility of multiple copies of the vote tallies from each polling place, and the number of places of recourse for contesting various steps in the process.

Upcoming Events:

October 16 -- Beginning of new phase of opposition marches.

October 16 -- Bouaké Municipal Stadium, CNB organized rally for civil society to show their support for Bédié.

October 22 -- Scheduled elections for President.

November 26 -- Scheduled elections for the legislature.

December 17 -- Scheduled elections for the municipal councils.

Chris Kyland

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ADDENDUM

COTE D'IVOIRE

Election-Related Activities, Summary of Proposal Changes

Given recent political developments in Côte d'Ivoire and the continued fluidity of the situation there, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) proposes to amend the above-referenced proposal to allow itself considerable flexibility to better respond to rapidly changing events. These changes may result from a break-through in efforts to mediate the recent impasse between the Ivorian government and major opposition parties. At present, the major opposition parties have stated their intentions to actively boycott the presidential elections, while the government and the ruling party continue to rule out postponing the elections in order to allow an independent review of voter registration cards and lists. Opposition parties claim that the voter lists have been unfairly skewed in favor of ruling party supporters and that there have been numerous duplications, omissions and errors on the voter registration cards.

These recent events directly impact NDI programming in Côte d'Ivoire and have necessitated the following changes to the proposal currently under review by USAID and the Department of State. NDI's original plan to send international observer delegations to the presidential elections of October 22, 1995 is no longer feasible given current circumstances. Increased security concerns the polarized political discourse and the lack of a genuine competitive contest, collectively make deployment of a team of observers to the presidential elections unadvisable. However, because political circumstances may change prior to the legislative elections now scheduled for November 26, 1995, NDI will eliminate its presidential observer delegation from the proposal but will retain the 12-person delegation to the legislative elections. Per diem and transportation costs in the budget have been adjusted accordingly.

In further response to changing political dynamics, NDI has added a new feature to its proposal. The new component is based on the premise that Ivorians agree to a compromise that would make the political environment more conducive for subsequent elections in November and December 1995. This component comprises a three-member team of international expert statisticians/pollsters who will carry out a review of the voter rolls immediately following the presidential elections. This mission, which will last approximately 10 days, will also include three members of NDI's DC staff who will help the team of consultants carry out the review of voter registration cards and lists in preparation for the legislative elections.

Originally, when the government and opposition parties appeared on the verge of reaching a compromise prior to the presidential elections, representatives of Ivorian civil

society and some of the parties suggested that NDI, as a nonpartisan group which understood the political landscape and had the experience and expertise to conduct such a review, be asked to assist in the process. Although the compromise did not come to fruition at the time, the possibility of revisiting the issue exists for the legislative elections. If such a review is negotiated and agreed to by the government, the ruling party and the opposition parties, NDI would be prepared to play the role requested of it prior to the legislative elections. NDI will draw upon its pool of advisors and experts who have, in some cases, been associated with similar efforts in places such as Guyana, Mexico and the United States. NDI field and DC staff will therefore concentrate on building consensus between the Ivorian government and the opposition parties during the inter-electoral period with a view to encouraging greater transparency in the legislative elections. In terms of the budget, per diem and transportation line items have been adjusted to account for this likely readjustment in NDI's involvement in the political process in Côte d'Ivoire at this time.

Finally, the African-American Institute (AAI) and NDI have agreed to AAI's suggestion that their respective proposed cooperative agreements with the Observatoire Nationale des Elections (ONE) be consolidated into the proposal of one of the AREAF partners. NDI and AAI decided AAI will be the partner to focus on the training and deployment of ONE domestic monitors, therefore NDI's proposal no longer includes this element.

All other components of the proposal remain unchanged. In fact, the contentious climate in which these elections are being conducted and the recent polarization of political discourse in Côte d'Ivoire, underscore the need to maintain plans for post-election activities that could help stabilize or reinvigorate the democratization process in Côte d'Ivoire. These activities would include the coordination with the United Nations during the legislative elections, the post-election roundtable and the post-election orientation for newly elected members of the legislature. These activities will be the most relevant programming activities possible during the coming months. NDI is committed to remaining fully prepared to respond to political developments as they arise. Although we have eliminated and redefined our planned activities, it will be useful to retain the maximum degree of flexibility to allow NDI to respond quickly and comprehensively should the situation suddenly change and should we make the determination that NDI's involvement will have a positive, constructive impact on the process.

The elimination of some of NDI's planned activities and a redefinition of others has led to a substantial reduction of NDI's initial budget to $426,399. A revised budget is attached.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
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(202) 328-3136 ■ FAX (202) 939-3166 ■ E-Mail: demos@ndi.org

ADDENDUM

COTE D'IVOIRE

Election-Related Activities, Summary of Proposal Changes

Given recent political developments in Côte d'Ivoire and the continued fluidity of the situation there, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) proposes to amend the above-referenced proposal to allow itself considerable flexibility to better respond to rapidly changing events. These changes may result from a break-through in efforts to mediate the recent impasse between the Ivorian government and major opposition parties. At present, the major opposition parties have stated their intentions to actively boycott the presidential elections, while the government and the ruling party continue to rule out postponing the elections in order to allow an independent review of voter registration cards and lists. Opposition parties claim that the voter lists have been unfairly skewed in favor of ruling party supporters and that there have been numerous duplications, omissions and errors on the voter registration cards.

These recent events directly impact NDI programming in Côte d'Ivoire and have necessitated the following changes to the proposal currently under review by USAID and the Department of State. NDI's original plan to send international observer delegations to the presidential elections of October 22, 1995 is no longer feasible given current circumstances. Increased security concerns the polarized political discourse and the lack of a genuine competitive contest, collectively make deployment of a team of observers to the presidential elections unadvisable. However, because political circumstances may change prior to the legislative elections now scheduled for November 26, 1995, NDI will eliminate its presidential observer delegation from the proposal but will retain the 12-person delegation to the legislative elections. Per diem and transportation costs in the budget have been adjusted accordingly.

In further response to changing political dynamics, NDI has added a new feature to its proposal. The new component is based on the premise that Ivorians agree to a compromise that would make the political environment more conducive for subsequent elections in November and December 1995. This component comprises a three-member team of international expert statisticians/pollsters who will carry out a review of the voter rolls immediately following the presidential elections. This mission, which will last approximately 10 days, will also include three members of NDI's DC staff who will help the team of consultants carry out the review of voter registration cards and lists in preparation for the legislative elections.

Originally, when the government and opposition parties appeared on the verge of reaching a compromise prior to the presidential elections, representatives of Ivorian civil

10/18/95 cc: Anne C. Lori Y. Adrianne

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
COTE D'IVOIRE PROGRAM: PHASE TWO
BUDGET: Election Monitoring & Election-Related Activities
PROJECT DURATION: Oct. 16 to March 15, 1996--6 MONTHS

I.	SALARIES AND BENEFITS				64,070
	A. SALARIES (@ 6 months)			45,961	
	1. Sr. Associate for Political Parties	@ 10%			
	2. Sr. Associate for Elections	@ 20%			
	3. Regional Director	@ 40%			
	4. Program Officer	@ 40%			
	5. Program Assistant	@ 40%			
	6. Regional Assistant	@ 15%			
	7. Logistics Coordinator	@ 20%			
	8. Grants Administrator	@ 10%			
	B. BENEFITS @ 39.4%			18,109	
II.	FOREIGN OFFICE SPACE AND UTILITIES				3,500
	Rent:$700/mo. x 5 months			3,500	
III.	SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT				7,500
	A. EQUIPMENT RENTAL			2,500	
	B. OFFICE SUPPLIES			5,000	
IV.	COMMUNICATIONS				10,500
	A. Telephone and Fax			9,000	
	B. Postage and Bi-monthly Field Packet			1,500	
V.	TRAVEL AND PER DIEM				157,819
	A. AIRFARE			81,080	
	1. International Observer Mission: (12 obser.)				
	4 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049		12,196		
	1 RT Dakar/Abidjan @ $1040		1,040		

	2 RT Niamey/Abidjan @ $637	1,274	
	1 RT Bangui/Abidjan @ $1,184	1,184	
	2 RT Montreal/Abidjan @ $3163	6,326	
	1 RT Frankfurt/Abidjan @ $3782	3,782	
	1 RT Johannesburg/Abidjan @ $1384	1,384	
	5 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049 (program, logistics, executive staff)	15,245	
2.	Coordination of U.N.		
	1 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049	3,049	
3.	Consensus Building and Review of Electoral Infrastructure		
	3 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049 (expert staticticians and pollsters)	9,147	
	3 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049 (functional/program staff)	9,147	
4.	Post Election Roundtable		
	1 RT Lisbon/Abidjan @ $3100 (moderator)	3,100	
	2 RT Cotonou/Abidjan @ $339 (moderators)	678	
	1 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049 (staff/facilitators)	3,049	
5.	Post Election Orientation for Legislature		
	1 RT D.C./Abidjan @$3049	3,049	
	1 RT Montreal/Abidjan @ $3163	3,163	
	1 RT Niamey/Abidjan @ $637	637	
	1 RT Brussels/Abidjan @ $3,630	3,630	
B.	*PERDIEM*		54,914
1.	International Observer Mission		
	12 NDI International Observers @ $138/nt. x 10 nts.	16,560	
	5 Staff @ $138/nt. x 14nts.	9,660	
	6 Drivers @ $97/nt. x 5nts.	2,910	
2.	Coordination of U.N.		
	1 Staff @ $138/nt. x 10 nts.	1,380	
3.	Consensus Building and Review of Electoral Infrastructure		
	3 Election Experts @ $138/nt. x 10 nts.	4,140	
	3 NDI Staff @ $138/nt. x 10 nts.	4,140	
4.	Post Election Roundtable		
	4 Moderators @ $138/nt. x 5 nts.	2,760	
5.	Post Election Orientation for Legislature		

		4 Experts @ $138/nt. x 7 nts.	3,864		
	6.	Foreign Housing Allowance			
		Rent for 5 months @ $800/mo per rep. for 2 reps.	8,000		
		Util. @ $150/mo per rep. for 2 reps for 5 mos.	1,500		
	C.	LOCAL TRAVEL		14,600	
		Field Staff 1 Car/Maintenance @ $1000/ea/mo for 5 Mos.	5,000		
		Car Rental or Taxis @ $1000/mo for 5 Mos.	5,000		
		Int'l Election Observer Delegations Car Rentals	3,000		
		(@ $500 x 6 Cars x 1 elections)			
		U.N. Coordination Car Rental ($800/mo for 2 mos.)	1,600		
	D.	OTHER TRAVEL COSTS		7,225	
VI.	CONTRACTUAL SERVICES				26,580
	A.	PRINTING		3,900	
	B.	TRANSLATION (4 teams of 2 interpreters/trans. @ $1000/day for 4 days)		16,000	
	C.	INTERN @7$/HR. X 25% X 6 Mos.		1,680	
	D.	LOCALLY HIRED STAFF		5,000	
		Support Staff: $500/mo. x 5 Mos.	2,500		
		Logistics Ass't: $500/mo. x 5 Mos.	2,500		
VII.	CONSULTANTS				39,600
	A.	2 Field Staff @ $150/day for 132 days (6 mos.)		39,600	
VIII.	OTHER DIRECT COSTS				25,650
	A.	BANK CHARGES		2,250	
	B.	WORKSHOPS MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES		22,000	
	C.	PUBLIC INFORMATION		1,200	
	D.	SUBSCRIPTIONS		200	

DIRECT COSTS	335,219
INDIRECT COSTS @ 27.2%	91,180
TOTAL COSTS	426,399

Atelier recommendations to the Government

1. in order to improve relations with the National Assembly, the government should designate a minister responsible for such relations

2. each committee should designate an MP to be responsible for relations between the affected ministries and appropriate committees

3. the Assembly should meet weekly or bi-weekly with the Prime Minister and/or ministers of the government to debate/discuss certain specific issues and help find solutions

4. the government should address to the National Assembly drafts of proposed legislation according to importance, such as finance bills

5. in order to facilitate the supervision of laws passed, the government should present to the National Assembly an "ampliation" of all related and relevant applications

6. draft budget measures should include proposed regional development projects presented by each MP by riding name, particularly pubilc investment projects

7. the Assembly wishes to be informed in advance of all proposed borrowing by the State, in order to facilitate the final approval/ratification

8. (this one had some pretty precise french grammar that may require a team of bilingiual jurists to decipher)

9. in order to facilitate the promotion and consolidation of democracy in Madagascar, we respectfully request the government to begin negotiations respecting a permanent presence of NDI in Madagascar.

Atelier recommendations to the Speaker of National Assembly

1. a fully functioning parliamentary library

2. laws proposed by MPs and the government should be treated the same and follow the same procedure

3. an information session respecting parliamentary services should be organised at the beginning if each legislative session to avoid under-utilization of parliamentary staff

4. the function and role of members of the Bureau Permanent should be reorganized

5. relations between the following should be strengthened:
   - MPs and administrative personel
   - MPs and Bureau Permanent members, and the B.P. should make regular reports to respecting their work

6. the professional qualifications of the staff should be improved to improve relations with other institutions

7. with the permission of appropriate "powers-that-be" the activities of the technical service staff of the parliament should be posted and nade available to interested parties.

8. need to establish an overall plan for the work of the deputies.

Parliamentary Seminar -- the National Assembly of Madagascar
"Democratic Consolidation in Madagascar: The Role of an Effective Legislature"
May 29-31, 1996
Antananarivo, Madagascar

Wednesday, May 29, 1996

8:00-8:45	Participant registration
8:45-9:45	Opening ceremonies • Introduction and presentation of the ceremonial order by NDI • Welcome from the American Embassy (DCM, Howard Perlowe) • Speech of the President of the National Assembly of Madagascar
9:45-10:15	Coffee break
10:15-10:30	Opening presentation: **The importance of legislatures in democratic transitions** (McMahon)
10:30-11:00	Plenary session #1: **The relations between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government** Division of powers • Oversight • Checks and balances • The legislative process and the independence of legislative authority *International participants: Rajk,Lavoie*
11:00-11:30	Questions/discussion
11:30-12:00	Plenary Session #2: **The role and the responsibility of a member of parliament** • The MP as legislator and representative of the community • The relationship between the MP and his/her constituents • How to increase citizen participation in the legislative process • How to better respond to the needs of one's constituency *International participants:Bourgault,English*
12:00-12:30	Open session: questions/discussion
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-4:00	Simultaneous workshops: **Relations between the MP and his/her constituents** • Effective methods of promoting constituent's interests *International participants will help advise the workshop groups.*

4:00-4:15	Coffee Break
4:14-5:15	Discussion of the workshop results

Thursday, May 30, 1996

8:30-9:15	Plenary session #3: **The role and the function of the different organs of the National Assembly** • The organization of a legislature: presidents, commissions, parliamentary groupings, political parties *International participants:Rajk,Kombo*
9:15-9:45	Open session: questions/discussions
9:45-10:00	Coffee Break
10:00-10:45	Plenary Session #4: **What are the functions of commissions?** • What are the most important functions of commissions? • What is the role of commissions regarding amendments and passing laws? • How to better research and critique proposed legislation? • How to encourage NGOs and experts to contribute ideas? *International participants: English,Lavoie*
10:45-11:15	Open session: questions/discussion
11:15-12:45	Workshops on the functioning of commissions • Commission rules and procedures • Analysis of laws *International participants will help advise the workshop groups.*
12:45-2:00	Lunch
2:00-3:30	Change of workshops • Public hearings • Research and reporting *International participants will help advise the workshop groups.*
3:30-3:45	Coffee Break
3:45-5:00	Discussion of the results of the workshops

Friday, May 31, 1996

8:30-9:30	Plenary session #5: **Transparency in the parliament** • Government ethics • What are the personal responsibilities of a member of parliament? *International participant:Kombo,Bourgault*
9:30-10:30	Three simultaneous workshops: **Transparency: The public's access to information** • Transparency as a way to increase public confidence in the legislature • Methods to allow public access to the work of the parliament • Media relations --a free and informed press can provide updated legislative information to the public and can also inform the legislators themselves on the needs and opinions of the public. *International participants will help advise the workshop groups.*
10:30-10:45	Coffee Break
10:45-11:45	Change of workshops
11:45-12:30	Discussion of the results of the workshops on transparency
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-3:00	Workshop exercises: **Oversight and legitimation - the legislature in government** *International participant*: 1. Identify the different kinds of interaction/communication (between the branches of government) that work well; 2. Summarize the advantages of each of the kinds of interaction from question #1; 3. Identify the different kinds of interaction/communication that could be improved; 4. Summarize the advantages of each of the kinds of interaction in question #3. 5. Identify the ways by which the legislative commissions can implement the suggestions given for #3. 6. Identify other measures that could complement the commission's efforts in order to implement these suggestions. 7. Identify the available resources which could facilitate the parliament's work. 8. Identify the ways in which the deficiencies of these resources can be addressed and reinforced.
3:00-4:00	Plenary Session #8: **Oversight:**

	• Workshop group reports. • Discussion *International participants: all*
4:00-4:30	Distribution and completion of seminar evaluation forms
4:30-5:00	Closing ceremony and distribution of participant certificates

MALAGASY STUDY MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA
JUNE 8 - 12, 1996

AGENDA

SATURDAY, JUNE 8

5:05 pm Depart Antananarivo

7:30 Arrive Johannesburg

8:15 Check into: **Holiday Inn Johannesburg International Airport**
Tel: (011) 975-1121
Fax: (011) 975-5846

SUNDAY, JUNE 9

7:45 am Depart Johannesburg

9:55 Arrive Cape Town

Check into: **Metropole Hotel**
38 Long Street
Tel: (021) 236-363
Fax: (021) 236-370

11:30 Lunch: Aldo's Restaurant, Waterfront

6:00 **NDI review of agenda**
venue: Metropole Hotel

* *Derek Butler*
  NDI Program Officer

* *Palmer Kiperman*
  NDI Program Consultant

7:30 Dinner: Cape Manna
Napier Street

MONDAY, JUNE 10

9:15 **Parliaments in Transition**
venue: V226, Old Assembly

* *Roger Berry*
  NDI Program Officer
* *Hugh Corder*
  Professor of Law, University of Cape Town

10:30 **Tea Break**

11:00 **Parliamentary Accountability:**
The Role of Committees and Responsibilities of Members
venue: V226, Old Assembly

* *Senator Lawrence Mushwana*
  (African National Congress)

* *Piet Matthee, MP*
  (National Party)

* *Mike Ellis, MP*
  (Democratic Party)

12:15 Lunch: Squares Restaurant
St. Georges Mall
Tel: (021) 24-0224

2:30 **Presiding Officers**
venue: National Assembly Wing (South)

* *Dr. Frene Ginwala, MP*
  Speaker of the National Assembly
  (African National Congress)

3:00 **The Role of Opposition Parties in Parliament**
venue: 570 Marks Building, 5th Floor

* *Patricia de Lille, MP*
  (Pan African Congress)

4:00 **Plenary Session: Featuring Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on the South African Communication Services**
venue: National Assembly Chamber

7:30 Dinner: **Cafe Paradiso**
110 Kloof St. Gardens

TUESDAY, JUNE 11

9:00 **Committee Meetings**

* *Portfolio Committee on Health*
  venue: V227, Old Assembly

* *Portfolio Committee on Welfare*
  venue. V227, Old Assembly

12:45 Lunch: **Presiding Officers in the Western Cape Provincial Legislatures**
venue:

* *Willem Doman, MPL*
  Speaker of Provincial Legislature
  (National Party)

* *Mampe Ramotsamai, MPL*
  Deputy Speaker of the Provincial Legislature
  (African National Congress)

1:45 **Plenary Session: western Cape Provincial Legislature**

4:00 **Constitutional Affairs**
venue: 120 Plein Street, # 1104

* *Valli Moosa*
  Deputy Minister of Provincial and Constitutional Affairs
  (African National Congress)

7:30 **Dinner:** **Blues Restaurant**
9 The Promenade Victoria Road, Camps Bay
Tel (021) 438-2040

* *Piet Matthee, MP*
  (National Party)

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 12

9:30 **Procedural Staff and Law Advisors**
venue: to be determined

* *Kasper Hulundich, Senior Under Secretary*
* *Alice Makuni, Clerk of Parliament*
* *Kamal Mansura, Clerk of Parliament*
* *Piet Pretorius, Clerk of Parliament*
* *Anton Meyer, Clerk of Parliament*

11:00 **Tea Break**

11:15 **Parliamentary Leadership**
venue: S25 Senate Building

* *Senator Govan Mbeki*
  Deputy President of the Senate
  (African National Congress)

12:00 Tour of Parliament

1:00 Lunch at Parliament

* *Senator Lassy Chiwayo*
  (African National Congress)

2:30 Depart for airport

4:30 Depart Cape Town

DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION:
THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE

SEMINAR ON THE FUNCTIONING OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS

June 20, 1996 Hilton Hotel, Antananarivo, Madagascar

8:30-9:00	Participant registration
9:00-9:30	Opening ceremony • Introduction and opening remarks by Derek Butler, NDI • Welcoming remarks, SEM Vicki Huddleston, Ambassador of the United States • Speech from M. Richard Andriamanjato, President, National Assembly
9:15-9:45	**Introductory plenary session: What are the most important functions of parliamentary committees?** This will be a brief introduction because this subject was thoroughly discussed in the first seminar. Focus: How can commissions influence the legislative process?
Coffee Break	
10:00-11:00	**Internal functioning of commissions:** • Rules and procedures of committee meetings • Documentation of proceedings • Decision-making processes • Creation of joint or sub-committees: coordination between commissions to review a specific bill under consideration. • Relations with the relevant ministry
11:00-12:30	**Workshop: Increasing public participation in the legislative process:** *The general public must to be able to participate in some capacity in the legislative process. Commissions can take a lead role in bringing this about through public hearings and community outreach, and thus, improve deputies' understanding of an issue being considered in the Assembly.* How can deputies maintain regular contact with citizens? Obtaining outside opinions is vital to a deputy's understanding of how a bill will affect various sectors of the population. Emphasis on role of commissions in facilitating and encouraging informed parliamentary debate on political issues (through researching, incorporating outside opinions).
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-4:00	**Workshop on Public hearings:** Issues to be addressed: purpose, content of a public hearing; organizing, coordinating a public hearing (establishing orders for business, workplan, notices to members of the commission and the public, etc.); communication with the media; the role

and responsibilities of individual MPS during the hearing. Other topics to address include: balancing of divergent points of view; analysis of testimony; holding a closed or open hearing; conducting a field hearing.

Exercise: Mock committee hearing (time permitting).

Break

4:15-4:30	Evaluations
4:30-5:00	Closing ceremony

DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION:
THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE

SKILLS-BUILDING FOR PARLIAMENTARY STAFF MEMBERS

June 21, 1996 Hilton Hotel, Antananarivo, Madagascar

8:30-9:00 Participant registration

9:00-9:30 Opening ceremony
- Introduction by Derek Butler, NDI
- Welcoming remarks, James Knight, United States Embassy
- Opening remarks from M. Secretary General, National Assembly

9:30-10:00 **Introductory plenary session: What is your role within the functions of Parliament?** Why is staff development important to the good functioning of a parliament? Importance of developing a cadre of well-trained career civil servants in the National assembly: continuity and stability ("institutional memory"). A look at the parliaments of Canada and South Africa.

Coffee Break

10:15-12:15 Workshop on **Being an effective manager**
Topics to be addressed include:
- **Effective use of scarce resources** (time, money, support staff, etc.). Is the National Assembly staff efficiently? If no, what are concrete ways to improve this?

- **On-going professional training for Assembly staff:** Organizing new staff orientation programs, periodic training sessions to keep all staff up to date on new services. What information would they include in a new staff orientation training session? Designing a basic training program for the new computers in the library.

**** Goal of the workshop is for the group to draw up recommendations on how they can work together to provide training for new staff-members as well as on-going professional training.

12:15-1:45 Lunch

1:45-3:45 Workshop on **Human Resources and Project Management**
Development of research skills: gathering and analysis of information: primary documents. Impartial analysis, translation, and explanation of laws and issues. Time management: setting priorities in planning activities, delegation of responsibilities. Strategizing: identifying goals, prioritizing goals, and mapping out a strategy for attaining those goals

3:45-4:00 Coffee Break

4:00-4:30	Evaluations
4:30-5:00	Closing ceremony

05/30/96

NDI'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WORKSHOP IS A HIT

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1. (U) THE THREE-DAY NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI) WORKSHOP FOR MADAGASCAR'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY -- ENTITLED 'CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY -- THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE' -- STARTED OFF IN A BIG WAY ON MAY 29. AFTER INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY CHARGE PERLOW AND NDI REGIONAL DIRECTOR NED MCMAHON, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PASTOR RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO DELIVERED THE OPENING ADDRESS TO ABOUT 60 DEPUTIES AND ASSEMBLY STAFF. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE U.S. MISSION, INCLUDING USAID DIRECTOR MACKENZIE AND USIS DIRECTOR SAXTON; REPRESENTATIVES FROM CIVIC EDUCATION NGOS; STAFF OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND FRENCH EMBASSIES; IMF REPRESENTATIVE YOUM; AND THE PRESS ATTENDED THE WORKSHOP OPENING, WHICH WAS WELL COVERED ON BOTH TANA TELEVISION STATIONS IN THE EVENING NEWS AND IN THE MAY 30 EDITIONS OF ALL THREE MAJOR TANA NEWSPAPERS.

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2. (U) IN ADDITION TO THE TWO NDI ADVANCE TEAM MEMBERS WHO ARRIVED APRIL 23 AND NDI REGIONAL DIRECTOR MCMAHON, NDI PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED FORMER OR CURRENT AMERICAN, CANADIAN, HUNGARIAN, AND NIGERIEN LEGISLATORS, THE NDI FIELD REPRESENTATIVE FOR NAMIBIA, AND AN ADMINISTRATIVE CONSULTANT. THE NDI PROGRAM EMPHASIZES BOTH THE POLITICAL AND PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF SERVICE AS A LEGISLATOR, AND ALSO PROVIDES TRAINING AND GUIDANCE FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S STAFF. THE NDI PROGRAM HAS RECEIVED HIGHLY POSITIVE REVIEWS FROM WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

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3. (U) PARTICIPATION AMONG DEPUTIES WAS ENTHUSIASTIC AND MUTUALLY INFORMATIVE. THE HIGH LEVEL OF SUPPORT SHOWN BY SPEAKER ANDRIAMANJATO WAS ESPECIALLY ENCOURAGING. OTHER RANKING DEPUTIES WHO ATTENDED INCLUDE, AMONG OTHERS, BOTH ASSEMBLY WHIPS (QUESTORS), MFM PARTY LEADER MANANADAFY, UNDD DEPUTY DESIRE RAKOTOARIJAONA, FAMIMA DEPUTY PIERRE RAHARIJAONA, AND FIHAONANA DEPUTY JEAN CLAUDE. SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION AT THIS LEVEL IS ESPECIALLY GRATIFYING AT THIS PARTICULAR MOMENT. PRIME MINISTER RATSIRAHONANA WAS NAMED BY PRESIDENT ZAFY MAY 28, THE NIGHT BEFORE THE WORKSHOP BEGAN (REFTEL X). POLITICAL STRATEGY SESSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT POSTS NORMALLY DRAIN DEPUTIES AWAY FROM OPTIONAL EVENTS IN MASSIVE NUMBERS WHEN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ARISE.

06/04/96

MADAGASCAR: NDI WORKSHOP FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MAY 29-31, 1996

SUMMARY
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1. (U) THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI) WORKSHOP FOR MADAGASCAR'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ENJOYED A SPLENDID SUCCESS AND MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TOWARD OUR FUNDAMENTAL GOAL OF HELPING STABILIZE MALAGASY DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. THE TIMING FOR THE SEMINAR COULD NOT HAVE BEEN BETTER, THANKS TO INTENSE MEDIA AND PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AS A RESULT OF THE NOMINATION OF A NEW PRIME MINISTER AND HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH THE DEPUTIES OVER THE FORMATION OF A NEW CABINET. THERE WAS HEAVY MEDIA COVERAGE, INCLUDING LENGTHY TELEVISED EXCEPTS OF OPENING AND CLOSING CEREMONIES.

2. THE SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, PASTOR RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO, AND OTHER LEADING DEPUTIES GAVE THE NDI PROGRAM THEIR FULL ATTENTION AND SUPPORT -- DESPITE THE EXTENSIVE POLITICAL JOCKEYING UNDERWAY FOR CABINET SEATS. THE PASTOR -- THE SECOND MOST POWERFUL PLAYER IN MALAGASY POLITICS -- GAVE THE OPENING AND CLOSING ADDRESSES AND GRACED A VERY WELL-ATTENDED RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE EMBASSY. EXCELLENT PARTICIPATION BY DEPUTIES, A HIGHLY QUALIFIED AND EFFECTIVE TEAM OF INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS, AND HIGH-LEVEL OVERSIGHT BY NDI/WASHINGTON ASSURED AN INTENSE, ANIMATED, AND EFFECTIVE ENVIRONMENT.

3. (U) AT THE WORKSHOP'S CONCLUSION DEPUTIES PROVIDED WRITTEN RECOMMENDATIONS ON ENHANCING THE ASSEMBLY'S EFFECTIVENESS AND HOW TO WORK BETTER WITH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. PROPOSALS INCLUDED: CREATION OF A MINISTERIAL-LEVEL POSITION CHARGED WITH PARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS; ENHANCED OVERSIGHT OF MINISTRIES' BUDGETS AND PROGRAMS; AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE ASSEMBLY'S RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CAPABILITIES. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF ETHICS AND POSSIBLE CHANGES TO ASSEMBLY ORGANIZATION AND VOTING PROCEDURES WHICH DID NOT RESULT IN WRITTEN RECOMMENDATIONS.

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THE RIGHT STUFF . . .

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5. (U) AFTER NEARLY TWO YEARS OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN NDI, USAID AND STATE, NDI'S WORKSHOP, FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY GOT UNDERWAY ON MAY 29. THE NDI TEAM INCLUDED LEGISLATORS AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTARY STAFFS FROM NIGER, CANADA, HUNGARY, AND THE U.S. NDI REGIONAL DIRECTOR NED MCMAHON AND THREE OTHER NDI STAFFERS WERE PRESENT TO ASSURE WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION. THE SEMINAR TITLE WAS: 'CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY: THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE LEGISLATURE.' IT WAS STRUCTURED AS A THREE-DAY SERIES OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON THE MOST PRESSING PARLIAMENTARY ISSUES, INCLUDING:

-- THE ROLE OF THE LEGISLATURE WITHIN GOVERNMENT;
-- DEPUTIES' RELATIONS WITH CONSTITUENTS;
-- STAFFING AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ASSEMBLY/COMMITTEE PROCEDURES AND FUNCTIONS;

6. (U) THERE WERE WORKSHOPS ON ETHICS, AND THE FINAL SESSIONS INCLUDED DRAFTING OF RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVED LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES. APART FROM THE TWO SESSIONS WHERE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WERE FORMULATED, ALL DISCUSSIONS WERE FACILITATED BY ONE OR MORE NDI CONSULTANTS. OVER A THIRD OF THE ASSEMBLY'S DEPUTIES AND STAFF ATTENDED THE WORKSHOP FOR ALL THREE DAYS. MANY MORE DEPUTIES WERE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE, BUT ON A MORE LIMITED BASIS.

-

7. (U) THE WORKSHOP OPENED WITH REMARKS BY EMBASSY CHARGE PERLOW, SPEAKER OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PASTOR RICHARD ANDRIAMANJATO, AND NDI REGIONAL DIRECTOR MCMAHAN. PARTICIPATION FROM OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WAS EXCEPTIONAL WITH THE USAID AND USIS DIRECTORS, OTHER U.S. MISSION STAFF, CIVIC EDUCATION NGO REPRESENTATIVES, MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND FRENCH EMBASSIES, STAFF MEMBERS FROM SEVERAL CULTURAL CENTERS AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES, AND THE IMF RESREP FOR MADAGASCAR ALSO PRESENT. A RECEPTION FOR PARTICIPANTS AND SPONSORS HOSTED BY EMBASSY POLITICAL OFFICER DREW OVER 200 DEPUTIES, ASSEMBLY STAFF, AND SPOUSES. CHARGE PERLOW, SPEAKER ANDRIAMANJATO, AND FIRST WHIP LOUISE-ODETTE RAHAINGOSOA SPOKE AT CLOSING CEREMONIES.

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MEDIA ATTENTION

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8. (U) THE WORKSHOP AND RECEPTION WERE EXTENSIVELY COVERED ON BOTH ANTANANARIVO TELEVISION STATIONS, NATIONAL RADIO, AND ALL THREE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS -- DESPITE THE HYPNOTIC EFFECT OF THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING UNDERWAY TO FORM A NEW CABINET. THIS HEAVYWEIGHT PARTICIPATION AND

EXTENSIVE MEDIA ATTENTION GAVE THE NDI WORKSHOP A VERY HIGH PROFILE AND SALIENCE.

. . . AT THE RIGHT TIME

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9. (U) NDI'S SELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM A VARIETY OF NATIONAL LEGISLATURES AS CONSULTANTS WAS PARTICULARLY HELPFUL -- NOT LEAST BECAUSE IT DIFFUSED CONCERNS THAT "THE AMERICANS" WOULD TRY TO IMPOSE THEIR STYLE OF POLITICS ON MADAGASCAR. NDI'S PRESENTATION OF DISTINCT PARLIAMENTARY ARRANGEMENTS AS EQUALLY VALID -- BY CONSULTANTS WITH DIVERSE PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE -- WAS HIGHLY APPRECIATED. FROM A MALAGASY PERSPECTIVE, THIS STYLE OF PRESENTATION VALIDATED THE OFTEN UNIQUE FEATURES OF MADAGASCAR'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, WHILE OFFERING IDEAS ON HOW TO IMPROVE IT.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SEMINAR

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10. (U) FLOWING FROM THE PRESENTATIONS, WORK SHOPS, AND CORRIDOR DISCUSSIONS, THE DEPUTIES AND STAFF MEMBERS MADE RECOMMENDATIONS AT THE END OF THE SEMINAR ON TWO LARGE CATEGORIES:

-- THE FIRST GROUP ADDRESSED RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEGISLATURE AND THE EXECUTIVE: DESIGNATION OF A CABINET MINISTER RESPONSIBLE FOR RELATIONS WITH THE ASSEMBLY; ACTIVE ASSEMBLY OVERSIGHT OF THE PROGRAMS AND FISCAL OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES; AND IMPROVED FOLLOW-UP ON THE PROGRESS OF LEGISLATION AFTER PASSAGE BY THE ASSEMBLY.

-- THE SECOND FOCUSSED ON NEEDED IMPROVEMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES AND RESOURCES:

REDRAFTING THE ASSEMBLY'S INTERNAL RULES OF ORDER AND PROCEDURE; REORGANIZATION OF ASSEMBLY STAFFING; REHABILITATION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S LIBRARY AND ENHANCEMENT OF ITS DOCUMENTATION SERVICES; AND A MORE PROACTIVE INFORMATION PROGRAM AIMED AT THE PRESS AND DEPUTIES' CONSTITUENTS.

A LONGER-TERM VIEW

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11. (U) ALMOST AS SOON AS THE SEMINAR BEGAN AND DEPUTIES BEGAN TO BE EXPOSED TO NDI, THEY STARTED TO COMMENT THAT THEY WOULD HAVE LIKED THE WORKSHOP FAR EARLIER IN THEIR TERMS (WHICH BEGAN IN 1993). AS SOME SENIOR DEPUTIES NOTED, MADAGASCAR'S DEPUTIES 'KNEW EVERYTHING' WHEN THEY WERE FIRST ELECTED AND NOW, AFTER THREE YEARS OF VERY MIXED EXPERIENCE, THEY UNDERSTAND THE ASSEMBLY'S INSTITUTIONAL WEAKNESSES AND ARE ESPECIALLY AWARE OF THE URGENT NEED TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THE EYES OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS AS THE HUSTINGS APPROACH NEXT YEAR.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION]

REPUBLIC OF MALI

Koulouba, July 9, 1996

The President of the Republic

Mr. President,

At the invitation of the government of Mali, an NDI mission traveled to our country from February 11 through 22, 1996 for the purpose of evaluating the electoral framework and proposing recommandations for reform.

During its stay in Mali, the NDI delegation met with members of the government, representatives of political parties and members of different state institutions as well as certain representatives of the civil society.

The relationship established between the delegation and its interlocutors permitted the delegation not only to succinctly outline the legal contours of the electoral framework, but also to create the basis for a national consensus concerning the upcoming elections.

I would also like to take this opportunity to convey to you my sincere thanks for this contribution of exceptional quality.

Please be assured that we will work to maintain and extend the results of this fruitful collaboration that I hope will serve as the first of many such efforts. I am convinced that your organization will, according to its objectives, spare no effort to foster and bolster democracy, of which the organization of free and transparent elections is a fundamental tenant.

Please accept, Mr. President, the expression of my very highest consideration.

Alpha Oumar KONARE

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
in cooperation with
NAMIBIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

VOTER EDUCATION IN NAMIBIA

OCTOBER 15 - DECEMBER 15, 1992

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I. SUMMARY

From October 15 to December 15, 1992, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a voter education project in Namibia through a cooperative agreement with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The project's goal was both educational and motivational -- to inform Namibians about the process and purpose of the 1992 Regional and Local Elections and to motivate them to participate by registering to vote and, ultimately, to cast their ballots. This project sought a turnout of approximately 60 percent of eligible voters. In spite of a late start and delay in equipment deliveries that necessitated major last-minute program revisions, the project was a considerable success. Overall voter turnout nationally was 82.9 percent. In many of Namibia's more heavily-populated constituencies, more than 90 percent of the registered voters turned out. A few polling stations even recorded a 100 percent turnout.

II. BACKGROUND

The 1992 Regional and Local Elections in Namibia

The 1992 elections in Namibia differed fundamentally from the 1989 elections that led the country to independence. Not only were the objectives different, the electoral system changed and so had many of the voting procedures. Furthermore, these were the first elections to be conducted by Namibians themselves. The vast international community that had assisted the 1989 elections had long since departed.

Namibia's democratic development has had both symbolic and tangible value in Africa, particularly in the region of southern Africa. The 1989 elections provided the region with first-hand exposure to the use of the election process as a mechanism for conflict resolution. Since those elections, Namibia has been under a microscope where all developments are examined for the lessons they might provide to others in southern Africa: Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, and even South Africa itself -- each of them at an earlier stage in the democratic transition process.

The Namibian constitution establishes the requirement for a second house of parliament, an elected National Council based on regional representation. Although the constitution did not specify a date when the National Council would be formed, it was generally accepted at the time of independence that the second house of parliament should be functioning within two years.

The constitution also provides for elected local authorities to include "all municipalities, communities, village councils and other organs of local government." Several of Namibia's previously all-white municipal governments, including Windhoek and Swakopmund, had been serving for nearly 20 years since the last local elections.

Thus, by mid-1992, there was growing pressure in Namibia for elections to establish Regional and National Councils as well as for local elections to install municipal governments more closely reflecting the populations they governed. But in order for these elections to take place, a new census had to be taken, new constituencies created on the basis of the census

results, and, finally, new legislation passed to establish electoral procedures for both the regional and local elections. The passage of the Electoral Act, the Regional Councils Act and the Local Authorities Act in August 1992 paved the way for an Electoral Commission to begin its work in September.

Led by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, head of the Political Science Department at the University of Namibia, the Electoral Commission established a registration period from September 21 to October 26 (later extended by two days). The nomination deadline for candidates was set for November 2, and the elections were scheduled to take place from November 30 through December 3, 1992.

This timetable allowed for little more than a month to register an estimated 600,000 voters and less than a month to carry out an election campaign for 13 Regional Councils and 47 municipal governments during two separate elections held on the same days. Given Namibia's low population density, the vastness of its territory (larger than Germany and France combined) and the limited capacity of its existing communications and transport networks, this accelerated calendar was an admittedly ambitious, if not heroic, undertaking.

But the schedule took into account an essential reality: Namibia and its government institutions virtually shut down for the summer holiday from December 15 to January 15. If the elections were to be held in 1992, they would have to be completed by December 4 to allow sufficient time for the ballots to be counted and verified before the annual close of business. Having already allowed two years to slip by since independence in March 1990, the Namibian government was under considerable pressure to complete the regional and local elections before the end of 1992.

The Official U.S. View

In a joint U.S. State Department/Agency for International Development/U.S.Information Service message on September 29, the American Embassy in Windhoek reported to the State Department that "in a very real sense, these elections will be a test of post-independence Namibia's commitment to democratic practices and values. At this writing, we are convinced that they will be free, fair and transparent. Even so, the Namibian government lacks any previous experience in conducting elections and faces considerable logistical and organizational difficulties. These are compounded by the lack of an institutionalized democratic culture in Namibia and short lead times for civic education, registration, selection of candidates and the electoral campaign."

The same telegram commented on the possibility of a low voter turnout and its effect on Namibia's democratic process. "Reports from every region indicate that Namibians are unaware of, misinformed about, or simply do not understand the meaning and purpose of the current registration exercise and the forthcoming local and regional authority elections. If the level of

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popular participation remains as it is, these critical elections will fall below expectations, dealing a severe blow to Namibia's budding democracy and the effort to decentralize national decision-making. (A very low turnout could also bring into question the legitimacy of the National Council, which is the central element of "check and balance" in the legislative process.)"

"Clearly, what is needed is a more rigorous program of civic education to make certain that all Namibians are aware of the critical importance of these elections," reported the U.S. Embassy in Windhoek. "Radio is by far the best medium for achieving this. While the Namibian government's political will to see these elections succeed is certainly manifest, the ability to do so on the first attempt without additional assistance may not be there."

III. THE NDI-NBC VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

NDI's Functional Expertise

The centerpiece of NDI's program initiatives in Africa has been civic education as it relates to elections. Activities have ranged from training nonpartisan election monitors to designing mass voter education programs in partnership with NGOs to encouraging election administrators to conduct aggressive public education campaigns. These initiatives have been credited with enhancing confidence and participation in the electoral process.

In addition, NDI has conducted two major studies in southern Africa on public attitudes toward elections: one in Botswana, a country with a tradition of conducting five elections in 28 years of independence and one in South Africa where democratic elections have yet to become a reality. The two studies used public opinion survey techniques and reached strikingly similar findings regarding public apathy toward participating in elections and cynicism toward politicians. Both studies strongly suggested the substantial need to motivate people to vote and to educate them about the registration and voting processes.

NDI's Program in Namibia

NDI has been active in Namibia since 1988 following the signing of the Tripartite Accords, which heightened the prospect for holding elections in accordance with the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435. Ambassador Donald McHenry and UN Special Representative Martii Ahtisaari encouraged NDI's involvement because of the Institute's election expertise and reputation for impartiality in election monitoring. Now in its fifth year of in-country program activity, NDI has conducted projects that have addressed voter education, monitored the broadcast media's coverage of elections and critiqued the electoral process; has held seminars on constitutional issues specifically emphasizing the role of the media; and has trained members of parliament. The Institute is currently engaged in an extensive program of legislative staff training and educational workshops for members of Namibia's Parliament, including the recently-elected members of the National Council.

NBC as a Channel to the Namibian Voter

At independence in March 1990, Namibia inherited from South Africa an extensive and technically up-to-date national broadcasting network. Its nine language services in radio use 31 FM, medium-wave and short-wave transmitters to reach an audience estimated (by NBC) at more that 90 percent of Namibia's 1.4 million population. Since independence, NBC has designed and installed a computerized radio and television newsroom that is reputedly the most advanced on the African continent.

NBC television currently broadcasts only in English and therefore reaches a much smaller, but steadily growing audience, varying from 5 up to possibly 25 percent of the population. This programming is restricted to Windhoek, Swakopmund and the northern regions of Namibia. However, because of the excellent quality of the color programming and NBC's access to top U.S., British and French satellite news coverage, television is watched regularly by Namibia's most influential audiences, particularly those engaged in business and government.

In addition to this excellent technical plant, NBC has invested heavily in human resources since independence. The staff inherited from South Africa was mostly white, apart from the African language services, and had to be merged with broadcast personnel returning from the exiled Voice of Namibia liberation radio stations. This pooling of resources, accompanied by the Namibian government's strong affirmative action program, has created continuing staff problems at NBC. To its credit, NBC's management has taken huge strides toward resolving these difficulties by increasing emphasis on personnel training, innovative programming techniques to make NBC more immediately relevant to its Namibian audiences, and greater community involvement through audience participation programs, including a hugely successful live "National Chat Show," which encourages Namibians to call in their views on controversial subjects.

Guidelines for NDI-NBC Cooperation

In entering into a cooperative agreement to conduct a voter education project with NBC for the 1992 regional and local elections, NDI was guided by four specific objectives:

1. To inform voters about their rights and responsibilities and educate them about the complicated electoral process;

2. To motivate the public to participate and exercise their democratic rights embodied in this process;

3. To educate the Namibian public about the importance of the electoral process;

4. To inform voters on the choice of options as detailed in the policy statements of the parties, candidates and organizations competing in the elections.

This program would be undertaken in a fair and objective manner without bias toward any party or individual.

NDI proposed assisting NBC in the production of broadcast materials that would inform the public about the offices under contention, the registration and voting procedures, the places and dates for registration and voting and where to obtain information about the election process, the candidates and the political parties.

Also proposed by NDI were interactive programs, using a live call-in format and taped interviews with Namibians around the country speaking about the importance of the elections to them and their communities, problems they were experiencing in fully participating in the process and issues they would like to see the candidates address. These interviews would be taped on recorders purchased by NBC with NDI funds, since NBC did not possess the appropriate equipment to do the job.

The NDI-NBC program anticipated broadcast debates between candidates and party leaders, as well as town hall meetings where local audiences could ask candidates questions directly, or phone them in from outlying regions.

NDI and NBC would also seek to record and broadcast endorsements from non-political, community leaders about the importance of registering and voting in the elections.

Finally, newspaper advertisements would be used to promote NBC listenership while simultaneously encouraging people to vote. NBC, using funds provided by NDI, would place the advertisements in all of Namibia's leading newspapers representing the spectrum of political opinion. [See Appendix I.]

To oversee the joint project locally, NDI would retain the part-time services of Sean Kelly, a retired Voice of America correspondent residing temporarily in Namibia. Kelly has more than 30 years of broadcasting experience, much of it in Africa. He would advise NBC on content and format, take primary responsibility for program direction and evaluate the project at its conclusion.

How the Project Worked

Administrative delays postponed commencement of the project until October 20 -- less than a week before voter registration was due to end. NBC had nonetheless gone ahead on its own and sent teams out to begin recording interviews with the equipment at hand. However, the belated starting date posed real limitations on NDI's ability to influence the voter registration process.

Kelly met with Cyril Lowe, chairman of the NBC Election Task Group on October 20 and remained in contact with him on a daily basis throughout the duration of the project. Lowe had already established an Elections Discussion Forum, which included representatives from the six political parties and three community associations registered to take part in the elections.

The Discussion Forum held its first meeting at NBC on October 2 and met at least once a week thereafter through December 8. Kelly began attending these meetings regularly, as well as the NBC weekly election programming meetings.

On October 26, Kelly was able to report that NBC expected the 21 Marantz PMD 222 broadcast-quality tape recorders funded by NDI to arrive in Windhoek by the end of the week. In the meantime, radio and television teams were being sent to the Caprivi and Okavango regions in the far northern part of Namibia to record interviews and panel discussions with political and traditional leaders on the importance of registering and voting. The interviews were to be broadcast by NBC when the teams returned to Windhoek. A similar trip to Oshakati in the Ovambo-speaking area of the north was planned for the following week.

This pattern of dispatching combined radio-television teams to outlying areas and broadcasting their interviews and panel discussions soon thereafter seemed to Kelly to be a far more effective technique for arousing voter interest than the generic public service announcements NBC had been using. He therefore recommended that NDI fund NBC to charter local aircraft so that the movement back and forth from Windhoek to the field could be accelerated, and the broadcast materials aired more quickly.

Unfortunately, the use of NDI funds for NBC television coverage, as opposed to radio broadcasting, was considered to fall outside the mandate of NDI's original proposal and was therefore not permitted.

The comments by NBC on this issue as stated in their final report on the voter education project are worth noting here:

> As for the funds made available by NDI for the NBC's coverage of the process a serious constraint was the fact that television was excluded from the agreement. The NBC, and for that matter probably most of the public broadcasting institutions in the developing world, do not have the facilities and resources enabling them to at all times maintain a clear distinction and separation between radio and television. In most cases television is just as important as radio in informing the average Namibian. Television reaches the leadership and opinion makers who in turn pass on information to their supporters from where it filters through to the grassroots level. Most projects tackled by NBC are aimed at coverage for both radio and television at the same time. Leeway in this regard would have enabled the NBC to utilize funds made available more effectively. [See Appendix II.]

Another issue that surfaced repeatedly during NDI Program Assistant Nicholas Van Slyck's November 7-18 visit concerned the tape recorders purchased by NDI for NBC's use during the campaign. It was understood that these would be available well in advance of the actual campaign. An investigation initiated by Kelly and Van Slyck revealed a serious error in NBC's ordering process: there had been no follow-up in October to the original telefax message ordering the equipment -- which apparently had gone astray. As a consequence, there seemed little likelihood on November 13 that the original equipment would arrive in time to be used at all during the project. By checking various retail outlets in Johannesburg, NBC's engineering staff was able to locate similar, but more expensive Marantz recorders. At Kelly's

recommendation, Van Slyck approved the purchase of 15 of these units in order to furnish NBC the equipment it desperately needed while at the same time remaining within the NDI budget constraints.

The new recorders arrived November 19, were thoroughly checked out with the NDI-funded Electrovoice 635A microphones in Kelly's presence, and sent to outlying areas in time to be used in the final days of the campaign. They proved very successful, and the sound quality of the interviews broadcast on NBC improved substantially.

On November 23, Kelly reported to NDI Washington that NBC intended to use the new equipment in a series of broadcasts aimed at stimulating voter turnout, by reporting directly from polling stations in the language of the area. Because of the vast distances and the short period of time involved, NBC believed that it was imperative to use charter aircraft to fly the radio reporters from one region to another. Kelly was asked to obtain NDI approval to reprogram travel funds for this purpose. The money was available in the NDI budget for the project, but needed to be reprogrammed from 4 x 4 vehicle rental to aircraft charter.

Approval was eventually obtained to charter three flights during the voting period. Kelly flew on two of them, accompanying NBC National (English), Otjiherero and Damara/Nama radio reporters to polling stations in Oshakati, Ongwadiva, Opuqo, Khorixas, Swakopmund and Walvis Bay. In most cases, the interviews were broadcast the same day on NBC's National, Otjiherero and Damara/Nama services. The NDI-provided equipment thus received a rigorous work out in time to make a considerable difference during the electoral process. In Kelly's view, this intense usage tended to help compensate for the recorders' late arrival; NBC's Election Task Group agreed.

Election Programming

The National and Language Services of NBC Radio served as the principal channels to convey routine information about the elections to the public. NBC produced a variety of programs aimed at making people aware of the purpose of the elections and the necessity to participate in them. The following program formats were utilized by NBC in an effort to reach its listeners:

--- Panel discussions were conducted where political leaders and election administration officials were asked questions phoned in by listeners.

--- Quiz programs were devised to test the general knowledge of the public on the purpose of the elections.

--- Several of the language services held concerts with the election as the central theme.

--- The NBC introduced a series of weekly programs that reflected the attitudes of the people and the problems surrounding the election process from remote regions.

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--- During the period of registration from September 21 to October 28, 1992, daily schedules of the mobile registration teams were broadcasted in all the vernaculars.

--- Information on polling stations, both mobile and fixed, was made available for the duration of the voting process from November 30 to December 3, 1992.

--- The results of the elections were transmitted by the NBC National Service as they became available from 11 pm on December 3 until 9 pm the following night. The language services concentrated on the constituencies covered by their respective services.

--- NBC commissioned a radio play entitled "We Are Going to the Polls." [See Appendix III.] The original English script was translated, produced and broadcast repeatedly in eight languages. NBC's German Service felt the setting (an African village complete with chickens, roosters, horses and a wise old man) was not appropriate for its listeners. Kelly obtained a cassette of the play's Otijiherero version and had it monitored by several randomly selected Hereros who all agreed it was a fascinating program.

--- NDI also sponsored Namibia's first-ever "Town Meeting of the Air" with all the political parties in Namibia represented on a single panel and a studio audience asking questions. It proved a major success in both radio and television where it was aired during prime time.

--- Advertisements ran in all of the major the newspapers that informed the readers of the date, time and frequency of the NBC radio programs.

--- A final panel discussion on the eve of the elections featured representatives of all the political parties and associations participating in the elections. This discussion provided the parties and groups with an opportunity to inform the public of their policies.

As noted above, NDI's provision of new microphones and tape recorders made it possible for NBC to expand its programming to include distant areas of Namibia. The use of charter aircraft assured that the interviews obtained with this equipment were broadcast in time to have impact on the voting process.

The Role of the Political Parties

As noted earlier, NDI and NBC worked closely with representatives of the political parties and community groups participating in the elections. But from the very beginning, it was clear that the parties were not prepared for the elections in 1992 and most of them, including the ruling South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), sought a postponement. When this proved impossible, they belatedly started devising campaign strategies and began the process of selecting candidates. Only SWAPO fielded candidates in all constituencies. The opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) matched SWAPO in presenting candidates in most constituencies, but declined to compete in some regions where it knew it would not fare well.

Nonetheless, when Nicholas Van Slyck and Sean Kelly visited the heavily pro-SWAPO Oshana Region (formerly Ovamboland) on November 10 to 11, the disorder at the DTA campaign headquarters was apparent. One candidate for the Oshakati regional elections, DTA's national publicity secretary, was unable to explain his party's campaign strategy, apart from simply attacking SWAPO on its home ground. He eventually received 104 votes to his SWAPO opponent's 8,242.

Other DTA candidates in the north fared poorly as well, but the surprises came in the southern and eastern area of Namibia where DTA had succeeded in 1989. The main opposition party was only able to win two out of Namibia's 13 regions while SWAPO expanded its stronghold in the north and made serious inroads into constituencies previously thought safe for the DTA.

Throughout the registration and campaign period, NBC found fruitful cooperation with the political parties difficult. The weekly Discussion Forum provided an opportunity for the parties to work closely with NBC, but they rarely (according to NBC) took real advantage of it. In its final report, the NBC Election Task Group observed that:

> A major drawback was the fact the political parties were not always that well informed about the issues at stake...the NBC should have been able to draw on the expertise and knowledge of political leaders to convey important information to listeners. However, the political parties themselves did not fully understand the process and procedures to be followed and thus were not always able to serve as reliable sources of information. Furthermore, the political parties failed to mobilize their supporters. The campaign only started in all earnest about four weeks before the elections. The parties were ill prepared and were of little help to the NBC in preparing the electorate for the elections.

IV. CONCLUSION

The high voter turnout throughout Namibia speaks for itself. Some of it is no doubt attributable to the NDI/NBC Voter Education Project. As the U.S. Embassy in Windhoek reported to the State Department on December 1: "Although there were some kinks in getting started, the first day of the first elections organized by Namibians themselves went smoothly. The AREAF/NDI-sponsored voter education campaign with NBC has paid off. In spite of the predictions of mass apathy, there was no shortage of voters anywhere."

In its final report on the project, NBC said:

> In conclusion, the NBC would like to thank NDI not only for its financial support but also assistance rendered by its representatives monitoring the process in Namibia. Without this support, the NBC would certainly have been at a disadvantage and would not have achieved what we did in the end. Throughout this project NDI contributed towards the furthering of democracy in Namibia. The funding also enabled the NBC to gain valuable experience that can be put to good use in similar programs in the future.

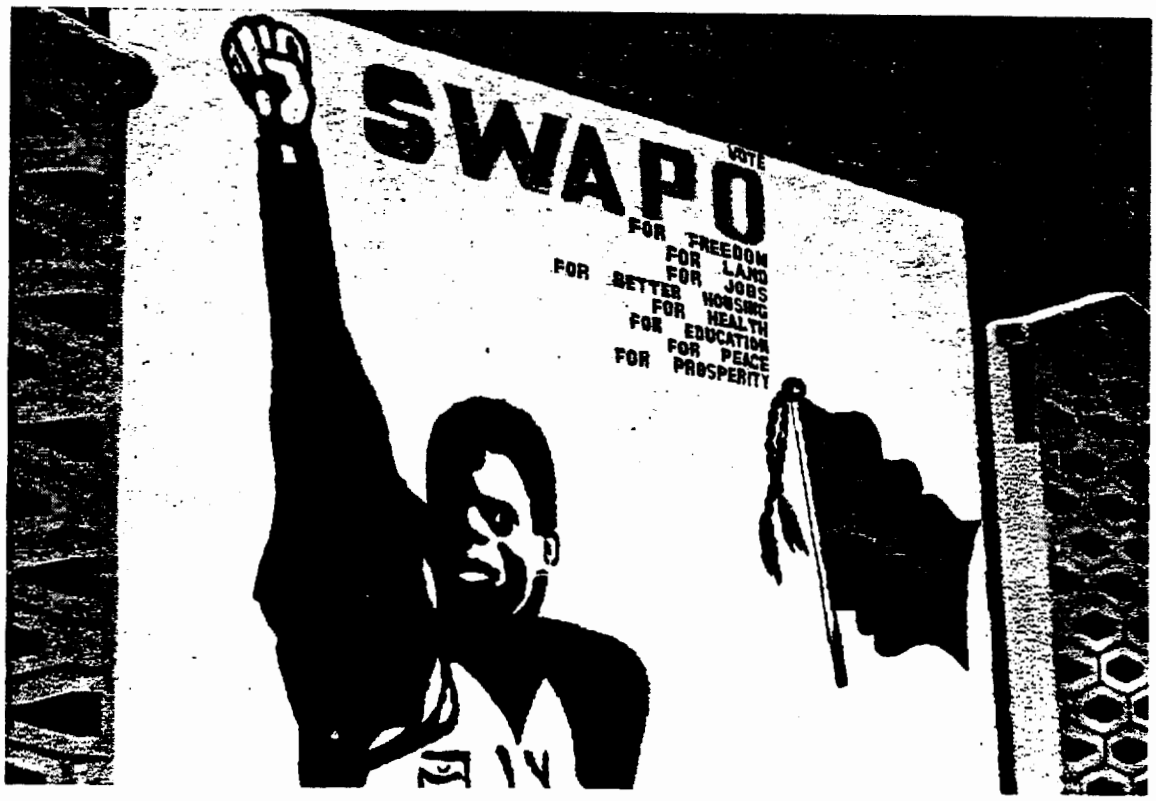
November 30, 1992 - Long voting lines in Oshakati.

Special lines were established for the very young and very old.

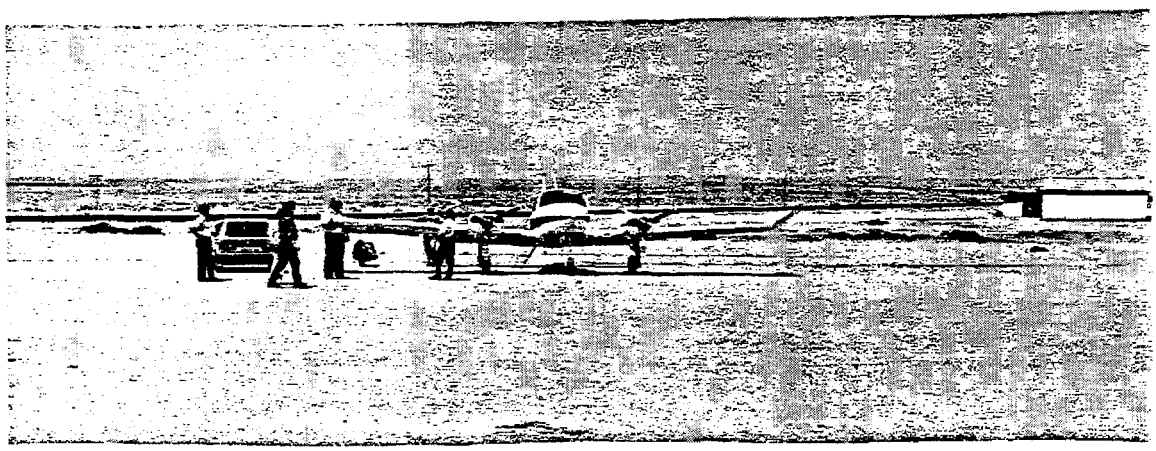
NBC radio reporters in action with the new microphones and recorders provided by the NDI-NBC Voter Education Project.

Interviews were recorded in the nine languages broadcast by NBC and often put on the air the same day.

Not a lampost nor an empty wall was left untouched by Namibia's 1992 Regional and Local Elections



The NBC-NDI flying workhorse between polling stations and loading up for the electoral process.



Swakopmund International Airport with minimal passenger amenities.

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Bill Bradley
Richard F. Celeste
Mario M. Cuomo
Patricia M. Derian
Christopher J. Dodd
Michael S. Dukakis
March Fong Eu
Martin Frost
Richard A. Gephardt
John T. Joyce
Mike J. Mansfield
Donald F. McHenry
Daniel Patrick Moynihan
Edmund S. Muskie
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Bill Richardson
Charles S. Robb
Stephen J. Solarz
Esteban E. Torres
Cyrus R. Vance
Anne Wexler

Chairman Emeritus
Charles T. Manatt

Executive Vice President
Kenneth D. Wollack

Vice President
Jean B. Dunn

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was established in 1983. By working with political parties and other institutions, NDI seeks to promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions in new and emerging democracies. The Institute is chaired by former U.S. Vice President Walter F. Mondale and is headquartered in Washington, DC.

NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 50 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

Political Party Training: NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws expert trainers from around the world to forums where members of fledgling parties learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

Election Processes: NDI provides technical assistance for political parties and nonpartisan association to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 20 international observer delegations.

Legislative Training: In Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa, NDI has organized legislative seminars focusing on legislative procedures, staffing, research information, constituent services and committee structures.

Local Government: Technical assistance on models of city management has been provided to national legislatures and municipal governments.

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

Civic Education: NDI supports and advises nonpartisan groups and political parties engaged in civic and voter education programs.

APPENDICES

To vote is your right

Switch-on to
NBC Radio
and find out more

* **Rukavango Service**
* **20:00**
* **Saturday 21 November**

Informing the Nation

Who will you be voting for?

Switch-on to NBC Radio's **Election File** and find out

* **National Service**
* **07:30**
* **Thursday 19 November**

Informing the Nation

Newspaper Advertisement in Afrikaans

Skakel-in vir die verkiesings

- Nuus
- Inligting
- Opvoeding van kiesers

..met op
NBC Radio/TV

nbc

Lig die inwoners in

Newspaper Advertisement in Ostiwambo

Pwilikina

komahoololo

- Eenghundana Nomauyelele
- Okuhonga ovahoololi

..mo **NBC Radio**
no mo **TV**

nbc

Okushiivifila Oshiwana

Newspaper Advertisement in Kwangali

Paturura

komahoroworo

- Mbudi
- Mapukururo
- Erongo lyovahorowoli

..ko Radio **NBC**
no Tv kwelike

nbc

Kupukurura Muhoko

Newspaper Advertisement in Silozi

Kwalula ku ba liketisa

- Makande
- Lizibiso
- Tuto ya baketi

..Zeo Kaufela u kona ku li teleza fa moya mwa Wayalesi ya ba **NBC** hamoho cwalo ni ya Maswaniso yona TV

nbc

Zibiso ya Sicaba

Newspaper Advertisement in Otijiherero

Puratena

komatoororero

- Ombuze
- Ondjivisiro
- Omahongero uovatoorore

..ko Radio no TV jo **NBC** aijerike

nbc

Ondjivise jotjiuana

Newspaper Advertisement in Damara/Nama

//Hûidi di saogub !na

//khâmi ≠ga re

- ≠hoan
- ≠an≠an-xun
- //hûi-aon di //kha//khas

..NBC's di
≠hôa≠gares/TV !na-u igui

nbc

Ge //aesa ra ≠an≠an

APPENDIX II

NAMIBIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION

FINAL REPORT : NBC VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME

15 OCTOBER 1992 - 15 DECEMBER 1992

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE : GRANT TO NBC FOR VOTER EDUCATION PROGRAMME : FINAL PROGRAMME REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation's coverage of Namibia's first elections for regional councils and local authorities was aimed at creating awareness among the Namibian electorate of the importance of the elections and to motivate the public at large to participate and in so doing exercise their democratic rights. With its coverage the NBC endeavoured to further the principles of democracy enshrined in Namibia's constitution and to meet its obligations in terms of the Broadcasting Act to provide the Namibian nation with relevant information.

This the NBC undertook to do in a fair and objective manner. In order to ensure objectivity a consultative forum was established involving all political parties and groups participating in the elections. The NBC consulted with these groups continuously throughout its coverage of the elections and also accommodated agreements reached with these groups. Participating organisations were supplied with a copy of the NBC's policy guidelines for the coverage of the elections outlining the modus operandi and special projects to be undertaken.(See Addendum A)

The first meeting of the Discussion Forum was held on 2 October 1992 and since then regularly every week throughout the whole process. Political parties and groups were kept informed of all projects and activities undertaken by the NBC with an opportunity to raise objections, propose alternatives or present the NBC with recommendations. The six political parties and 3 community associations that registered for the elections were all represented on the discussion forum.

2. DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN:

2.1. News and Current Affairs:

To ensure proper coverage of the elections an Elections Desk was established with the assignment to cover all news events related to the elections, to coordinate the gathering of information and to monitor all material broadcast and televised by the NBC. This Desk was the key to the whole operation and also facilitated coverage by the NBC'c Radio Programme Services. The terms of reference of the Desk was to focus in reports on the informative aspects of the elections by identifying needs for information and supplying the relevant information to the Services concerned.

The Desk also covered the political rallies of the individual political parties and non-political organisations.

Most of the informative items broadcast by the NBC eminated from this Desk and audio contributions with a total duration of 554 minutes, focussing on the elections, were broadcast in the 66 days the Desk was in operation. Hard news reports on the elections accounted for a total of 438 minutes.

The audio contributions were broadcast in the two Radio News current affairs programmes, Deadline and Update Namibia. Most of the contributions, as well as the hard news items, were repeated in the nine Language Services being Damara/Nama, Otjiherero, Oshiwambo, Rukavango, Tswana, Lozi, Afrikaans, German and National Radio broadcasting in English.

These contributions reflected important announcements by the Elections Directorate, explanatory items on procedures and appeals by community leaders for the public to actively participate. These contributions and reports included the following:

- ---- Dates of registration of voters, registration of political parties, nomination of candidates, dates of the elections and details of the announcement of the results.
- ---- Procedures to be followed when registering as a voter
- ---- The Code of Conduct for political activities during the elections.
- ---- Problems experienced with the registration of voters, as well as voting procedures and how to overcome these problems.
- ---- Interviews with political and traditional leaders explaining the significance of the elections and urging the electorate to participate.
- ---- A radio talk in all languages on how to vote.(Copy attached as Addendum B)

2.2. **Programme Services:**

The Language and National Services of the NBC served as the main channels to convey routine information to the public. At the same time the Services also conducted panel discussions highlighting the elections and making people aware of the necessity to participate.

The following programme formats were utilised to reach listeners of all the services:

- ---- Panel discussions with political leaders and officials of the Elections Directorate with listeners phoning in and putting questions to the panelists.
- ---- Quiz programmes testing the general awareness of the public and at the same time conveying important information about the elections.
- ---- Several services conducted variety concerts with the elections as the central theme.
- ---- National Radio presented a series of weekly programmes reflecting attitudes and problems related to the elections from remote regions.
- ---- A Radio Play - We are going to the polls - was presented by all the Language Services with the exception of the German Service.(Addendum C)

---- During the period of registration from 21 September 1992 until 27 October 1992 information on the programme of registrations teams and venues to be visited was supplied in all the vernaculars on a daily basis.

---- Information on polling stations, both mobile and fixed, was made available for the duration of the voting process from 30 November 1992 until 3 December 1992.

---- The results of the elections were broadcast by National Radio as it became available from 23:00 on 3 December until 21:00 on 4 December 1992 with the Language Services focussing on the constituencies covered by their respective Services.

---- All the radio programme services conducted ''vox pops'' programmes involving the public to assess attitudes and to identify vague areas which were followed up with interviews and programmes addressing these issues.

---- A final panel discussion on the eve of the elections featuring representatives of all the political parties and associations participating in the elections.This discussion provided the parties and groups with an opportunity to inform the public of their policies at the hand of questions asked by an audience of supporters of all the different groups.

(Copies of the Minutes of meetings of the NBC's Election Task Group as well as the reports submitted by the various Language Services and News Department are attached as Addendum D - I. These minutes and reports reflect details of programmes produced and presented as well as audio and news items produced and broadcast by News and Current Affairs.)

2.3. **Public Service Programmes:**

As a public service and in an effort to provide political parties with the opportunity to reach supporters with vital information on their manifestos, the NBC made available free time to political parties and groups participating in the elections. The allocation was done proportionally to the number of candidates nominated for the elections. The parties and groups had full jurisdiction over the content of these slots without any censorship by the NBC except for blatant transgressions of the NBC's internal Code of Conduct and legal requirements regarding libel.

Apart from the free time, political parties and groups could also make use of weekly slots on all the Language Services to inform the public of meetings or events.

2.4. **Advertising Services:**

In order to inform listeners about election-related programmes to be broadcast by the NBC a pro-active campaign of advertisements was launched via the local printed media. Advertisements in the Namibian vernaculars were published in the local dailies and weekly newspapers such as the Advertiser,

Namibian, Republikein, Tempo, New Era and Allgemeine Zeitung.

(Copies of some of these advertisements are included as Addendum J)

3. ASSESSMENT OF PROJECT:

The only way by which the NBC can assess the success of the project is to determine whether the objectives of maximum participation was achieved. From the outset the Corporation saw its task as one of informing listeners about the process in order to ensure participation of each and every eligible voter. To achieve this we first had to motivate the public to register and then to convince them to exercise their right to vote. With limited resources and a largely centralised infrastructure it was just not possible to go to the extent of introducing individual candidates and what they stood for to the electorate. This we regarded to be the responsibility of political parties.

The final registration figure of 80 comma four per cent of the estimated population aged 18 years and older far exceeded expectations of the Elections Directorate. By any standard the final polling percentage of on average 82,9 per cent for the regional elections and 81,7 per cent for the local elections were very high.

With the NBC being the only medium able to reach most of the Namibian population living in remote areas without access to printed media or other sources of information, the success of the registration campaign and the voting process can largely be attributed to the efforts of the NBC to inform and motivate people to register and vote.

Probably the main factor contributing to the success of the Corporation's campaign was the direct involvement of the public in programmes. The programme formats used to involve listeners to participate in programmes and to air their views freely availed the NBC with the opportunity to use the most reliable sources of information being the people themselves. In the case of problems being identified the swiftness of the medium made it possible to address issues without delay. Close cooperation with the Elections Directorate was of vital importance and this we had at all times.

A major drawback was the fact that political parties were not always that well informed about the issues at stake. Being the leaders of the people the NBC should have been able to draw on the expertise and knowledge of political leaders to convey important information to listeners. However, the political parties themselves did not fully understand the process and procedures to be followed and thus were not always able to serve as reliable sources of information. Most of the time when they were called upon to participate in discussion programmes they saw this as an opportunity to campaign which the NBC could not afford due to pressure on the Corporation to act in an objective manner.

Time and again Government office bearers of the ruling party misused their positions to campaign for their party. In future elections this issue will have to be addressed on a very high level with the Government of the day.

The real issues at stake in regional and local elections were never addressed in political campaign by the participating audience. The elections were fought mostly on part-political lines without going into details such as the changes and renewal envisaged by the main actors in regional and local Government. This was probably due to the fact that it was the first time ever that Namibians had the opportunity to elect such councils.

Furthermore the political parties failed to mobilise their supporters. The campaign only started in all earnest about four weeks before the elections. The parties were ill prepared and were of little help to the NBC in preparing the electorate for the elections.

For the NBC it was a case of trial and error. There was no precedent to go by as this was also the first time the Corporation tackled a project like this. A major drawback was the fact that we started at a very late stage with our planning. The Task Group planning and coordinating coverage was established only two months before the elections. This was due to the fact that legislation paving the way for the elections was delayed. Financial constraints forced the NBC to make do with what little funds were available and without the funding by NDI the Corporation would not have been able to achieve the level of success it did in the end.

As for the funds made available by NDI for the NBC's coverage of the process a serious constraint was the fact that Television coverage was excluded from the agreement. The NBC and for that matter probably most of the public broadcasting institutions in the developing world do not have the facilities and resources enabling them to at all times maintain a clear distinction and separation between Radio and Television. In most cases Television is just as important as Radio in informing the average Namibian. Television reaches the leadership and opinion makers who in turn pass on information to their supporters from where it filters through to the grass root level. Most projects tackled by the NBC are aimed at coverage for both Radio and Television at the same time. Leeway in this regard would have enabled the NBC to utilise funds made available more effectively.

What the NBC did not succeed in doing is to present listeners with an overview of the alternatives as projected by the political parties.

5. **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

Recommendations the NBC can offer on the basis of the experienced gained with this exercise will probably be applicable mainly to

broadcasting institutions in the Third World.

A prerequisite for success with a project of this nature is full commitment from the Management cadres of the institution tackling such a programme. A multi-disciplined approach should be followed involving all departments. It is therefore important that a project of this nature start off with a workshop for top-management who should clearly define the objectives.
It follows that planning and preparation should start at least 6 months prior to elections.

In order to promote democracy which entails propagating a variety of views and alternatives the institution tackling such a project should see its task as twofold. Education programmes should be aimed at the general public, but at the same time and just as important is a programme aimed at educating the main actors in the process being the participating political parties. In our case political parties waited until the last minute before they started organising party structures and selecting candidates. To a large extent a public broadcasting institution can assist by aiming their programmes at informing political leaders of the requirements and demands as well as timely preparation for political campaigns.

Political parties should be guided as to the manner in which the broadcaster can be of assistance to them to further their aims but at the same time serve the nation as a whole. In our case we relied on the political parties to work out a plan of action with the means made available to them by the NBC. However, the broadcaster should assume a much more assertive role. In broadcasting they are the experts and therefore are in a position to guide and advise.

Programmes should be aimed at highlighting issues at stake. The NBC could have steered the process towards addressing the real issues at stake by involving political leaders well in advance in panel discussions focusing on their policies on issues pertaining to regional and local government. The broadcaster should take the lead and be pro-active rather than wait for the political parties to identify issues. What happened in our case is that the real issues were never addressed. Candidates fought their campaigns on party-political lines. If going by the content of political discussion during our campaign it could just as well have been a general election for parliament rather that regional and local structures. Supporters did not know what candidates stood for on regional and local government level and voted only along tradition lines of support and choice.

For a public broadcaster it is absolutely vital to stay neutral and not to be seen as partisan or supportive of only one line of thought. Although difficult to achieve it is worth the effort to maintain objectivity and to be fair. Consultation with political parties should be formalised and should go hand in hand with signed minutes of agreement. This pre-emts possible disagreement and provided the basis for sound cooperation. In our case time

and again representatives of political parties agreed to certain options only at a later stage to claim that they never informed about decisions affecting their campaigns.

6. **CONCLUSION:**

In conclusion the NBC would like to thank NDI not only for its financial support but also assistance rendered by its representatives monitoring the process in Namibia. Without this support the NBC would certainly have been at a disadvantage and would not have achieved what we did in the end. Through this project NDI contributed towards the furthering of democracy in Namibia. The funding also enabled the NBC to gain valuable experience that can be put to good use in similar programmes in the future.

CHAIRMAN
NBC ELECTION TASK GROUP

APPENDIX III

WE ARE GOING TO THE POLLS

BY

MOSHê M. BAITSEWE

CHARACTERS:

1.JOHN MONARENG.....

2.BEN MONARENG.....

3.BULL.....

4.ANGELINE/ELECTION DIRECTORATE.....

5.DODO.....

6.LETTIE.....

1.JOHN : He is an elderly man of appr. 55 years who is talking with a slow and somewhat shivery voice.

2.BEN & BULL : They are two young men of appr. 35 years.

3.DODO & ANGELINE: Two young women.

4.LETTIE : She is a woman of appr. 45 years of age.

<u>SOUND EFFECTS.</u>

CICADA

HEN & CHICKEN

A CROWING COCK

FLEEING CHICKEN

A VEHICLE COMING TO A HALT

A MATCH BEING PULLED

A GALLOPING HORSE

A NUMBER SHUFFLING FEET

BIRDS SINGING

A BUSTLE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AT POLLING STATION.

SIGGI UP AND FADE TO THE BACKGROUND...

... INTRODUCTION DONE BY PRESENTER...

...SIGGI UP AND FADE OUT AGAIN.

.....

FX : A CICADA IS SINGING AND A HEN AND HER CHICKENS ROAM ABOUT LAZILY WAITING TO BE FED.

1. JOHN : (IMPATIENT) Hey...! You Poppie!! C'mon get away from me. Get away from here. Away I say!!! (MEDITATIVE) I know you're hungry, so am I. Now where do you expect me to get you chicken-feed from? I don't even have food myself.

FX : A COCK CROWS NEARBY.

2.JOHN : (ANNOYED) Oh no! Not you also. Get away from here! Get...! Get away!!

FX : CHICKEN SCRAMBLE AWAY AS HE CHASES AFTER THEM.

3.JOHN : My goodness... (A DEEP SIGH) Dare these chicken...!

FX : A VEHICLE STOPS NEARBY.

4.JOHN : (SURPRISED) And this... (MUMBLES TO HIMSELVES) I won't like to hear another word about registrations. They're just looking for another way to waste our time.

5.E/DIR. : (AS SHE ALIGHTS) What's the matter with the chickens old man?

6.JOHN : (ABRUPT) Don't you old man me! I don't want to hear another word about registrations and elections. And you can forget... Your smooth talking won't help you much.

1.E/ DIR. : (APPROACHES) It's because you don't understand. Shall we have a seat so that I...

2.JOHN : (CURTLY) No! You won't. Go away. Just get into your car and go away. I won't have you wasting some more of my time. Just get away!

3.E/ DIR. : (CALM) Not before I have explained to you why it was neccessary to register yourselves and why it is important to vote in the forthcoming elections.

4.JOHN : (ASKANCE) Oh? And why was that?

5.E/DIR. : Shall we sit?

6.JOHN : (LIGHTING UP A PIPE/ STERN) We shall not sit. I told you that your sweet talk won't help you much. Why don't go?

7.E/ DIR. : You don't get rid of me that easily. I have a responsibility here. The elestions you've registed yourself for are of prime importance if we were to have a well nurtured democracy.

8.JOHN : (MEDITATIVE) Democracy...?

9.E/DIR. : The idea is to bring government to the people. It's thus the responsibility of the people to choose their own representatives to go and stand for them in parliament.

10.JOHN : (GIGGLES) Please... don't kiddy me. Don't make me laugh. (LAUGHS) It won't work! No! It simply won't work. Where on earth is the money going to come from. My dear, my advice to you is for you to return this car to where you got it from and

; go and look for something else to do.

1.E/DIR. : Why?

2.JOHN : Who is going to pay for such people.

3.E/DIR. : Let us look at it from this angle.

CROSS FADE...

FX : A GENTLE GALLOP.

4.BEN : (THINKING) I wonder who is at my father's house. That car has been standing there for too long now. I must go and check-out what's taking place there.

CROSS FADE TO PREVIOUS SCENE.

FX : A CICADA SINGING AND CHICKENS IN THE BACKGROUND.

5.JOHN : Whatever angle you're looking at it from, you would still have to pay him. And for that purpose you do need money.

6.E/DIR. : Oh yes! That's for sure. But what if we could have development and industry decentralised to your region and the people of your region could generate wealth, upgrade their standard of living and by means of taxes make it possible for the government to pay your delegate's salary.

7.JOHN : (JEERINGLY) That's fantasy! Day-dreaming. Without water and electricity, Aminius is as good as dead. Here is no future for our children.

1.E/DIR. : Aha! You see. Now you have it. You have already identified your needs. But whom are going to send to the government to go and speak on your behalf?

2.JOHN : Could that be done?

3.E/DIR. : Why not?

CROSS FADE...

FX : A GALLOPING HORSE AND SOMEONE WHISTLING. HORSE GRADUALLY SLOWS DOWN AND HALTS.

4.BEN : What's the matter Bull? I'm in a hurry.

5.BULL : Okay Ben, I won't keep you long. (WHISPER) What's the election officials doing at your parent's place? They've been there for quite some time now.

6.BEN : That's why I'm rushing there. I must go and chase them away.

7.BULL : Okay. You better hurry up if that's the case.

FX : HORSE STARTS OFF AGAIN.

8.BEN : See you later Bull.

9.BULL : (CALLING OUT AFTER BEN LEAVING) Okay Ben!

CROSS FADE TO PREVIOUS SCENE AGAIN.

10.JOHN : I'm serious!

11.E/DIR. : So am I. All we have to remember is that Rome did not come into being overnight. But yes, it could be done and it is going to be done. Think of the development that is going to come to the people. Just

mushrooming... Poultry-farming, vegetable cultivation and...

1.JOHN : (EXCITED) And thus stopping the young people from abandoning their old people and streaming to cities.

2.E/DIR. : You've got it right.

3.JOHN : Come on, let's sit down. I need to hear...

FX : A GALLOPING HORSE APPROACHES.

3.BEN : (OFF MIKE) Dad, are you allowing yourself to be persuaded.

4.JOHN : Easy now. (LIGHTS UP PIPE AGAIN) Come nearer. This lady has a lot of very important information for us.

5.BEN : (STILL OFF MIKE) I'm not going to let this lady waste my time with cheap talk.

6.JOHN : We'ne been in the dark all along, Ben.

7.BEN : (APPROACHES) In the dark...? About what?

8.E/DIR. : Besides it being your constitutional responsibility to vote in the forthcoming regional and local authorities elections Mr... (SHE HESITATES)

9.BEN : (ON MIKE) Monareng... Ben Monareng.

10.E/DIR. : PLeased to meet you. I am Angeline Mosadi. Mr. Monareng, it is also your social responsibility to make sure that your region does not miss out on future developments.

11.JOHN : Come on. Let's sit down.

12.BEN : I have better things to do than...

13.JOHN : Just for a short while... Please.

1.E/DIR. : We won't be long Mr. Monareng.

2.JOHN : (WITH PIPE BETWEEN TEETH) Mmmm... This lady says we would be choosing a representative of our own to go and speak for us at parliament. (SUCKS HIS PIPE) And you know... I just thought how good it would be to have a man who is also affected by what is affecting us, speaking for us; Presenting our complaints to the government.

3.BEN : (JEERINGLY) That'll be the day!

4.JOHN : (ANNOYED) Am I lying? Huh? Am I lying?

5.BEN : Okay dad. For whom do we vote?

6.E/DIR. : Participatric government.

7.BEN : What?!

8.E/DIR. : That's right. You vote for the best person for the job and...

9.JOHN : Isn't that an approach too business-like?

10.E/DIR. : Well... that is exactly what it's suppose to be. You don't go putting your money in the care of untrustworthy brokers.

11.BEN : Whom do we vote for?

12.E/DIR. : The right man for the job. As for the names of the participants, be it the political parties or independent candidates, those will be borne by the ballot paper. The important thing at this point in time is to make sure that each and every individual knows how and why to vote.

13.JOHN : The best way to do that would be to call everyome together. (AS HE KICKS BACK HIS CHAIR) C'mon let's go right away.

FX : FEET SHUFFLING AS THEY LEAVE.

FADE OUT... MUSIC BRIDGE.

FADE IN

FX : BIRDS CHIRPING IN THE BACKGROUND AND MUFFLED HUMAN VOICES.

1.JOHN : (CLEARING THROAT/ LOUD) People...! May Iplease have your attention. (SILENCE) Thank you. I am very very pleased to see you all here, especially on such short notice. And I won't like to keep you here a minute longer than is neccessary.

2.DODO : Get to the point. We don't have the whole day. We've got work to do.

3.E/DIR. : Please allow him some time, lady.

4.DODO : Listen who is talking!

5.BEN : Auntie Dodo please. Please give us a break.

6.DODO : Hey you, don't bark at me like that!

7.BEN : I was asking you politely.

8.BULL : (SHOUT FROM THE BACK) Why beg her? Throw her out!!

9.DODO : Never! Do I resemble dirt that is being thrown out just like that?

10.JOHN : Dodo please keep quiet and sit down. No-one is going to be thrown out.

11.DODO : Why don't you speak to Bull? He's the one who promised to throw me out.

12.LETTIE : Is this what we had been called to come and witness?

13.E/DIR. : No ma'am. There has just been some misunderstanding.

(THE DIN SUBSIDES)

1.JOHN : Thank you very much.

FX : A WHILE'S SILENCE AND A COUGH HERE AND THERE.

2.JOHN : (CLEARS THROAT AGAIN & CONTINUES) I know how you feel. Please believe me. You feel I've let you down. I can understand that. But now I can tell you this. We were in the dark about the registration and especially about the forthcoming election.

3.BULL : Don't you try to be smart. Get to the point.

4.JOHN : I'd rather call the lady to come and address you. Okay lady... Help me. Come nearer.

5.E/DIR. : Okay Mr. Monareng. Thank you. (CLEARS THROAT) People, we are going to the polls.

6.DODO : The country is already independent, why should we vote?

7.E/DIR. : I like that question. We are going to vote so as to bring the government to the people. To really allow the people to rule, to have a say in their government. Now, why did we have to register ourselves?

8.LETTIE : Don't ask us tell us. Why?!

9.BULL : That's right. Tell us.

10.E/DIR. We registered ourselves so that we could check before hand that the people who were going to vote are Namibians. So, why do have to vote?

11.DODO : Why don't you explain without asking questions? We are not kids!

1.E/DIR. : Okay okay...! Now suppose the good Lord gave you an arm. Only an arm... without the hand. Only an arm up to the wrist. Without the hand. No palm. No fingers. Nothing at all. What could you accomplish with such an arm?

2.BULL : What are you trying to pull?

3.E/DIR. : (IGNORES HIM) You will always have to be assisted by others. (PAUSE) Would you call that independence? Not being able to hold your pen! Not being able to hold your mug! Not being able to button-up your shirt, your dress or tie your shoe laces! Would you call that independence? No! That's certainly not independence. (SOFTER) Our parliament is like that arm. Our national assembly is like that arm. Our cabinet is like that arm and so is our government. Let us give that arm a palm and fingers.

FX : APPLAUSE.

Thank you. Regional and local authorities will provide government with hands and fingers to reach out to the people in all regions and villages.

FX : APPLAUSE.

I like that spirit! I like that very very much!

4.BULL : (EXCITED) We are going to the polls!

5.LETTIE & DODO : Yes! We are going to the polls.

6.BULL : How do we vote?

7.DODO : Yes. How do we vote? Please tell us more.

1.DODO : Yes. How do vote? Please tell us more.

2E/DIR. : (ELATED) Okay, let me just get to my files here. (PAPERS RUSTLE) For those who read and can get hold of the government gazette, the electoral act is set-out in detail in the August 31st copy of this year. Section 82 of act 24 is the one dealing in the manner of voting at elections.

3.DODO : What about us who never saw the inside of a classroom?

FX : LAUGHTER.

4.LETTIE : Some of us dodged school at the first break.

FX : LAUGHTER EVEN LOUDER.

5.E/DIR. : (AS LAUFGTER SUBSIDES) That's why I am here. On arrival at the polling station you'll have to identify yourself and proof that you're a registered voter.

6.BEN : Do you need to see the registration card?

7.E/DIR. : Yes! You need to proof to us that you're a registered voter. That's why. It is also neccessary for the polling officer to compare the information on your registration card to that on the voters' list. Sippose I'm the election officer at a polling station and you want to come and vote.

8.DODO : What...?!

9.E/DIR. : (TABLE & CHAIRS BEING MOVED) Come and vote.

FX : LAUGHTER.

1.E/DIR. : Come and vote. (SHUFFLING FEET) Good morning ma'am. May I have your ID. Thank you. Let me see your registration card ma'am Goodman.

2.DODO : Oh! I'm sorry, let me look for it in my purse.

3.E/DIR. : At your leisure ma'am. (PAPER RUSTLES) Thank you very much. May I have your left hand please.

4.DODO : Why do you put that liquid onto my fingers?

5.E/DIR : Ma'am, this is an identification mark. We will be able to see it on your fingers for about seven days.

6.DODO : Is that why you first put my fingers under that thing?

7.E/DIR. : Aha!

8.DODO : Does it mean I would not be able to come and vote for a second time if I had wished to cheat.

9 E/DIR. : That's right. Now you can have your ballot paper. Let's rush through it before you go to the voting compartment to draw your cross.

10.DODO : Thank you.

11.E/DIR. : I'm sorry. Before you go, let me just enter your voter's number on the counterfoil andalso stamp your ballot paper for you. Thank you very much for your cooperation ma'am.

12.DODO : Thank you.

13.E/DIR. : Happy voting and please don't forget to

; put your ballot paper in the ballot box when you leave the voting compartment.

FX : APPLAUSE.

: That's how one votes.

1.JOHN : (SHOUTING) We are going to the polls! We are going to the polls.

2.ALL JOINING : We are going to the polls!

3.LETTIE : (SHOUTING ABOVE THE NOISE) Wait!! (NOISE SUBSIDES) Whom are we voting for?

4 T/DIR. : To participate in government. We don't intend ordering you whom to vote for. The choice is yours. You draw your cross next to the name of any of the candidates, political party or organization of your choice.

5.DODO : (SHOUTING AGAIN) We are going to the polls! We are going to the polls!

6.ALL : We are going to the polls! (STAMPING FEET) We are going to the polls! We are going to the polls!

GENTLY FADE OUT... AND FADE IN.

FX : BIRDS IN THE BACKGROUND. LIGHT-HEARTED CHATS.

7.BEN : (ENTHUSIATIC) They're doing exactly like that lady told us. Look now, there's Bull. He is going to vote.

8.JOHN : Where is he? Do you see him?

9.BEN : Over there. Come and stand here. In that queue.

10.JOHN : Oh! I can see him now. He is producing his documents. The ID... The registration card...

1.JOHN : And Lettie there, only a few metres behind him, is holding her passport...

2.BEN : That's also a form of identification. Isn't it?

3.JOHN : Yes.

4.BEN : Bull's fingers are being check at under the light for the identification mark. Now the officer is entering his voter's number onto the counterfoil. There he receives his ballot paper and now he is going to the voting compartment.

5.JOHN : It's nice because they allow you enough time to make-up your mind. You decide at your leisure where you mant to draw your cross.

6.BEN : That is very important I should say. You should not afterwards come and say your cross is not where you actually intended it to be.

7.BULL : (APPROACHES) We are going to the polls.

8.BEN : Hallo Bull.

9.BULL : Hallo hallo.

10.JOHN : Hallo Bull.

11.BEN : Whom have you voted for?

12.BULL : What?! You must be kidding my friend.

13.JOHN: : Tell him that you've voted for representation of the people in government.

14.BULL : That's right. There you have it. For participative government. (LOUDER THIS TIME) We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!
We are going to the polls!

; GENTLY FADE OUT AND CROSS TO THE SIGGI...

...BACK ANNOUNCEMENT...

...SIGGI UP AND OUT.

FINIS

Comments on the Namibian Presidential and National Assembly Elections

Windhoek, Namibia
December 7 and 8, 1994

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National Democratic Institute For International Affairs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Comments on the Namibian Presidential and National Assembly Elections
December 7-8, 1994

On December 7 and 8, 1994, Namibia held Presidential and National Assembly elections, the first national elections to be administered by Namibians without major international assistance. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) maintained an office with two representatives in Namibia who were active before and throughout the election process. NDI has paid close attention to electoral developments in Namibia through these representatives' activities, which included interactions with the Directorate of Elections and political leaders, as well as direct observations and press reports. The comments presented here are based on these activities and are offered in the spirit of international cooperation and ongoing support for Namibia's democratization process.

NDI has been working in Namibia since before independence, beginning with its first election observation mission in May 1989. During the ensuing six years, the Institute has focused its efforts on parliamentary training, election-related programs and political party building. NDI's programs related to the 1994 elections included voter education, political party training and party agent training. The Institute's programs were supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development and the National Endowment for Democracy. NDI field representatives were provided access to all stages of the election process in the course of these programs. Furthermore, NDI maintained close communications with the political parties throughout the process. NDI representatives observed the voting and the counting but at no time did they attempt to make a comprehensive assessment of the elections, nor did they seek to supervise the elections or certify the integrity of the process.

Overall, the election process in Namibia appeared to operate smoothly. The Namibian government should be commended for its commitment to adhere to the elections schedule prescribed in the constitution. Priority was placed upon adequate registration, voter education and transparency. Officials emphasized secrecy of the ballot and public ownership of the elections. Measures were taken to ensure the integrity of the process, such as permitting international observers into the polling and counting stations, encouraging the use of party seals for the ballot boxes and allowing party agents to remain in the polling station before, during and after the voting process.

Efforts were made by the Electoral Commission, the Directorate of Elections and the political parties to make the process smooth and fair. Although some problems did occur, they did not appear to be widespread or intentional. The elections marked another significant step forward in Namibia's democratic process.

ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATION

Namibia's Electoral Commission is empowered by the 1992 Electoral Act with the "exclusive authority to direct, supervise and control in a fair and impartial manner any elections" under the Act. This includes, among other matters, supervision and control of voter registration, registration of political parties and the actual conduct of elections. The Electoral Commission consists of a chairperson, who must be a judge of the Supreme Court or High Court, and four other persons appointed by the president of the Republic, with the approval by resolution of the National Assembly.

The Directorate of Elections, set up under the prime minister's office, is responsible for the administrative and clerical work involved in the performance of the Commission's functions. The director of elections, the head of the Directorate, serves as secretary of the Electoral Commission and exercises administrative authority subject to the direction and control of the Commission. The prime minister's office must approve expenditures of the Directorate of Elections.

The Republic is divided into constituencies for the purposes of elections, which are subdivided into polling districts. The highest election officer in each constituency is the returning officer, who exercises functions subject to the direction and supervision of the director of elections. Each polling district contains a polling station, headed by a presiding officer and staffed by polling officers. In addition, counting officers assist in the determination of the result of the poll.

PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES

Building on lessons learned during the local and regional elections in 1992, election officials worked to strengthen the electoral process. A number of positive developments distinguished these elections from those held in 1992.

1) The voter registration process was simplified because the Directorate of Elections was able to use the registration list from 1992 as a base. The Directorate made substantial efforts to register all qualified voters and update the voter rolls. At the same time, there were problems, such as sufficiently communicating with the public about the location of mobile registration sites and numerous last-minute requests for duplicate registration cards. There also was a lack of understanding of the registration process by some officials. The Directorate promptly responded to these problems by extending the registration period for one week to accommodate those who had been unable to register and to address other issues.

2) The 1994 Electoral Amendment Act amended the 1992 Electoral Act, which prompted several significant changes. Among the changes was the introduction of a tendered ballot system, whereby a voter could cast a vote outside of the constituency

in which he or she was registered. Provision was also made, starting in 1995, for continuous registration.

3) The Directorate held weekly meetings with representatives of all political parties and the media in an effort to communicate and respond to questions. Weekly press conferences updated the media on any progress or problems the Directorate encountered.

4) Preparation of voting materials was done in an expeditious and effective manner. Ballot boxes, invisible ink, ballot papers, t-shirts for election officials and other materials were obtained and distributed to regional and local sites in advance of the elections.

5) More time was used for the selection and training of election officials than in 1992. The Directorate began the selection process in early October immediately upon completion of the registration process. All officials, including presiding and returning officers, had been chosen by the beginning of November, and the Directorate made a concerted effort to train all officials. The Directorate continued to rely on many civil servants whose services are cheaper than those of regular citizens.

6) The parties were better able to communicate with the electorate through the print and broadcast media. Coverage was given to political rallies, panel discussions between party representatives and other political events. Individual party advertisements were also run. As in 1992, weekly meetings were held between the political parties and the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation, a parastatal organization and the major radio and television station in the country. Both the NBC and the parties were more committed to using the meetings as a way to resolve issues related to elections coverage than was previously the case. The meetings were well attended and generally marked by a spirit of cooperation.

7) Three organizations launched voter education campaigns to target the rural and illiterate electorate. The Directorate, the Namibia Institute for Democracy and NDI took part in the production of radio talk shows, dramas, public service announcements and posters. The goal was to encourage the public to vote by reiterating the importance of individual participation in a democracy. There was broad agreement after the elections that voters were much better informed during these elections than in 1992, as demonstrated by the small number of spoiled ballots.

8) For the first time, Walvis Bay residents participated in Namibian general elections.

Notwithstanding these positive developments, some problems did occur during the pre-election period.

1) There appears to be a continued lack of trust between the political parties and the official electoral bodies. While the Electoral Commission is generally regarded as impartial and unbiased, uncertainty exists among a number of political actors concerning the objectivity of the Directorate of Elections.

2) The registration process encountered some obstacles, among them difficulty with the public distribution of information regarding registration sites. Complaints were heard that mobile stations occasionally did not appear on time and sometimes did not appear at all. Approximately 34,000 people applied for duplicate registration cards, a figure much higher than anticipated by the Directorate. It is important to note that these issues should be moot in upcoming elections, because the 1994 Electoral Amendment Act provides for continuous registration in the regions starting in 1995.

3) As the Directorate has noted, insufficient time was allotted to adequately train election officials. In addition, there were reports that some officials were absent from training sessions.

4) There were undocumented and unconfirmed reports of intimidation, including farmers refusing to let their workers register or receive voter education and traditional leaders refusing to allow political parties to campaign freely.

VOTING DAY ACTIVITIES

Election day procedures also were marked by a number of positive developments, including the following.

1) On election day, the balloting appeared generally open, orderly and well-administered.

2) The atmosphere in and around the polling station was peaceful, and there were few substantiated reports of intimidation or misconduct.

3) Voter turnout was 76 percent of registered voters, a figure higher than anticipated by most groups involved in the process.

4) Less than 2.5 percent of the ballots were spoiled, indicating the electorate's understanding of the voting procedures.

5) The elections appeared to be transparent, according to party agents and international observer reports. When small problems arose the party agents were often able to assist the election officials in resolving the situation.

Minor irregularities occurred at a few stations. Among them were the following.

1) There were complaints of late openings of polling stations, as well as isolated shortages of materials, defective invisible ink, ballot boxes sitting unguarded, parties campaigning closer than legally permitted to polling stations and confusion over how to use the secret stamp. Election officials were not always well-informed about the procedures, particularly about the recently introduced tendered ballot.

2) Lines outside the polling station were long on the first day of voting, partially due to the government's decision to declare December 7 a public holiday.

3) Many more tendered ballots were cast than expected. There has been speculation that the tendered ballot system was abused by voters who did not want to wait in long lines and sought a less populated station nearby, where they cast tendered ballots. The large number of tendered ballots cast caused shortages of ballot papers at certain stations and delays in counting the ballots.

4) Complaints were heard from party officials who claimed they tried to reach the Directorate by telephone or fax during the first day of voting to report problems, but were unable to get through on the Directorate's single phone line. The Directorate claims to have received only one written complaint during the polling days and a few telephonic complaints from the official opposition party, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

5) Some voters arrived at the polling station unaware of the documents needed to vote.

FORMAL COMPLAINTS

A formal complaint was lodged with the High Court of Namibia by the DTA, charging that irregularities occurred in the elections, and asking that an independent audit be conducted of votes in certain regions and 90 ballot boxes that were returned unsealed. The complaint, which centered on four polling districts in three northern regions where the number of ballots cast exceeded the number of registered voters, included affidavits alleging inconsistent practices throughout the voting and counting process. The application was dismissed by the Court in a 2-1 decision on the grounds that the Court was not empowered by the Electoral Act or the Constitution to order the relief sought in the circumstances.

There are 95 constituencies in Namibia. The four implicated in the complaint represent 3 percent of the electorate. The number of ballots cast in these four constituencies exceeded the number of registered voters by approximately 1,000 votes. The excess represents far less than 1 percent of the total votes cast (497,499). While these problems could have very serious implications, no evidence has been presented to date that suggests

they were national in scope or that they affected the outcome of the presidential or National Assembly contests.

Nonetheless, there is cause for concern that the existing system did not provide for resolution of these inconsistencies. The Court stated that based on the evidence provided, "[Q]uite clearly an irregularity occurred and an explanation is called for." In four of the eight constituencies, namely Engela, Oshikango, Ogongo and Okatjali, votes cast exceeded the number of voters registered in each constituency. The Directorate of Elections responded to this complaint by explaining that it was due to the mishandling of tendered ballots by elections officials. The Court said that while the explanation was plausible, "the very fact that returns showed that more votes were cast than there were registered voters must be regarded as constituting strong grounds for ordering an inspection of the election material received from those four constituencies." The court noted that the Electoral Commission has the power to order such an inspection in these circumstances while the court may only do so in criminal prosecutions.

The Court noted with surprise that Section 93(4) of the election law, as amended, restricts its power to order the opening of sealed election materials only in criminal prosecutions. The Court also stated that by enacting such provisions the legislature "placed a severe fetter on the Court's ability to ensure that justice is done between the parties to an election application...." It added that the remedy to the circumstances "must be sought in an appropriate amendment to the [Electoral] Act."

The Court's ruling, which has drawn criticism from some quarters in Namibia, passes the responsibility to the Electoral Commission to order an investigation of the irregularities found by the Court. It also passes responsibility to the legislature to empower the courts to provide effective remedies in similar cases in the future.

TABULATION OF RESULTS

Counting agents and observers at the counting stations indicated that the counting process was transparent. There were a few reports of loose seals on ballot boxes, unattended or unlocked boxes and an excessive number of spoilt ballots in the president's constituency. However, such reports were isolated.

The results were announced five days after the voting ended on a live simultaneous television and radio broadcast. The announcement was delayed by several days because of logistical difficulties in bringing the tendered ballots to the capital city for counting and the problem in four northern constituencies described above under "Formal Complaints." After a quick investigation of these problems, the Commission announced the results.

According to the Electoral Commission, the decision to announce the results was based on several factors. The Commission argued that: the results could not be delayed indefinitely; it would have taken approximately two months to match the 1,000 ballots in

question with the ballots' counterfoils; and provisions within the Electoral Act permit a party to dispute the election results by filing an application with the High Court. This meant that if a party disagreed with the results, it was free to lodge a judicial challenge that could lead to setting aside the results. DTA's court case, described above, sought judicial relief but was dismissed by the Court.

COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Namibia's experience with elections began with the UN-administered national elections in 1989 that led to Namibian independence. In May 1989 NDI made 11 recommendations to UNTAG for the conduct of elections and all but one was accepted. The one that was rejected -- creation of an independent electoral commission -- continues to be an important issue and is again recommended in this report. The 1989 elections were followed by Namibian-run local and regional elections in 1992. As noted above, a number of significant improvements have been made to Namibia's election system. Namibia's 1992 Electoral Act, together with the 1994 Electoral Amendment Act, compares favorably with international electoral standards. There are several areas where further clarifications and refinements could improve the process. Following are recommendations that address some of these areas. The recommendations are based on NDI's experience in Namibia and numerous other countries. They are offered in the spirit of international cooperation and support for Namibia's continued democratic development.

1) Independence of Electoral Authorities. Questions concerning the objectivity of the Directorate of Elections have been raised by political parties. The perception of the Directorate of Elections as an impartial and politically neutral body would be enhanced if it were made independent of any ministry. Serious consideration should be given to this important issue.

Namibia's Electoral Commission is an independent body as provided under the Electoral Act. The Directorate of Elections is responsible for the administrative and clerical work of the Electoral Commission (Article 11). The Directorate is administered by the Director of Elections, who exercises powers subject to the direction and control of the Electoral Commission (Article 11). The Directorate of Elections, however, is a division of a ministry (Article 11) and is placed under the prime minister's office. Budget expenditures are therefore matters for approval by the prime minister's office. In addition, the Electoral Commission must reach agreement with the ministry concerning personnel to assist in administering its activities. These provisions may create bureaucratic complications and lead to a perception that the Directorate could be subjected to pressures that might affect its ability to function impartially.

In many electoral systems, the official in charge of directing elections and the corresponding administrative body is directly under the election commission for all purposes, including budgetary matters. The election commission is responsible for presenting a budget to the appropriate body and receives a direct appropriation for all electoral matters. The

election administrators then answer to the election commission concerning budgetary and personnel issues. This reinforces public confidence in the independence of electoral administration. Such an arrangement would enhance the public's perception of the Directorate of Election's impartiality.

2) The Permanent Voter Registration Process. The permanent voter registration process provided in the 1994 Electoral Amendment Act should be implemented as soon as practicable. This would avoid many problems that the Directorate confronted with mobile registration teams and last-minute applications for duplicate registration cards.

3) Electoral Commission Investigation of Irregularities. The Electoral Commission, in order to ensure public confidence in the election process, may see it within its purview to consider ordering an investigation, under Article 94, of the irregularities found by the Court in the DTA case. The scope of the investigation could take the form described by the Court in the event that the Court had been empowered to order such action. The investigation could culminate in a report that includes recommendations for avoiding such problems in the future.

4) Clarification of the Court's Power under the Electoral Act. The DTA case revealed certain inconsistencies within the Electoral Act concerning the provision of effective remedies for electoral applications (complaints). The legislature, therefore, may find it appropriate to consider amending the Electoral Act to empower the Court to order inspections of electoral materials and to apply its inherent jurisdiction to regulate its own procedures in non-criminal matters pertaining to electoral applications.

5) Expedited Procedures for Challenges to Electoral Results. The procedures for challenging the results of elections in Namibia are complicated and can be time consuming. This can leave political contestants and the electorate in an uneasy state of suspense concerning the validity of elections to offices that come under challenge. It may, therefore, be appropriate to consider mechanisms to accept and process complaints in a more rapid fashion.

The Namibian election law provides that, if a public riot, violence or any other emergency situation interferes with polling at any polling station to such a degree that the objects of the election law cannot be achieved, the presiding officer must discontinue the voting; polling at that location must then be rescheduled for another time (Article 78(4)). The law does not otherwise provide for the rescheduling of polling by election officials, for example if the number of ballots cast significantly differs from the number of voters on the electoral register or the number who are marked on the register as having voted.

The election law provides that when the counting of votes is completed, the returning officer for a constituency and the Director of Elections must announce the result of the count, whether or not the report of ballots issued, cast, spoiled and unused was correctly and satisfactorily reconciled. The law also provides that when the head of the Electoral

Commission receives the results from the returning officers and the Director of Elections, he or she must determine and announce the results of the elections (*e.g.*, Articles 88 and 89, each as revised). No discretion is provided concerning these steps, even if there is reasonable concern about irregularities or illegal practices affecting the results.

The election law provides that the Electoral Commission, after the determination of the result in any election, may order a verification of ballot paper accounts and may publish a report of the verification procedure (Article 94). The law does not empower the Electoral Commission to set aside election results. The election law vests the High Court of Namibia with jurisdiction to review complaints of "an undue [election] return or an undue election" (Article 109). Such complaints must be filed within 30 days of the declaration of the election result and must be decided normally within 60 days of from the date of the complaint (Articles 110(1) and 116(3)). The Court has the power to set aside the result of an election. The Court can vacate a disputed seat in favor of another candidate to be declared duly elected by the Electoral Commission on the basis of the election, or determine that no person was duly elected in the election (Articles 116(6)-(7)). The Court may not set aside the result of an election if improper acts are proved, but the acts did not affect the election result (Articles 95 and 116(4)).

These provisions can create an awkward circumstance where election officials must calculate and report the result of an election even when they are not confident that the result is proper. While Namibia's procedures are not inconsistent with internationally recognized standards, they can create uncertainty among the electorate. In some election systems, the election commission is given discretion to set aside the count at any polling station, or in a constituency where a significant number of polling stations are affected, if it is not possible to determine whether the results of the poll accurately reflect the will of the electorate. In such cases a rescheduled poll is conducted. A time is then provided for the re-vote in order not to unreasonably delay the announcement of official election results.

In election systems where exclusive jurisdiction is given to the courts to determine whether the result of an election should be invalidated, it is best to provide for an expedited judicial process in order to prevent uncertainty among the electorate caused by time consuming court procedures. In Namibia, approximately three months could pass from when election results are announced and a decision on an electoral challenge is rendered by the Court. In exceptional cases this time could be extended. It may therefore be appropriate to consider shortening the time for filing an electoral challenge from the 30 days presently provided (for example to five or 10 days from the announcement of results; some countries provide as little as 72 hours to file an electoral challenge). It may also be appropriate to consider shortening the time when the Court must render its decision from the 60 days presently provided (for example, five or 10 days from the time the challenge is filed; some countries provide as little as 72 hours for rendering a decision).

6) An Expedited Administrative Complaints Procedure. Appeals of and objections to Electoral Commission decisions regarding voter and political party registration may be lodged with designated judicial bodies (Articles 19, 22 and 45). The election law does not explicitly address the lodging of complaints concerning technical elements of the electoral process with the Electoral Commission, the Directorate of Elections or with the judiciary. Clarification in the election law should be considered regarding the filing of such complaints, and a speedy complaint procedure should be provided in order to ensure effective remedies concerning all steps of the election process.

7) A More Effective Training Process for Election Officials. Sufficient time should be allotted for training officials. This year the Directorate had nine weeks between the end of the registration period and the elections to select and train officials. Training could be more thorough if selection of officials were made earlier (*e.g.*, prior to the registration period), enabling training to begin immediately after the registration period. Training periods also could be carefully scheduled so as not to interfere with the working hours of individuals who hold full-time jobs. Attendance at training sessions should be mandatory.

8) Civic Education Programs. While significant voter education efforts were undertaken in the months preceding the elections, more education is needed to help the citizenry understand their role outside of elections. The electorate and the citizenry at large should understand their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society, so that they can contribute further to Namibia's democratic development. Implementing ongoing civic education programs that would involve all segments of society, from elementary school students to illiterate adults in rural areas, could be an important step in this process. Civic organizations could play an important role in these programs.

The recommendations presented above are offered in recognition of the important strides made in establishing democracy in Namibia. All electoral systems can benefit from clarification, refinement and modification, as part of any continuing democratic process. The government of Namibia -- including the Electoral Commission and the Directorate of Elections -- the political parties, civic organizations and mass media have cooperated warmly with NDI by freely offering their views. NDI offers the comments presented here in the same spirit of cooperation. The Institute looks forward to continuing its program work in Namibia as the country consolidates its democratic system.

Reaching Namibia's Voters through

Radio and Television

1994 National Elections

Reaching Namibia's Voters Through Radio and Television

The National Democratic Institute in cooperation with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

December 1994

This report was prepared by the NDI team in Namibia: Erin Martin, Sean Kelly, and Mary Elizabeth Johnson

I. SUMMARY

In preparation for the Namibian National elections on December 7 and 8, 1994, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a voter education project from September 1 through December 15 to educate and motivate the electorate through the broadcast media. The project's aim was to promote greater involvement by the electorate and enable citizens to cast a more informed ballot during the December presidential and parliamentary elections. NDI and its cooperative agreement partner, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), focused on maximizing voter participation in the elections by creating educational programs for television and radio. In spite of widespread predictions of voter apathy, the national voter turnout was more than 76 percent of the registered voters. After the election, NBC called the project a success which would not have been possible without NDI's assistance.

Beginning in August, radio listeners and TV viewers heard at least one election-related story per day until the elections. Voter education efforts intensified as the elections approached, with one service broadcasting as many as fourteen quiz programs before the elections. The subgrant also enabled the NBC to reach beyond its original plans for voter education broadcasting. For example, the NBC was able to expand its original plan for a single radio drama about the elections into a four-part drama series. Three days before the elections, NBC broadcast an unprecedented live 90-minute panel discussion between political party leaders. Finally, in an effort to motivate voters on the first day of voting, NBC language services reporters travelled to distant locations on planes funded by NDI to gather news and interview voters for radio.

NDI also expanded the original parameters of the project to include Namibia's first commercial radio station, Radio 99. By paying for production and air time for political party advertisements, NDI supported the development of Namibia's independent broadcast media. Furthermore, working with Radio 99 allowed NDI to reach additional groups of voters around the capital to inform them of issues surrounding the upcoming elections.

Throughout the voter education program, NDI and the Directorate of Elections met bi-weekly to coordinate efforts and to assist one another whenever possible. The coordination proved indispensable to both organizations: for example, NDI distributed 20,000 posters, 7,000 sample ballots, glossaries of election terms and polling station lists across the country.

II. BACKGROUND

This was NDI's third election in Namibia and its seventh year of program activity in the country. Prior to the November 1989 Namibian election for a pre-independence constituent assembly, NDI brought a team of election experts from five countries to Namibia to critique the proposed election system and to recommended specific changes. NDI

subsequently carried out a voter education project leading up to the elections and NDI staff members served as international observers during the election.

During that election, NDI determined that broadcast media was the most effective method of providing voter education to the majority of Namibians. Specifically, radio is the primary means of communication in the country; Namibia is larger than Germany and France, has more than nine spoken languages, an illiteracy rate of 60 percent, and a predominantly rural electorate.

In 1992, during the regional and local elections in Namibia, NDI cooperated in a voter education project with the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation. Using radio to broadcast in all nine NBC language services, the project included panel discussions, quiz programs, a radio play, and a "Town Meeting of the Air." NBC considered the project a success, limited only by the lack of fruitful cooperation between the broadcasting corporation and the political parties (See NDI's Final Report: The Namibia Voter Education Project, October 15-December 15, 1992, page 9).

In 1994, the Institute agreed to undertake an election education project that focused on using broadcast media to educate voters about the electoral process, competing political parties and key campaign issues. The project again incorporated a subgrant to the NBC to facilitate the use of broadcast media to conduct voter education.

The project's goals were not only to educate Namibians about both the process and purpose of these elections, and the key issues in each campaign, but also to motivate them to participate by registering and voting. The specific objectives of this program were to: 1) educate voters about their rights and responsibilities in a democracy; 2) motivate the public to participate and exercise their democratic rights; 3) use the mass media to instruct Namibians about the electoral process; 4) inform the voters on the choice of options presented by the political parties; and 5) encourage a dialogue between the media, political parties and NGOs about how broadcast media can be used in innovative and creative ways to inform and motivate voters.

III. THE ELECTION FORUM

When a voter education project was proposed for the 1994 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, NDI suggested involving the political parties more directly in the NBC voter education programming. The NDI project proposal stated that, "As a first step, NDI and the NBC will ask each political party to select two representatives to serve on a party liaison committee to provide party input into programming and help bring agreement on the information to be broadcast."

One of the project's primary accomplishments was the establishment of this group, which encouraged routine communication between the political parties and the NBC. This was important as opposition parties had previously questioned NBC's objectivity.

Cooperation between the parties and NBC was evident in the decision to divide air time equally among parties.

This committee, which became known as the Election Forum, met weekly from September 14 to November 29 under the chairmanship of Vitura Kavari, NBC's Senior Controller for News and Current Affairs, with NDI attending as a participating observer. The major political parties (SWAPO, DTA, UDF, DCN, FCN) sent senior representatives to the Forum meetings which proved vital both to the NDI-NBC working relationship and to the voter education programming carried out by NBC with NDI's help.

IV. NBC-NDI COOPERATION

NDI's role in this effort fell into two broad areas: (a) sponsoring NBC's already-scheduled voter education activities on radio and television and (b) making possible totally new voter education programming in both radio and television. Also, NDI helped fund the purchase of additional television camera recording cassettes for NBC's expanded voter education programming.

NBC's radio staff had already developed many of their own voter education program ideas during the 1989 and 1992 elections. In addition to expanded news coverage of election events, these included radio dramas, quiz shows and panel discussions. NDI funding made it possible to do substantially more of these than originally scheduled, including the commissioning of a new radio theater series entitled "The Silent Voice of the Ballot Paper" written by Moshe Baitsewe and produced in nine languages by NBC. Because of radio staff shortages, and to ensure the widest possible listenership, NDI's Windhoek team ended up writing the spot announcements used to promote the radio series in nine languages.

Television news coverage of the registration and campaign was also expanded with NDI's help, making it possible to air more political rallies and other election activities. But the major television project planned by NBC was an unprecedented political debate between the two presidential candidates, President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO and his challenger Mishake Muyongo from the opposition DTA. The debate was to be televised live and broadcast simultaneously on nation-wide radio.

V. THE PLANNING OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

With the help of NDI's Sarah Malm in Washington and Janet Brown of the U.S. Commission on Presidential Debates, NDI's team in Windhoek was able to obtain quick answers to specific questions posed by NBC on how to conduct a presidential debate, as well as transcripts from the 1992 U.S. presidential and vice-presidential debates.

When the debate was first proposed to the Election Forum on November 7th, both SWAPO and DTA representatives greeted it enthusiastically, but then SWAPO decided to withdraw. The SWAPO representative at the November 14th Election Forum meeting

(according to the official NBC minutes of the meeting) "expressed his regret towards the NBC for the (SWAPO) decision taken and said that although SWAPO was in favor of the original proposal, it will not allow its Presidential candidate, in his capacity as the Father of the nation, to participate in a debate with a candidate who seemed to be hitting at the lowest possible level."

It ultimately became clear that SWAPO had decided not to allow President Nujoma to appear on live television during a debate or press conference situation where he might be provoked into making statements that could prove detrimental to his candidacy. He was already being attacked by the opposition for having reportedly stated at a campaign rally that Namibian police should shoot, without question, anyone trying to cross the Kavango river to or from Angola. SWAPO continued trying to make it appear that its decision to withdraw from the Presidential debate was made because of DTA tactics, but it was obvious to the Election Forum that other motives were involved.

Forum Chairperson Vitura Kavari expressed his disappointment that the debate would not take place because it would have been an historic event for Namibia and the NBC. NDI's representative at the November 14th meeting was Mary Elizabeth Johnson who (again, according to the NBC minutes) "also expressed disappointment that the debate did not materialize. She said the NDI staff in Washington went out of their way to gather scripts from past Presidential debates, as well as instructions and rules for such debates. The Presidential debate in South Africa was a monumental success. It was a rarity in Africa and it would have been a tremendous step forward for Namibia if they could have the same event." She said such a debate would be important for the present election as well as for the future since it would set a precedent for Namibia as part of the country's democratic evolution.

VI. THE PANEL DISCUSSION ALTERNATIVE

Not being able to hold the presidential debate was discouraging, but SWAPO would not reconsider, preferring instead to have President Nujoma pre-record all his television appearances. In the interests of having at least some live election coverage on NBC, NDI's Sean Kelly suggested changing the format of an already scheduled election panel discussion into a live 90-minute "Town Meeting of the Air" with all political parties sending representatives to answer questions from a panel of local and international reporters. The program was broadcast live both on radio and television on December 1st, just a week before the actual voting, and it proved to be the highlight of NBC's scheduled election programming.

NBC's news coverage of the electoral process was of course unscheduled, but it remained a key element of the NBC-NDI voter education project. NDI's funding for transportation and overtime made it possible for NBC to cover more political rallies and other election events than would otherwise have been possible, including the actual voting on December 7th and 8th.

VII. NDI AS FACILITATOR

NDI chartered several aircraft to take Namibian journalists to rallies in outlying areas during the final days of the campaigning. Three planes were chartered December 7th so that NBC and local press (on a space-available basis) could report the voting from polling stations throughout the country on the same day it took place. NDI made a point of ensuring that radio reporters from the principal NBC language services (English, German, Nama/Damara, Oshivambo, and Otjiherero) were also included on the flights and given the opportunity to report from the scene.

Throughout the project, NDI worked closely with NBC, offering proposals during the Election Forum and Election Task Force meetings for broadcasting the scope of the voter education effort, and meeting frequently with NBC's budget staff to find areas where there could be more cooperation between the two organizations.

NDI's insistence on close accountability for funding while the project was underway occasionally irritated NBC, particularly when it became clear that NDI's requirements for accountability from NBC were often greater than NBC's internal requirements. Some of this irritability is evident in the final recommendations made by Vitura Kavari, who served as chairperson of both the Election Forum and the NBC Task Force:

"[I suggest] that the NBC agrees well in advance about the nature, scope and implementation mechanisms and methods for any sponsoring/participating institutions. This may help to avoid a situation whereby NBC would be negotiating continuously about certain concessions as regards the utilization of funds 'right in the middle of the storm' as it happened at times with the NDI Fund during the 1994 Presidential and National Assembly Elections."

In short, NBC would simply prefer to be granted the voter education funds in advance to use as it sees fit. However, U.S. Government accounting procedures rarely allow such programming flexibility.

Kavari nonetheless took time out in his report to express NBC's gratitude to NDI and its Windhoek team, as well as NDI in Washington. "We want to take up this opportunity," he said, "to thank the National Democratic Institute for its most needed assistance. The success that the NBC boasts pertaining to the public information/education campaign would not have been possible without the financial and moral assistance from NDI."

VIII. NAMIBIA'S ALTERNATIVE RADIO

Early in 1994, a new, private radio station called Radio 99 began offering news, music and features in FM stereo to English, Afrikaans and German-speaking listeners in Windhoek. The station began on a modest scale, but quickly picked up an enthusiastic following among urban whites dissatisfied with NBC's increasingly Afrocentric

programming. Commercial advertising poured in, much of it from South Africa. By September, Radio 99 had acquired a growing African audience and was launching repeater stations in Swakopmund and Walvis Bay.

NDI was concerned about directing all of its support to the state-funded NBC, and, noting Radio 99's growth as Namibia's only private enterprise radio station, explored the possibility of providing some form of voter education assistance. Initial discussions centered on purchasing air time on Radio 99 for Namibian political parties to broadcast political announcements. NDI also made sure that Radio 99 news reporters were included on chartered flights with NBC staffers covering political rallies and other election events in outlying areas.

Four Namibian political parties took advantage of NDI's offer of Radio 99's facilities. The DTA, UDF, Swanu, and the FCN all prepared political announcements which were broadcast during the period shortly before voting began. These followed some of the suggestions made during NDI's media workshops, including the use of sound effects and clear, simple writing styles. Radio 99 also carried several public service announcements prepared by NDI. Several Radio 99 reporters were included in the chartered flights to political rallies and polling stations. Altogether, Radio 99 helped NDI expand its voter education efforts to reach a wider audience.

IX. MEDIA TRAINING

Most of Namibia's political parties have had difficulty using the media to communicate with voters. To help the parties prepare for media coverage, NDI conducted a two-stage media training workshop for party spokespeople. In mid-October, NDI sponsored a one-hour interactive satellite video conference attended by 70 people representing six parties. During the live teleconference, political leaders in Windhoek discussed the role of media in a campaign with three United States political consultants in Washington D.C. The workshop, held three weeks before the NBC's election coverage began. was well attended and participants were very responsive to the interactive format. Instrumental to the success of the teleconference was the U.S. participants' detailed knowledge of Namibia.

The second stage of NDI's media training occurred in mid-November, in the period between the first and second panel discussions. NDI brought in two trainers, one from South Africa and one from the U.S., to conduct the workshops along with NDI Project Director Erin Martin. The conferences were held on an individual party basis according to each party's specific needs. The trainers met with spokespeople from four parties and discussed the importance of creating a clear and concise message for their parties. Hands-on training was provided through mock television interviews which were taped and reviewed with each party.

The parties were able to put their knowledge to use by producing announcements for Radio 99. NDI sponsored the production and air time for the advertisements that aired several times a day during the week prior to the elections. NDI's participation helped to promote the culture of paid advertising, a relatively new concept for Namibia's parties. The work with Radio 99 challenged the parties to view radio advertising in a new light and to devise creative methods to reach voters. The training proved useful when one of the participants appeared later in the week on an NBC panel discussion; his performance reflected elements of NDI's media training.

X. FINAL EFFORTS

In the weeks preceding the elections, NDI increased its efforts to mobilize voters through the NBC and Radio 99. NDI wrote six public service announcements for the NBC language services, encouraged the announcement of the polling stations, and produced a voter education spot for Radio 99. At NDI's suggestion, the Directorate of Elections provided their two public service announcements to Radio 99 for broadcasting, enabling the announcements to run simultaneously on NBC and Radio 99 for two weeks prior to the elections.

In conjunction with the NBC and the Directorate of Elections, NDI helped organize live television and radio coverage of the election results on December 9 and 10. However, delays in the counting process prevented the NBC from airing the final results until December 13.

XI. CONCLUSION

NDI's 1994 voter education program involved more in-depth programming and reached a larger audience than the 1992 voter education program due to the involvement of NBC television and Radio 99, and the collaboration with the Directorate of Elections. The NBC was able to build on its experience from the 1992 project, resulting in the production of solid voter education programs. NDI's media training exposed the parties to the importance of developing a party message, and helped prepare the parties for radio and television interviews. Including Radio 99 in the voter education project significantly improved the project by exposing the parties to paid advertising, enabling NDI to support the development of independent broadcasting, and by reaching a group of otherwise apathetic voters. Efforts to coordinate voter education activities with the Directorate of Elections were crucial and fruitful for both organizations, as indicated by the high voter turnout rate of 76%.

As noted above, the NDI-NBC working relationship was occasionally strained by NBC's assumption that it had been granted voter education funds for use on an as-needed basis. When NDI asked how the money was being used, or suggested that more voters might be reached by NBC radio language services than NBC television (radio reaches 90 percent of the Namibian population, television only 45 percent -- by NBC's own estimates), there was an occasional note of resentment expressed by NBC.

It should be stated that NBC is going through a difficult period of intensified competition by commercial radio and television and that morale among news and programming staff is at a low point. Tension exists along racial and ethnic lines, as well as between employees hired prior to independence and since. In spite of these problems, NBC did a commendable job of educating voters how and why to participate in the 1994 electoral process. It also did outstandingly in its attempts to report this process to the Namibian people by radio and television. The extent to which NDI was able to expand these efforts through Africa Regional Election Assistance Fund (AREAF) funding does credit both to the AREAF and to NDI.

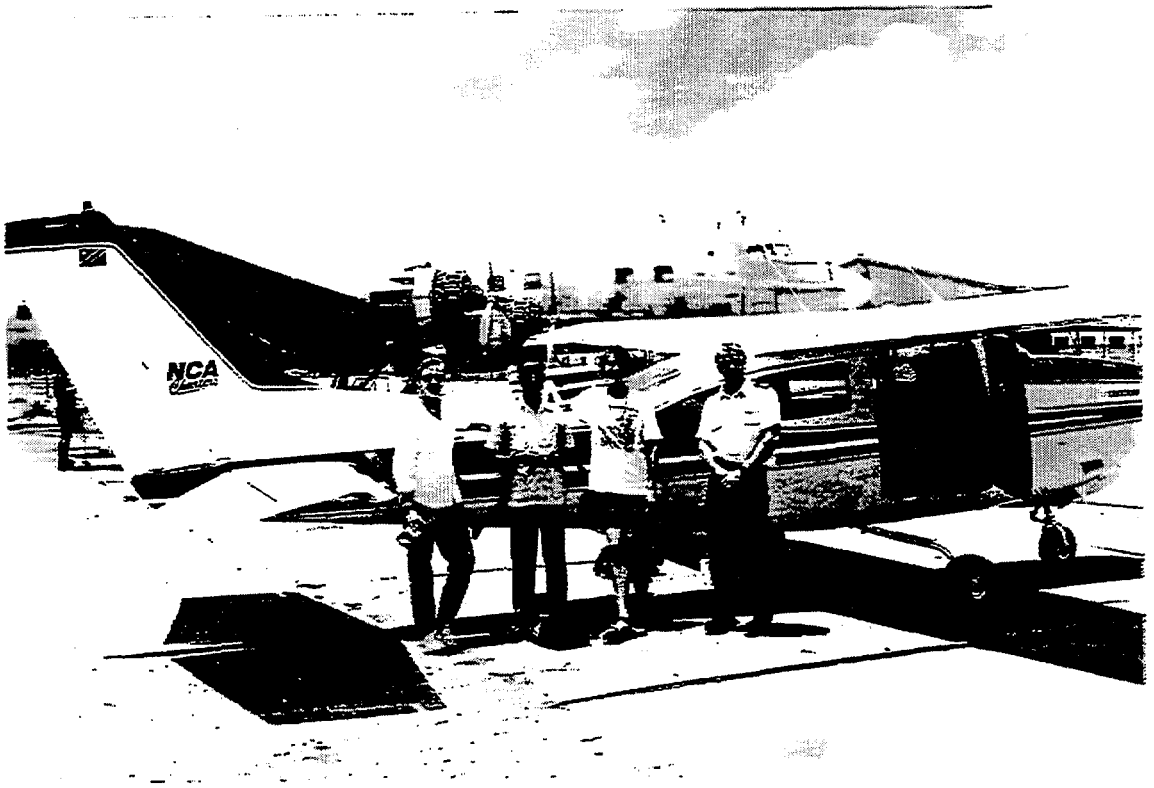
Namibian voters cast their ballots in the 1994 presidential and parliamentary elections.

NBC reporter interviews citizens with equipment provided by NDI.

NBC reporter interviews citizens before they vote.

Voters line up to receive their ballots.

NBC broadcasts the live panel discussion between political party leaders.



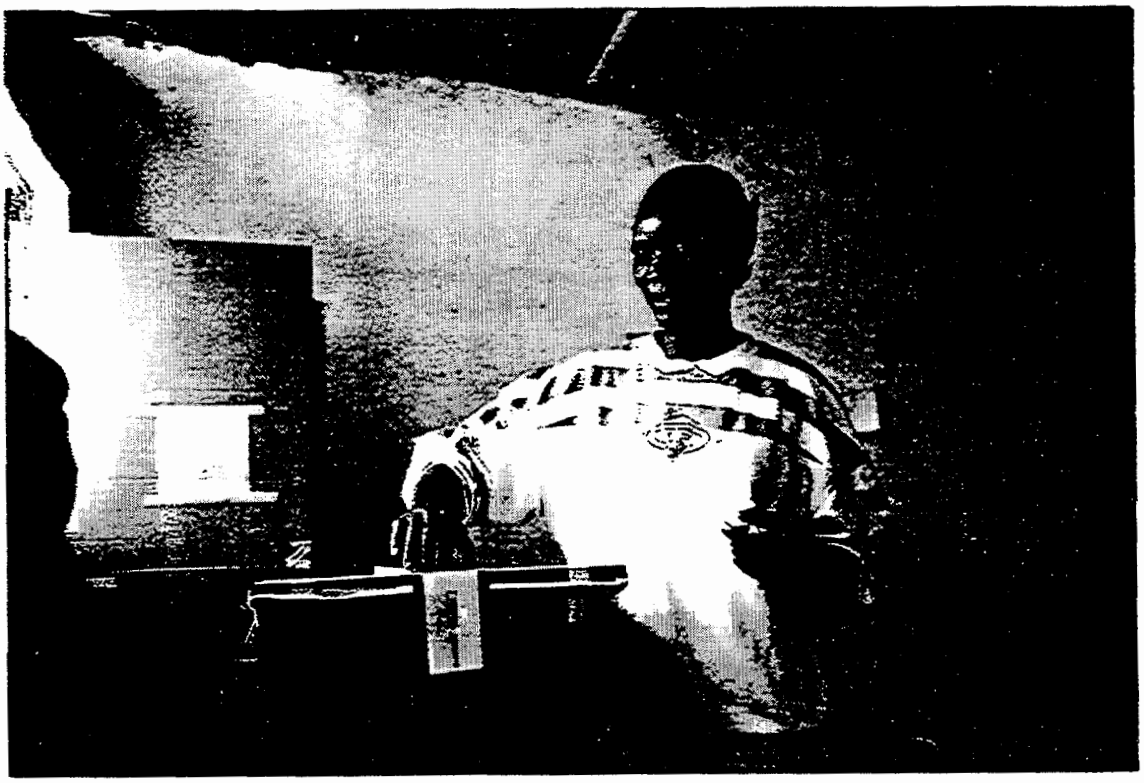
NBC reporter poses with NDI staff before boarding the NDI-financed press plane to cover election activities in rural areas.

Voters wait their turn.

Namibian voter casts her ballot.

Election workers deliver ballot boxes.

The NBC election forum discusses election coverage of the main parties.



Namibian voter casts her ballot.

Appendix I: The Silent Voice of the Ballot Paper

Author: Moshe M. Baitsewe

Episode: 1

Character:

1. Alma.....
2. Thansti.....
3. Tjikuru.....
4. Ttjikuume.....

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SIGGI UP AND FADE TO THE BACKGROUND...
...OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRESENTER...
...SIGGI UP AGAIN THEN GRADUALLY FADE OUT.

FX : **A RUNNING MINIBUS WITH TWO OF THE OCCUPANTS HAVING A CHAT. SOFT MUSIC AUDIBLE FROM RADIO.**

Alma : Driver...What time did you say, we are going to arrive in Windhoek? I don't want to arrive there during the night because I'm afraid of the botsotso's. I don't know Windhoek you know.

Thantsi : Alma please... How many times must I tell you not to worry. I told you to relax. I know you don't trust me as yet. It is only eleven o'clock now. I expect us to be in Windhoek by lunch hour. And I promised to deliver you right at the front gate of your people.

Alma : I know you told me so and I'm very sorry if I sound as if I'm doubting you. I'm very thankful for your kindness.

Thantsi : It's enough just to say Mahenke because that man is a very successful businessman and also a very popular man. I'll deliver you right in front of his gate. And please call me Thantsi. I'm not denying that I'm a driver but that's but merely my means of earning a living. Jobs are difficult to come by.

Alma : (WORRIED) Please don't be impatient with me. If you leave me, what'll happen to me in a city full of botsotso's like Windhoek. They'll grab me.

Thantsi : (LAUGHS HEARTILY) You are so infatuated with this botsotso thing of yours. Where did you hear about them?

Alma : What do you mean? The people are talking.

Thantsi : I agree, but then we must first consider the root cause of the evil.

Alam : What could be the...?

Thantsi : (MAKING HER SILENT) Hush!

A CATCHY TUNE COMES OVER THE RADIO. IT'S AN ELECTION JINGLE, MUSIC FADES TO THE BACKGROUND. ANNOUNCER: Remember that you did not register just in order for you to have a registration card. It's not a certificate for you to frame and hang up against the wall or to simply add to your pile of frame documents. Remember this... You must vote!!! Even if voting is optional. It is your civil responsibility to make your vote count. The silent voice of the ballot-paper speaks louder than a loudspeaker. **FADE UP MUSIC AND CROSSFADE INTO SOFT MUSIC AGAIN.**

Thantsi : I like to listen to these jingles. They are so beautiful.

Alma : I must be honest with you. I really don't like them. Not at all.

Thantsi : Why? You seem so disturbed. What's the matter?

Alma : No. The fault lies with Tjikuru...
Thantsi : (ASKANCE) Tjikuru?
Alma : Yes my grandmother.
Thantsi : What? Your granny...What did she do?
Alma : Oh Thantsi, forget it. It's rather a very long story.
Thantsi : Oh no, Alma. You are not going to shrug me that easily. I really want to know. I have made it my job to study the modern youth. They find fault with almost everything old people do or say. Maybe it's not even the oldtimer's fault at all. Let me hear the story. Please.
Alma : You can't back-off. Can you?
Thantsi : I insist.
Alma : Okay. If you say so but I'll give it to you in a nutshell.
Thantsi : I want the whole story. It's only then that I'll be bale to assess it.
Alma : (EXCLAIMS) Thantsi!
Thantsi : Please...
Alma : Okay then... It was late in the afternoon and one of those... What did you call them again...?
Thantsi : Jingles.
Alma : Yeh. One of them started to play over the radio and Tjikuume had just arrived home with the goats which had been missing for a couple of days.

(REVERB AND GRADUALLY CROSSFADE INTO THE NEXT SCENE)
FX : **LATE AFTERNOON SOUNDS AT A HOMESTEAD IN THE COUNTRY, FOR EXAMPLE THAT OF A HEN WITH CHICKS AND IN THE BACKGROUND A GOATBELL CAN BE HEARD AS THE SMALLSTOCKS APPROACH.**

Tjikuru : Am I hearing a goatbell approaching? has he really found them?
Alma : Yes Tjikuru. It's our goats. They're coming and Tjikuume is behind them.
Tjikuru : Then you must hurry up and add some more wood to the fire to get the water boiling. He must be very tired and only a big mug of hot tea will refresh him and give him his strength back. Hurry up now.
Alma : Okay Tjikuru.

FX : **SOUND OF WOOD BEING BROKEN: FIRE STARTS TO FLAME.**

Tjikuume: (APPROACHES) Hallo Tjikuru.
Tjikuru : Mbiri nawa mundu nansje. It must've been a tough day for you. Where did you find them?
Tjikuume: Quite a day, I'm telling you. My feet are killing me! I found them on the other side of the koppie. Alma, bring me my radio please.
Alma : Okay Tjikuume (WALKS AWAY ON GRAVEL).
Tjikuru : Are they still together?
Tjikuume: Fortunately yes. It's not the four-legged jackal one is always worried about

but the two-legged one you know.

Tjikuru : I know.

Alma : (APPROACHES) Here is the radio Tjikuume.

Tjikuume: Thank you my girl. (HE SWITCHED THE RADIO ON).

FX : ANNOUNCER ON RADIO: **Vote! Vote for the party of your choice. Remember, the cross you make speaks for you. Whatever you do, please do vote. It's important! Remember that democracy is a baby that needs to be nurtured in order for it to grow strong.**

Tjikuume: (SWITCHING OFF THE RADIO) What is this democracy thing they are talking about these days?

Tjikuru : What do you expect me to tell you? You know that we have been to the same school decades ago and they did not talk about things like democracy then. There is your granddaughter Alma. Why don't you ask her? At least she is also of the modern material she's supposed to know these things.

Tjikuume: You're right you know. Alma, please explain to me what this democracy thing is all about. What is it?

Alma : (FROM A DISTANCE) I also don't know what that really is. Tjikuume. I never learned about it when I was at school.

Tjikuru : How could you not be knowing. You have a matric and we sold all our cattle to pay for your schooling. How is that really possible.

Alma : Tjikuru, please. Why don't you try and understand my side of the matter also. I mean this is a newly found independence we are having and all the things that came along with it are as new to me as they are to you. The teachers did not teach us about democracy and neither did they tell us about votes and rights.

Tjikuru : But you've dragged us here so that we can go and register. Why did you force us to go and register if you do not even know what is was all about?

Alma : The announcement came over the radio that everyone who did not register in 1992 must go and register.

Tjikuru : But how could you just blindly walk into something without knowing where is leads? And above all drag us along. Maybe it's something only for young people.

Alma : Tjikuru... I don't know. I did not drag you along. You could have refused if you did not want to go and register. Why didn't you just say no?!

Tjikuume: (STERN) Child, I don't like that kind of a tone when you're speaking to adults!

Alma : But you're unreasonable because you expect me to know things I was not taught at school. Having a matric certificate does not make me a know-it-all.

Tjikuume: What's got into you child?!

Tjikuru : That's what I've been trying to tell you all the time but you would not listen to me. She's getting out of hand. It's because she is just hanging around here and doing absolutely nothing! Her equals are there in the cities. They've

gone to look for work.

Alma : (RUDE) It's okay! If that's what you want. I'll be gone first thing tomorrow morning.

REVERB AD GRADUALLY CROSSFADE BACK TO PREVIOUS SCENE

FX : **RUNNING VEHICLE WITH OCCUPANTS CHATTING.**

Thantsi : (SURPRISED) And that is your reason for leaving home?!

Alma : Yes.

Thantsi : Even if you don't know Windhoek like you claim? I think you were unreasonable. They surely did not mean what they said. I mean you know how old people are.

Alma : I know what you mean but there are limits. I could not take it anymore. I had no choice.

Thantsi : How could one be angered by a little thing like that?

Alma : (ASKANCE) Little thing?! What are you talking about? Since the registration I have been under constant attack from them. They for example want to know from me, why do we need to keep voting if we already have a president and a government that has been elected by the people, in place or can they as old people also vote or who can vote and who can be voted for? I don't know all these things. All I know is that one should be older than eighteen years if he or she wants to register to vote. That's all I know.

Thantsi : I'm sorry if I should too harsh but I still think you were unreasonable. You should have sought information about voting. What it's all about and what democracy means from party representatives in your area. Better sill you could have contacted the election directorate's training and voter education section for information.

Alma : I don't have their number, Thantsi. You make it sound so easy.

Thantsi : The NBC's election desk would also have helped you had you contacted them and if you did not have their number you could have phoned the chatshow. They would've helped.

Alma : You're right you know. I did not think about all the possibilities then. I just wanted to get away. Don't you think I should gather all the information about voting, the whole election process and why it is necessary to vote.

Thantsi : (ELATED) Are you serious?!

Alma : Yep! Dead serious.

Thantsi : Okay then. First of all I'll take you to your people and then I'll pick you up at seven-thirty this evening so that we can go and attend a workshop on voter education.

Alma : I would really love that. (PAUSE) Oh my goodness!!!

Thantsi : What's the matter now Alma?

Alma : (EXCLAIM) Windhoek is so big!

Thantsi : Oh yes, of course. It's the big bowl.

Alma : You can say that again. It's really contained within the mountains and it

resembles one gigantic bowl. Look at the multitude of people. Are the houses really enough to house them all? The streets are thronged with people!

Thantsi : Wait till you get to the heart of Windhoek and then you'll tell me. And no, all the people can be housed at this moment, because the resources of this country does not allow it. On the other hand our independence is only four years old.

SIGGI TUNE UP AND FADE TO B.G.

Closing announcement.....

SIGGI UP AND OUT.

NBC ELECTION DRAMA PROMOS BY SEAN KELLY

"THE SILENT VOICE OF THE BALLOT PAPER"

EPISODE #1, PROMO #1:

(Take from Page 1)

THE CATCHY TUNE COMES OVER THE RADIO. IT'S AN ELECTION JINGLE. MUSIC FADES TO THE BACKGROUND.

ANNOUNCER: Remember that you did not register just in order to have a registration card. It's not a certificate for you to frame and hang up against the wall or to simply add to your pile of documents. Remember this... You must vote!!! Even if voting is optional. It is you civil responsibility to make you vote count. The silent voice of the ballot paper speaks louder than a loudspeaker.

FADE UP MUSIC AND HOLD BRIEFLY THEN FADE AGAIN.

(New material)

2ND ANNOUNCER: NBC presents the first episode of its new election radio theater "The Silent Voice of the Ballot Paper" Be sure to be listening at _(hour)_ on _(day)_ to hear how one Namibian family comes to terms with the 1994 elections!

NDI Zambia Field Report

Voter Registration in Zambia: 1995-1996

I. Introduction

II. The Electoral Commission and Elections Office

III. Voter Registration Process

IV. The Role of Nikuv Computers

V. Political Parties and Voter Registration

VI. Conclusion

I. Introduction

Almost five years have passed since the 1991 elections which marked the end of 20 years of one-party rule in Zambia by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), bringing to power the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). In the beginning of 1996, Zambia is scheduled to conduct its second round of local government elections since the country's return to multiparty politics. Following these, in October of 1996, a second round of parliamentary and presidential elections are scheduled to occur. Thus, 1996 presents major challenges and opportunities for the development of multiparty democracy in Zambia.

Among the most pressing issues facing Zambia today is voter registration. This was an issue that caused concern in 1991, and to this point little has been done to address the issue. A substantial percentage of Zambia's eligible voters remain disenfranchised today. The exclusion of youth from this process is of particular concern.

In 1991, international participants, including the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the Carter Center of Emory University, observed that it would be extremely important for the Government to address the voter registration issue. The last comprehensive voter registration drive occurred in 1987; a supplementary registration was conducted for three weeks in October 1990 in anticipation of an expected national referendum which never occurred. "The October 1990 registration probably did not reach many voters, who may not have been aware that multiparty elections would be conducted on the basis of that registration."

An examination of the numbers indicates that Zambia is facing an immediate problem of citizen participation. Zambia has an estimated population of 8.5 million people. Approximately half of the population is under 18 years of age, and about 70 percent are under the age of 35. Of the total population, approximately 4.5 million are eligible to vote; only about 2.4 million are registered under the current system. With the exception of the few who took advantage of the October, 1990 registration, no voters who have turned 18 since 1988 - seven years ago - are eligible to vote. The result is obvious. At two NDI-sponsored youth conferences held in 1995, representatives of a wide spectrum of opinion, including youth wings of at least five political parties, debated the issue. A clear majority complained that the voice of the youth, who represent the largest cohort of the Zambian population, as well as the foundation of the country's future, was being muted by a structural constraint: the failure of Government to register new voters. Most called for an immediate updating of the voters roll; some called for a modification in the registration and voting requirements, such as those stipulating that two forms of identification are necessary to participate.

The problem is broader than the issue of youth, however. Political party officials, NGO leaders and other interested observers question the validity and legitimacy of elections which fail to achieve minimum standards of representation, by almost any measure. A recent parliamentary by-election resulted in a turnout of only 965 voters in a constituency with at least 22,000 registered voters: this does not include those who are eligible but who have not had the

opportunity to register. The winner tallied about 650 votes, but this individual cannot realistically claim to have earned a mandate from the constituency. The registration issue thus is undermining the legitimacy of representative government, as well as causing many potential voters to stay away from the polls in disgust. Voter apathy and skepticism continues to rise.

Many observers, including the donor community, will be paying close attention to the manner in which the 1996 elections are conducted. In terms of significance, the second round of elections are as important as, if not more important than, Zambia's first foray into multiparty politics.

This paper will attempt to examine in more detail specific issues pertaining to the voter registration question in Zambia, particularly several procedural issues:

- What is the mandate of the Elections Commission/Elections Office? What is its ability to complete the process in a timely and effective manner?
- Who is eligible to vote in Zambia?
- How does an eligible voter become registered to vote?
- Will those already registered have to re-register under the new system?
- What documents are required? Do obstacles exist to obtaining these documents?
- How does the government plan to organize voter registration?
- How long will voter registration be open? Is it continuous?
- What efforts will be made by government to educate voters about registration? What efforts will NGOs and political parties make?

II. The Role of the Elections Commission and Elections Office in Voter Registration

A. Composition of the Elections Commission

The Electoral Commission is responsible for conducting elections. It is a semi-autonomous body comprised of three members who are appointed by the president of the country and assisted in their work by an Election Directorate (Elections Office). The Elections Office is under the direct authority of the Vice President's office. One result of this is an unclear distinction between the party and the government, which contributes to an appearance of unfairness.

B. Elections Office

Subordinate to the Electoral Commission is the Elections Office, a body of civil servants responsible for carrying out the commission's decisions and for implementing regulations passed by the commission.

According to the Registration Officers Handbook (1987), an electoral officer and registration officer (usually the same person) are in charge of registration. This appears to be the

current situation: Mr. Rabson Mwansa,
Director of Elections, is the government official responsible for the registration of voters.

In addition to this individual, there are two groups of assistant registration officers: supervisory and field. The supervisory assistant registration officers each have an average of 10 field assistant registration officers in rural areas, and 15 in urban areas. The field officers are deployed at an average of one officer for each polling district in rural areas, and one officer for two or three districts in urban areas. Thus, in terms of manpower allocation, urban areas are provided with less supervision than are rural areas.

According to Mr. Mwansa, quoting a Nov. 17 newspaper article, the elections office will engage "about 5,000 public service workers, besides supervisors, to assist with the registration of voters," at an approximate cost of K5 billion (about US $5 million). The numbers of civil servants was verified by Japhet Moonde, General Secretary of the Civic Servants Union of Zambia (CSUZ) in a 21 November, 1995 Daily Mail article.

The 5,000 public service workers will be responsible for collecting the data from registering voters. This information is to be turned over to an Israeli computer firm, Nikuv, which has been contracted to process the information and produce the voters cards. Nikuv has been granted a K18 billion contract to provide this service, to the consternation of many local observers and the international donor community. The Nikuv role will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

Voters application forms will be prepared in November. At the same time, the civil servants involved in the exercise are supposed to be trained. Once that is completed, registration will begin, for a period of 30 days, according to Mr. Mwansa, who said that the registration of voters will be completed by the end of December. Many observers are skeptical that this is possible. The rainy season has started in many parts of the country, making access increasingly difficult. In addition, most of Zambia will effectively shut down for the holiday season from Dec. 23 until the beginning of January.

Thus, the elections office will have to train 5,000 civil servants to conduct voter registration, produce all of the necessary materials, establish field offices and register more than 4 million voters in less than 30 days. The voters register will have to be produced for each one of Zambia's 4,597 polling districts.

During a recent visit to the Copperbelt, NDI was able to speak with a civil servant working on the voter registration exercise. This individual told NDI that training was supposed to begin on Dec. 5. He also said that the structure of coverage of the polling districts had changed. In the past, each polling district had one civil servant assigned to it. This year, however, one civil servant will be responsible for registration that occurs at 20 districts. In Kitwe, for example, eight registration officers are responsible for the supervision of 160 registration locations. In the past, the registration officer can employ as many assistants as necessary; However, when NDI mentioned this at a meeting with the US Embassy, political officer Ed Stafford indicated that this might not be unreasonable.

III. Voter Registration Process

The planned exercise is not to update the voters roll. Rather, it is to re-register all eligible Zambian Voters, even those currently holding voters cards. Those currently holding voters cards must obtain a new card; the old cards will not be used in the process. Government announced the week of Dec. 4 that voter registration would be held from Dec. 12, 1995 until Jan. 10, 1996. The Electoral Commission has stated that their will be no extension of the period after it expires on January 10. The Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) has appealed to the Electoral Commission to extend the period for another one month because of many logistical problems and the attitude of voters. In addition, there has been very little publicity concerning the voter registration process. NDI has observed few advertisements for voter registration in the major newspapers. A television spot began two weeks ago but consists of a single graphic and a voice-over that lasts about 30 seconds -- most Zambians do not have access to televisions.

Subsequent to that announcement the issue was discussed on the floor of Parliament on 7 December. During that discussion, Vice President Brig.Gen. Godfrey Miyanda said that the voter registration exercise would be held for that month, at which time the voters register will be produced prior to the holding of the local government elections. Following the local government elections, the voters registration will be reopened for a continuous process prior to the October, 1996 general elections for president and parliament, according to the VicPresident. National Party MP, Hon. Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika verified this comment in a conversation with NDI on 8 Dec. However, it is unclear what provisions are in place to implement this plan or how government plans to finance it. It also is unclear whether or not Miyanda's comments represent the official government position so that it will be put into operation by the Elections Office.

Under current Zambian law, for any person to be a qualifed voter, he/she must:

a) be a Zambian citizen in possession of a GREEN NATIONAL REGISTRATION CARD (NRC).

b) be ordinarily resident in the polling district in which he/she applies to be registered.

c) have attained the age of 18 years.

Zambian citizens are eligible to receive their NRC at the age of 16; however, currently most citizens are unable to receive this card. When they go to request their NRC, many times they are told that the office is out of film to take their pictures. Thus, they are left without NRC's which are a prerequisite to getting the voters card. Finally, the government department of national registration has postponed the issuing of the National Registration Cards until materials

are sent to the provincial capitals. The National Registration Department is supposed to embark on a massive exercise of issuing NRC's in preparation for the Voter Registration. The government estimates that approximately 2 million eligible voters (almost half of the eligible voting population) do not have their NRC's. One senior official with the National Registration Department said that it would not be possible to issue cards to most people in the rural area because of lack of materials and transport.

However, even in urban areas the processing and distribution of NRCs has been problemmatic. On 11 December NDI went to the Lusaka Province National Registration Office with a Zambian student who had been unable to obtain his NRC. There were more than 300 people waiting there to get NRCs. Several people said that they had been waiting for more than three days to no avail, having been told on previous days that the office was out of films or some other important material. On 11 December they were told that the films had arrived, but then were told that there would be a 10,000 Kwacha "fee" in order to be processed.

In another development, Deputy Director of Elections, Mr. Joel Sikazwe said that his office would go ahead with the voter registration exercise when time comes to start the process. He said that, it was up to the Department of National Registration to ensure that people have National Registration Cards.

According to Reg. 12 (2) paragraph 8 of the regulations, Registration Procedure, it is the duty of the applicant to prove his/her identity to the assistant registration officer, "who must therefore be satisfied that the person making an application is qualified to do so." If the officer is satisfied with the identity and qualifications of the applicant, the applicant then is registered by completing a voter's registration record. The potential voter will be given a temporary form. In the meantime, their registration will be given to Nikuv Computers for processing. Nikuv will process the cards, which must then be distributed to the citizenry in the field.

NDI will continue to investigate this process. In particular, it is unclear whether the necessary number of civil servants have been trained. Second, it will be important to maintain contact with the various elections monitoring organizations who will be examining the registration process. The following questions should be considered:

When voters go to register, they will be issed a duplicate registration of voters record, with the voters cards to be distributed later. How will this be done? Will Nikuv distribute? Civil Servants? At central locations? What about rural areas? Will there be mobile teams?

In what way is the electoral commission coordinating its voter registration efforts with the National Registration Department, to ensure that everyone who wants to get an NRC can do so? How many civil servants have been trained for this aspect of the process?

What provisions are being made to provide access to the voters rolls? What will individuals have to do in order to get access?

It is unclear whether the Government will be able to complete the task at hand in less than one month, given the fact that several days will be lost due to holidays. In addition, heavy rains have begun in some parts of the country, making access by road to more remote areas extremely difficult.

Given recent political tensions over the constitutional adoption process, the voters registration issue has been a secondary issue recently. However, should a large percentage of people be unable to register in the upcoming process, the issue could resurface, as opposition parties have repeatedly announced their intention to boycott any elections conducted under the old voters roll.

IV. The Role of Nikuv Computers

In November, the Elections Office announced that the K18 billion (US $18 million) contract between government and the Israeli Company of Nikuv Computers for it to compile the voters register would not change the role of the elections office. Director of Elections, Mr. Rabson Mwansa said his organization would still carry on with its role of collecting data and supervising the whole exercise of registering voters. The elections office will collect raw data, which it then will turn over to Nikuv for processing and production of voters cards which then will be distributed by the Elections Office. Mr. Mwansa further indicated that the Elections Office will engage about 5,000 public service workers, besides supervisors, to assist with the registration of voters. This exercise will cost the government K5 billion. Government has not disclosed the source of these funds.

USAID Democracy/Governance Advisor Jim Polhemus, as well as US Ambassador Roland Kuchel, informed NDI that a meeting was held recently between Zambian government ministers and the donor community (including the US, UK and several Nordic countries). The donor community attempted to find out exactly how the government plans to pay for the voter registration exercise, particularly the Nikuv contract, as well as whether the government believes it will be able to register the entire eligible population within the allotted timespan. According to Polhemus, the ministers frustrated the donors in all of their attempts, claiming not to know and providing virtually no information.

NDI has received the same response. NDI was told by several sources that the Nikuv contract was available and to contact Tender Board director Teddy Mulonga to get it. Mr. Mulonga claimed to not have the contract, the proposal, or their terms of reference. He referred NDI to the Permanent Secretary in the office of the Vice President (the elections office falls under the responsibility of the office of the Vice President). Mr. Phillip Daka, the Permanent Secretary, said that he was responsible for acting as a liaison between the Vice President's office and the

cabinet. However, he could not or would not answer any questions pertaining to the registration exercise, and told NDI that it should contact Mr. Mulonga for information about the Nikuv proposal.

A. The Tendering Process

A number of firms tendered bids to the Government to complete the project with the following terms of reference:

1. Issuing of New National Registration Cards
2. Producing Voters Register for each of the 4,597 polling districts; and
3. Creating a secure integrated computerized database capable of continuous updating

The following firms tendered contracts when bidding began on 21 July, 1995: Swedish Tax Administration; Denel Informatics (RSA); Q-Data Consulting (RSA); Zambia Postal Services Corporation; VWL International Ltd (RSA); Polaroid Corporation USA/Big Bang Trades Services Ltd. (USA); De La Rue Identity Ltd. (France); Nikuv Computers; NCSI Ltd. (UK); Ernst and Young (RSA).

Factors considered relevant in accordance with the above terms of reference included: previous relevant experience technical competence capacity building in the case of foreign companies financial standing

The Government subsequently issued a press release in September, 1995 regarding the Nikuv proposal, in response to a 12 September 1995 article in The Post newspaper which accused the Government of awarding the contract intransparently and fraudulently. Many journalists, opposition party leaders and civic organization leaders suspect some kickback was instrumental in the awarding of the contract .In the press release, the Government Tender board attempted to make it clear that the award was made in accordance with Tender Procedures and in accordance with the Zambia National Tender Board Act No. 30 of 1982. In addition, the Tender Board Director, Mr. Teddy Mulonga, provided some brief details about Nikuv's plan of action:

Phase I activities would cost US $7,050,000 and would last three months. Phase II activities in which the National Registration Cards would be replaced by new Computerised Identity Cards (tamper proof) would cost US $11,600,000 or less depending on the client's choice of three options on offer and would last between six and 10 months. For Nikuv the total cost includes a provision for Phase II in which supply of a full computerised National Population Registration Management System based on two back-to-back main computers, connected via communication lines to work stations would be carried out.

Nikuv experience in Zimbabwe was considered relevant because of the similarity of the Electoral Systems of the countries. The company also has been engaged in the same activity since the State of Israel began carrying out Electoral Registration of Voters. The safety

features for the database includes protection against unauthorized entry and sabotage. The expected total cost for Phases I and II of US $18,650,000 includes the surrender of equipment to the Government after the project's completion.

It now is unclear what the Phase I activities are. According to the terms of reference, it would appear that this should be the issuing of new NRCs, but according to Government statement of 4 December, they are proceeding with the voters register first. Potential voters must bring their old NRCs with them in order to register.

In NDIs last meeting with Rabson Mwansa, in early November, he said Phase I would consist of re-registering voters (updating the voters roll), and then Phase II would focus on the production of new NRCs. The logic behind this, according to Mwansa, was to get voters cards in the hands of those who already had attained voting age, and delaying the production of NRCs for all citizens over the age of 16. However, since many people still have not received NRCs, in effect they will continue to be shut out of the process, since they must produce the current NRC in order to register.

V. Political Parties and Voter Registration

According to an earlier NDI report on Voter Registration and Electoral Reform, political parties have not seen voter registration as one of their main tasks, even though they would be the main beneficiaries of an effective process. At each of the two party conferences organized with NDI, the parties have complained about voter apathy and the growing lack of active concern for the democratic process. As part of its 1995 Strengthening Political Parties program, NDI sought to encourage the three political parties with representation in the National Assembly to seriously consider voter registration as an essential party activity.

The main opposition parties - United National Independence Party (UNIP), National Party (NP), and Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC) have expressed serious reservations about the proposed voter registration process. Both UNIP and NP threatened to boycott the local government elections without an updated voters register. UNIP also threatened to boycott the elections if Government went ahead and appointed Nikuv as the contractor, claiming that the goal of Government was to ensure that 60 percent of the people registered are MMD supporters. UNIP then applauded the Government when on November 2, 1995 it postponed the elections until the register was updated.

Soon thereafter, UNIP specifically warned Nikuv not to fall prey to MMD machinations and that if it failed to do a good job it and other opposition parties would not hesitate to boycott all forthcoming elections. The party's secretary for information and publicity, Bweendo Mulegela, was quoted as saying, we ask the whole nation to watch what Nikuv will be doing. If they mess up the job, then we have no option but to pull out of the local government and the presidential and parliamentary elections. ZDC also criticized Nikuv, stating that the firm

caused an electoral disaster when it conducted a similar project in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean High Commission denied that its election was flawed, and expressed its confusion over the ZDC stance.

There also have been reports that in some districts, civil servants have been instructed only to allow those individuals who support MMD to receive their NRCs when they apply. The reports state that when supporters of opposition parties attempt to register, they are told that the office is out of some necessary supply such as film. NDI has not been able to verify such reports.

VI. Conclusion

NDI has encouraged reform of the voter registration process in Zambia since 1991, so that more prospective voters would be able to participate. In 1991, the issue was not given much attention because the opposition believed that to push for more comprehensive registration would delay the elections. In 1995, concern still is high regarding a number of issues pertaining to the entire registration process. The US AID mission is concerned about the voter registration issue, particularly for Government to make a commitment to complete the process and find the requisite funding. The US Ambassador stated in a meeting with NDI trainers Ed Brown and Sen. Dan Neville that what was needed was a major mobilization effort of people to carry out voter registration and education before the upcoming elections.

The requirement that voters must produce both the NRC and the voters card has come under criticism from domestic monitors and the donor community. Many have argued that this system be scrapped, and voting conducted on the basis of NRCs. The Government position is that this would pave the way for too many illegal immigrants who have received NRCs to participate.

Alfred Zulu, President of the Zambia Independent Election Monitoring Team (ZIMT) has criticized the three-stage process being utilized by Nikuv, whereby voters first appear to register, then to receive their actual voters cards and finally the voting itself. He proposed an alternate method, designed to check voter apathy, which would scrap the entire pre-election process and allow voters in possession of NRCs, or other identity documents, to participate at a polling station of their choice regardless of where they had been registered. He also called upon the National Registration Department to mount a door-to door campaign to issue the NRCs, to ensure increased turnout at the local government and general elections. (ZIMT was banned from observing the most recent parliamentary by-election, in the Kalabo district in Western Province, for being overtly political and straying from its neutral monitoring task. ZIMT went to Kalabo anyway, and still monitored the election, deeming it legitimate. UNIP won the by-election.)

ZIMT made similar comments in a submission to a Nordic Group studying the electoral system. The Nordic Group subsequently recommended that the voters rolls should be abolished and the NRCs used for voting. It also recommended an immediate voter registration

effort (which was not done) and that the electoral process and institutions involved in elections would be strengthened by relocating the Elections Office to establish its independence. The MMD did not respond to any reports on the improvement of the electoral process.

CC: NDI.Main PO(chrisg,pat,jeannette),NDI.Internet("pa...

WESTERN PROVINCE NGO SURVEY MISSION REPORT
December 11-12, 1995

NGULU HOTEL, MONGU.

I. INTRODUCTION

NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala and NDI Logistics Co-ordinator Steven Phiri traveled to Mongu on Monday, December 11, 1995 to conduct a survey mission with Mongu based NGOs and assess the state of the voter registration exercise in the province. The meeting with NGOs was held on Monday, December 11, 1995 at Ngulu Hotel from 15:30 to 17:30 hours. Efforts to have a meeting with the Council Secretary on the state of the Voter Registration Exercise and the issuing of the National Registration Cards (NRCs) in Mongu on Tuesday, December 12, 1995 at his office failed before the team left for Lusaka later the same day. The NGO consultative meeting was arranged in collaboration with Mr. Exson Kabanze, FODEP Western Province Field Officer and Mr. Munyunda, Hunger Project Western Province Co-ordinator. Mr. Exson Kabanze was identified as NDI western province contact person. He will be expected to work closely with Mr. Munyunda Munyunda.

II. NGO CONSULTATIVE MEETING

Sixteen (16) NGOs were represented at the consultative meeting. The total number of people that attended the meeting was 19. Out of the 19 present 12 were male and 7 were female. The meeting was chaired by NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala. He started the meeting by introducing the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the type of programs that NDI is currently implementing in other countries around the world in general and Zambia in particular. There was a brief explanation on the current NDI Zambia program on Supporting the Electoral Process prior to the Local Government Elections next year. Emphasis was placed on the NGO network and the Call for a Clean Campaign.

The key issues that were discussed are as follows:

Most of the participants were interested in knowing the type of support that NDI would provide to the NGOs involved in civic related activities those that might consider participating in civic/voter education prior to both Local Government and Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in 1996. It was made clear that NDI during the current program would only be able to provide voter education materials for distribution and offer technical assistant to NGOs involved in voter/civic education and election monitoring. NDI's role would be supplementary to the already existing programs that various NGOs are implementing. But all the participants indicated that their respective NGOs are very much in need of techniques and financial resources that would enable the organizations to embark on a rural and community based voter/civic education campaign programs.

It was stated that all NGOs must be involved in the distribution of the voter education material once produced although some of the NGOs do not specifically focus on civic related activities. All NGOs were urged to be civically responsible in regards to the distribution of the voter education materials to their general membership and populace in all of the districts in Western Province. This would enable them to offer service to their community in the fight against voter apathy during the forthcoming Local Government and Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in 1996.

It was stated by other NGOs that FODEP's civic education campaign program did not have any impact on the electorates. FODEP's program did not cover the local community level as well as the rural population in terms of activities that would have an impact on the majority of the citizens. FODEP representatives defended their organization by attributing the lack of community activities to inadequate financial and relevant materials. It was noted that lack of financial resources has hampered the implementation of civic education programs by most NGOs in remote rural areas. This has led to less people being educated. It was further observed that there was a need to have a grassroots outreach civic/voter awareness campaign.

In terms transportation of voter education materials, it was suggested that the Post Bus be used. Another mode of transporting the materials was the use of vehicles under government departments from Mongu that travel to Lusaka every week. The arrangements for the later can be done by the contact person in Mongu. Mongu will be the distribution center for Western Province.

III. MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL SECRETARY

The meeting with the Council Secretary of Mongu did not take place because he was not around. He was reported to be attending a meeting with Western Province Local Government Electoral Commissioner. Further efforts to meet his deputy, the Administrative Secretary also failed because he was also attending to problems pertaining to the voter registration exercise.

However, on the sport observations revealed that the voter registration exercise had not yet started. The issuing of the National Registration Cards was not taking place. A group of youths were found outside the registration office. Those talked to indicated that they were just being registered without being issued with NRCs since films were not made available to the district office.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

NGOs in Mongu are willing to distribute the voter education materials once produced.

All NGOs present welcomed the idea of the Data Base that NDI is currently developing for all NGOs in the country.

Civic awareness campaign efforts by local civic organizations have not had the impact on the local and rural communities due to lack of adequate financial resources and effective grassroots oriented techniques

There is a need to have a funded grassroots voter education outreach campaign employing different techniques that would target even the illiterates (those who can not read any language) in the remote areas.

V. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS:

NAME	SEX	ORGANIZATION
1. Lameck Chilambe	M	Village Industry Service
2. Exson Kabanze	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
3. Gift Sibanze	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
4. Muwindwa Mufunda	F	Hope Foundation
5. Edna Walusiku	F	World Vision International
6. J. Muliokela	F	Society for Women Against Aids in Zambia
7. Josephine Moyowambuya	F	Young Women Christian Association
8. Josephine Mwakamui	F	National Women's Lobby Group
9. Rosie Sakala	F	National Women's Lobby Group
10. Vincent Kanyombo	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
11. Venantsius Miyanza	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
12. Munyunda Munyunda	M	Hunger Project
13. F. Mawanda	M	Rotary International
14. Samwemba Nawa	M	Red Cross Society
15. Lubinda Mwala	M	Zambia Environmental Education Programme
16. C. Simbangala	M	Zambia Independent Monitoring Team
17. Watson Phiri	M	Credit Union and Servings Association of Zambia
18. Ireen Liswani	F	ZUSA - Senanga & Senanga Swalisano Association
19. L. Isiteketo	M	Western Province Co-operative Society for Development

EASTERN PROVINCE NGO SURVEY MISSION REPORT
January 24-26, 1996
Luangwa House

I. INTRODUCTION

The NGO survey mission to Eastern Province was under taken from January 24-26, 1996. NDI Program Assistant, Branel Mwangala and Logistics Co-ordinator Stephen Phiri went to conduct a consultative meeting with NGOs that are based in Chipata and assess the the voter registration exercise in Chipata. NDI staff had a meeting with the Town Clerk for Chipata Municipal Council at his office. The meeting with NGOs took place at Luangwa House on January 25, 1996 from 10:00 hours to 12:00 hours. A co-ordinating committee was put in place during the meeting that would be co ordinating activities of NGOs in Eastern Province in close collaboration with NDI.

II. NGO CONSULTATIVE MEETING

A total of 9 NGOs were represented at the meeting. Out of a total of 13 participants, 7 were female and the other 6 were male. Branel opened the meeting by giving a brief presentation on NDI program activities in other countries and the past and present programs in Zambia. Emphasis was on the network of NGOs for the distribution of voter education materials once they are produced by NDI and the Code of Conduct for political parties that would promote a Call for a Clean Campaign prior to the Local Government and Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in 1996. During the deliberations of the half day long meeting a number of issues were raised:

- There was emphasis on the on the need to conduct a rural and local community based civic/voter education awareness campaign program. The majority of the people in remote areas have not benefited from most of the civic awareness campaigns that have taken place in the province in general and Chipata in particular. FODEP has done some awareness campaigns through theatre/drama groups but lack of support from other NGOs and adequate resources could enable them carry out a very comprehensive program.

- Other NGOs have not attended civic education workshops like their counter parts in FODEP to learn some techniques and strategies on how to conduct a civic/voter education campaign program. Hence the need to conduct a workshop for such NGOs.

- Eastern Province has a good number of active NGOs in Chipata but need to strengthen their contacts in other districts.

- NGOs appreciated the NDI program and indicated their willingness to participate in the distribution of the voter education materials once they are produced. NGOs will co-operate with the Local Authorities in distributing the materials.

III. MEETING WITH TOWN CLERK

The meeting with the Town Clerk for Chipata Municipal Council, Mr Kambaila took place at his office on January 25, 1996 from 15:00 hours to 16:00 hours. The main issues that were discussed were the on going voter registration exercise and the issuing of the National Registration Cards (NRCs). As regards the work that NDI is currently doing with NGOs, he expressed happiness at the idea of promoting networking among NGOs. On voter registration, the process is still very slow as few people are turning up to register. There has not been an effective campaign towards the exercise apart from the effort that was attempted by Zambia Information Services through their public address systems in all the districts in the province. The issuing of NRCs had picked up since the arrival materials around mid

January, 1996. Had films for materials been available a month before the voter registration exercise it was assumed more people would have registered.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

- NGOs in Chipata are willing to to work with NDI on the current program
- There is need to conduct rural based civic education awareness campaigns
- Most of the NGOs lack material and financial resources
- NGOs are currenlty not networking among with each other at both provincial and district levels

V. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. N. G. Mwangala	F	Provincial Planning Unit
2. Joyce Banda	F	Department of Social Welfare
3. Julie Mvula	F	Foundation for Democratic Process
4. Belinah Mbewe	F	Chamakoko Development Agency
5. Scholastica Phiri	F	Zambia Independent Monitoring Team
6. Faneli Thole	F	Chipata District Women's Dev. Association
7. Eleni Banda	F	Chipata District Women's Dev. Association
8. Joseph Musukwa	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
9. Golden Daka	M	Chipangali Development Association
10. A. M. Chirwa	M	PPAZ / YWCA
11. Charles Kachale	M	Mental Health Association
12. Augustine Chola	M	Zambia Council for the Handicapped
13. Stephen Mbewe	M	Chamakoko Development Agengy

FOLLOWUP NGO SURVEY MISSION REPORT
FOR
NORTHERN, COPPERBELT AND CENTRAL PROVINCES
January 4 - 11, 1996

I. INTRODUCTION

NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala and Logistics Co-ordinator Stephen Phiri conducted follow up meetings to earlier meetings that NDI conducted in Kasama on January 5, Kitwe and Ndola on January 10, and finally Kabwe on Januaury 11, 1996. These meetings were part of the round trip to Mansa and Solwezi to conduct the first survey missions.

II. NORTHERN PROVINCE

On January 5, Branel and Stephen had a followup meeting in Kasama at the Catholic Pastoral Center. Four NGOs were represented at this meeting that was attended by a total of 11 participants of which 3 were female and 8 were male. Three NGOs did not attend namely: National Women's Lobby Group, Proffessional and Business Women and Zambia Civic Education Association. However, they will be involved in any future program and meetings.

There were two reasons why the followup meeting was called. The first was to set up a co-ordinating committee that would be co-ordinating the distribution of NDI voter education materials. A committee of seven people was put in place with representation from each of the seven NGOs in Kasama. The committee will at its first meeting elect the chairperson and any other relevant positions for effective eperations.

Secondly, the meeting agreed to divide Northern province into two regions for effective distribution of the materials. One region will be under the co-ordination of the committee in Kasama while the other will be co-ordinated by NGOs in Mpika. The towns that will fall under KASAMA are: Kasama, Mbala, Luwingu, Chinsali and Chilubi Island. While Mporokoso, Isoka, Mpika and Nakonde will be under MPIKA. NDI is yet to establish a committee or contacts in Mpika. The committee in Kasama will facilitate the process of establishing a committee in Mpika among the NGOs and religious groups that operate in Mpika before NDI undertakes the next trip to Northern Province.

A. CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. M.M. Shapi	M	National Women's Lobby Group
2. E.N. Ng'ambi	F	Foundation for Democratic Process
3. G. Kachiliko	F	Development Education Program
4. H. Chitu	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
5. J. Mubanga	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
6. A. Milimo	M	Development Education Program
7. J.O. Omar	F	Proffesional and Business Women

B. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATION

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. F. C. Mutale	F	Foundation for Democratic Process
2. E. N. Ng'ambi	F	"
3. H.C. Chintu	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
4. F. M. M. Nsofwa	M	"
5. John Mubanga	M	"
6. Mpundu M. Shapi	M	National Women's Lobby Group
7. Milimo Afred	M	Development Education Program
8. Sabala John	M	"
9. C. R. Chileshe	M	"
10. G. N. Kachiliko	F	"
11. J. Kachiliko	M	"

III. COPPERBELT PROVINCE

On the Copperbelt two follow up/consultative meetings were held with NGO representatives in Kitwe and Ndola. Another meeting was held with the President of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in Ndola and not in Kitwe as earlier planned.

A. KITWE

Branel and Stephen had a consultative meeting with one of the contact persons in Kitwe, Mrs. Eva Sanderson on the possibility of holding a follow up meeting in Kitwe. The purpose of the meeting would be to select a co-ordinating committee and enable NGOs in Kitwe identify the towns on the Copperbelt that will be co-ordinated from Kitwe. It was tentatively arranged that the meeting in Kitwe take place on Wednesday, January 31, 1996 at either Nkana Hotel or Edinburgh Hotel from 15:00 hours to 17:00 hours.

Efforts to have a follow up consultative meeting with ZCTU Deputy National Secretary for Administration and Organization, Mr. Alfred Mudenda could not materialise because Mr. Mudenda was in Ndola attending a meeting with the ZCTU President,Mr. Fackson Shamenda.

B. NDOLA

A n unplanned consultative meeting with ZCTU President was held at his residence at 16:00 hours. The purpose of the meeting was to find out the outcome of the official correspondence by NDI to ZCTU on the possibility of ZCTU collaborating with NDI on the current and future programs in Zambia. He expressed willingness to work with NDI in the area of participating on the Committee for a Clean Campaign and a need to conduct provincial workahops for for ZCTU district representatives on civic and human rights related issues.

He indicated that, he will make a follow up meeting in Lusaka on a later date at the NDI Zambia Field Office. He further apologised in behalf of Mr. Mudenda for not meeting him in Kitwe ealier in a day. Mr. Mudenda was attending a crucial meeting in Ndola with the ZCTU President.

At 17:00 hours, a follow up consultative meeting was held at New Savoy Hotel with contact persons that belong to Ndola based NGOs. Four NGOs were represented at this meeting whose purpose was to assess the possibility of holding a follow up meeting in Ndola. It was suggested that the follow up meeting take place on Wednesday, January 31, 1996 from 09:00 hours to 12:00 hours at the New Savoy Hotel.

During the meeting it was agreed that a co-ordinating committee be constituted at the follow up meeting. It was also agreed that NGOs in NDOLA will be co-ordinating: Ndola Urban, Luanshya and Ndola Rural. The rest of the towns on the Copperbelt will fall under KITWE. This includes: Mufulira, Chingola, Chililabombwe, Kalulushi and Kitwe.

C. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. Grace Phiri	F	Young Women Christian Association
2. Cynthia Shaba	F	Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia
3. Nicholas Chisha	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
4. James Chasaya	M	Democratic Governance for Africa

IV. CENTRAL PROVINCE

On Thursday, January 11, 1996 a follow up meeting was held in Kabwe at Elephant's Head Hotel. The purpose of the meeting was to assess how the proceedings of the other follow up meeting on December 21, 1995 were conducted and the concerns that were raised. At this meeting NDI staff met with the co ordinating committee for NGOs in Kabwe, that is composed of six representatives of NGOs.

The committee reported that the meeting on December 21, was attended by 20 people. They agreed to form a co-rdinating committee that would foster the spirit of networking among NGOs in central province. The committee is composed of six people. Among the major isues that were discussed at the meeting on December 21, were:

- the need to promote networking among NGOs in Kabwe and be able to identify the roles and objectives of different NGOs that are concerned.
- the need to adress issues of general intrest such as civic/voter education, voter registration and human rights once the committee is formed so that NGOs in Kabwe become part and parcel of the civic awareness campaign to encourage people participate in the electorlal process.
- NGOs present during the meeting wanted clarification on what NDI is, what it is involved in. Some contact persons who had attended the first meeting tried to explain on behalf of NDI. Those who were not satisfied were requested to meet NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala when he makes a second trip to Kabwe.

NDI Program Assistant Branel Mwangala clarified the role that NDI is playing in the country to the six members of the committee. At the end of the follow up meeting, all the members ere satisfied by his explanation.

A. CO - ORDINATING COMMITTEE

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. Lizzie Michelo	F	National Women's Lobby Group
2. Charles Chileshe	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
3. Puthias Kalituta	M	Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia
4. Joyce Mushili	F	Lions Club of Kasanda
5. Kabesha Mulilo	M	
6. Christopher Mulambia	M	

B. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS TO THE DECEMBER 21, 1996 FOLLOW UP MEETING

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. Leya Musa	F	Foundation for Democratic Process
2. Morgan Kumwenda	M	LEPLATO Theatre
3. Alfred Bowa	M	Community
4. Willie Katebe	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
5. Beatrice Kumwenda	F	Foundation for Democratic Process
6. Kasonde Chipasha	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
7. Mulenga Nkole	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
8. Gringo Mulambia	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
9. Pythias Kalituta	M	Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia
10. Simon Chomba	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
11. C. S. Musole	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
12. J.P. Popat	M	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
13. Mando Chileshe	M	Foundation for Democratic Process
14. Mary Lesa	F	Society of Women Against Aids in Zambia
15. Joyce Mushili	F	Kasanda Lions Club

16. Lizzie Michelo	F	National Women's Lobby Group
17. Gabriel Mbambala	M	Mulungushi Junior Chambers
18. Alfarson Sinalungu	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
19. Julia Phiri	F	
20. Mary Mkandawire	F	

SOUTHERN PROVINCE NGO SURVEY MISSION REPORT
February 7 - 10, 1996

I. INTRODUCTION

NDI Program Assistant, Branel Mwangala and Logistics Co-ordinator, Stephen Phiri undertook their last survey mission of NGOs. This trip took them to Livingstone and Choma on February 8 and February 9, 1996 respectively. The meeting in Livingstone was a follow up to the one that took place in December, 1995 while the one in Choma was taking place for the first time. Southern Province like the Copperbelt and Nothern Provinces will be divided into two regions. One under Livingstone and the other under Choma.

II. LIVINGSTONE MEETING (February 8, 1996) New Fairmount Hotel

The meeting took place from 14:00 hours to 16:30 hours. A total of 12 NGOs were represented at the meeting that attracted 18 participants. Out of the 18 people 8 were female and 10 were male. The participants were briefed on the activities of NDI in other countries and what NDI has done since 1991 in Zambia and its current program on voter education prior to the Local Government Elections sometime this year. The following districts will be under Livingstone: Livingstone, Kalomo, Zimba and Sesheke. Among the issues that were deliberated upon include the following:

- The Livingstone Residents Association is currently publishing a monthly newsletter that they distribute to all residents free of charge. The newsletter covers issues of great concern to residents and what political parties that have representation in the district will offer to residents if voted into power during the Local and National Elections later this year. The same organization is working on a program that would support independent candidates during the Local Government and Parliamentary Elections ti year.

- NGOs need to network among themselves on a number of activities that have national interest at heart. It was observed that NGOs do not network both at provincial and district levels. Networking would enhance group effort among NGOs in Southern Province.

- There is a need to educate political parties on their responsibilities so that they can give first priority to saving the electorate.

- There is need to conduct a rural and community based civic awareness campaigns.

III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. Sr. T. Abraham	F	Diocese of Livingstone
2. M. Whitehead	F	Livingstone Residents Association
3. P. Kashempa	F	Foundation for Democratic Process

4. J. Mwewa	M	St Theresa's Cathedral
5. K. Ntambale	M	CINDI
6. L. Mutandi - Kapanda	F	YWCA /EAZ
7. M. Phiri	F	Zambia Young Christian Students
8. E. Nsunta	M	YMCA
9. R.P. Sitali	F	YMCA
10. M. Kamayoyo	F	Zambia Red Cross Society
11. S. Simachembele	M	FODEP
12. C. Simasiku	M	FODEP
13. G. W. Mmwina	M	YMCA
14. A. Chulu	M	Ntanda Theatre
15. S. Maseila	M	Mosi-o-Tunya Baptist Church
16. E. Muzeya	M	LRA
17. G. Staden	F	LRA
18. E. Mbulo	M	PPAZ

IV. CHOMA MEETING (February 9, 1996) Kalundu Motel

The meeting in Choma was attended by 6 NGOs with a total representation of 8 participants out of which 4 were female and the other 4 male. During the course of the deliberations it was decided by participants that Choma will co-ordinate activities in the following districts: Choma, Monze, Mazabuka, Sinazeze, Namwala, Pemba and Siavonga. NGOs expressed willingness to collaborate with NDI on its current program on voter education. It was also observed that NGOs do not network in Choma hence the need to enhance networking. There is also a need to put emphasis on rural / urban based civic education awareness campaign in order to target a larger audience.

V. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. F.E. Mwandira	M	FODEP
2. L. M. Mweemba	F	FODEP
3. P. M. Chewe	F	Roman Catholic Church
4. Major A. S. J. Masiku	M	Red Cross Society
5. E.B.M. Masiku	F	Reformed Church in Zambia

6. P. Ntiindu	M	PPAZ
7. L. Kagula	F	FODEP
8. N. Mutenekwa	M	World Vision International

COPPERBELT PROVINCE NGO SURVEY MISSION REPORT
January 30 to February 2, 1996

I. INTRODUCTION

The follow up survey mssion to the Copperbelt Province took place in Ndola on January 31, and in Kitwe on February 1, 1996 at the Savoy Hotel and Edinburgh Hotel respectively. The purpose of these meetings was to divide the province into two regions to be co-ordinated by committees in Ndola and Kitwe and ultimately form these committees that would co-ordinate activities of NGOs on the Copperbelt Province.

II. NDOLA MEETING (January 30 - 31, 1996) Savoy Hotel.

Seven NGOs attended the meeting in Ndola from 10:00 hours to 12:00 hours. A total of 8 participants were present out of which 4 were male and 4 were female. The participants agreed the region under Ndola will only cover three districts: Ndola Urban, Ndola Rural and Luanshya. It was also discussed that NGOs need to network among each other to enhance the spirit of group effort on a number of programs. As a result, a co-ordinating committee was constituted by the NGOs and participants that were present during the meeting.

The voter registration exercise is still being affected by apathy. But the issuing of NRCs seem ed to have been progressing well despite the congestion. It was not clear as to whether the queues would end before the last day of the second extention period on March 1, 1996. There is still lack of effective publicity on the same exercise to enlightene people on the importance of registering as a voter if you are 18 years and above.

III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. Rev. D. Malaya	M	Anglican Diocese of Central Zambia
2. M. P. Kazembe	F	Young Women Christian Association
3. C.B. Banda	F	Young Women Christian Association
4. P.S. Ngosa	M	Young Men Christian Association
5. R. Mwansa	F	Women Federation for World Peace
6. N. C. Chisha	M	Youth Federation for World Peace
7. J. Muzyamba	F	Ndola Rotaract Club
8. J.K. Lungu	M	Reformed Church in Zambia

IV. KITWE MEETING (February 1 to February 2, 1996) Edinburgh Hotel

The meeting in Kitwe was also a follow up meeting that discussed among other things, the setting up of a co-ordinating committee, the need to network and the division of Copperbelt Province into two regions one under Ndola and the other under Kitwe. It was emphasised that NGOs in Kitwe should work together on programs that have interest of national importance. Group effort was very much encouraged among NGOs. As a result a committee of ten people was selected among the participants to co-ordinate activities of NGOs.

All the participants agreed that the region under Kitwe should cover 5 districts: Kitwe, Kalulushi, Mufulira, Chingola and Chililabombwe. Atotal of 14 NGOs were represented. 17 people were present at the meeting out of which 4 were female and the other 13 were male.

V. LIST OF PARTICIPANT AND ORGANIZATIONS

NAME	*GENDER*	*ORGANIZATION*
1. B. Hamakalu	F	Planned Parenthold Association Zambia
2. S. Mumba	M	Copperbelt Entreprenuers Association
3. N. Kaluba	M	Zambia Fisheries and Marketeers Union
4. B. Mukuka	M	Charcoal Producers Association
5. E. Ngosa	F	ASAWA
6. R. Mumbi	F	ASAWA
7. F. Chota	M	ZAMAC / FODEP
8. B. Mwape	M	ZAMAC / FODEP
9. C. Siwale	F	FODEP
10. S. Sankalimba	M	Luangwa Resident Association / KEA
11. M. Mwila	M	Kitwe Consumers Association
12. M. Ililonga	M	Planned Parenthold Association of Zambia
13. P. Y. Nthenga	M	Zambia Volunteers Development Foundation
14. K. Chanda	M	Young Men Christian Association
15. Lt. J. J. Mwape	M	Zambia Rate and Rent Payers Association
16. N. Yuyi	M	Emarald Association of Zambia
17. D. Saviye	M	Copperbelt Entrepruers Association

REGISTRATION FORM

(PLEASE FILL OUT AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE)

Organization: _____ **Acronym:** _____

Contact Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ **Province:** _____

Telephone: _____ **Fax:** _____

Type Of Organization: _____

Number Of Membership: _____

Sources of Support: _____

Founding Date: _____

Goals Of Organization: _____

_____

Provinces In Which Organization Operates:

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

Province: _____ **Phone:** _____
Fax: _____ **Contact:** _____
Address: _____

NDI Party Agent Training Agenda

8:30	Registration
9:00-9:15	Call to Order & Welcome National Anthem Introductions Purpose & Agenda Review
9:15-11:30	**Workshop I.**
	Campaigning to win Running Election Campaigns Message Development Working with the Media G.O.T.V. (Get Out The Vote) Techniques
11:30-11:45	Tea Break
11:45-13:30	**Workshop II.**
	Election Monitoring Relations between party pollwatchers and non-partisan monitors Role and duties of party pollwatchers Role of security forces
13:30-14:30	Lunch
14:30-16:30	**Workshop III.**
	Review of Party Agent Packet Party Agent Role Play
16:30-16:45	Tea Break
16:45-17:15	Campaigning and Political Rhetoric
17:15-17:30	Questions and Answers
17:30-17:45	Evaluation
17:45-	Wrap-up, thank you and acknowledgments

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

COMMITTEE FOR A CLEAN CAMPAIGN (CCC)

&

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI)

The parties to this memorandum of understanding are:

The Clean Campaign Committee (CCC) representing civic and Non-governmental organizations in Zambia

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) Zambia field office

1.0 Preamble

The two parties undertake to promote a spirit of cooperation and understanding among political parties in Zambia. Further, the CCC and NDI in Zambia shall foster a spirit of cooperation in the execution of tasks required to be fulfilled in the run up to the 1996 General and Presidential elections.

It is understood that the parties to this agreement shall only cooperate on matters necessarily incidental to the smooth conduct of the said elections. It is also recognized that the major stake holders are the citizens of Zambia. Thus far, the work of the two parties to this agreement shall to the extent that commitment from politicians and political parties is necessary be contingent on cooperation so received.

2.0 Duties and responsibilities

The two parties undertake the following duties and responsibilities to each other and the Zambian people.

A) The Clean Campaign Committee

1. Shall convene all meetings related to the functioning of the Clean Campaign.

2. Shall in collaboration with other stake holders publish, hold meetings, conduct activities necessary in the course of its work.

3. Shall without prejudice represent the interests of members before any other authority.

4. Shall develop a programme of action related to the Clean Campaign and the 1996 General and Presidential elections.

It is also understood that individual NGOs shall continue with their independent activities and at no time shall either the work of a member NGO, the CCC or NDI be put into jeopardy.

B) The National Democratic Institute

1. Shall conduct its mandate with regard to the forth coming General and Presidential elections through the Committee for a Clean Campaign.

2. Shall in conjunction with CCC facilitate the printing and dissemination of voter education materials.

3. Shall provide the Clean Campaign Committee with the relevant information relating to the ongoing voters exercise.

4. NDI shall make its data base accessible to the CCC

5. NDI shall provide the CCC with comparative information from other countries where it has been active.

3.0 Modus Operandi

Having due regard to procedure and processes, NDI shall relate to CCC on matters related to this memorandum through the chairperson and secretariat to be established at the Christian Council of Zambia.

This, therefore, places the responsibility of convening meetings on the above secretariat. However, member NGOs and NDI acting on its own accord may request for the convening of a meeting provided there is notice of not less than 48 hours.

4.0 Arbitration

It shall be the responsibility of the full committee together with NDI, in any matter that involves NDI, to resolve any misunderstanding that may arise.

BRING DEMOCRACY HOME

A Publication of the Committee for a Clean Campaign

Issue #1

ELECTIONS '96

VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1996

You are responsible for their future. Make sure you vote in local government elections

Use Your Vote and Make a Difference.

DON'T FORGET YOUR NATIONAL REGISTRATION CARD AND VOTERS CARD ON ELECTION DAY

WHAT ARE WE VOTING FOR?

In 1996, you will have the opportunity to vote for your local councillor, Member of Parliament and for the President.

LOCAL COUNCILS

1,180 local councillors
61 districts
Three year terms

PARLIAMENT

150 Members of National Assembly
150 constituencies
Five year terms

PRESIDENT

One President
five-year term

All these elections are important for the future of your children. Be sure that those who want your vote for local council, Parliament and President know what you want for your family and your community.

Remember: Good government goes with your vote

ONE PERSON = ONE VOTE

YOUR VOTE IS YOUR SECRET

WHAT SHOULD I EXPECT FROM MY LOCAL COUNCILOR?

It is time to elect our community leaders, but this can only be done when you are clear about what you want them to do.

Ask your candidate for local council how they will provide:

- Clean water supply
- Good roads
- A safe and crime-free community
- Distribution of seeds and fertilizer
- Well-stocked health clinics
- Accessible community services
- Contact with you after elections

Learn about your candidates for local council before the election. Ask them what they will do to improve your community.

After the election, it is your responsibility to ensure that your councilor represents your interests. Let them know what you want.

DON'T FORGET TO ARRANGE FOR TRANSPORT ON ELECTION DAY

BRING DEMOCRACY HOME

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR VOTERS

1. You have nothing to fear, because your vote is secret.

2. Do not vote for a candidate without knowing his or her aims and policies.

3. Do not be misled by false promises.

4. Your vote is your power. Use it to make a difference to your life and your country.

5. Your vote is worth a lot, do not let someone buy it with money or other gifts.

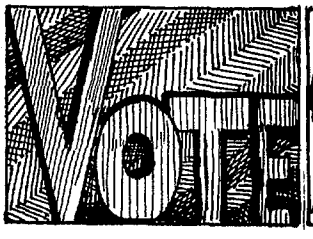
6. Choice is the key to democracy. Remember, you are making a decision that will affect future generations.

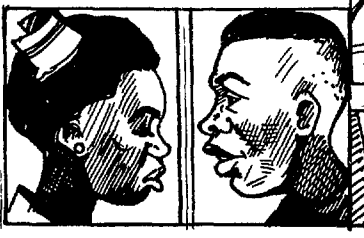
7. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness. Vote so that justice can flow like a river, and peace like a mighty flood.

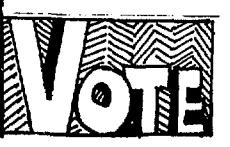
8. Just as a village has people of different opinions, Zambia has political parties with different agendas. Examine and vote for the party you feel is best for the future of the country.

9. At the end of the day we are all Zambians. Respect and defend the rights of others to vote for the party of their choice without fear or intimidation.

10. Judge your representatives by the fruits of their labours. Watch out for their actions and demand that they fulfill their promises.







ELECTIONS '96 is a publication of the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC). The CCC consists of NGOs, religious groups, labor unions and students. It seeks to promote an atmosphere of non-violence, tolerance and mutual respect in the upcoming local and national elections in Zambia. If you or your organization are interested in CCC and its activities, call the following number for more information:
Lusaka: 22 65 44

Committee for a Clean Campaign
Schedule for Voter Education Radio Dramas
Radio One-ZNBC

Date	Time	Language
Wednesday, 31 January	19:00	Lunda
Thursday, 1 February	18:03	Lozi
	21:30	Nyanja
Friday, 2 February	18:30	Bemba
Saturday, 3 February	19:15	Luvale
	22:00	Tonga
Sunday, 4 February	19:30	Kaonde

Committee for a Clean Campaign
Voter Education Radio Program
ZNBC Radio 1 & 2

Language:

Duration: 30 Mins.

Producer: Kalusa

Cast:		
	P. Kamawu	Husband/Father
	C. Mukanda	Wife/Mother
	B. Saluseki	Son
	B. Kakoma	Family Friend

Theme: Why Registering to Vote is Important/How to Register to Vote/Where to Register to Vote

Scene One: **Lunchtime in the Village, Sounds of Food being prepared**

FX: **Radio broadcast Concerning the Registration of Voters**

Dialogue:

Son: (*Switches off the radio*) I am so tired of hearing about this registration of voters nonsense. Why won't they just put on some music or something while I eat my food? This is just a waste of batteries. (*Switches on a cassette tape of Koffi Olomide, it plays in the background*)

Ah, that's better!

Mother: (*Pleading*) Ah, please, please, turn the message back on, I want to hear what they are saying! We need to know where to go and register, this is a very important message!

Son: (*Skeptical*) Oh, Mama. Important message, what important message are you talking about? Registration of voters, why should I listen to such rubbish?

Mother: Let me ask you, son, have you registered to vote?

Son: Of course not. It is an absolute waste of my time. What can registering to vote bring to my life? Why should I register? (*Sound of him taking a sip of his softie drink*)

Mother: If you do not register you will not be able to vote! And voting is very important, you should be aware of that. I voted in 1991, and in several by-elections since then, and it was such a good feeling to know that my voice was being heard! Now, you are 18, and you have the right to vote too! Here, finish this relish. (*Sound of plates being passed*)

Son: Thank you. So what, I have the right to vote. Has anything changed after YOU voted? No! My school is in worse condition than it was a few years ago. The roads are full of massive potholes. And I have no chance of getting decent work once I complete school, with all of these retrenchments.

Mother: Listen, I understand your frustration. But those are not reasons to avoid voting, they even are more reason TO vote. Your local councillor is responsible for many of these issues, and if you don't like the job they are doing then you can vote to replace them. Or if you think they are doing a good job, then you can vote to retain them. Either way, by voting you begin to tell the government what our problems are. How else will they know? Voting is your voice in day-to-day affairs that affect us. But if you don't vote at all, then you will have no voice at all!

Son: What, what, no voice at all. It doesn't matter, they don't listen to small people like us anyway!

(Sound of running water as they begin to clean up from lunch...the music continues to play in the background)

Mother: Listen, I'm your mother and I know you. You like to complain, always complaining about this and that. But if you don't vote, you have no right to complain. You have let others make decisions for you. I want to have a say in who speaks for me in government. I want to make decisions for myself, and to help make decisions for our village.

(The door opens and shuts. The Father comes in and throws his car keys on the table. He complains that he punctured a tire on his car when he hit a pothole in the road while driving home.)

Father: *(Exasperated)* Someone should FIX those roads, they are terrible, I tell you. How much money do we have to waste on these car repairs?

Son: *(Mocking)* Maybe you should go and register to vote - - Mom says THAT will fix your car. *(Laughs)*

Father: What are you talking about? Voting that can fix your car? This is nonsense. And will someone PLEASE turn off that rhumba, it is making my head shake.

Mother: We are talking about the registration of voters, and that is NOT what I said. Don't mock your mother. I only said that it gives you the chance to vote so you have a voice in government. Registering to vote is like planting a seed. If you don't plant a seed, there won't be a harvest. And if you don't register, you won't be able to vote. And voting makes the government OURS.

Father: But why does it matter. When is the last time you saw our MP in the village? I wouldn't recognize him if I saw him!

Mother: Ah, don't you read the paper? We aren't voting for MP this time, we are voting for a local government councillor. MP's in Parliament deal with bigger national issues. Local government is responsible for issues that affect our daily lives. Things like road repair, sewage disposal, clinics, electricity and water. Our local council also should work with the MP to find ways to address village needs like health, education, and welfare.

Father and Son: Either way, it doesn't matter!

Mother: It should. The person you vote for will sit on our district council. We can vote for someone who we trust will do a good job. That way, our councillor will represent our interests. If many people, like you and that stubborn son of ours, do not register, then our voice in the council might be wasted. What if the person elected never shows up to the meetings, or doesn't understand or care about our needs? If you don't vote, you won't have any right to complain if our concillor does a poor job. And we know that you LOVE to complain.

Son: I think Mom might be right, Dad. We do like to complain. But obviously nobody is listening to us, look at our streets! Look at your tire!

Mother: That's right. You have been complaining about these roads so long it is repeating like this Koffie tape. *(Turns off the cassette).* But has our representative even listened to you? I don't think so. Now, if you vote for someone and they still don't fix the roads, you have the right to hold them accountable.

End of Scene One

Scene Two: Marketplace

FX: A bustling market: Cars, people talking, selling, etc....

Father: Hurry up, we don't have all day, you know. And we don't even know where to go for this registration. This is just a waste.

Son: How should I know, I've never done this before. Hey, look, there is (INSERT NAME HERE). Ewe! Moloshanie (Or Lunda equivalent)!

Family Friend: Good Afternoon. How are you this fine day?

Father: Well, things are just OK. We've been walking around looking for the place to register as voters, but, ah, we don't know where it is.

Family Friend: What, what, you mean you haven't registered? You should hurry. Today is (INSERT DATE OF PROGRAM) and registration ends on 9 February. The registration site depends on where you live. In this village, we register at the Primary School.

Son: So, we can just go and get our voters cards and go home, right?

Family Friend: No, that is not how it works. Did you not see the advert in the newspaper? Here, let me tell you.

(Young Voice: Do you want to buy some nice mangoes? Real good price, only one-five! Avocadoes, too!)

Family Friend: Not now, not now. OK, listen. You are both Zambian citizens, right?

Father: Yes, of course. We both were born in (INSERT VILLAGE NAME HERE).

Family Friend: OK, that is the first step. Now, boy, how old are you?

Son: I am 18, almost 19.

Family Friend: That is fine, you can register. You have to be 18 years or older to register as a voter. Do you both have your green national registration card. It is very important, you cannot register with out it.

Son: Yes, the registration office recieved films last week so I was able to get my NRC. Dad, do you have yours?

Father: Yes, yes, yes. Of course I have my NRC. But what else do we have to do?

Family Friend: All you have to do is to go down to the registration area at the primary school and register. It is very easy to do and it is free.

Father: OK, thank you very much.

End of Scene Two

Scene Three: Back at the House

FX: The Radio is Playing in the background, it is very soft so you can hardly hear it

Mother: So, did you get registered to vote?

Son: Ah yes, it was very easy. We only had to fill out one very short form, but they didn't give us our card.

Father: That's right. They said we must come back to the same place where we registered to pick up our voters cards. The registration officer said that the government would advertise the dates when the cards would be ready.

Mother: That is great! I am glad you decided to exercise your rights and register as voters. Now, when the local government elections come, you will be able to vote for the candidate that will bring development to our area.

(The Registration of Voters radio spot comes on again, but, you can't hear it very well)

Son: Mother, can you make the radio louder? I want to hear more about the registration of voters in Zambia!

Ken Wollack's Schedule

Lusaka, Zambia

Wednesday, March 27, 1996

12:00	Ken Wollack arrives at Lusaka International Airport
12:45	Arrives at NDI field office for briefing with Keith, Rob, David
14:00	Meeting with Ambassador Kuchel, USAID Director Joe Stipanek
15:30	Meeting with UNIP Chairman Sebastian Zulu, UNIP MP Patrick Mvunga
16:30	Meeting with Minister of Foreign Affairs Hon. Gen. Christian Tembo
19:00	Dinner with MMD Organizational Secretary Mikatazo Wakumelo, MMD Youth Wing Joshua Chellah, MMD National Youth Chairman M. Mwape
21:00	Gershon G. Korda, Nikuv Computers at the Intercontinental Hotel

Thursday, March 28, 1996

8:00	Breakfast at Intercontinental hotel; NDI program staff
10:00	Meeting Vice President Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda
11:30	U.S. Ambassador Kuchel, Political Officer Ed Stafford
11:45	Nikuv Computers offices at Mulungushi Village
12:15	Depart for Airport
13:20	Depart Zambia

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jeannette Goehring
FROM: NDI Zambia
RE: Assessment Trip Meetings (PAT'S TRIP)
DATE: February 22, 1996

From February 12-February 15, and then from February 19-Feb. 22, 1996 NDI Regional Director Patricia Keefer, Zambia Project Director Rob Black and Zambia Field Representative David Stearns met with representatives of Zambian political parties, NGOs, religious leaders and trade unions. The purpose of these meetings was to evaluate the current political climate in Zambia to enable NDI to identify a plan of action surrounding upcoming electoral activities in Zambia.

FEBRUARY 13

FODEP

NDI met with Kalila Chellah-Kunda, Executive Director; and Mweelwa Mulenga, information officer of the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP). The National Secretary, Bishop John Mambo, was unable to attend due to illness.

Pat Keefer began by broadly describing NDI's election year activities, including the voter education program, the Committee for a Clean Campaign and the domestic election monitor training workshops. She then asked the FODEP representatives for their opinions on the curent status of the election process, and to share any concerns they had based on their observations

Ms. Kunda mentioned the **slow process of voter registration** as being the primary concern. She said FODEP was concerned about the number of people who had been registered. She attributed part of the problem to voter apathy, but she said the more serious hurdle had been poor government logistics in the distribution of National Registration Cards (NRCs).

FODEP has monitored the voter registration process, and plans to begin a second phase of its monitoring effort after Feb. 20th. In addition, Ms. Kunda said that FODEP has produced and

distributed adverts to encourage people to register and vote. She said FODEP still plans to monitor the local elections when they are held.

Ms. Keefer asked FODEP's representatives to state more specifically why people had not been registering, and in her answer Ms. Kunda made a distinction between urban or "elite" citizens and rural citizens. She said that the country's elite were concerned with the government contract with Nikuv Computer to conduct voter registration. The less sophisticated rural Zambians failed to register for economic reasons. In particular, most rural villagers see their priority as being to feed their children and to work their fields rather than to stand in a queue for 12 hours waiting to register. In addition, she said many rural people feel that their quality of life declined in the last five years, so they do not make a positive connection between their lives and voting. Other obstacles include the length of the process and distance to registration centers.

Ms. Kunda said that Director of Elections Rabson Mwansa and Elections Commission Spokesperson Joel Sikazwe are responsive to FODEP's concerns, but that they are unable to make or effectively influence decisions which are made by Cabinet. Efforts to see President Chiluba to raise concerns also had been unsuccessful. She said that the Elections Office is frustrated because they are not prepared with the materials they need to carry out their mandate. In addition, they are having a difficult time communicating with Nikuv Computer. While the election authorities are not necessarily perceived as tools of malfeasance, Ms. Kunda did say that inefficiency on part of the government could serve a political purpose.

Concerning a possible international presence, Ms. Kunda said that FODEP believes these elections to be worse than 1991 and is **asking for international organizations to assist in the monitoring effort** again. (Bishop Mambo has reiterated this position to NDI on several occasions). She said that it was sad that government only would listen to the concerns of donors but ignored the Zambian people. Nevertheless, FODEP is realistic, and since the government will listen to the international community FODEP believes the donors do have a role to play.

United National Independence Party (UNIP)

NDI met with members of the UNIP secretariat, including Administrative Secretary Basil Kabwe, UNIP Youth League Treasurer Chris Njovu and Frank Kapembwa, assistant to Mr. Kabwe. Pat Keefer began by introducing the NDI team and outlining NDI's current electoral support activities.

She stressed the importance of the upcoming elections as a "bellweather" for multi-party democracy in the region, and asked if there is another role for NDI as an international organization.

Mr. Kabwe said he believes that NDI's work in Zambia is very important. He specifically mentioned that UNIP is interested in additional NDI leadership training for political party organizers. Mr. Kapembwa, who participated extensively in the 1994-95 NDI Strengthening Political Parties program, suggested future programs should venture deeper into provincial areas, involving party members from the Lusaka headquarters, to increase the participation of rural party members.

The UNIP representatives mentioned several concerns regarding the current electoral process. First, Mr. Kabwe mentioned that UNIP is not happy with the current disposition of the Electoral Commission, which he said is neither broad-based nor autonomous. Second were problems regarding voter registration and the Nikuv contract. Finally, he mentioned coverage in the mass media which he claims has not been equitable or balanced.

UNIP has attempted to meet with the president but according to Mr. Kabwe their advances were unsuccessful. He referred to MMD National Secretary Michael Sata's comments in the newspaper that they had seen the UNIP letter from Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and "thrown it in the rubbish." With this response, UNIP said there obviously can be no discussion. "And if there is no discussion, they are calling for a serious misunderstanding which could lead to unfortunate circumstances which everyone is trying to avoid," Mr. Kabwe said.

UNIP is suspicious of Nikuv's delegated responsibility for compiling the voters roll, claiming that the contract provides the Israeli company with the authority to determine who appears on the final list. This suspicion, combined with the supposed refusal of MMD to engage in direct talks with the opposition, could lead to noncooperation, boycott and other measures intended to disrupt the upcoming elections. According to Mr. Njovu, "we are sorry that certain things are going to happen, but they will be done in pursuit of democratic principles."

FEBRUARY 22, 1996

Christian Council of Zambia

NDI met with Rev. Sampa-Bredt, Secretary General of the Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ). Pat Keefer began by asking her what she foresaw as the role of churches in the upcoming election year. Rev. Sampa-Bredt said that her churches would attempt to emulate the role they played in 1991, as a neutral player educating the people of Zambia to understand the process and encouraging them to participate in choosing their government. In 1996, the churches once again are working to remind people that they are the instruments of change who will put a government in place. The role of the church is not to manipulate the minds of the general public but to help them to understand the pertinent issues at hand. This cannot be accomplished by working in isolation; what is demanded is a coordinated effort by the Zambian churches and NGOs, she said, mentioning their close relationships with AFRONET and YWCA.

The larger goal of the churches would be to promote an atmosphere where the political parties are free to pursue their electoral ambitions without intimidation or threat. She said that the churches should "pull together" so that all of the participants in the electoral process are dealt with fairly.

Hon. Patrick Mvunga: UNIP MP from Eastern Province, Chairman of 1991 Constitutional Review Commission

The meeting with Mr. Mvunga focused on technicalities of provisions to alter the existing constitution. This was pertinent given the attempts to disqualify Dr. Kenneth Kaunda from running for president again by revising the Constitution to require citizens to have two parents of Zambian birth. Mr. Mvunga said that an ordinary amendment to alter any part of the constitution (other than Part Three: Bill of Rights) may be accomplished with 2/3 support of all members of Parliament. A bill to alter Part Three requires a National Referendum of 50% of the voters entitled to register as voters.

On another topic, Mr. Mvunga said that the government had not been telling the truth about the registration of voters. He claimed that a South African company could have done the job for $4 million, and that the Electoral Commission had suggested this firm but were overruled by Cabinet.

Mikatazo Wakumelo: MMD Organizational Secretary

Mr. Wakumelo was NDI's liaison person with the MMD during the 1994-95 *Strengthening Political Parties* program, and has continued to work closely with NDI since the conclusion of that program in October 1995. Ms. Keefer asked Wakumelo why it had been difficult of late for NDI to arrange and secure meetings with the MMD, and if this was an indication of MMD dissatisfaction with NDI in Zambia.

Wakumelo said that from the time NDI had set up an office in Lusaka until the time of the MMD convention in December, 1995 the relations with NDI were "excellent." He said that the MMD benefitted tremendously from NDI's training workshops. However, he said that the recent change of leadership in the secretariat of the MMD brought in a new operational leadership headed by National Secretary Hon. Michael Sata and Dep. National Secretary Hon. Paul Tembo. This had created confusion about division of labor, Wakumelo said, thus the problems with scheduling meetings.

Wakumelo said at this point it was difficult to say what the relationship would look like in the coming months. He said that he would encourage that the relationship continue as it had under former National Secretary Vice President Brig. Gen. Godfrey Miyanda. He said that NDI's fears should not be serious, and that it should understand that new peopl have to learn their new roles in the party. There appears to be some apprehension as to whether Wakumelo will be retained as the liaison with NDI or if he will be replaced.

Local Government Election Commission

An afternoon meeting was held with the three-member Local Government Election Commission. Participants included Commissioners Mundia Sikatana and C. Numulo and Chairman A. J. Nyangulu.

Mr. Nyangulu said that the Commission was formed three years ago, and has seen many of its recommendations fall by the wayside. For example, it recommended that the Local Government and National Election Commissions be reverted to a single commission, which has not been the case. It also has argued for continuous registration for some time, but this too has been ignored. Mr. Sikatana said that the Commission had warned that many Zambians would lose the opportunity to vote because they would not be registered. It was not an easy voter registration exercise, he said, having been plagued by the rainy season, the harvest, voter apathy and the fact that registration is not compulsory. Another major problem which he cited was the missing massive campaign of voter education. He called all of these unfortunate developments, and said that the Commission still believed that voter registration

should be continuous to resolve this problem. **"Two million voters is a mockery. Voter registration is not a constitutional obligation, but what is obligated is the right to vote. You are inhibitin people from exercising their ultimate right to vote. No system should be devised that fails the people."**

They also have argued for minimum education qualifications to be eligible to run for councilor, with the minimum requirement of literacy to hold office.

Mr. Nyangulu said that the government does not appear ready to conduct continuous registration. He said that government could have used the NRCs which the MMD had advocated in 1991, but now all three major political parties were calling for the two-card system. He said he still has not been provided with a reasonable explanation that there should be two cards required to vote in elections in Zambia. According to government it is for security purposes, but this has not been explained adequately, he said.

Independence of the Commission also was a concern. Mr. Nyangulu said that they are merely a government body without independence regardless of claims to the contrary since they must have to go to the government for funding their activities. He called on the two elections commissions to come together and try again to make joint recommendations to the government.

On a related note, Mr. Nyangulu expressed serious opposition to the awarding of the registration work contract to the Israeli computer firm, saying it "makes no sense."

Pat Keefer laid out NDI's options for work in Zambia, including the offer to provide technical expertise on the voter registration exercise and other aspects of the electoral process, as well as the voter education initiative.

	Election Commissions	Election Directorate	Government	Political Parties	Civil Society Churches / Unions / NGOs	Media	International
Registration	• Joint meeting • Technical advice • Extension decision	• Technical assistance • Extension implementation	• Options consultation	• Options seminar • Check the electoral rolls • Challenges to the electoral rolls • Mobilize for extended voter registration	• Options seminar • Check the roll (statistical sampling)	• Advertise roll	• Technical assistance • Provide options with associated costs • Fund extension • Options seminar • Sample design
Voter Education	• Public profile • Authorize official materials • Media announcements	• Produce official materials	• Distribute materials	• Educate party cadres about process • Candidate debates • Distribute materials	• Mass education about the process and choices • Sponsor debates • Database for training workshops • Constituency citizen panels to question candidates • Distribute voter education materials • Issue campaigns: 1. Unions 2. Women 3. Youth, etc.	• Provide air time	• Materials production • Radio equipment
Monitoring / Observing	• Certification	• Distribute election law and regulations	• Invite local and international observers	• Party agent training • Communication system • Parallel Vote Count • Invite International teams	• Monitor & report • Recruit & train monitors • Establish consistent reporting system • Database of monitors & training workshops • Information center & coordination of International teams	• Fairness • Time allocation	• Observing teams 1. Monthly pre-election teams 2. Voting and counting
Code of Conduct	• Promulgate			• Develop & Enforce • Promulgate disciplinary actions within party	• Publicize and monitor compliance • Expose violations	• Publicize	• Provide comparative models • Expert advisory
Electoral Capacity	• Election missions to other countries	• Training administrators		• Provincial workshops 1. Planning 2. Message 3. Candidate recruitment and training 4. Women's participation • Database 1. Candidate 2. Branches • Trust fund	• Data bases 1. Election monitors 2. Monitor reports 3. Voter Education Workshops 4. Voter Education material distribution 5. Candidates	• Train journalists in election coverage	• Provide databases, software and training • Trainers and consultants • Broadcast quality tape recorders • Trust fund
Inter-party Dialogue	• Facilitate Party Liaison Committee (PLC)	• Inform parties	• Vice President initiates PLC	• Meaningful and constructive participation	• Monitor participation • Observe proceedings	• Publicize	• Facilitate organization of PLC • Prepare participants

MEMORANDUM

TO: Patricia Keefer, Rob Black and Carl Larkins

FROM: Keith Jennings

RE: Provincial Site Visit and Zambia Program

DATE: 9th April, 1996

Please find attaches my report on meetings held with party officials and activists in the five provinces I was able to visit while in Zambia. Time and transportation problems prevented a complete coverage of all nine provinces.

I hope you will find the report useful in the deliberations regarding the "next steps" in NDI work in Zambia.

CONTENTS

1. Provincial Political Situations

2. NDI's Terms of Reference

3. NDI's Relationship to the political parties at the provincial level

4. The state of political parties in the provinces

5. Discussion of Lusaka seminar and follow-up workshop dialogue

6. When, where, and how to hold provincial level dialogue workshops

7. Recommendations on related program issues

- Party Agent Training
- CCC
- Worldnet Programming
- Work plan for the next 6 months
- Timing

8. NDI and the Media materials post May work

POLITICAL SITUATION

The political situation in the provinces is a lot like the Lusaka environment, more or less.

In Eastern provinces tension is extremely high. The parties are not talking to each other and have no formal relationship. The violence reported in the media around the latest by-election in Katete is true. By-election violence is continuing to escalate.

On the Copperbelt cooperation and familiarity at least makes it easier for parties to discuss issues. Because the Copperbelt is considered the most important province by all political parties, maneuvering and positioning has created the kind of political posturing that could lead to political violence. The existence of a good number of political parties makes rational discussion easier not more difficult, as is popularity suggested.

In southern province all the political parties have a big problem. The treatment of the late Baldwin Nkumbula by the National Party has caused virtually all its structures in the province to disappear. UNIP has lost a tremendous amount of ground because of its treatments of the late Kebby Musokotwane. Massive defections from UNIP to the MMD occurred last October because of this.

The MMD for its part has recently suspended its popular provincial coordination for allegedly talking with ZDC, while this may or may not be true the impact is just beginning to unfold. A lack of organization is evident in the contest the April 12 by-election in the province. In addition, the former UNIP members have not been fully accepted or integrated into the MMD party structures. Many of these members are determined to oppose UNIP president Kaunda at any cost. However, many of them believe that the MMD was becoming like UNIP especially when the provincial chair sought a police escort to deliver the suspension letter to the provincial coordinator Philip Mundo.

In Lusaka, all of the extremes exist because of the secretariats being located there. Most party officials however, are deeply concerned about the possibility of violence, yet seem unwilling to talk of peace or dialogue because they may be viewed as being "cowards" or "weak". All sides do make true statements about the other. However, the emergence of the so-called BLACK MAMBA and stories of death threats could take matters down the road of no return. In addition, statements by MMD national secretary that government is preparing for gorilla warfare added to "Civil War" scare by prominent NGO leaders, have all led to a very tense atmosphere where some totally unrelated incidents could give rise to serious political violence. This is so because of the existence of some elements who would welcome conflict rather than elections.

From discussion with party officials and activists in Northern, North-Western, Solwezi and Western, they are much like central. Discontent is in the air generally. People are finding it very difficult to have a decent living. Therefore, political Rhetoric tends to incite deep seated feelings and could push the electorate in a "Zimbabwe" direction i.e. majority sitting the elections out while the die hard fight it out by all means available.

NDI TERMS OF REFERENCE

The NDI terms of reference (T.O.R. are not clearly understood by the political parties). During the July 95 program at each opportunity the T.O.R. were repeated so that no confusion on what NDI was doing with political parties existed.

The addition of ZDC and LPF while little contact has been maintained with the smaller political parties in the Northern part of Zambia could very well send not only mixed but wrong signals.

Who NDI is working with and why (what is the criteria) needs to be clearly stated. So that staff and friends within political parties NDI may not be working with will be clear.

It would not be a bad idea to write out a few short paragraphs detailing NDI's 1996 terms of reference. That could help with a range of institutions including MMD folks who are skeptical, the media who are uniformed, and opposition parties who may see benefits in NDI training.

NDI'S RELATIONSHIP TO POLITICAL PARTIES AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

Most parties leaders said that they had not had any contacts with NDI since the last program. However, the ZDC activist in Eastern actually had a letter from the secretariat informing them of the schedule for party agent training.

Thus, whether such statement by leaders were true or not (Mr. Phiri maintain that in Eastern province it is definitely a lie) NDI Zambia has to take extra steps in communicating directly with party leadership and activists at the provincial and district level -- especially once approval is given for participation in NDI programs.

Generally most officials welcomed NDI, the ideas for dialogue at the provincial level and agreed to participate as long as the go ahead was given by their party leadership in Lusaka. The common refrain was "We are ready".

STATE OF THE PARTIES AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL

As pointed out above the NP has lost a tremendous amount of ground. ZDC seems to be the chief beneficiary although the MMD and UNIP have also picked up important high profile members from the National Party

Current in-fighting over "MANIFESTOS AND LEADERSHIP" in the National Party may further weaken or even destroy the party.

The MMD is also suffering from dissention within its ranks at the provincial level. Many of the people put im place by Gen. Miyanda (while National Secretary) are now being marginalized by Michael Sata the new National Secretary. Party insiders believe this is occurring because of struggle for power and the right to succeed Chiluba in 2000. The impact is beginning to manifest itself especially at the secretarial level. Communications has been extremely poor in the past three months. An atmosphere of uncertainty prevails among coordinators and some party activist.

UNIP is drawing larger groups to its mass rallies. Whether or not this translates into votes is another matter. However, the party is feeling its strengths and its presence at a grassroots level has been extended. It seems only to have problems in Southern and Copperbelt provinces. The party organizers are spending in a lot of time on the Copperbelt.

ZDC is growing and does have a real presence in almost all nine of Zambia's provinces. Its materials are colorful, well designed and gives off an image of seriousness. The party seems to be well organized and has been able to attract young people. ZDC is particularly strong in Northern province.

From a program point of view, NDI may wish to consider the following approach to the political parties at the provincial level.

		LABOR/NPD		
EASTERN	MMD		UNIP	ZDC
COPPERBELT	MMD		UNIP	ZDC
SOUTHERN	MMD		UNIP	ZDC
WESTERN	MMD	NP	UNIP	ZDC
N. WESTERN	MMD	NP	UNIP	ZDC
NORTHERN	MMD	NP	UNIP	ZDC
LUSAKA	MMD	NP	UNIP	ZDC
CENTRAL	MMD	NP	UNIP	ZDC

WORK PLAN FOR NEXT SIX MONTHS

If the window of opportunity in the next 8 weeks (conversational wisdom of political analysis in Lusaka) then I would strongly recommended that the seminar and the provincial inter-party dialogue workshop be given top program priority. A proposed schedule is attached. At the same time this recommendation should not be understood to man that nothing else should take place. I think that would be a big mistake. Preparations for other program activities outlined in the *new proposal* will have to occur. Therefore, a strict division of labor among staff has to b observed. If not, given the short time span success might not be achievable. Moreover, a better match of the talents and skills among staff to program activities could improve efficiency and public perception.

TIMING

MAXIMUM flexibility must be built into all program activities especially over the next two months. Certain "political" steps will have to be taken with regard to strengthening the NDI relationship to the MMD's new national leadership at the party level. At the same time relations with opposition parties must be maintained and strengthen, if the dialogue at the provincial level is to occur and be supported. Practically, the following sequence may be best approach:

1. Discussions with Party Leadership
2. Party Agent and Dialogue Workshop in Lusaka
3. "Common Ground" Seminar
4. Provincial Inter-Party Dialogue Workshop

NDI AND THE ZAMBIAN MEDIA

It is important to visit the main newspaper and brief them on NDI Program and terms of reference. In addition, provide them with the latest NDI newsletters. Establish contact or liaison between the office and each paper. The potential for distortion regarding the institutes role is great in the current atmosphere of charges and counter charges of foreign support for NGOs etc. The *Daily Mail* articles reflect this political. Television should be asked to cover Lusaka individual party workshops and other program work where possible.

NDI AND OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

A need exist for relationship beyond the formal meetings. Interaction should take place on a regular basis, possibly weekly. Cordial and respectful relations are more important then formal meetings in the current environment. All NDI Zambia staff can help in this area while at the second time the division of labor is observed (with respect to who is taking the lead on working with the political parties).

POST - MAY

NDI should implement the workplan developed for the new proposal. However, after the provincial level inter-party workshops NDI Zambia and the Regional Office should consult with "interested parties" regarding next steps.

An NDI statement on the necessity for a clean campaign and the willingness that exist among grassroots political leaders and activist could be the type of strategic intervention that challenges the leadership of the major political parties.

If major clashes occur, i.e. political violence between MMD/UNIP or State of Emergency "declared, an immediate NDI response should be ready.

What such a statement might contain is an organizational issues that Johannesburg and Washington should decide.

The Agenda discussed with party leaders about Lusaka and the province included the following topics:

- Conflict Resolution
- Code of Conduct
- The Role of Election Monitors
- Inter-Party Liaison Committee

The meeting would be held over two or three days ("Per proposal") to give adequate time to each topic.

I suggested that NDI trainers include Ed Brown, Nancy Clack and Michael Knowles. Each of them are known to three of the four major parties, therefore trustful relationship already exist. In addition, including as important contributors to the program, should be an African male or female political activist, the possibility was appreciated by all the parities when mentioned.

DISCUSSION OF THE LUSAKA SEMINAR AND FOLLOW-UP INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE WORKSHOPS

In all of the meetings there was support for the Lusaka Seminar and the inter-party dialogue workshops following it.

The advice given for the agenda included not only issues presented by NDI but also ideas about freedom of assembly and association and access to the media as very basic and practical components if the electoral process is to be accepted as legitimate.

The following objective of the Lusaka seminar were presented:

PROVINCES VISITED	DATES
* SOUTHERN	3/30
* EASTERN	3/31 - 4/1
* COPPERBELT	4/2
* CENTRAL	4/2
* LUSAKA	3/26 - 3/29 4/3 - 4/4

WESTERN	NORTH WEST
NORTHERN	SOLWEZI

(PHONE CALLS)

* NATIONAL PARTY
* NATIONAL PARTY FOR DEMOCRACY
* MOVEMENT FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY
* LABOR
* UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY
* ZAMBIAN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

RECOMMENDATIONS

PARTY AGENT TRAINING & EXISTING SCHEDULE

1. Proceed with party agent training, however, the training should be extended to one day for each party NDI is working with. The first half-day an be specifically on party agent issues, the second part of the day can cover concerns that will be addressed at both the "common ground" seminar and the provincial level individual and all party meetings, NDI Zambia will have to inform political party of adjustments in training program due to changing political situations.

2. The relationship to the CCC has to clarified in a manner: a) both sides understand and agree to b) that allows NDI to maintain its standing among the Zambian NGO community. Specifically, option B should be examined and

determination made regarding how best to modify the relationship. It is clear that the existing relationship is not working an potentially explosive. In addition, option, i.e. ending the relationship altogether could adversely affect NDI's ability to be effective in other areas of program activities.

3. WorldNet Programming. If it can be achieved, the proposed worldnet series topics should be arranged to coincide with the discussions going on at the provincial level. Perhaps the first worldnet could be held before the Lusaka "Common Ground" seminar and given possible two weeks interval schedule - at least three could be held during the provincial inter-party dialogue workshops.

METHOD AND APPROACH TOWARD HOLDING PROVINCIAL DIALOGUE WORKSHOPS

A three step process should be implemented in order to successfully encourage parties to engage in dialogue at the provincial level. The steps are outlined below:

Consultations with party headquarters. The substance of the consultations should include discussion on the entire process. The NDI terms of reference, the role expected of the party and the next steps for the Lusaka All-Party "Common Ground" seminar. The consultations should take place between April 8-12th. Agreement (Concurrence) should be sought on approach.

STEP ONE: LUSAKA BASED PARTY TRAINING & CONSULTATIONS

Holding individual meeting with each of the identified parties during the week of April 14-20th. The one day meetings should lay the foundation for the Lusaka "common ground" seminar. Therefore, the first half of the day should cover party agent training. The second half should cover several of the same topics that will be covered during the Lusaka seminar.

NDI has to be clear with the parties as what it will be covering (both financially and organizationally). NDI Zambia staff are very familiar with this process. Everyone with responsibilities must be identified and allow to do their job, this include party people with specific assignments. If an assignment is not carried out by the party, then it just does not get done, where the participants will be drawn form needs to be made clear also.

STEP TWO:

The Lusaka seminar's theme should be something like "Finding Common Ground for Zambia". The content of the workshop finally adopted for the program's agenda probably will be very close to what is outlined in the proposal under the options seminar section. It may not be a good idea to lead with focus on elections even though the contents will be directly related to elections. If the parties can come together i.e. develop a consensus position on what is expected in each category covered then it should be possible for them to have subsequent meetings on more controversial subjects that may exceed the NDI terms of reference. However, such efforts probably would be conducted through the revised inter-party liaison committee.

The seminar's framework should be one that can be replicated in the provinces. Toward that end, the following could be used as a general outline:

DAY ONE

9:00 am	Call to Order
9:05 am	National Athemn
9:10 am	Introductions
9:30 am	Propose-NDI Official
9:35 am	OPENING PLENARY "Finding Common Ground for Zambia"

MMD
UNIP
NP
ZDC
LPF
LABOR

11:00 am Break

Thee role of the media needs to be defined. Perhaps the ceremonial opening can be carried and the ceremonial closing. The parties publicity secretaries and an NDI liaison should be the persons fielding questions regarding the meeting.

STEP THREE: PROVINCIAL LEVEL INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE WORKSHOPS

The Provincial Dialogue Workshops should follow the Lusaka model. Individual consultation should take place with each party one day at a time and then followed by the all-party meeting. The agenda for the all-party meeting should be agreed to by the parties secretaries in Lusaka.

The provincial meetings should have as participants, provincial and district level leadership. Maximum publicity should be given to the purpose and objectives of the meetings before they are held. Cooperation from the political parties should be very practical. In other words, each party should be assigned a role to play before, during and after the provincial workshop. The objectives for the workshops should include:

1. To establish provincial level inter-party liaison committees.

2. To review recommendations and proceedings of the Lusaka "Common Ground" seminar.

3. To discuss a party code of conduct as political parties contribution to "Clean Campaign" efforts

The format for Provincial Inter-Party consist of the following topics:

9:00 am	Welcome and Call to Order
9:05 am	National Athemn
9:10 am	Statement of Purpose
9:15 am	Introductions
9:30 am	Workshop I
11:00 am	Break
11:15 am	Workshop II
13:00 pm	Lunch Break
14:30 pm	Workshop III
16:00 pm	Break
16:15 pm	Closing Plenary
17:00 pm	National Athemn

MATERIALS TO BE UTILIZED DURING PROVINCIAL WORKSHOPS

- Sections from the *Zambian* political party's organizers manual (determined topics on the final agenda).

- Specifically designed *Zambian* Political Party Code of Conduct.

WHEN AND WHERE PROVINCIAL WORKSHOPS SHOULD OCCUR

The provincial inter-party workshop should begin to be held the week immediately following the Lusaka "Common Ground" Seminar. The following schedule should be considered (especially given the understood window of opportunity):

PROVINCE	WHEN	WHERE
SOUTHERN	MAY 1 - 4	CHOMA - SOUTHERN PROVINCE STATE INSURANCE BUILDING
EASTERN	MAY 1 - 4	CHIPATA - LUANGWA HOUSE
COOPERBELT	MAY 8 - 11	NDOLA - SAVOY HOTEL
WESTERN	MAY 8 - 11	MONGU - NGULU HOTEL
NORTHERN	MAY 15 - 18	KASAMA - MOTO MOTO PATORAL CENTRE
N. WESTERN	MAY 15 - 18	SOLWEZI - CHANGA CHANGA MOTEL
LUAPULA	MAY 22 - 25	MANSA - MANSA HOTEL
CENTRAL	MAY 22 - 25	KABWE - ELEPHANT'S HEAD HOTEL

The following are contact people by province who are willing to assist NDI and to ask their party officials and activist involved in the workshops -- as long as Lusaka okay's it.

EASTERN

MMD: Frank Moyo, Provincial Coordinator
UNIP: Thomson Malmada, District Party Chairman
ZDC: Mr. Mwadetsa, Provincial Chairman

SOUTHERN

MMD: John Chidyaka, District Party Chairman
UNIP: Zekias Siamasuku District Party Chairman
ZDC: Fein Mwikisa, VP Youth Affairs
NP: Danial Simoloka, Provincial Chairman

COPPERBELT

MMD: Hon. Lembalemba/Joseph _____, Provincial Coordinator
UNIP: William Wilima, Member Central Committee
ZDC:
Labor: Chibeza Mfuni, President Labor Party
NP: John Phiri, Vice Provincial Chairman
NPD: Charles Kafumbo, Deputy Secretary General
IDF: Mike Kaira, President

WESTERN

MMD: Mr. Saboa, Provinical Secretary
UNIP: , Vice President
NP: Aka Lewanika, Secretary General
ZDC:

PROVINCIAL INTER-PARTY DIALOGUE WORKSHOP

FORMAT:

All party, Each party should have no more than 15 party activists. Participants should be provincial and district leadership.

Individual party workshop could be as many as 25-30 people. The workshop should last one day and be structured to facilitate dialogue.

Draft Memorandum of Understanding

1.0 Preamble

The _____ and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) agree to work together from 1 April 1996 through 1 September 1996, on a program of electoral assistance with a specific focus on broadening public participation in the electoral process:

2.0 Duties

NDI and the _____ Will work together in the following manner:

A) NDI

1. Shall provide the _____ with training on election-related activities such as campaign planning, message development, media relations and the role function and duties of party agent monitors.

2. Shall encourage dialogue between the political parties, particularly on issues directly related to the 1996 elections.

3. Shall respect the internal processes and issues addressed by the _____ and will not discuss any information learned with any other political actors in Zambia.

B) The _____

1. Shall encourage party leaders and activists to cooperate with NDI representatives and participate in NDI sponsored programs.

2. Shall offer assistance to the campaign for clean election, especially with the implementation of a code of conduct for all competing political parties.

3. Shall assist with the distribution of printed voter education materials designed.

This agreement is designed to facilitate a professional and cooperative relationship between the two organizations. NDI and the _____ both intend to do their utmost to be respectful of the independence of each other in this collaborative effort.

Should either party believe that the other is not fulfilling its part of this memorandum of understanding, a meeting will be held to address issues of concern with the sole aim of resolving any challenges as soon as possible.

Signed: _____
(Title) _____

Signed: _____
(Title) _____

Date: _____

"In Search of Common Ground" Seminar
Mulungushi International Conference Center
11 - 12 April 1996

TENTATIVE AGENDA

11 May, Saturday

8:30 Registration

9:00 Welcome Call to Order

9:05 National Anthem

9:10 Introductions

9:30 Statement of Purpose, outline Agenda

9:45 Discussion of Code of Conduct

- Reasons for Code of Conduct
- Areas to be Covered
- Enforcement Mechanisms

11:00 Break

11:15 Resume discussions in small group sessions

13:00 Lunch

14:30 Interparty dialog, establishment of mechanism

- Examples during elections
- Establishment of criteria

16:00 Break

16:15 Closing plenary

17:15 Interparty dialog conversation continued

- Conflict resolution mechanism

18:15 Closing session

- Recap of the day
- Outline of the next days events

18:30 National Anthem

12 May, Sunday

9:00 Welcome and Call to Order

9:05 National Anthem

9:10 Outline of days activities

9:15 Rule of Law

- Representative of the Electoral Commission outlines its role and function
- Representative from the Elections Office gives update on voter registration process

11:00 Break

11:15 Role of Security Forces

- Chief of Police outlines role during the voting process

14:30 Role of the Media

- Access to the media

16:00 Break

16:15 Closing Plenary

17:00 National Anthem

In Search of Common Ground Seminar

Terms of Reference

The NDI seminar's, "In Search of Common Ground," main purpose is to create an ongoing dialogue between political parties. In pursuit of this goal, NDI proposes to sponsor a two-day, Lusaka-based seminar on elections, bringing together Zambia's political parties and international experts. Seminar leaders will provide the participants with models from other countries on a variety of electoral topics, including: international standards for political party competition; the role of security forces in the election; the relationship between political parties and election authorities; and codes of conduct. Ideally, a code of conduct would be a long-term by-product of such a seminar. NDI also would seek to work with the parties to convene similar seminars at the provincial level.

NDI believes that there are three broad areas that need to be addressed. They are:

- BROADENING PARTICIPATION;
- LEVELING THE ELECTORAL PLAYING FIELD;
- PROSPECTS FOR LEGITIMATE ELECTIONS.

In NDI's opinion, among those things needed in order for a legitimate electoral outcome to occur and be accepted is electoral support assistance to the political parties.

The nascent development of most political parties, including the MMD and UNIP, is an issue that cannot be over-emphasized. The lack of experience in some cases makes it difficult for many political parties to carry out a number of basic tasks associated with parties in democratic societies.

Therefore the key NDI objectives for the seminar are:

1. To encourage the political parties to invest in the electoral process through all-party forums with election authorities that address the administrative framework;

2. To stimulate dialogue between the political parties, particularly on issues directly related to the 1996 elections;

3. To encourage a peaceful and open campaign through agreement and implementation of a party code of conduct.

BACKGROUND TO THE SEMINAR

The Zambian democratization process is at a crossroads. There have been regular elections, a vibrant opposition does exist, and generally freedom from fear exist. At the same time the level of political participation has dropped off dramatically. The most basic feature of democratic participation, i.e. voting, is hampered by a cumbersome process. NDI pointed out these problems as early as 1991. To some the process in Zambia, once referred to as a "model of democracy" in Africa, has been reversed by corruption, backpedaling on a number of manifesto promises such as delinking the party from the state, and the use of undemocratic methods to maintain an absolute monopoly of power.

The economic situation has not improved for the majority of Zambians. In fact many are worse off that during the late 1980s. The government has implemented a structural adjustment program that has affected the

living standards of most Zambians. The agricultural sector has been neglected. Added to this has been a drought in most of the provinces of the country over the past few years until 1996. Generally, the economic crisis has led to a very hostile electorate and a ruling party that acts as if it is under siege.

The main opposition leader is Kennet Kaunda, the former five time president. It looks as if a concerted effort has been launched to limit his ability to participate in the forthcoming elections. Previous attempts to arrest and deport him on the basis of his citizenship status backfired. The revelation of "secret tunnels" under the State House that were supposedly used as torture chambers was not believed by most Zambians either. The constitutional provisions contained inthe draft constitution will be debated during the month of May. Several of those provisions are very controversial. Two of them if passed would have the effect of preventing Kaunda from legally participating in the presidential contest.

Kaunda for his part has not ceased to criticize the governments' policies, and his party, UNIP, has engaged in acts of intimidation and violence, which according to them are in response to the MMD's illegal activities. He has expelled supporters of previous party president, the late Kebby Musokatwane. UNIP under Kaunda's leadership however, has scored impressive electoral gains outside of its Eastern province stronghold and the party clearly has massive support at the grassroots level.

The major groups within civil society are disaffected from the ruling party. Women, labor, students and the church, while divided on some issues, are mobilizaing against the MMDand its policies, especially its handling of the voter registration process and the method of adopting the constitution (Parliament v. A constituent assembly; MMD control 125 of the 150 seats in Parliament).

Needless to say, a critical need continues to exist for coordinated and constructive international assistance. There is a tremendous amount of optimism among Zambians from all walks of life that a sustainable democratic process can be developed. National Assembly, Presidential and (more than likely) local government elections will be held in October, 1996.

THE AGENDA OF THE SEMINAR

A proposed agenda for the seminar is attached. The outline suggests a process where the final outcome will be the establishment of a functioning "inter-party liaison committee" that would have the ability to engage in critical dialogue around contentious issues leading up to the national elections.

The agenda will be covered in two days. On the first day two subjects will be covered. On the second day three subjects will be covered. The main idea is to allow adequate time for each topic to be covered in detail and to provide the opportunity for each party to speak on the issue.

The facilitation of the meeting will be conducted on the basis of the NDI international consultants team assignments already discussed and by the decision of the team on who should work together for specific presentations. NDI Zambia based staff will officially conduct the meeting, however, NDI international consultants will act as chairs of each session that they conduct.

Groundrules for the entire seminar will be included in each seminar packet. In addition, they have been explained to each party and will be mentioned again at the beginning of the seminar. However, because of the lack of dialogue in the past some individuals may try to take advantage of the situation.

PARTICIPATION IN THE SEMINAR

Seminar participants will be representing their party. The expected level of participant will range from Provincial Secretary to members of the National Executive Committees of each party. The participants will also be drawn from around the country, including Lusaka. At least seven parties are expected to be represented including the following:

- Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD)
- United National Independence Party (UNIP)
- National Party (NP)
- Zambian Democratic Party (ZDC)
- Labor Party
- Liberal Progressive Front
- National Party for Democracy

The list of participants and the positions they hold within each party is attached.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS' TEAM

The NDI Team of international consultants will consist of the following individuals:

- Mr. Ed Brown, Senior Consultant to NDI
- Ms. R. Nancy Clack, Executive Director Precision Communications
- Honorable Michael Knowles, former Member of Parliament Conservative Party UK
- Honorable Anastasia Msosa
- Honorable Peter Katjavivi
- Honorable John Roberts
- Ms. Patricia Keefer, NDI Southern Africa Regional Director

Three members of the team, Brown, clack and Knowles worked with specific parties during 1995. Those parties were UNIP, NP, and MMD respectively. In addition, Brown has years of experience in voter education and election processes; Clack is a former journalist and expert on the role of media in transition societies especially during elections; and Knowles is very knowledgeable regarding intra-party dialogue. The remaining international consultants have been asked to participate because of their expertise in the following areas: codes of conduct, the role of security forces in elections, international standards for political party competition, and relations between political parties and election authorities.

NDI EXPECTATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANTS

Because of the dynamic political situation prevailing in Zambia at the present moment, NDI will expect that the team will follow the lead of the Lusaka based staff and the ranking NDI official in country (e.g. Regional Director or Senior Consultant). In general, NDI rules of expected behavior are outlined in another section of the briefing book.

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MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE SEMINAR

One of the main aspects of the seminar is to get the parties to make a public commitment to peaceful competition for the sake of Zambia. Toward that end, it is anticipated that media coverage of certain parts of the seminar is in order. An NDI staffperson will be assigned to work with the Zambian media. The media may want to interview members of the team. Instructions and orientation regarding working with the Zambian media will be provided upon arrival in Lusaka.

MOVEMENT FOR MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY (MMD)

THE STAND OF MMD ON ELECTIONS MONITORING AND OBSERVER GROUPS

During the past few weeks this country has witnessed a new burst of activities on the part of groups which have volunteered to attempt to bring together all political parties in an effort to reach consensus on the Code of Conduct during the forthcoming General and Presidential elections.

These meetings which have sometimes been called without due and decisive preparations have in most cases ended in disarray thus giving the wrong impression that the people of Zambia and the political Parties under which they fall do not desire to have a mechanism for the guarantee of free and fair elections.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The crisis regarding the role of the observer groups presently operating in Zambia and some political Parties arises from the fact that they have confused their task of establishing a Code of Conduct for elections with discussions concerning the provisions of the Constitution which following the Presidential assent of May 28 1996 is now law.

This confusion is clear indiction that they have not clearly grasped their role and yet precedents do abound where such organisations successfully managed to bring opposing parties together to sign and agree on Codes of

behaviour. Elections in countries such as Pakistan, Malawi, South Africa, Ghana, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Nambia and the Seychelles, to mention but a few were handled by mature monitoring groups which understood their purpose resulting in phenomenal success because they did not allow themselves to become pawns in the rivalries of opposing political parties.

It is due to the lack of commitment on the part of some observer groups now operating in Zambia that the MMD now wants to make its stand clear as to the basis upon which the Party and its officials in the country shall agree to attend such inter-party meetings in future regarding the forthcoming elections. These are general principles to which all parties must be signatories before we can agree to participate.

a) That all political parties must publicly and repeatedly condemn voilence and intimidation and avoid the use of language or action which may lead to voilence or intimidation whether to demonstrate Party strength, gain any kind of political advantage or for any kind of political advantage or any other reason.

b) That political parties shall not propagate any opinion or carry out campaigns in any manner prejudicial to the economic interest of this country or its sovereguity, integrity and security or the maintenance of public order and the independence of the judiciary.

c) That political parties, their candidates and workers shall refrain from deliberate dissemination of false and malicious information, defamation and forgeries and not interfere with the freedom of others to propagate their views and programs.

d) A total ban on carrying of dangerous weapons at public meetings or the planting of any weapons of terrorism in public places and that political parties, their candidates or agents shall not obstruct or break-up meetings organised by rival parties or prevent distribution of election material for other parties.

e) And, finally, a total pledge to extend full co-operation to the Election Commission to guarantee the intergrity of the elections.

These precepts are so fundamental to the democratic process, as the MMD sees it, that without adherence to them any attempts at calling inter-party meetings is regarded by us as a mere head-lines seeking ploy intended to impress the donors who fund such organisations.

The MMD has demonstrated the willingness to attend these meetings as demonstrated by the fact that we attended such meetings in the Southern Province, Lusaka and the Copperbelt some of which ended up in shambles because of the lack of fundamental principles to guide the participants.

SIKOTA WINA, MP
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN 20 JUNE 1996

Panafrican News Agency

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21 Jun 96 - Zambia-Politics

Zambia's Ruling Party Sets Conditions for Interparty Talks

From Musengwa Kayaya; PANA Staff Correspondent

LUSAKA, Zambia (PANA) - Zambia's ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) of President Frederick Chiluba has said that it will meet opposition political parties for reconciliatory talks only if they publicly renounce violence and stop campaigning for international sanctions against the government.

The conditions were announced Thursday by MMD national chairman Sikota Wina in the capital, Lusaka, in the wake of renewed calls by the opposition parties for resumption of the aborted interparty talks.

The ruling party in May snubbed scheduled interparty consultations intended to ease rising tension over the government's disputed constitutional amendments and preparations for this year's presidential and parliamentary elections.

Chiluba has since assented to the controversial constitution which bars former president Kenneth Kaunda from contesting the presidency. It says only Zambian-born citizens with both parents also born in Zambia qualify for the presidency. Kaunda had Malawian parents.

Opposition parties have condemned the new law as discriminatory and undemocratic. They have accused the ruling party of enacting the law out fear for Kaunda as an individual.

They are also protesting what they call "haphazard" arrangements for the elections which they claim the MMD wants to rig.

The MMD government in 1995 engaged a private Israeli firm, Nikuv Computers, to update the national voters register, ahead of the elections. The opposition have charged that Nikuv is an arm of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence organization, and that it has been contracted to rig the polls in favour of the ruling party.

Wina said Thursday that all parties needed to agree to an electoral code of conduct by pledging to cooperate with the country's electoral commission.

The opposition have launched an international campaign for sanctions against Zambia. They also want the Chiluba government ostricized by the international community until it agrees to a universally accepted electoral process for the forthcoming polls.

TIMES OF ZAMBIA FRIDAY, JUNE 21, 1996

MMD sets conditions for talks

By Times Reporter

THE MMD has demanded that all political parties publicly renounce violence and avoid intimidatory words and deeds before it can return to inter-party talks.

In Lusaka yesterday, MMD national chairman Sikota Wina said the ruling party would also demand that political parties desist from campaigning against the economic, sovereign, security and legal interests of Zambia.

Mr Wina said this at a Press briefing when he released five-point general principles' which all political parties must be signatories before any future talks could be held.

All parties must ensure a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons at public meetings, stop terrorist acts and desist from disrupting rival party meetings.

Political parties would be required to pledge and extend full cooperation to the election commission to guarantee the integrity of future polls.

"These precepts are so fundamental to the democratic process, as the MMD sees it, that without adherence to them, any attempts at calling inter-party meetings are regarded by us as a mere headline-seeking ploy intended to impress the donors who fund such organisations," he said.

He observed that previous talks held without adequate preparations had aborted and given the impression that Zambians and their various political parties were short of means to guarantee free and fair elections.

He noted that the crisis surrounding observer groups and some political parties in Zambia was a result of confusing the task of establishing a code of conduct for the polls with discussions of the constitutional clauses.

"This confusion is a clear indication that they have not clearly grasped their role and yet precedents abound where such organisations successfully manage to bring opposing parties together to sign and agree a code of bahaviour," he said.

Elections in Pakistan, Malawi, South Africa, Ghana, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Namibia and Seychelles succeeded because they were handled by mature monitors who avoided manipulation by political parties.

JUNE 23, 1996.
SUNDAY MAIL

Inter-party talks head for rocks

By KELVIN CHONGO and NDUBI MVULA

THE suggested inter-party-meeting between the ruling MMD and opposition parties is headed for the rocks because of a dispute over the exclusion of the controversial Republican Constitution.

Opposition parties are opposed to the five-point conditions set by the MMD noting that while they are eager to get back to the negotiating table they cannot do so conditionally.

ZDC general secretary Derrick Chitala and National Party vice-president Daniel Lisulo said in separate interviews that they were willing to go back to the negotiating table and talk about issues pertaining to the country national development without any conditions attached.

They claimed that the Zambia's political situation was so volatile that any resistance by the ruling party to hold the inter-party meeting could lead to an explosion.

Mr Chitala said: "We in the opposition demanded for inter-party meeting and we went to the conference centre but MMD walked out, our agenda was to discuss the constitution and prepare a common ground for all political parties," he said.

Mr Chitala also said the opposition were being offended by government for using Mr Sikota Wina who is MMD chairman to call for these talks because he was not a government spokesman.

He said there must be a neutral person to chair the dialogue of the constitution because this involves life and death.

He said ZDC could not trust Mr Wina because government had allegedly subverted the constitution and that they could do the same to the forth-coming elections.

But Mr Wina maintained that the main agenda of the meeting would be to discuss and ensure that there would be free and fair elections.

Mr Wina said other issues that are constitutional cannot be attempted because the constitution has been made into law.

He noted that without the MMD no meeting would be successful and that it was up to the opposition to co-operate for the success of the meetings.

Among the conditions the MMD wants the opposition to commit themselves to are, to stop preaching violence and campaigning against the country's security situation.

Mr Lisulo said his party was ready for the talks but that there was no need for government to put up conditions.

"Let them come to the negotiating table or else they will plunge this country into chaos and as far as we are concerned we have never advocated for violence," he said.

Meanwhile, ZANA reports that UNIP in the North-Western Province has dismissed claims by the NP that 25 members from Kimasala Ward in Solwezi have defected from the former ruling party.

Provincial UNIP secretary Wilbert Chipopu said that the news of the defections was mere propaganda and was baseless.

Political Party Consultations, Party Agent Training and NGO Workshops
Northern and Luapula Province
June 5 - June 15, 1996

I. Northern Province, Kasama

A. Political Party Consultations

In Kasama, NDI was able to meet with representatives of the four major political parties (Movement for Multiparty Democracy, United National Independence Party, National Party and Zambia Democratic Congress). These meetings were made possible in part through the cooperation of the MMD Provincial Coordinator, Mr. Njovu, who contacted the other three parties and informed them of NDI's presence in Kasama. Mr. Njovu's magnanimous contribution was a telling indication of the overall atmosphere of tolerance between the parties that prevails in Northern Province. Mr. Mpundu Shapi of the National Women's Lobby and also the chairperson of the NDI-created NGO committee in Kasama also played an instrumental role in the week's activities. Finally, NDI was fortunate to have the cooperation of the Town Clerk, Mr. Donald Malama, who provided NDI access to the Town Council chambers as a neutral venue for the party consultations.

1. MMD

NDI met with 12 members of the MMD in Kasama, including the district secretary Mr. Cletus Mubanga and the Kasama Central vice chairperson, Mr. John Koni. Most of the participants, however, did not participate in the discussion, which lasted for about 90 minutes.

The party members identified several problems and concerns that they are facing this year in the run-up to scheduled elections. They mentioned the following in particular:

- Difficulty communicating with constituents in areas without print and/or electronic media
- No organization among party cadres for distribution of party literature
- Lack of understanding of opposition parties re: role of opposition, in particular the perception that the opposition lacks any interest in constructive criticism but focuses instead on ugly, divisive politics

Members said that inter-party dialogue does exist in Kasama, with 15 members of the four major parties meeting on a weekly basis each Friday to discuss local issues. However, they also said that more often than not the opposition uses these sessions as an opportunity to gang up against and bash the MMD, and the atmosphere often turns volatile. This has led to the jaded feeling that politics in Zambia has regressed to posturing and arguments that accomplish nothing.

More recently, the MMD members claimed that UNIP has been staying away from the meetings due to orders that had been passed down from the UNIP central leadership in Lusaka. They said that if the meetings were limited to two members from each party with a neutral moderator, they would be amenable to continued participation since they believe that talking through some of the more contentious national issues is a potential avenue to discussing pertinent issues of local concern.

Surprisingly, the MMD also cited the Zambian government for obstructing their attempts to receive permits for public gatherings, saying that the police will delay or even deny permits to the local MMD for staging rallies. This was particularly interesting given that their complaint coincided with the holding of a mass 20,000+ opposition party demonstration in Lusaka as well as a similar, smaller gathering in Kasama, both of which were held legally and in accordance with the Public Order Act.

The participants said that they wanted to begin educational programs in the schools to emphasize the importance of preventing property vandalism; however, they said that local schools had refused this idea saying that it was too political. Finally, the MMD participants mentioned the crucial role to be played by women in politics, acknowledging that women comprise more than 50 percent of voters in Zambia.

2. UNIP

UNIP's team included the highest ranking participant of any of the consultations, the Provincial Chairman Mr. Aaron W. Mulenga. Eight UNIP members participated in this meeting.

The UNIP members talked first about one issue that was eventually raised by every opposition party in Kasama, namely unfair campaigning practices by the ruling MMD. They specifically mentioned the use of government-owned vehicles for partisan campaign purposes. UNIP in Kasama also claimed that the Election Commission is corrupt, particularly regarding the counting of votes at a central location. They also claimed that they have been told that they cannot stand physically near the actual counting process, so they feel extremely uncomfortable with the tabulation of votes.

Throughout the entire meeting, the participants never mentioned the banning of Dr. Kaunda as a presidential candidate. Most likely, they were instructed not to talk about internal UNIP politics with NDI.

3. National Party

The NP was the least represented of the four major parties, with only two meeting attendees who had very little to say for the most part. The participants were Mr. Thomson D. Nyirenda, a member of the National Executive Committee (Secretary for Education); and Mr. Chileshe M. Sampa, Provincial Secretary.

They also raised the issue of unfair campaign practices and abuse of government resources. In addition, they discussed intimidation of voters in rural areas. They claimed that rural voters are threatened that development will not come to their areas if they do not vote for the ruling party.

4. ZDC

The ZDC was represented by several energetic and informed individuals including Kasama Central constituency chairman Emmanuel Kapembwa and constituency vice-secretary David Kalondo Sinyangwe. Again, the issue of the improper use of government resources was raised as a chief concern of ZDC party organizers in Kasama.

ZDC representatives also said that they saw no problem with interparty dialogue surrounding common issues in Northern Province; this possibility was made real through long-standing personal relationships. However, the dialogue which does occur is often not issues driven, they said; in fact, in their mind it is mainly used as a forum to attack the MMD. They indicated that a moderator is needed.

ZDC is pursuing a strategy of attempting anything to defeat the MMD; this includes their idea of creating a joint opposition front throughout the country. Zadeco members are of the opinion that the MMD no longer represents most interests in the country (as could be argued in 1991), thus they believe that the ruling party should be more accomodating to opposition party positions on

various issues. They complained that there is too much politics and not enough emphasis on Zambians day-to-day life problems. They wondered why the MMD had not extended some kind of "olive branch" in the form of a de facto government of national unity which would include at least one or two opposition party ministers.

ZDC also called for more direct representation; they said too often representatives do not actually come from Northern Province, thus they don't understand local concerns.

5. Overall Impressions of Party Consultations

For the most part, all of the political parties in Northern Province exhibited outstandi enthusiasm with the exception of the National Party which seems to be fairly disorganized an ot much of a presence. All of the parties harbor a high degree of resentment toward the MMD; their part, the MMD seem naive about the current political reality prevailing in Zambia and this is demonstrated in the way they conduct themselves in meetings.

In general, if the right directives would come from the top party leadership from all the political parties, political cooperation in Northern Province would continue in a positive direction. It exists here already - the difficulties are emanating from Lusaka.

B. NGO Domestic Pre-Election Monitor Training

About 20 people representing FODEP, National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG), the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), the Kasama Archdiocese and Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) participated in the workshop. Most of the participants were extremely attentive, and all were eager to examine the material and participate with their own questions and anecdotes.

An NDI observation would be that the materials handouts were a bit too detailed and could have been simplified slightly, to accomodate the skill levels of the workshop participants.

C. Political Party Election Activity and Party Agent Training

1. MMD/UNIP

For both the MMD and UNIP, about 35-40 people attended the workshop held at the Moto Moto Pastoral Centre. Of that group, about 10-15 seemed prepared to receive the information and to actually put it into practice once the training was completed. The rest of the crowd seemed unattentive and uninterested for the most part; this may have been because for most of the participants it represented their first exposure to much of this material.

Both parties seemed interested in demonstrating the high degree of support possessed by their parties in the Northern Province/Kasama area. High ranking party leaders were in attendance from both sides. After the completion of the workshop presentations, discussions and demonstrations, NDI provided use of the conference facilities to the parties to utilize their time together. Both parties took advantage of this opportunity and met together for approximately two additional hours discussing internal party matters.

2. National Party

Most participants from the National Party were late and in the end about 25 appeared Only 5-8 seemed to be taking anything away from the workshop. All in all, the party deems very disorganized and in a state of confusion. They too were offered time to consult privately as a party in the conference room after the meeting, but they only remained long enough to finish their tea break. Party leaders did not address the gathered group of workshop participants, despite the opportunity.

3. ZDC

ZDC showed up in force and its participants demonstrated a high degree of enthusiasm for the topic Of the 25-30 people their, most seemed eager to learn and to get out into the field to put the info tion gained into practice.

of the participants seemed very grateful that NDI was conducting this type of workshop, and indi d that they wished that NDI could conduct additional seminars and trainings.

4. Overa mpressions of Party Training

The majority of party participants indicated that the program was too short on time and too full on subject matter. Most felt that a day of party agent training and a day devoted to election organizing would have been more beneficial. Trainer Greg Starosky agreed, saying that he had to rush through the whole program. Despite his efforts to go at a relatively slow pace, and reminders to participants that they could re-read the material at home on their own time, Starosky's impression was that the information was still a bit overwhelming. In addition, training for political parties at the district and ward levels was also encouraged.

The political party election-day monitor simulation was the best received aspect of the day-long workshops. It provided participants with an opportunity to actively examine the laws and procedures surrounding the electoral process.

As a result of the current political situation, there were a few questions raised about NDI's mandate in Zambia. Each group (through the party consultations) expressed their concerns about US statements that were made in the press. Many felt that whatever they said would be reported to the State Department. NDI trainers made it clear, however, that NDI is a non-governmental organization with no political allegiances in Zambia nor hidden agendas for Washington.

II. Luapula Province, Mansa

All political party activities scheduled for Mansa were cancelled due to the NDI program closedown. Political party leaders were informed by letter the day before consultations were to begin.

The NGO pre-election monitor training workshop proceeded as originally conceived, however (although it had to be moved forward by one day). However, NGO Committee organizer Elizabeth Miyanda failed to invite many people in advance, so David Stearns and Miyanda spent one day travelling throughout Mansa issuing verbal invitations. Surprisingly, given the short notice, an outstanding turnout was achieved. More than 35 people attended from at least 7 different organizations including: FODEP, ZIMT, CCJP, CCZ, Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia (PPAZ) and several church organizations.

NORTHERN PROVINCE DOMESTIC MONITORING AND ELECTION AND PARTY AGENT TRAINING REPORT.
June 6 - 12, 1996.
Kasama.

I. INTRODUCTION

NDI conducted a series of individual Political Party Consultations with MMD, UNIP, ZDC and National Party as well as individual party all day workshops. The agenda covered topics on Political Campaigning and Election Monitoring. Apart from the consultation with National Party, the ones with MMD, UNIP and ZDC were well attended. Workshops with MMD and UNIP were very well attended by recording 45 and 39 participants respectively. A one day workshop on Domestic Monitoring was conducted for the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Zambia Civic Education Association (ZCEA) and National Women's Lobby Group (NWLG). This workshop drew 19 participants from the above named civic organizations.

II. OBSERVATIONS

a. Domestic Monitoring

(I) FODEP benefited a lot from the domestic monitoring workshop that specifically addressed Pre-Election Monitoring of campaign rallies and the nomination process of candidates. The forms that were designed by NDI were considered to be user friendly and will assist FODEP monitor this phase of the elections efficiently and effectively.

(ii) FODEP has not been monitoring the nomination period in all the elections that have been monitored by the organization due to a lack of letters of authority to be in the nomination place by the Director of Elections.

(iii) The training will assist the members of the other NGOs that are going to be members of the Provincial Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) monitor the campaign environment during the run up to the Presidential and general elections later this year.

b. Party Agent Training

(i) UNIP sent one staff from Freedom House to attend the workshop in Kasama to ensure that all goes well with the program and to get first hand information on the shortcomings or problems that the party faces in the province. UNIP is planning to hold district workshops throughout the country as a follow-up to the NDI sponsored provincial workshops.

(ii) All the political parties welcomed the Election and Party Agent Provincial Workshop as being helpful to the parties during the elections. Even the political campaigning piece was very helpful to them.

(iii) Political parties in Kasama are interested in political dialogue. But they are not able to be involved in meaningful dialogue due to the break of the Inter-Party Meeting in Lusaka. At times the instructions are directed from Lusaka National Secretariats and leadership not to be involved in any kind of official dialogue with other parties. This is mainly between UNIP and MMD.

Domestic Monitor Training Workshop

Sponsored by the

National Democratic Institute

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

Pre-Election [illegible]

Name of Monitor:_____ Name of Organization: _____

Telephone/Fax:_____ Province:_____

Ward/Constituency:_____ **Date:**_____

1. Describe how the Election Office **published notification** announcing the date of elections:

   a) notice was published on (date)_____ in the following places

   (ex., name of newspaper, posters, radio, etc.)_____

2. Persons wishing to be candidates for Local Council elections must complete and file an application (Form LGE2) to indicate the name of their party (or if they have no political party, to indicate that they are an independent), their correct name and residential address, and the signatures of 9 supporters who are registered in the ward where the person wishes to be a candidate. Applicants must also submit a fee of 1000 Kwacha and demonstrate that they have reached at least a Grade 7 education or the equivalent. Finally, applicants must be ordinarily resident in the ward where they wish to run for office.

   Please list the name and party affiliation of any applicant who did **not comply** with the proper procedures or qualifications for applying to be a candidate; also indicate the nature of the problem and describe the result (application accepted or rejected).

Name	Party	Problem	Result

3. Please list the name and party affiliation of any candidates who applied for nomination in more than one ward? Were these candidates disqualified in each ward?

4. Please describe any evidence of partisan bias or improper procedures by election officials that you witnessed or heard reports of during the nomination process.

   _____

   _____

5. Please list the candidates (and their party) whose applications were accepted in your ward/polling district:

Name	Party	Notes/Comments:

Pre-Election Monitoring Form
Nominating National Assembly Candidates

Name of Monitor:_____ **Name of Organization:** _____

Telephone/Fax:_____ **Province:**_____

Constituency:_____ **Date:**_____

1. Describe how the Election Office **published notification** announcing the date of elections:

   Notice was published on (date) _____ in the following places _____
   (ex., name of newspaper, posters, radio, etc.).

   Persons wishing to be candidates for National Assembly elections must complete and file an application (Form GEN2) to indicate the name of their party (or if they have no political party, to indicate that they are an independent), their correct name and residential address, and the signatures of 9 supporters. Applicants must also submit a fee of 2000 Kwacha and sign Form GEN3.

   Please list the name and party affiliation of any applicant who did **not comply** with the proper procedures for applying to be a candidate; also indicate the nature of the problem and describe the result (application accepted or rejected).

Name	Party	Problem	Result

2. Please describe any evidence of partisan bias or improper procedures by election officials that you witnessed or heard reports of during the nomination process.

   _____

   _____

3. Please list the candidates (and their party) whose applications were accepted in your polling district:

Name	Party	Notes/Comments:

300

BROADCAST MEDIA MONITORING FORM

NAME OF OBSERVER: _____ LOCATION: _____

TELEPHONE/FAX NO: _____

DATE: _____

TIME: _____

INDICATE THE TYPE OF PROGRAM YOU WERE WATCHING:

____ Main News (ZNBC) ____ Paid Advertisement ____ International (CNN/BBC)

____ News Brief (ZNBC) ____ Other News Program ____ Government

____ T.V. Talk Show ____ Radio News ____ Radio Talk Show

INDICATE THE DURATION OF THE PROGRAM:

____ 15-30 seconds ____ 30-45 seconds ____ 45 seconds - one minute

____ 2-3 minutes ____ 3-15 minutes ____ More than 15 minutes

INDICATE WHICH PARTIES WERE MENTIONED IN THE STORY/PROGRAM:

____ MMD ____ UNIP ____ NP ____ ZDC

____ LPF ____ Labour Party ____ NADA ____ NPD

____ IDF ____ MDP ____ CHAKA ____ UPP

____ Other (_____)

INDICATE THE PLACEMENT OF THE ITEMS IN THE NEWS PROGRAM:

Item #:	Duration (Min/Sec)	Party/Candidate	Audio/Video
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
Total Time:			

IN YOUR OPINION, WAS THE COVERAGE FAVORABLE TO:

____ Government ____ Parliament ____ Political Party (Indicate: _____)

IN YOUR OPINION, WAS THE COVERAGE UNFAVORABLE TO:

____ Government ____ Parliament ____ Political Party (Indicate: _____)

WRITE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS/OBSERVATIONS ON THE BACK

Weekly Campaigning Practice Monitoring Form (for the period:_____)

(dates monitored)

Name of Monitor:_____ **Telephone/Fax:**_____

Province:_____ **City/Village:**_____ **Date:**_____

Please indicate, by ~~deleting~~ words that do NOT apply, or by circling answers that DO apply, your report of activity during the period.

1. During this period we monitored the following types of campaign activities:
   a). public meetings b). private meetings c). multi-party debates
   d). door to door canvassing e). other:_____

2. We witnessed/heard reports of campaign posters, literature and pamphlets that failed to display the name of the (circle missing information): a). publisher b). author c). printer

3. We witnessed/heard reports of complaints about published campaign materials that contained defamatory statements (knowingly false and damaging to the character) about candidate(s)? Yes No Notes_____:

4. We witnessed/heard reports of:
   a). government offices being used for campaign purposes? Yes No
   b). government vehicles used for campaigning purposes? Yes No
   c). government printing presses used to print party materials? Yes No
   d). government officials limiting access to public meetings, forums, and information gathering events? Yes No

   (If you said yes to any of these questions, please write in the details of what you have witnessed. Please include: who the person (s) were, time, date, location and the nature of the violation)

   _____

   _____

Election Offences: Notes_____:

5. We witnessed/heard reports of bribery? Yes No

6. We witnessed/heard reports of people receiving compensation (food, lodging, preferential treatment) for supporting or opposing a candidate or political party? Yes No

7. We witnessed/heard reports of intimidation? Yes No

8. We witnessed/heard reports of the police or the military working on behalf of any particular candidate or political party? Yes No

9. We witnessed/heard reports of political leaders or supporters who:
   a) were detained for questioning by the authorities Yes No
   b) had their homes or offices searched by the authorities Yes No

10. We witnessed/heard reports of government officials (police or military) using violence against political activists? Yes No

If you said yes to any of the five above questions, please write in details of the events. Please include: who the person(s) were, time, date, location and the nature of the violation. Write on the back if you need more space.

OBSERVATION FORM FOR CAMPAIGN RALLIES

Name of Monitor: _____ Name of Your Organization: _____

Date of Rally: _____ Tel/Fax: _____

Location of Event: _____ City/Village & Province: _____

Time Event Began: _____ Time Event Ended: _____

1. **Which political party/parties or candidate(s) sponsored the event?**

   _____

2. **Approximately how many people attended the event?**

   _____

3. **Were any people or specific groups (women, youth) prevented from attending the event?**

   _____

4. **Who prevented them from attending the meeting?**
   Circle any that may apply:
   a). Ruling party b). Other political party c). Security forces Other: _____

5. **Which, if any, other political parties were present?**

   _____

6. **Did the other parties disrupt the meeting in any way?**

   _____

   What form did the disruption take? (Circle any that may apply):

   Shouting Physical obstruction Violence Competing PA system Bribery

7. **Where was the rally held? Was it held on government property?**

   _____

8. **Did the event organizers notify the Election Commission in advance of their intention to sponsor this rally, it's time and the location?**

   _____

9. **How was notice of the event's time and venue publicized? (Circle those applicable):**

   Newspaper Television Radio Posters Door-to-door Meeting Place of employment

   Other: _____

10. **Did the Election Commission notify the local police about the meeting?**

    _____

11. **How many police were present?**

    _____

12. **In your opinion, was the number of police adequate to ensure that law and order were maintained?**

    _____

13. Did the police intimidate the participants in any way?

_____

Describe the nature of the intimidation:_____

_____

14. Did the speaker's remarks encourage voters to elect the candidate and focus on election issues?

_____

Which issues? (Circle any that may apply):

SAP Agriculture Privatization Health Crime Housing Roads Other: _____

15. If the remarks were inflammatory, defamatory, (known by the Speaker to be false and damaging to another person's reputation), or in any way calculated to incite public disorder or breaches of the peace, describe them as accurately as possible:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5

Pre-Election Monitoring Form -- The Voters Register

Name of Monitor:_____ **Name of Organization:**_____

Polling District:_____ **Village/City:** _____

Province: _____ **Date:**_____

Provisional Register of Voters

Rules and Procedures: Before the elections, the Director of Elections will advise the Registration Officers in each polling district that the provisional voters register is ready for publication. The Registration Officer must then publish a notice to the community about where and when the provisional register will be made available for **inspection**. The Provisional Register must be made available for inspection for a period of 21 days, during which time both the Registration Officer, registered voters and others are allowed to review the register to determine that it is accurate. During this period people also have the right to recommend corrections (name spellings, address corrections, identity numbers) and to file three types of motions to amend the register. The three motions are: (1) an **"Appeal"** by any person who is **not** on the register because that person's application to register (during the registration period) was rejected; (2) a **"Claim"** by any person who properly registered, who received a voters registration card, but whose name does **not** appear on the register in the correct polling district; (3) an **"Objection"** by a person on the register or by a Registration Officer to any name that does not properly belong on the register. Appeals and Objections must be filed with the local Magistrate not later than the last day that the register is available for inspection; Claims must be filed with the Registration Officer before the 21st day of the register's publication. Please answer the following questions about the publication and corrections to the provisional register:

1. On what date was notice given that the provisional register would be published?_____

2. During what period was the register available for inspection: From _____to_____

3. Name the locations in this polling district in which the register was published? _____

_____

4. Describe any difficulties you/others experienced when trying to inspect the registers: _____

_____

5. Please indicate how many cases of the following inaccuracies that you personally found or heard reports of on the register:
   a) _____ person does not ordinarily reside in the polling district;
   b) _____ surname is not properly spelled;
   c) _____ residential address not adequately recorded or is outside the polling district;
   d) _____ NRC #s are incorrectly listed;
   e) _____ OTHER; Please explain _____

6. Describe the process of filing motions to correct or change the register:
   a) Appeals
      Total: _____; Number Approved: _____; Number Denied: _____
   b) Claims
      Total: _____; Number Added: _____; Number Denied: _____
   c) Objections
      Total:_____; Number Removed: _____; Number Denied: _____

   d) Number of complaints that officials or Magistrates showed partisan bias: _____

   e) What evidence exists to support those complaints _____

Voters Cards

Rules and Procedures: Every voter should have received a receipt when they applied to register. After the permanent Voters Cards have been printed and delivered to each polling district, voters should be notified to come retrieve the Cards at the same place where they registered. Voters should take their receipt to demonstrate proof that they registered.

Please answer the following questions about the retrieval of voter cards process.

7. On what date was notice first given to the voters that Cards were ready for retrieval?_____

8. What method was used to inform voters of this notice? _____

9. During the period from (date/time)_____to (date/time)_____, describe (using numbers) the retrieval process you witnessed

   a) _____ people came to retrieve their voters cards?

   b) _____ people were **unable** to locate their voters cards?

   c) _____ people were told that they were in the wrong location.

   d) _____**kilometers** is the average distance people traveled to retrieve the cards.

   f) _____**minutes/hours** is the average length of time it took people to travel and wait to retrieve the cards.

9. Were there any complaints that voters were unfairly disadvantaged or intimidated in any way during the retrieval process due to partisan bias? If the answer is yes, please explain.

   _____

   _____

10. At the end of the retrieval period, how many cards had **not** been retrieved?_____

11. What does the Registration Officer and/or Returning Officer say will be done with the unretrieved cards until election day?

   _____

12. Will voters be allowed to retrieve their voters cards on election day? YES NO

   If YES, where can the voters retrieve the cards on election day? _____

OTHER NOTES: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Witness:_____ Date: _____

How to petition the outcome of an election.

Extracts summarized from the ELECTORAL ACT, 1991.

PART VI, ELECTION PETITIONS IN RESPECT OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS SECTIONS 18-29.

18 - (1) No election of a candidate as a member of the National Assembly shall be questioned except by an election petition presented under this Part.

(2) The election of a candidate as a member of the National Assembly shall be void on any of the following grounds which is proved to the satisfaction of the High Court upon the trial of an election petition, that is to say -

(a) corruption in electing an elected official
(b) the elections were not held in accordance with election laws
(c) that the corrupt practices were done with the knowledge of candidate and/or their party agents
(d) the candidate is not qualified for elected office

(3) The High Court will give the candidate a chance to state his case by proving:

(a) that any corruption that did occur, occurred without their knowledge
(b) that the candidate and party agent took all necessary steps to prevent corruption
(c) in all respects, the election was free from corruption by the candidate and party agents, then the High Court shall not, by reason only of such corruption practice or illegal practice, declare that election of such candidate was void.

19 - An election petition may be presented to the High Court by one or more of the following persons-

(a) a person who legally voted
(b) a person who had a right to be on the ballot
(c) a person who was a candidate at the time of the petition
(d) the Attorney General

20 - Any of the following may be claimed in an election petition-

(a) a declaration that the election was void;
(b) a declaration that any candidate was duly elected.

(3) A petition is valid if any of the following occurred during the voting process:

(a) a person voted when their name was not on the voting register
(b) a person who voted by any corrupt practice or illegal practice
(c) a person who impersonated a registered voter
(d) a person who voted more than once
(e) a person who was disqualified from voting

21 - (1) Every election petition shall be in such form and shall contain such matters as may be prescribed by rules made by the Chief Justice.

(2) You must lodge petition with the Registrar

(3) Each petition shall be signed by petitioner (s) and presented no longer than 30 days after results of said election.

22 - (1) The Register shall make out a list of all petitions which have been filed. Any person can inspect the said list.

(2) The Register will investigate petitions in the order received.

23 - (1) The Chief Justice may make rules regulating how the High Court hears petition hearings. The Chief Justice can also impose costs and penalties in regards to the petition.

(2) You must show that you have money for court costs (not to exceed more than ten thousand kwacha).

(3) If you can not show the ability to come up with the money, the petition is withdrawn.

24 - (1) A petition can not be withdrawn with out the knowledge of the High Court.

(2) The intention to withdraw a petition must be made to the Chief Justice.

(3) When two or more people have signed a petition, you need the signatures of both signers to withdraw the petition.

25 - (1) If a person wants to withdraw a petition, others can sign up and continue the proceedings. They would be recognized as "substitute petitioner".

(2) The substitute petitioner would still be liable for court costs and rulings made against.
(3) The security costs (the K10,000) that were secured by the original petitioner will be held until the substitute can prove the ability to pay the K10,000.

26 - (1) If a petitioner (s) dies during the proceedings, said petition will be dropped.

(2) The dead petitioner is still responsible for any court costs that may have occurred while petitioner was alive.

(3) The Courts can accept a substitute in such an event as death.

27 - (1) An election petition shall be tried by the High Court in open court.

(2) The High Court may adjourn the trail of an election petition from time to time and from place to place.

(4) All evidence and testimony shall be recorded and delivered to the Commission by the Register at the completion of hearing.

28 - (1) On the trial of an election petition, the High Court may-

(a) ask anyone involved in the petition to attend as a witness
(b) ask anyone involved in the petition to testify as a witness

(2) A person can not be excused from answering any questions unless-

(a) the answers will incriminate him
(b) the answer could be admissible in any proceedings, civil or criminal, against him.

29 - (1) If the conclusion of the hearing is that the election is void, the High Court must inform the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Electoral Commission.

(2) If the conclusion of the hearing is that the election is valid, said election will remain.

Section 1 -- Who is who in the election system

Voting and Counting Officials

Director of Elections -- responsible for implementing the directions of the electoral commission in the running of the election.

Candidate -- any person who is validly nominated to stand for election in a ward

Counting Assistant -- assists the Returning Officer in the counting of the ballots

Domestic Observers -- nonpartisan observers watching the electoral process Election Commission

Election Officer -- official employee that is working for the Director of elections to conduct elections

Election Agent -- one person designated by a candidate to assist him during the polling exercise

Party Polling Agent -- refers to a person appointed by the candidate/party to monitor the voting in a particular polling site.

Police --

Polling Assistant -- person assisting the Presiding Officer in the running voting at a polling station

Presiding Officer -- person in charge of a polling station

Returning Officer -- Provides voting materials such as compartments for secret voting, ballot boxes, ballot papers, official marks, official seals, copies of the register of votes and other necessary items. The Returning Officer also is responsible for publishing both inside and outside the polling station, notices instructing voters how to vote. The Returning officer is responsible for making arrangements to ensure the smooth operation of the poll in accordance with the directions of the Election Commission and the Director of Elections.

Voter -- any person registered in a register of voters

Section 2 -- Summary of Rights, Powers and Duties

In order to have the right to be present and monitor events inside the polling station or the counting station the candidate or the candidate's election agent must inform, in writing, the ward returning officer of the party agent's name and polling station for which the polling agent has been appointed. This notification must be done at least **seven (7) days before polling day**. The polling agent also must complete Form LGE 1, Oath or Affirmation, upon arrival at the polling station on the day of the poll or by oath administered by the Returning Officer for the ward.

Party Polling Agents have the right:

1. to be present and monitor

   - preparations to open the polls;
   - all activities inside the voting station;
   - all activities at the counting station; and
   - the delivery of ballot boxes to the counting station (only one Polling Agent may ride in the vehicle traveling to the counting station. The polling agents choose between themselves who will be the polling agent that will accompany the ballot box. The rest of the polling agents would have to provide their own transport to follow the ballot box.

   No more than one Agent per Candidate/Party may be present at a given time.

2. to place seals on ballot boxes and envelopes;

3. to scrutinize certain voters by bringing them to the attention of Presiding Officer

4. to submit complaints or disputes to the Director of Elections and the Elections Commission

Party Polling Agents also have certain responsibilities. They must:

1. be properly registered with the Elections Office and sworn to uphold the secrecy of the ballot

2. follow the directions and instructions of Election Officials

3. not interfere with voters

4. not commit any election offenses such as:
   violating the secrecy of the vote
   interference or obstruction of lawful proceedings
   undue influence
   bribery
   personation (performing any act while pretending to be someone else)
   intentionally giving false information

5. Comply with all electoral regulations.

Section 3 -- Basic Rules and Procedures

A. The Set Up

1. Election date and hours of Operation -- The Election date and hours of operation are set by the Elections Commission. The traditional times for polling are 06:00 - 18:00. The official election dates and times will be published in the government *Gazette*. All Election Officials and polling agents should be present and beginning to arrange the poll one hour in advance. (Reg. 29)

2. Posters -- Certain public information posters shall be put up before the opening of the poll. Posters shall be placed inside and outside each polling station instructing voters how to cast their vote, as well as listing the names of the candidates for election in that particular ward, in alphabetical order of surnames and with appropriate election symbol. (Reg. 32(d))

   Note: On polling day, no partisan posters or other written materials advocating the election or defeat of candidates or parties shall be allowed within the radius of one hundred (100) yards of the voting station. (Reg. 71(m)) As well, there can be no canvassing for votes or inducing people not to vote within four hundred and forty yards of the voting station. (Reg. 71(k))

3. Voting Compartments -- Voting compartments shall be arranged so that no person can: (a) enter or exit the voting compartment without being plainly seen by election officials; (b) see how the voter marks the ballot. (Reg 32(a))

4. Ballot Boxes -- Immediately before the beginning of polling, the presiding officer shall:

   - show every ballot box, open and empty to Party Agents and other authorized election officials.
   - close and lock each ballot box and seal it with an official seal.
   - allow any candidates, election agents or party agents to affix their seals to the ballot boxes.
   - place the keys to every ballot box in a packet marked "A", and seal the packet with an official seal.
   - allow any candidates, election agents or party agents to affix their seals to the packet containing the keys to the ballot boxes. (Reg 35)

B. The Voting

5. The Presiding Officer may control the number of voters admitted into the polling station at any time. He or she may exclude or evict anyone who does not have the right to be in the voting station. The following persons have the right to be in the polling station: Presiding Officer, members of the Elections Commission or their staff, Director of Elections, Returning Officer or Assistant Returning Officer, election Candidates for that particular ward, election agents of the candidates, officially recognized polling agents, police officer on duty, any person authorized in writing by the Director of Elections to enter and remain in the polling station (Reg. 36(2)), voters (only for the purpose of voting) and anyone authorized to help a voter needing special assistance (Reg 42). ??**However, the Director of Elections or Returning Officers may allow neutral observers or mediators into the polling area.(Reg 36(3))** ?? All of those persons who have a right to be inside the voting station are subject to the authority, control and directives of the Presiding Officer. (Reg. 36(1)) The Presiding officer is responsible for maintaining order at the polling station.

6. Entrance -- Every voter will be required to show his or her voter's card and National Registration Card to either the Presiding Officer or Polling Assistant at the polling station. The voter also may be required to show both of their hands to the officers to verify they have not all ready voted. (Reg 37 (1a))

The Presiding Officer or the Polling Assistant may ask a potential voter appropriate questions to determine that the identity of the voter matches the name on the registry of voters. (Reg. 37(2))

A potential voter may be denied a ballot if the Presiding Officer or Polling Assistant are not satisfied that he or she:

- is registered in the polling district for the polling station
- has produced a voter's registration card
- has produced a National Registration Card
- has previously voted in the election that he or she is requesting a ballot (Reg. 37(3))

7. Voters' Roll -- Either the Presiding Officer or the Polling Assistant will ask the voter for his/her National Registration Card and Voters' Card. The election official shall locate the voter's name and registration number on the voters' registry. The election officials shall:

- call out the number and name of the voter as recorded in the copy of the register of voters;
- draw a line through the number and name of the voter in the copy of the register of voters;
- stamp the ballot paper with the official mark;
- enter on the counterfoil of the ballot paper the number of the voter as recorded in the register of voters; and stamp the voter's registration card produced by the voter with the official mark. (Reg. 38(b))

8. Inking of the thumb -- Prior to receiving a ballot, a voter will immerse a thumb up to the whole exposed nail in ink provided by an election official. (Reg. 38 (a))

9. Issuing the ballot -- After the voter's cards have been checked and thumb inked, the voter will receive from the Presiding Officer or Polling Assistant the ballot that has been stamped with the official mark and whose counterfoil bears the voter's registration number.

10. Voting -- Once the voter has received the ballot he or she will proceed to an unoccupied polling compartment. The voter shall mark the ballot paper with a cross and then fold the ballot so that the official seal is visible and that the mark signifying his or her vote is not visible. The voter shall, in the presence of the Presiding Officer or Polling Assistant, place the folded ballot paper in the ballot box.(Reg. 38 (d))

11. Spoiled ballots -- If, before casting a ballot into the box, a voter inadvertently spoils his or her ballot, he or she may request a new ballot. If the Presiding Officer is satisfied that the ballot was spoilt inadvertently, he or she shall issue another ballot paper to the voter and shall cancel the spoilt ballot paper and its' counterfoil.(Reg. 41)

12. Assisting voters -- No person, other than a Presiding Officer, Polling Assistant, Police Officer or person on duty in an official capacity at a polling station, shall have any communication with a voter while the voter is in the precincts of a polling station.(Reg. 44) However, a Presiding Officer, relative or a friend may, upon application by and consent of a voter who is illiterate, blind or physically disabled, enter the polling compartment with the voter in order to assist him/her vote.(Reg 42(1)) The relative or friend that assists the voter must be a registered voter in that polling district and cannot have assisted another person to vote. (Reg. 42(2)) If a Presiding Officer assists a voter to vote

or a relative or friend assists a voter, the Presiding Officer shall make a mark on the Register of Voters between the number and the name of the voter concerned.(Reg. 42(3))

13. Closing the voting -- The doors of the polling station shall be closed at the prescribed time. Anyone who is waiting to vote and is inside the inner perimeter of the polling area shall be given the opportunity to vote. As well, a voter may vote if, in the opinion of the Presiding Officer, the voter is in the immediate area of the polling station but was prevented from entering because of congestion.(Reg. 29)

14. Arranging election materials -- As soon as all voters have finished voting, the Presiding Officer shall, in the presence of ***Party Polling Agents:***
    - close and seal the opening of every ballot box used for the poll and allow candidates, election agents and Polling Agents to do the same;
    - complete a ballot paper account
    - place the unused ballots and spoilt ballots into an envelope marked "B". The Presiding Officer will then seal the envelope allowing Candidates, Election Agents, an Polling Agents to do the same;
    - place the register of voters and the forms used by the employees of the Election Commission into a packet marked "C". The Presiding Officer will then seal the envelope allowing Candidates, Election Agents, an Polling Agents to do the same;
    - place the counterfoils of any used ballot papers and the counterfoils of any spoilt ballot papers in a packet marked "D". The Presiding Officer will then seal the envelope allowing Candidates, Election Agents, an Polling Agents to do the same;
    - place the ballot paper account into a packet marked "E". The Presiding Officer will then seal the envelope allowing Candidates, Election Agents, an Polling Agents to do the same;
    - place the official seal and official mark into a packet marked "F". The Presiding Officer will then seal the envelope allowing Candidates, Election Agents, an Polling Agents to do the same. (Reg. 46)

15. Delivery -- The Presiding Officer shall send all of the sealed packets (A-F), and the sealed ballot boxes to the Returning Officer of the ward. The transportation of the materials will be in accordance with the directions from the Director of Elections. (Reg. 46(2)) Only one Polling Agent may ride in the vehicle carring the ballot box to the counting station. The Polling Agents choose between themselves who will be the Polling Agent that will accompany the ballot box. The rest of the polling agents would have to provide their own transport to follow the ballot box.

C. The Counting

16. The Returning Officer has primary authority for conducting the counting of votes. He/she has the right to maintain order in the counting station and to expel persons who refuse to follow instructions or who are not authorized to be present.

17. Persons allowed in counting area -- The following people have the right to be in the counting area:
    - Presiding Officer;
    - members of the Elections Commission or their staff;
    - Director of Elections;
    - Returning Officer or Assistant Returning Officer;
    - Counting Assistants appointed by the Returning Officer;
    - Candidates for election in the ward;
    - election agents of the candidates;
    - officially recognized polling agents;
    - police officer on duty;

- any person authorized in writing by the Director of Elections. (Reg. 48)

Every person authorized to attend the counting of the votes must have completed a Oath or Affirmation form or taken an oath administered by the Returning Officer. (Reg. 48(2))

18. Examination of Seals -- The Returning Officer shall take into his custody and issue a receipt for all packets and ballot boxes that he/she receives from Presiding Officers. Once all of the packets and ballot boxes have arrived at the counting center, the Returning Officer shall examine the seals on all of the packets and ballot boxes and shall allow the candidates, election agents, and polling agents the opportunity to do the same. If it appears that any of the seals have been broken, the Returning Officer will submit a written report to the Director of Elections.(Reg. 49)

19. The Count -- The Returning Officer, with the assistance of the Counting Assistants, shall:

- open each ballot box and remove all of the ballot papers;
- count and record the total number of ballot papers contained in each box, without reference to how the ballots are marked;
- then count and record the total number of valid ballot papers in respect of each candidate;
- ensure that, while counting the ballot papers, the counting assistants keep the side of each ballot paper on which the vote is recorded upward and shall take all precautions to prevent any person from seeing the number printed on the ballot paper.

20. Invalid ballots -- The Returning Officer may reject any ballot paper:

- votes are cast for more than one candidate;
- which does not bear the official mark, unless the Returning Officer is satisfied that such omission was a legitimate error; or
- that is unmarked or invalid for uncertainty.

If the ballot paper is deemed invalid the Returning Officer shall stamp it with "rejected".

The Candidate, Election Agent or Polling Agent has the right to object to the validity or invalidity of a particular ballot. If a Candidate, Election Agent or Polling agent objects to a ballot paper being declared invalid then the Returning Officer shall mark the ballot paper with "rejections objected to". However, the Returning Officer has the final say on the validity or invalidity of a ballot.

> **Note:** A ballot paper on which a vote is marked elsewhere than in the proper place or is marked by something other than a cross, or by more than one mark **shall not** be reason to make the ballot invalid. If the intention of the voter to vote for one or the other of the candidates and the marks do not identify the voter, the ballot should be deemed valid. (Reg 51)

21. Recounting of votes -- A candidate, election agent, or polling agent may, if present when the counting or any recounting of the votes is completed, may ask the Returning Agent to recount the votes, provided the Returning Officer does not deem the request unreasonable. (Reg. 52)

22. Declaration of result of poll -- When the counting of the votes has been completed and the result of the poll ascertained, the returning officer shall:

- complete in triplicate a declaration of the result of the poll, Form LGE 8;
- declare to be elected the candidate to whom the majority of votes has been given by reading aloud, at the counting site, the completed form;

- cause to be delivered to the Commission without delay the original of the completed form; and
- cause to be delivered to the Principal Officer of the Council to which the candidate has been elected a copy of the completed form.(Reg 54)

23. Completion of counting -- On the completion of the counting, the Returning Officer shall seal up in separate marked packets the ballot papers counted for each candidate and shall place the rejected ballot papers in a single market packet.(Reg 57)

24. Verification of ballot paper accounts -- The Returning Officer shall give written notification to the candidates in an election of the time and place at which the verification of the ballot paper accounts will occur. The candidates and their election agents may be present at the verification. (Reg. 58)

Party Agent Checklist

Monitoring Form
for the Local Government Elections

Basic Data - complete the name or other identity information (number, address, etc.) of the following individuals and places

Party Agent: _____

Polling Station: _____ Ward: _____

Presiding Officer: _____ Returning Officer: _____

Other Parties/ Candidates Agents:

Party: _____ Agent: _____

Party: _____ Agent: _____

Party: _____ Agent: _____

Period Monitored -- From: _____ To: _____ Total registered voters: _____

The Set Up		**Yes**	**No**	**Comments/Amounts**
1.	Did the polling station open on time?	____	____	_____
2.	Were instruction posters put up and were partisan posters or other campaign materials in the inner perimeter removed?	____	____	_____
3.	Were the voting compartments arranged to ensure secrecy of the vote?	____	____	_____
4.	Were the ballot boxes empty before they were sealed?	____	____	_____
The Voting				
5.	Did the Presiding Officer maintain order throughout the voting process?	____	____	_____
6.	At the entrance of the voting station, did Election Officers ask voters to show that they possess an NRC and voters card?	____	____	_____
7.	a. Were voter's properly checked as to their identity and registration on the roll?	____	____	_____
	b. How many voters' names were not on the list and what was done?	____	____	_____
	c. How many times did the Presiding Officer ask questions of a voter to attempt to ascertain if the person was registered, and what was the result?	____	____	_____
8.	Was the process of issuing ballots properly conducted (i.e., was the official mark placed on the ballots?	____	____	_____
9.	Did the voters seem to be able to understand how to mark and cast their ballots?	____	____	_____
10.	How many voters spoiled ballots? How many were given fresh ballots?	____	____	_____
11.	Was the process of providing assistance to illiterate, blind, or disabled voters properly conducted, and was secrecy respected?	____	____	_____

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The Counting

		Yes	No	Comments/Amounts
12.	Was everyone in the queue at closing time allowed to vote?	____	____	_____
13.	Where the packets and the ballot box apertures properly sealed?	____	____	_____
14.	a. Were the ballot boxes delivered to the Returning Officer immediately after the closing of the polls?	____	____	_____
	b. Were Party Agents able to follow and keep the boxes in sight?	____	____	_____
15.	Did the Returning Officer maintain order and an efficient operation in the counting station?	____	____	_____
16.	At what time did the counting of ballots begin?	____	____	_____
17.	Were the seals on the packets and ballot box apertures in tact when they arrived at the counting center?	____	____	_____
18.	Was there a full accounting of all the ballots?	____	____	_____
19.	Was there any evidence of ballots that did not bear the official mark?	____	____	_____
20.	Were irregular ballots properly set apart for later review?	____	____	_____
21.	Did any Party Agents record objections to the Returning Officers determinations as to accepted or rejected ballots?	____	____	_____
22.	Were all rejected ballots kept separate and saved in a sealed envelope?	____	____	_____

Results

23. Ward Ballots: Total ballots:_____ Total rejected:_____ Total valid votes:_____

Results:

1._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

2._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

3._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

4._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

5._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

6._____ Name:_____ Party:_____

24.	Were the results declared at the finish of the counting, and did the Party Agents agree with the results?	____	____	_____

PARTY AGENT TRAINING KIT
FOR THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS

This is a "kit" assembled by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) for use by political party agents. The kit provides basic information necessary to help political party agents perform their role in the upcoming local government elections. The Kit compromises four sections:

(1) Who is who in the election system;

(2) Pre - election monitoring (all party members)

(3) Summary of rights, powers, and duties of party agents

(4) Basic rules and procedures for conducting the voting and counting

(5) Forms for party agents to complete, including:

  (a) a party agent **Oath or Affirmation** (which must be completed by all agents)

  (b) Checklist

Please note that the information contained in this Kit is based on the Local Government Elections Act, 1991 and The Local Government Elections Regulations, 1992, for the Republic of Zambia.

Tips for the Party Voting Agent

Your job is to help make the election free and fair. This a goal you must always remember when you do your duties. Here are some tips to help you do your duties:

* Do not interfere with the work of electoral officers unless there is a good reason. Remember that your job is to make sure the election runs smoothly.

* Do not talk to voters or communicate in any other way except when you need to sort out problems. **You may not campaign for your political party at the Polling Station.** If you raise a problem, it must be to an electoral official.

* Watch the people who work in the Polling Station to make sure that they all follow the correct steps, and that nobody cheats.

* Write down any problems you notice, or anything that does not look right to you. Write down the time you saw these things. Also write down the time of events like the opening and closing of the Polling Station.

* Help electoral officers and other Party Voting Agents, Monitors, and Observers to sort out any disagreements about the voting.

* Remember that your goal is a free and fair election.

Tips for sorting out problems

Be prepared for any problems, disagreements or confusion. When this happens, remember to stay calm.

Remember the rules of the election laws when you sort out any problems, disagreements or confusion. Also keep in mind the spirit of a free and fair election. Remember that the Presiding Officer is in charge at the Polling Station.

* Take any matter first to the Presiding Officer. If the Presiding Officer is involved in the matter, then talk to other party agents or domestic monitors.

* If you cannot sort out the problem at the polling station, then go to your Party Election Agent. If you cannot speak to your Party Election Agents straight away, you might need to take the matter directly to the Electoral Commission.

Keep notes of all problems and disagreements in your notebook.

These notes might be used later if anybody makes a complaint to the Electoral Commission.

If there is a problem, you might also want to talk to your Party Election Agent to decide whether to make a formal complaint to the Electoral Commission.

Running Elections:

* The key to running an effective election is letting people do their jobs.

* It takes a whole village to raise a child, the same is true in winning an election. No one person can win an election. Give responsibilities to people.

Main positions to be filled and their responsibilities:

Election, Staff Manager: Organize and supervise the campaign, control the campaign budget, establish campaign headquarters, hire/select rest of staff, supervise the candidate's schedule, develop overall strategy and timing of campaign, serve as conduit for ideas and information to and from candidate and the staff, see that major responsibilities are carried out, settle all staff disagreements, reassign campaign personnel as needed, be completely accessible to members of the staff, maintain morale of staff and candidate.

Field Director: Coordinate field activities, stay in close touch with district leaders, report back all information to campaign manager, supervise distribution of materials, recruit field staff, develop voter contact strategy, estimate volunteer numbers needed to staff these programs, compile and transmit this information back to the campaign manager, determine materials needed for field operation, coordinate volunteer training efforts in villages and neighborhoods, organize and implement aggressive G.O.T.V. (Get Out The Vote) effort on election day.

Press Secretary: Prepare press releases, establish relationships with press people, assemble and design press kits, issue position papers to media, do media advance work for public appearances of candidate, act as liaison between press and candidate, get candidate's name in media as often as possible and in the most favorable light, prepare outline of remarks or speech for candidate, maintain cordial relationship with media personnel, maintain file of all news articles appearing about candidate as well as your opponent.

Treasurer: Take charge of receiving and depositing contributions, allocate money for campaign activities, make reports on contributions and expenditures, supervise a campaign bank account, sign all checks, handle all bills, salaries, and other expenditures, supervising all bookkeeping, design and maintain accounting/budget system, establish a cash flow for the campaign, keep individual contributor records, send thank-you letters to donors.

Volunteer Director (this could also be the office manager): Coordinate volunteer recruitment efforts, develop and acquire lists of persons who can be contacted for possible volunteer work, conduct training meetings for volunteers, develop work schedule for volunteers and a reporting system, distribute materials to volunteers, recruit specifically for each program developed by field coordinator.

Fund-raiser: Direct fund raising for campaign, develop fund raising plan at all contribution levels, assure that all collected money is transferred to the Treasurer, recruit finance committee, motivate and assign quotas to fund raisers, keep records of contributions, get letter of thanks from candidate for each contribution, see that direct solicitations are carried out, develop other ideas and plan events.

Message Development:

* Message is your reason for running, it's the most compelling reasons why voters should vote for you and not your opponent.

* Your message should not be more then twenty-five words. It should define the party and why people should vote for you.

* Clear and Consistent: The theme/message (your statement of twenty-five words or less) must be easily definable and easy to understand. Once you have determined what your theme/message is: use it. Use it at every press conference, public rally and community forum. The people have to hear the same message eight to twelve times before they associate it with your cause.

* Exercise - development of your own theme/message.

Press:

* Refer to hand outs.

* Only two people should speak on behalf of the candidate: the candidate him/herself and the press secretary. With everyone wanting to see their name in the paper, the theme/message gets diluted and the rhetoric increases.

* Stage events that show support for your candidate. Hold public rallies, voter registration drives, a day cleaning up the streets sponsored by your party. There are hundreds of ways to get your candidates name in the paper in a positive light.

* Stick to your theme/message in everything that you say or send out. You have to keep on reinforcing your theme/message to the public until they can associate your theme with your party.

* Make your life easier and expect nothing from the media. This way you will work that much harder to come up with events that the press will have to eventually cover.

* Develop a relationship with the reporters covering the election. Call them when you have a great story. But don't call them on every little move or speech your candidate makes: the reporters will grow tired and stop covering you all together.

* Don't give all your hot stories to one reporter. Reporters who continually miss great stories will begin to resent your office. And if they do, they might display their animosity through their reporting. A happy reporter is a friendly reporter.

G.O.T.V. (Get Out The Vote):

* This takes a great deal of time and energy, not a great deal of money.

* Get out of the office and onto the streets. Elections are won in the field, not in the office.

* Get a hold of registered voters list.

* The field director and the volunteer coordinator should organize a comprehensive volunteer canvass operation.

What is a voter canvass operation?

This is the procedure of contacting those potential voters and finding out who they are going to vote for in the coming election. By going door to door, village to village you will begin to see where your strengths lie and where you need to do more work.

How do you do this? The simplest way to do this is to look at a voter registration list, find the voters in your area and go up to their door and ask them who they support. That's the simple way. There really is no simple way to do an effective canvass. With the size of wards, accessibility to those voters, skepticism of voters to offer information and the lack of money to effectively reach these people are all problems that a campaign has to address.

The two most important bits of information you need to get from these potential voters is: do they support you and if they are undecided. Undecided voters play an important role in every election. Your goal is to make sure your supporters stay with you and that you can sway those undecided voters to your side.

The best way to sway undecided voters to your side is by offering them a positive alternative to your opposition. Either through papers, pamphlets or direct contact (person to person): you must put your best foot forward to these undecided voters. It is important to leave a positive impression of what your candidate is trying to accomplish. If your rhetoric is full of hate, it will only make people apathetic and most likely to vote for your opponent.

How you actually get to these people and find out their preference is a matter that each campaign will have to address. Most provinces have the availability of registered voters lists and the ability to go out and contact those voters. Each province is different, each ward is different. You have to find an effective way of reaching your voters with your theme/message.

* You must have an effective election day operation to get your supporters to the polls. Radio ads, t.v. ads, print advertisement, waving signs on the streets, community forums, posters, booths at local markets with your information (as well as polling locations) and rallies are all ways in which you should be able to get your supporters to the polls. You know the area better then anyone else, you must be creative in getting people to vote.

Press

Here are some basics to keep in mind when setting up your press operation.
Know your press. Identify every press outlet in your district and any outlet that may influence your district.

Television Stations:

List: Political Reporter (s)
Assignment Editor
News Director
After hours newsroom phone numbers
Home phone numbers
Fax number

Radio Stations:

Times of newscasts
Reporters/News Director
Do they have talk shows/public service shows
Hosts of such shows
Fax number

Newspapers:

Deadlines
Political Reporters
Publisher
Managing Editor
Editorial Board members/Editor
After hours newsroom numbers
Home phone numbers
Fax number

Send to these organizations:

Campaign address
Campaign phone number
Press Secretary's home phone number
Your fax number
Candidate Photo, black & white, 8" x 10"
Issue papers if available
List of name supporters / campaign committee
Any endorsements

Set up a file on your candidate, which includes:

All newspaper clippings, complete with subject and date written on clipping
All t.v. and radio appearances
Copies of all press releases and prepared public statements

Now do the same file with your opponents.

Electoral Training:

* You need more votes then your opposition, that's easier said than done.

* You need to find out who's supporting you and most importantly, who is undecided.

* You need to get out of the office and into the villages, the markets and the neighborhoods.

* This takes a great deal of effort - not a great deal of money.

* You must be very serious about running for office. If you can't provide your complete attention to the election, get out now while you still have your sanity.

* It takes a core of dedicated volunteers and workers to effectively run an election. If you are unable to round up fifteen people to help you in the office, you will have a hard time rounding up fifteen people to vote for you.

* Come up with a plan and have others look at it. Have an inner circle of close friends and colleagues give constructive criticism on the direction of the plan. Once you have agreed on the plan, stick to it.

* Delegate responsibilities.

* Have one theme/message and use it all the time.

* Even if the media has neglected you, continue to make them a part of the campaign.

* Find out who your voters are and get them to the polls.

* And most importantly, have fun.

APRIL 2, 1996

NDI to train political election monitors

By PELEKELO LISWANISO

THE National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has launched a campaign to meet and train political agents who will be engaged in monitoring the forthcoming presidential and parliamentary elections.

Adrian Muunga, a NDI training officer said in Kitwe yesterday that his organisation felt that political agents should be accorded the chance to attend workshops in line with civic education for the electorate.

He said it was important that political agents are made aware of their role in elections.

He explained that NDI had also formed a Committee for a "Clean campaign" which consisted of non-governmental institutions, religious groups, labour unions and students.

The committee, he said, would seek to promote an atmosphere of non-violence, tolerance and mutual respect in the forth-coming local and national elections in Zambia.

The committee has already published an educational publication entitled "elections 96" in which it explains the importance of voting, why there is an election and what should be expected from local councillors.

Mr Muunga said the pamphlet had been designed for reference by the agents.

NDI supports democracy - officer

By PELEKELO LISWANISO

PROGRAMME officer of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) Adrian Maunga yesterday said NDI did not form the Committee for a Clean Committee or any other committee but was made to promote democracy.

Mr Maunga said in Kitwe that CCC was made up of Zambian Non Governmental Organisations who got together to promote a clean campaign environment in the run up to the 1996 elections.

NDI is headed by Mr Ngande Mwananjiti based in Lusaka, who is the committee spokesman.

Mr Maunga said NDI works not only to support the efforts of CCCbut also supports efforts of other organisations at strengthening the democratic process.

Mr Maunga further explained that NDI was not launching a campaign but simply consultations with members of political parties with a view to designing programmes for future training.

"And elections monitoring will just be one of the areas," he said.

So far, NDI has met the MMD, National Party, Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC) and the Liberal Progressive Front (LPF) to familiarises itself with the democratic principles of the parties.

"The consultations are intended to help NDI design programmes for training to help political parties to effectively participate in the electoral process," Mr Maunga added.

TIMES OF ZAMBIA

MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1996.

Politicians off to SA

THE Zambia committee for a clean campaign has sent a 10 member delegation from political parties and civic organisations for a study mission to KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa to learn about efforts of ensuring a fair political atmosphere in the forthcoming elections

CCC chairperson, Ngande Mwanajiti said in Lusaka yesterdaythat the delegation would learn about efforts of the main political parties there, particularly the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress to ensure that elections in Zambia were free of violence, intimidation and political intolerance.

He said they would also observe the role of independent institutions, including church groups, peace monitoring networks and Non-Governmental Organisations.

Mr Mwanajiti said they would learn about governmental bodies, such as the presidential task group responsible for overseeing the peaceful and fair conduct of elections.

The delegation include M. Wakumelo (MMD), Mrs Mary Fulano (UNIP), Mr Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika (NP) ,Ms Mulumo (LPF) and Derrick Chitala (ZDC). - Zana

BRING DEMOCRACY HOME

A Publication of the Committee for a Clean Campaign

Issue # 1

ELECTIONS '96

VOTE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1996

You are responsible for their future. Make sure you vote in local government elections

Use Your Vote and Make a Difference.

DON'T FORGET YOUR NATIONAL REGISTRATION CARD AND VOTERS CARD ON ELECTION DAY

WHAT ARE WE VOTING FOR?

In 1996, you will have the opportunity to vote for your local councillor, Member of Parliament and for the President.

LOCAL COUNCILS

1,190 local councillors
61 districts
Three year terms

PARLIAMENT

150 Members of National Assembly
150 constituencies
Five year terms

PRESIDENT

One President
Five-year term

All these elections are important for the future of your children. Be sure that those who want your vote for local council, Parliament and President know what you want for your family and your community.

Remember: Good government goes with your vote

ONE PERSON = ONE VOTE

YOUR VOTE IS YOUR SECRET

WHAT SHOULD I EXPECT FROM MY LOCAL COUNCILOR?

It is time to elect our community leaders, but this can only be done when you are clear about what you want them to do.

Ask your candidate for local council how they will provide:

- **Clean water supply**
- **Good roads**
- **A safe and crime-free community**
- **Distribution of seeds and fertilizer**
- **Well-stocked health clinics**
- **Accessible community services**
- **Contact with you after elections**

Learn about your candidates for local council before the election. Ask them what they will do to improve your community.

After the election, it is your responsibility to ensure that your councilor represents your interests. Let them know what you want.

DON'T FORGET TO ARRANGE FOR TRANSPORT ON ELECTION DAY

BRING DEMOCRACY HOME

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR VOTERS

1. You have nothing to fear, because your vote is secret.

2. Do not vote for a candidate without knowing his or her aims and policies.

3. Do not be misled by false promises.

4. Your vote is your power. Use it to make a difference to your life and your country.

5. Your vote is worth a lot, do not let someone buy it with money or other gifts.

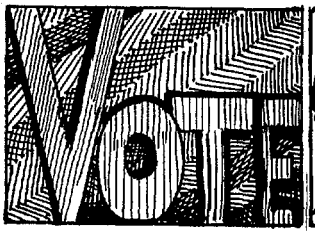
6. Choice is the key to democracy. Remember, you are making a decision that will affect future generations.

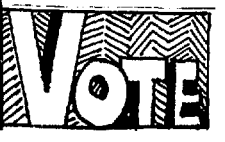
7. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness. Vote so that justice can flow like a river, and peace like a mighty flood.

8. Just as a village has people of different opinions, Zambia has political parties with different agendas. Examine and vote for the party you feel is best for the future of the country.

9. At the end of the day we are all Zambians. Respect and defend the rights of others to vote for the party of their choice without fear or intimidation.

10. Judge your representatives by the fruits of their labours. Watch out for their actions and demand that they fulfill their promises.





ELECTIONS '96 is a publication of the Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC). The CCC consists of NGOs, religious groups, labor unions and students. It seeks to promote an atmosphere of non-violence, tolerance and mutual respect in the upcoming local and national elections in Zambia. If you or your organization are interested in CCC and its activities, call the following number for more information:
Lusaka: 22 65 44

MEMORANDUM

To: Chris Gomes, Carl Larkins, Pat Keefer, Katherine Grainger

From: NDI Zambia

Re: CCC/*Elections '96* Distribution

Date: June 4, 1996

Dorah Chisambi of Afronet today sent the following report on the current status of the distribution of the first edition of the *Elections '96* newspaper.

Lusaka Province: 47,400

English	30,000
Bemba	5,000
Chewa	6,000
Lozi	3,400
Tonga	3,000

Southern Province: 27,200

English	9,000
Tonga	17,000
Chewa	400
Bemba	400
Lozi	400

Copperbelt Province: 34,400

English	15,000
Bemba	17,400
Chewa	2,000

Luapula Province: 14,000

English	10,000
Bemba	4,000

Northern Province: 12,000

English	6,000
Bemba	6,000

Central Province: 12,000

English	6,000
Chewa	2,000
Bemba	4,000

Northwestern Province: 6,000

English	6,000

Eastern Province: 14,000

English	7,000
Chewa	7,000

Western Province: 0

No Papers Delivered

By Language:

English	89,000
Bemba	36,800
Chewa	17,400
Tonga	20,000
Lozi	3,800

TOTAL: 167,000

MEMORANDUM

TO: **ROB BLACK AND DAVID STEARNS**

FROM: **BRANEL MWANGALA**

SUBJECT: **DISTRIBUTION OF CCC NEWS LETTERS**

DATE: **JUNE 24, 1996**

The distribution of the CCC Newsletters to all the provincial capitals through public transport either by road or rail will proceed as follows:

MODE OF TRANSPORTATION

(I) Zambia Railways

Distribution to Kabwe, Ndola, Kitwe, Choma and Livingstone will be done through Zambia Railways. The newsletters need to be packed in boxes. There will be more copies that will be sent to Livingstone and Choma since no copies had been sent to these committees. While Ndola, Kitwe and Kabwe will just receive supplimentary copies to the ones that were sent to them sometime back. The breakdown for each town as follows:

	Town	Number in English	Local Languages
a)	Kitwe	6 000 English	6 000 Bemba
b)	Ndola	4 000 English	4 000 Bemba
c)	Kabwe	5 000 English	5 000 Bemba
d)	Livingstone	10 000 English	10 000 Lozi 5 000 Tonga
e)	Choma	15 000 English	15 000 Tonga

(II) **Private Buses**

Pivate buses will be used to deliver newsletters to Chipata, Mansa, Kasama and Mongu. I am yet to identify which buses should be used. The Post Bus would have been ideal but it has stopped servicing these routes. However, the following will be distributed through private buses.

	Town	Number in English	Local Languages
a)	Kasama	15 000 English	15 000 Bemba
b)	Mansa	12 000 English	12 000 Bemba
c)	Mongu	12 000 English	12 000 Lozi
d)	Chipata	5 000 English	5 000 Chewa

COST

For Zambia Railways, the cost will be determined after weighing the boxes and the distance. The estimated cost per destination will be around K 10, 000 to K 15,000. I am yet to talk to private buses and find out the cost.

I will need to buy nine (9) big boxes at K 2 500 each and some sisal threads at K 7 500 tighten the boxes.

NDI Domestic Monitoring A-Z Guide
Zambia Distribution List

TOTAL: 370

Organization	Individual
US Embassy (1)	Amb. Kuchel
USAID (10)	Jim Polhemus
Zambia Elections Office (2)	Rabson Mwansa
Zambia Elections Commission (2)	Joel Sikazwe
ZIMT (51)	Alfred Zulu
FODEP (52)	Bishop John Mambo
	Kalila Chellah-Kunda
YWCA (1)	Mary Kazunga
Christian Council of Zambia (1)	Rev. W. Christen
Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice (1)	Sam Mulafulafu
Afronet (25)	Ngande Mwanajiti
Committee for a Clean Campaign (160)	
National Women's Lobby Group (1)	Molly Mwafulilwa
Women for Change (2)	Priscilla J. Mwindilila
	Emily Sikazwe
Zambia Reconstruction Organization (5)	
Anti-Voter Apathy Project (25)	Mr. Bonnie Tembo
UNIP (1)	Basil Kabwe
MMD (3)	Mikatazo Wakumelo
National Party (5)	Hon. Aka Lewanika
ZDC (26)	Azwell Banda
LPF (1)	Rolf Shenton
Labour Party (1)	Chibeza Mfuni

NDI/CCC EFFECTIVE CIVIC ADVOCACY WORKSHOP
PAMODZI HOTEL, FRIDAY JUNE 14, 1996

AGENDA

09:00	Call to order by Chair - welcome - introductions - propose and review agenda
09:30	Opening Plenary - The CCC and effective Civic Advocacy
10:00	Role of Citizens in democratic developments -focus of role citizens action can play in promoting democracy and at grassroot organizing and civic education
11:15	Break
11:30	Coalition Building
13:00	Lunch
14:00	A Development Plan for the CCC
16:15	Break
16:30	Closing Plenary - The Road ahead. Unity in the struggle for Democratization
17:00	End of the seminar

ZAMBIA YOUTH FEDERATION (ZYF)

FINDECO HOUSE
1ST FLOOR ROOM 1

P.O. BOX 32160
LUSAKA
ZAMBIA

ATTENTION: MR ROB BLACK ROOM 916

19 June 1996

PRESS RELEASE

STATEMENT BY ZAMBIA YOUTH FEDERATION ON NDI SUSPENSION OF THEIR PROGRAMME ACTIVITIES IN ZAMBIA

Since early in 1991 N D I has been working to assist Zambian efforts to promote and then consolidate democratic institutions in the country. Their effort has been a concrete expression of the International Community's interest in and support for democracy and human rights in Zambia.

It is therefore because of the above reasons that Zambia Youth Federation (Z Y F) found it prudent to work together with N D I as an affirmative action against political violence and indeed an insistance on programmes of clean campaign so as to educate and sensitize youth leaders on dangers of political violence.

Z Y F will definitely miss our partners in service especially at this crucial time when Zambia is bracing for a second round of multi party democracy.

However Z Y F hopes that N D I will still continue to assist civic and political leaders who are seeking peaceful ways to restore the integrity of the electoral process.

EMMENT MUSHUNGA
V/SECRETARY GENERAL

TERMS OF REFERENCE

STUDY MISSION TO THE 26 JUNE 1996 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN THE KWAZULU-NATAL PROVINCE

TO: Zambian Delegates on the Election Study Mission
Patricia Keefer, NDI/South Africa
Adrian Muunga, NDI/Zambia
NDI/South Africa Team Members

FROM: Andy Pflaum and Smydge Perry, NDI/South Africa

DATE: 19 June 1996

This memorandum is to inform those members of the KwaZulu-Natal Election Study Mission of the objectives and arrangements of this initiative.

The members of the study mission represent a broad cross-section of Zambian political parties, church groups, NGOs and other organisations all interested in studying the structures and organisations that have been created in KwaZulu-Natal Province in an effort to ensure that these first democratic, non-racial local government elections provide an end, rather than an acceleration, to the violence and political fighting that has racked the Province during the past several years.

This memo contains the following sections:

1. The Objectives of this Mission
2. Basic Facts about Arrangements and the Deployment Plan for Observation Teams
3. Political Background to the Local Government Elections
4. Questions for Delegates to Consider and Discuss During this Study Mission

1. Objectives of the Mission

The primary purposes of this mission are:

- To learn about the efforts of the main political parties in the Province, particularly the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC), to ensure that the local government elections take place in an atmosphere that is more free of violence, intimidation and political intolerance than has been true of the recent past;
- To observe the role of independent institutions, including church groups, peace monitoring networks, and NGOs, in creating an atmosphere in which any acts of violence or political intolerance are clearly unwelcome;
- To witness the deployment and activities of these independent peace groups on election day, as they help promote a peaceful, fair election environment, and as they respond to and help to resolve or mediate the various disputes that might arise;
- To learn the governmental bodies that are responsible for administering or overseeing the peaceful and fair conduct of the elections, particularly including those bodies on which the major political parties are represented, such as the Presidential Task Group (PTG).
- To discuss the relevance of the various models observed and lessons learned to the multi-party electoral system in Zambia, particularly in light of the national elections scheduled for later this year.

2. Basic Information on Arrangements (see attached Agenda for more details)

Arrival in South Africa: The Zambian delegates will depart with Adrian Muunga from Lusaka International Airport at 09:45 Sunday morning, 23 June, and arrive in Durban International Airport at approximately 14:00 on Sunday afternoon. After clearing customs, the delegates will be met by NDI/South Africa staff members Smydge Perry, Andrew Pflaum and Roger Groom, who have organized this study mission from Durban. The delegation will be taken to the Royal Hotel, in the Central Business District of Durban.

Pre-Election Briefings and Meetings: Beginning that evening through Tuesday afternoon, the delegation will participate in a number of briefings and roundtable discussions with representatives of the various groups that are playing a part in monitoring the preparations for the elections, and that are attempting to ensure the peaceful holding of the first democratic, non-racial local government elections in KwaZulu-Natal. As you can see from the attached Agenda, these meetings are with representatives of political parties, NGOs, peace monitoring groups, and government bodies that are responsible for overseeing the peaceful conduct of the campaign period and election.

Deployment for Election Day Observation: With the exception of the team that will be observing the elections in Durban, on Tuesday afternoon, all delegates will travel in teams of two or three with an NDI staff member to the area in which they will observe the elections the following day, Wednesday, 26 June. The deployment assignments are as follows:

GROUP A Urban Location: Port Shepstone Transitional Local Council
Rural Location: Regional Council 7 ("Southern Natal")

Mr M Wakumelo	Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD)
Ms Mary C Fulano	United National Independence Party (UNIP)
Mr Adrian Muunga	Programme Officer, NDI/Zambia

GROUP B Urban Location: Empangeni Transitional Local Council
Rural Location: Regional Council 1 ("Zululand")

Ms Pamela Pio	Clean Campaign Committee (CCC)
Mr D Chitala	Zambia Democratic Congress
Mr A Lewanika	National Party
Mr P Mulenga	Zambian Congress of Trade Unions
Mr Andrew Pflaum	Programme Officer, NDI/South Africa Local Elections Programme

GROUP C Urban Location: Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council
Rural Location: Regional Council 5 ("Natal Midlands")

Sr Celine Namalambo	Catholic Justice and Peace Committee
Ms M Fumbelo	Youth Federation for World Peace
Mr Patrick Henry	Programme Assistant, NDI/South Africa

GROUP D Metropolitan Location: Durban Transitional Metro Council

Ms R Mulumo	Liberal Progressive Front
Mr Ben Kangwa	Media representative, Zambian National Broadcasting Corp.
Ms Smydge Perry	Programme Officer, NDI/South Africa
Mr Paul Barnes	Project Assistant, NDI/South Africa

Additionally, each group will either be accompanied by, or meet up with, local monitors from NGOs or peace groups, such as the Ecumenical Peacemakers Programme (EPP). These individuals will be instrumental in providing us with insight into the politics of the area, the issues relevant to the local residents, and the security situation, including specifically on the areas around the polling stations we are visiting. We also plan to arrange informal briefings with representatives of these groups on Tuesday evening, the night before the election.

Election day will begin very early for us, as we will need to arrive at polling stations by 06:30, (30 minutes prior to opening). This will allow us to observe the set-up of the station, and the role that parties play in monitoring the preparations and opening of the station. We will also be able to gauge the enthusiasm of voters to take part in their first democratic local elections, as the majority of voters will likely be queuing in the morning.

We will visit two stations to observe the actual voting; the balance of the will be spent visiting various groups and individuals involved in ensuring the fair and peaceful conduct of the elections. This will include visits to the local offices of political parties, multi-party Election Committees, Election Administrative Centres, and local independent monitoring groups.

Observation of the Closing of Voting Stations: Late in the day, each group will return to Durban to observe the closing of a voting station (22:00) in the Metro area, marking the conclusion of the observation of balloting procedures.

Observation of the Counting Procedures: On Thursday morning, the day after the election, the counting of the votes will begin in most areas. This is of course a crucial aspect of the electoral process, and we can anticipate that the main political parties in the Province will be following the counting extremely closely to ensure that all of the procedures are open, fair and legitimate. We will observe the beginning of the counting at

a couple of stations in the Durban Metro area, but will not attempt to watch the complete count, as that can take most of a day. Rather, we will specifically explore the activities of the parties and of any independent monitoring groups on that day as they seek to ensure that this final important step of the elections process is carried out without mistakes, fraud or bias.

Debriefing Session: Following our observation of the beginning of the Counting Procedures, delegates will have the afternoon free. That evening, we will reconvene for a debriefing session, during which delegates can discuss their findings during the previous days, and share with the NDI staff their impressions of the South African local elections process, particularly as it pertains to the efforts of various groups to ensure that the elections were held in as peaceful and open an atmosphere as possible.

3. Political Background to the Local Government Elections

The Major Political Parties

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP): Led by the charismatic Zulu chief, Mangosuthu Buthlelezi, the IFP is credited as being the only viable grassroots black opposition party. In the historic 1994 National and Provincial Elections, the IFP won 630,000 more votes than the ANC, establishing it as the majority party in the Provincial Legislative Assembly. While the party has run a highly visible election campaign, marked by ample party posters and newspaper ads, and is expected to perform well in both the rural and urban areas, the party's appeal seems to be confined to KwaZulu-Natal. Evidence of this is noted by the party's poor performance in the November local government elections, where they only secured ten seats in the remaining provinces.

The IFP's base, which is largely, rural and socially conservative, stands in sharp contrast to ANC supporters who are generally, young, urban, "radicals". However, it is not these ideological and demographic differences which are responsible for the violence and instability. Rather, there are several over-riding factors such as clan disputes and criminal activity which masquerade under the pretense of political violence. However, that is not to dismiss the significant number of politically motivated deaths of both ANC and IFP candidates, which are largely interpreted as intimidation tactics.

The African National Congress (ANC): Given the IFP's provincial control, the ANC is hoping to use the local elections to bolster its influence in the Province. As a carry-over from the November local elections, the ANC's campaign has focused around the slogan "Making a Better Life for All," emphasizing themes of democracy and development. Although the party is running candidates throughout the Province, there are still many areas where it says it can not campaign because of intimidation and violence.

Generally, the party is expected to improve upon its returns from the 1994 elections and is expected to perform well in the Durban Metro and greater Pietermaritzburg area. However, most rural councils are expected to become IFP-dominated.

Ironically, the ANC was the principle protagonist in the recent postponement of the elections from 29 May to 26 June; claiming that there was "massive, deliberate fraud" in the voters' lists and that political violence in the Province had risen to intolerable levels. Initially, the IFP and other opposition parties accused the ANC of using delaying tactics to gain more time to prepare for the elections. However, the issue was resolved when a multi-party advisory team, appointed by President Mandela, agreed to extend the election date by one month to correct the voter's role mistakes and quell political violence.

The National Party (NP): The NP is contesting seats throughout the Province, running the greatest number of candidates after the IFP and ANC. The party recently performed

better than expected in winning more seats than the ANC in the May local government elections in Cape Town, and winning by an even larger amount in the rural areas of the Western Cape Province. The setting is different in KwaZulu-Natal, but many of the party's issues are the same, focusing on economic development, crime, violence and the alleged inability of the two major parties to deliver on their promises. The NP's political base in the Province still seems to be among the white and Indian populations.

The Minority Front(MF): The MF is headed by a prominent Indian leader. While the party has only one seat in the Provincial Parliament, they are running a visible campaign in many parts of the Durban Metro area, specifically targeting the Indian community.

The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC): The PAC appears to have very little strength remaining from its previous days as one of the best-known mass movements against the apartheid system. Following an unsuccessful campaign in the Western Cape local government elections, the party seems unlikely to win substantial support in these elections.

The Democratic Party (DP): The DP, which has a reputation as a party made up primarily of white liberals, is fighting to show that it can remain a force in South African politics. Following the end of apartheid, the party's support has fallen significantly, and in the May local government elections in the Western Cape, the DP won only a few seats.

The Structure of Local Government in the Province

The local government system for the KwaZulu-Natal Province includes seven Regional Council areas, 61 Urban Councils, and the Durban Metropolitan Council. All of these structures are newly created. During this election study program, our teams will observe the voting in all three areas, Rural, Urban and Metropolitan.

- The seven **Regional Councils** include the vast rural areas of the Province, with a voting-age population of more than 2,600,000. This will be the first time that these rural areas have their own elected governments. In these areas, people vote for a party of their choice, and candidates are then selected from the *party lists*. Additionally, 10% of the Regional Council will be made up of women appointed by the political parties that sit on the Council, and 10% will be made up of levy-payers. Additionally, the IFP and the Provincial Government have proposed that every Traditional Authority will automatically receive a seat on the Regional Councils. The ANC has opposed this idea on the grounds that it is undemocratic and since a majority of TA's are believed to support the IFP. However, the issue will not be resolved until after the elections, by the courts.

- The 61 Urban Councils, commonly called '**Transitional Local Councils**,' or TLCs, account for about 750,000 people of voting age. These TLCs fall within the areas of the Regional Councils and will help to select certain members of the Regional

Councils, but they will also have their own governing structures and powers. In these towns, people will vote for a *ward candidate* to represent their specific geographic area, as well as for a political party.

- The **Durban Metropolitan Council** includes about 1,300,000 people, or half that of the rural areas. Durban will actually be further divided into 6 Substructures, each of which will have its own **Substructure Council**. Voters in the Durban area will cast three ballots: one for a ward candidate for the Substructure Council, the second for the party that will represent them on the larger Metro Council.

KWAZULU/NATAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS STUDY MISSION

LOGISTICS INFORMATION

Welcome to Durban, South Africa. This logistics information sheet is provided to give you an idea about how your days during the study mission will progress, and will cover several issues including arrival, hotel and meal arrangements, per diem, transport, deployment, safety, and scheduling. If you would like clarification on any of the items, please feel free to contact Roger Groom or Paul Barnes.

ARRIVAL

Upon arrival at the Durban International Airport, you will be met by Andy Pflaum, Smydge Perry, and Roger Groom, all from NDI. You will then be driven to downtown Durban to the Royal Hotel, located at 267 Smith Street. The contact numbers for the hotel are the following:

Royal Hotel
Phone: (27)(31) 304-0331
Fax: (27)(31) 307-6884

You will check-in according to the rooming assignments noted below, and will have some time to relax before convening for a meeting starting at 1730 hours followed by a group dinner at 1900 hours.

Rooming Assignments:

Ms. Fulano sharing with Ms. Pio	Sister Namalambo sharing with Ms. Fumbelo
Ms. Mulumo sharing with Ms. Perry	Mr. Muunga sharing with Mr. Henry
Mr. Wakumelo sharing with Mr. Mulenga	Mr. Lewanika sharing with Mr. Chitala

Mr. Kangwa sharing with Mr. Groom and then Mr. Barnes

From here, you will follow the planned schedule of events which you will find in your briefing materials.

HOTEL AND MEAL ARRANGEMENTS

NDI is covering the cost of accommodation and some meals, which are indicated in the schedule. While this is true, it should be noted that items such as room service, laundry, tips, etc. must be paid for personally. If any items are charged to your room, you should make arrangements to pay for those either by cash or credit card when checking out.

Concerning meals, NDI will cover the actual meal charges, soft drinks and juices, but alcoholic beverages of any kind must again be paid for personally.

PER DIEM

For the Zambian delegation, Mr. Muunga will be responsible for providing you with your per diem allowance. This allowance should cover any meals not provided by NDI, and incidentals such as phone calls, service tips, laundry, alcoholic beverages, personal taxis, gifts or souveniers, etc. The allowance will be given to you in a lump sum upon arrival to the hotel and is to meant cover the entire week of the study mission, so plan your spending carefully.

TRANSPORT

As was noted previously, you will be provided with transport from the airport, and you will further be driven to any other official functions during the week. This will include arranged dinner appointments, any meetings outside of the conference center, deployment for election day, as well as to and from a choice of two shopping malls during "free time" scheduled for Thursday afternoon.

KWAZULU-NATAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS
STUDY MISSION
AGENDA
23 - 28 JUNE 1996

Monday, 24 June

Security Briefing - A South African Police Services representative will address general security concerns and precautions; security arrangements and deployment plans for the election, as well as high-risk areas to avoid.

African National Congress (ANC) - Senzo Mchunu, Provincial Secretary, will share the ANC's general election strategy; the genesis of recent ANC and IFP peace initiatives within the province, and the prospects for raising the level of trust between the ANC and the IFP.

Network of Independent Monitors (NIM) - Jenni Irish will discuss the role of NIM in removing the capacity of individuals to conduct acts of violence; NIM's methods for monitoring and documenting violence; the nature and origin of conflict in the province and the recent peace initiatives and the prospects for reconciliation.

Local Government Elections Task Group (LGETG) - Khehla Shubane, LGETG Co-Chair will discuss the political process and negotiations which led to the staggering of elections across the country; the issues and factors contributing to the second postponement in KwaZulu-Natal, and the role of these elections in furthering the democratic process.

Tuesday, 25 June

Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA)- Nomonde Gobodo, will explain IMSSA's intervention strategy for mediating political and social conflict; flash points in the province and target areas for assistance; the nature and origin of conflict in the province and the prospects for long-term peace.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) - Dr Ziba Jiyane, Secretary General, will discuss the IFP's general election strategy;the catalyst for the recent IFP and ANC peace initiatives and the prospects for long-term peace in the province.

Wednesday, 26 June

Election day polling site visits

Thursday, 27 June

Observation of counting procedures and debfriefing

MEMORANDUM

TO: **File**

FROM: **NDI Zambia**

RE: **Meetings during Ed Brown's visit**

DATE: **17 June 1996**

Ed Brown conducted a series of meetings with the leaders of the various political parties in Zambia. These meetings acted as a follow up to the meetings that Keith Jennings and Rob Black had previously conducted with the parties to discuss the current political environment and how it was affecting NDI's election support program. These meetings were conducted to put for the very real possibility and probability that NDI would be ending it's programs in Zambia. The meetings conducted by Mr. Brown included the following people:

Ngande Mwanajiti, Chairman of the Committee for a Clean Campaign; Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP President; Mr. Banda, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, UNIP; Basil Kabwe, Administrative Secretary, UNIP; Gen. Masheke, Chair UNIP; Hon. Sikota Wina, MMD Chairman; Mikatazo Wakumelo, MMD Organizational Secretary; Dr. Katana, Minister of Health MMD; Roger Chongwe, LPF President; Azwell Banda, Deputy Secretary General, ZDC

The following are highlights from meetings that Rob Black accompanied Mr. Brown.

Azwell Banda

Brown, Black and Jennings met with **Azwell Banda**, Deputy Secretary General of the Zambian Democratic Congress to discuss the very real possibility and probability that NDI would be ending it's programs in Zambia. Banda felt it was very important for NDI to stay in the country, especially at the critical time in the run up to the election. Banda asked the question if NDI was leaving the country because of the political environment, if it meant there was not chance for legitimate elections in Zambia.

Sikota Wina

Brown, Black and Jennings met with the MMD Chairman, **Hon. Sikota Wina** and MMD Organizational Secretary **Mikatazo Wakumelo** on Thursday 13 June. Brown informed Wina that he had been sent out to make a final assessment of the political situation in Zambia as it related to the current NDI election support program. Wina expressed his belief that it was very important for NDI to remain in the country as they were an organization that could act as a bridge between the various political actors. Wina also put forth the idea that there were elements within the MMD, including himself, that felt a solution to the current political situation involving the banning of Kaunda with the new constitution had to be found. He felt that the international reaction to the banning was going to be very damaging to the MMD and that a compromise needed to be worked out. He put forth the idea that the elections needed to be held on the 1991 constitution, at the same time allowing the people to vote on a referendum of whether or not to accept the new constitution. However, Wina felt very strongly that in order for the MMD, especially President Chiluba, to accept such a proposal, there would have to be some face saving ways worked out for Chiluba not to look like he was just succumbing to international pressure. Wina also felt that the proposal would have to come from an independent organization and not from one of the political parties. He felt that if NDI put forth the idea, the MMD might accept the proposal. Wina suggested that Brown meet with Dr. Katana, MMD Minister of Health about the idea. Wina said that Katana was very close to President Chiluba and that he was someone who was looking for a way out of the current political dilemma the MMD had found themselves in. Wina had Wakumelo, MMD Organizational Secretary set up the meeting with the Minister for NDI.

Dr. Katana, Minister of Health, MMD

Brown and Black met with **Dr. Katana**, MMD Minister of Health and **Mikatzo Wakumelo**, MMD Organizational Secretary. NDI was asked to meet with Katana by MMD Chairman Sikota Wina because Wina felt Katana was looking for solutions to the current political problems and was very close to President Chiluba. Brown outlined NDI's history in Zambia and informed Katana how the current political environment was negatively affecting the possibility for open competitive elections. Brown also expressed his perception of how the international community was reacting to the situation in Zambia. As well Brown put forth the idea of holding the upcoming elections under the 1991 constitution. Katana expressed that the new constitution was a unifying document that helped give Zambians a sense of self identify and self confidence. He also stated that the document was designed to get rid of the thing that was dividing the Zambian society, Kenneth Kaunda, and it succeeded in accomplishing that goal. Katana said that he had all ready put forth the idea of holding a referendum on the new constitution to President Chiluba. Chiluba had asked Katana if he felt the MMD had done anything wrong with the constitution, and if not why the need for a referendum. Katana said that President Chiluba didn't think there was a need for a referendum because the "people" supported the new constitution and a referendum was not necessary. Katana ended the meeting by saying he would talk to people about the idea of holding the election under the 1991 constitution, however he also stated that it is "over, over, over. It is finished", meaning Kaunda would not stand for President.

Kenneth Kaunda

Brown and Black met with UNIP **President Kenneth Kaunda**, UNIP Chairman **Gen. Masheke**, UNIP Administrative Secretary **Basil Kabwe**, UNIP Secretary for International Affairs, **Mr. Banda**, and the UNIP Secretary for Women's Affairs. The meeting was held at Dr. Kaunda's residence. During the meeting Kaunda outlined the non-violent history of his political struggle against the British and how he would use the same methods today against the MMD. Brown primarily discussed the different methods UNIP could use to gain international and domestic attention and sympathy for their cause. He also discussed ideas for fund raising and organizing. NDI stated that we were probably going to be closing our program in Zambia because of the current political environment. NDI stated that it did not want to stay in the country and legitimize an illegitimate election process. It was stressed that in 1991 we were able to continue to work in the country because Kaunda and Chiluba both empowered NDI with a mandate to monitor and affect the electoral process. However, NDI did not enjoy the same sort of cooperation and access with the current MMD government and was therefore not able to achieve its programmatic goals.

MEMORANDUM

FROM: PATRICIA KEEFER
ROB BLACK

SUBJECT: ZAMBIA OPTIONS
DECISION MEMO

DATE: 3 JUNE 1996

In the process of discussing our options in Zambia , we thought it would actually be a good idea to commit to writing the proposals. Attached are three papers for discussion. We are currently having discusions with the embassy and USAID mission in Lusaka. Our next meeting is Wednesday, June 5. We would appreciate your consideration of the proposals and response. Please convey your comments to Carl on the course you think is most appropriate and suggested revisions.

The situation in Zambia is deteriorating rapidly. The State Department issued a fairly strong statement "deploring developments" with the intention of reviewing all multi-lateral and bi-lateral agreements. The World Bank meeting on Zambia has been postponed by two weeks. Several donors have taken action to cancel grants that were in the pipeline. At this point there is no security risk to our staff or operations. We are in contact with our NGO counterparts and with operatives from the political parties -- getting fewer every day because of arrests. Plans are proceeding to deploy training teams to the provinces on Wednesday.

We have presented you with three options:

1) June 30 **Exit Strategy**

The memorandum details the steps that needed to be taken to completely close done the operation.

2) Minimal Presence: **"RESTORING DEMOCRACY"**

We would maintain our presence through the Clean Campaign Committee, the coalition of non-partisan NGOs who are monitoring the situation.. This would not involve a subgram. We would place our local staff in the CCC, facilitating a jump-start of their organization. This will enable us to contribute to the development of their program, as well as monitor the situation to assess a possible reentry.

3) Continuation of Current Program: **"CONSOLIDATING MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY"**

This assumes that the major opposition parties except the constitution and contest at least most of the parliamentary elections and possibly the presidential. Some fairly reliable sources maintain this is what they will do.

ZAMBIA: RESTORING DEMOCRACY THROUGH MONITORING

IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION:	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
DATES OF PROJECT:	July 1, 1996 - December 31, 1996
BUDGET:	$175,000

I. PROGRAM SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to conduct a program in Zambia to support local non-government monitoring organizations. The Institute would maintain a minimal presence in the country to provide training to local monitors and infrastructure support to the Clean Campaign Committee (CCC). This presence could lead to expanded programming should political condition in the country improve. Support for the CCC would include providing: one or more veteran trainers to assist the CCC staff; funding support staff inside the CCC's offices who will build the monitoring effect; international monitoring experts for consultation and specific missions; and equipment.

II. BACKGROUND

Recent political events in Zambia have made it essential for NDI to reassess its programs in the country and to adapt to the changing conditions. The Institute has remained dedicated to the development of democratic institutions and practices since it established its presence in Lusaka in 1991. However, on the eve of the first national elections in Zambia's democratic era, the process has stalled and is regressing. It is no longer appropriate to support an electoral process that is seriously flawed.

It is desirable to protect and preserve, to the extent possible, the democratic gains of the past five years. Those Zambians who are willing and capable to vigilantly monitor and report on the political transgressions and advocate for a return to consolidating Zambia's democracy deserve support. To abandon democrats in the country at this time may marginalize their long-term ability to contribute to the development and stability of the country.

During the last five years, NDI has worked closely with NGO and political party activists. There is a great deal of interest among the sectors in NDI remaining in Zambia, because it brings an international dimension to the work of such local activists. NDI's resident staff and the international experts who have worked in Zambia under NDI's auspices have thus far been able to provide valuable guidance, techniques and the lessons learned from neighboring countries. These contributions have considerably enhanced the capacity of the local organizations to effectively execute their mission.

On October 31, 1991, the people of Zambia ushered in a new political era that served as a model for the peaceful transition from one-party rule to multi-party government. The 1991 multi-party elections began a process of political and economic transformation, ending 23 years of one-party rule in Zambia by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), and bringing to power the Movement for Multi party Democracy (MMD).

In the last two years, however, tensions have increased between the MMD government and various sectors of the nascent democratic society, including opposition political parties, the press, civic organizations, the churches and trade unions. Recently tensions have surrounded the content and process of amendments to the constitution, press freedoms, rights of assembly and preparations for the next national elections. Zambia's economic restructuring has also had negative political repercussions. The pace of economic reforms under the structural adjustment program, reduced mineral revenues and higher prices have caused segments of the Zambian population to become disillusioned with the current government. As a result, there is a surge in popularity for former President Kenneth Kaunda, who has returned as leader of UNIP, and other opposition political leaders. The government has reacted by enacting amendments to the constitution that restrict access to the presidential ballot for rivals of President Chiluba. As a consequence, UNIP and other opposition parties have threatened to make the country ungovernable and to prevent elections from taking place.

Despite these conditions, many Zambians indicate that today's political atmosphere is free from much of the fear and intimidation that existed under the former political regime. Zambia has viable opposition political parties, in some cases with national support, an independent press and a capacity to hold elections, between 40 to 50 by-elections have been held since 1991. However, many problems persist that contribute to voter alienation and lack of confidence in the electoral process.

Zambia is schedule to hold national elections for local government councils, parliament and the presidency on or before October 31, 1996. A number of factors have a negatively effected the legitimacy of the electoral process:

1) A flawed voter registration process

With the last national registration of voters occurring under one-party rule in 1987, the MMD government undertook to create a new voter roll. The process began in December 1995 and after several extensions was ended on March 15, 1996. More than two months after closing the process, the government has still not reported the number of registered voters. Unconfirmed reports are that approximately 2.3 million people were enrolled out of an estimated voting age population of 4.6 million. However, the process is not complete until the rolls are published and checked and voter cards distributed. Because voters must travel to distribution points to collect their cards, technicians assume there will be thousands of cards that are not collected.

Voter registration has been hampered by a scarcity of financial resources, poor timing and logistics, a dearth of voter education, voter skepticism and apathy, and a lack of transparency concerning the role the foreign company that was contracted to process the voters list and voters cards, and allegations of bogus enrollments and questions about the disposal of cards that are not collected. These problems have been exacerbated by the unavailability of National Registration Cards (NRCs), which prospective voters must first obtain in order to register.

2) Amendments to the constitution

On May 29, 1996 President Chiluba signed the Constitutional Amendment Bill. There are two specific provisions in the presidential qualification clause of the constitution that severely limit the opposition's participation in the 1996 elections. The first provisions requires that presidential candidates be second generation citizens, which would disqualify UNIP's President Kenneth Kaunda. The second provision requires that presidential candidates be domiciled in Zambia for the previous 20 years, which disqualifies the Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC) President Dean Mung'omba. Another provision bars traditional chiefs from running for election unless they step down as rulers of their communities, this affects UNIP's Vice President, Chief Inyambo Yeta, who is also chief of the Lozi community in Zambia.

3) Detainment and arrest of opposition leaders

The police have made known their intention to arrest Zambia Democratic Congress President Dean Mung'omba for addressing his party cadres outside of the supreme court on charges of disturbing the peace. The ZDC Treasurer Dante Saunders and member Isaa Ibrahim were arrested in connection with the incident. The police also arrested members of the UNIP leadership on allegations that they are connected with an alleged terrorist organization, "the Black Mamba." Several high level UNIP members have had their homes searched by the police in connection with the Black Mamba allegations. The Vice President of UNIP was arrested on a charge of suspicion of possession of firearms.

Two journalists, Fred M'membe and Bright Mwape, were arrested, while an arrest warrant was issued for a third, for committing "calculated breached of the Parliamentary privileges by authorizing highly inflammatory and libelous articles meant to put the House (Parliament) into ridicule." The journalists were imprisoned indefinitely and with out trail. They were released when the Supreme Court ruled that their right to Habeas Corpus had been violated.

4) Expulsion of opposition member of parliament

Opposition parliamentarian Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika (NP) was expelled from parliament on May 22 for what Speaker Dr. Robinson Nabulyato described as gross contempt and breach of parliamentary privileges. Dr. Nabulyato said the MP was expelled for contempt based on a letter he wrote to parliament dated March 4, in which he dissociated himself from the jailing of the journalists.

NDI's Experience in Zambia

NDI collaborated with the Carter Center on Project Z-Vote, which assisted in the preparation and monitoring of Zambia's first democratic elections on October 31, 1991. Since that time, NDI has conducted a series of programs aimed specifically at strengthening Zambian political parties.

From 1993-95, NDI worked directly with political parties to develop methods of membership recruitment, constituent outreach, grassroots organization, communications and provincial leadership development. NDI also conducted individual training workshops throughout the country with the three parliamentary political parties.

As a result of its political party programming, NDI has played a unique role in working with the major political parties, including those that are registered but are not represented in the legislature. In several circumstances, the format of NDI's all-party programs provided the first opportunity for opposing parties to meet directly and discuss issues in a non-contentious environment. In the words of one Zambian Member of Parliament "NDI has the ability to bring people together across party lines and remind us that we are all Zambians trying to build a democratic society for our children and their future."

During the past year NDI's program was focused on preparation for the upcoming elections. The initiative has been extensive: organizing a non-government forum, the Clean Campaign Committee, in order to formulate a code of conduct; training NGO monitors and political party agents in all the provinces; publishing a voter education newspaper, *Election '96*; providing training to the youth wings of all of the political parties through the Zambian Youth Federation; and organizing a study mission to the elections in KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa. However, the Institute was not able to achieve it's principle objective - the facilitation of inter-party dialogue.

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Committee for a Clean Campaign

The Committee for a Clean Campaign (CCC) was organized in late 1995 and held its official launch in March 1996. It is a coordinating body for non-partisan, non-governmental organizations, labor unions, and religious organizations that came together to promote a peaceful and clean election campaign. The committee has a steering committee made up of a chairperson, treasurer, and three other members elected during a full CCC meeting. The steering committee is responsible for the administration and management of the CCC. The CCC is actively involved in the monitoring the pre-election environment, including the voter registration, media, laws and human rights violations. Through its contributing organizations, it has a national network of local activists. The CCC will produce a weekly newsletter reporting on election related issues. The CCC is drafting code of conduct to which it will ask political parties and candidates to subscribe.

III. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The goal of NDI's proposal program is to contribute to the reversal of the current trend in the degradation of multi-party democracy in Zambia. The objectives of this program are to:

1) develop the CCC's monitoring capacity;

2) produce objective reports on political developments; and

3) assist the CCC in its role as an advocate for democratic reforms.

IV. PROGRAM DESIGN

NDI's proposed program will focus on working directly with the Clean Campaign Committee. The challenges that face the CCC in Zambia's current political climate are somewhat daunting, but not insurmountable. These challenges are similar to those encountered by the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFRREL) in the Philippines, the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections (BAFE), the monitoring unit of the Independent Election Commission in South Africa and the Committee for a Free Campaign (CEL) in Chile. NDI proposes to make the experience and methodology of those groups available to the CCC. While the CCC has the nascent capacities within its existing structure to conduct a comprehensive monitoring operation, this program, developed in concurrence with CCC, intends to build on its base and stimulate a formidable alliance of civil society organizations and individuals throughout the country, which will help to reverse the current trend and put Zambia back on the path to multi-party democracy.

With the composition of the organization already established, the first step for this program is to develop an infrastructure that is able to receive and administer funds. NDI proposes to assist by providing experienced administrative staff. The next step relates to the formulation of a monitoring and advocacy plan. NDI would assist with a workshop dedicated to the development of such a plan. With the infrastructure and plan in place, NDI would then assist the CCC in executing components of the monitoring plan, such as:

- training trainers of monitoring teams throughout the country;
- analysis and report on the status of the voter rolls and the process of publishing and revising the provisional voters registry;
- review and analysis of laws, regulations and administrative actions that relate to political activity;

- multifaceted initiative to monitor all major pre-election activities, including political campaign events, the nomination of candidates, election administration preparations, and the media;
- establishment of a data base for the compilation of information and production of reports;
- formulation and distribution of a Code of Conduct for political parties;
- production and distribution of materials to inform public awareness; and
- compilation of timely and frequent reports of political conditions and election events in Zambia.

It will be important that the CCC maintain its current constituency and ally itself with other organizations and coalitions, such as the Zambian Youth Federation, to be able to effectively and efficiently execute its obligations.

V. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

NDI's contribution will include staff, international experts, training, equipment and assistance in researching and disseminating reports. To inform and raise the profile of Zambia's political situation, both within the country and internationally, NDI would be prepared to organize small international assessment teams of eminent persons to visit the country and report on political developments. The following is a more detailed description of the components of the program.

1) STAFF

NDI proposes to place one or more of its current Zambian-national trainers with the CCC. This will enable the CCC to immediately have personnel who can recruit and train monitors in observation and reporting. The personnel will be responsible for establishing a coordinated national network of monitors, from the organizations comprising the CCC, who can provide regular, factual reports on political events in their region. This person would also be responsible for providing NDI with reports of political developments and provide the staffing and consultation for international trainers. In addition, NDI would make available Zambian logistics and administrative staff. NDI's regional and election staff (based in Washington) would provide consultation and information on an as-needed basis.

2) INTERNATIONAL TRAINERS

NDI would provide to the CCC international trainers and consultants for program activities. To minimize expenses, trainers will be drawn from the Southern Africa region as much as possible. Their purpose is to serve the interest of CCC, a relatively new entity, in becoming quickly prepared to respond to events on the ground. These trainers will have expertise in a number of areas, including planning, communications, reporting, media relations, information systems and advocacy techniques.

3) NATIONAL MONITORING PROGRAM

NDI proposes to assist the CCC in developing a national monitoring program. The activities of the monitoring program will include:

- preparing training materials and monitoring aides, including the development of a uniform set of monitoring forms;
- preparing logistical arrangements for the conducting of workshops in each of the nine provinces to train branches of local monitoring groups;
- designing a statistical sampling to analyze the accuracy of the voters registry or equally reliable method;

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- establishing a communications network and systems of reporting on a weekly basis; and

- compiling and issuing periodic reports on political and election related activities as well as a major report to be issued bi-weekly before any announced election and a final report to be issued in the weeks following any election.

4) EQUIPMENT

NDI retains office equipment and furnishings acquired over the last several years of its operations in Zambia. This equipment includes: computers, printer, fax, copier, filing cabinets, desk and other office supplies. This will be made available to the CCC.

5) INTERNATIONAL ASSESSMENT/MONITORING TEAMS

NDI proposes to field two three-person international teams who would augment the work of CCC by providing assessments of electoral institutions. Based on ten years of experience, NDI maintains that these teams are critical to the work of local NGOs. These delegations would not only demonstrate the international community's support for restoring the democratic process, but would be prepared to identify real or potential problems and recommend measures that could ameliorate these problems. Based on the assessment of these teams, NDI would evaluate the feasibility and appropriateness of organizing an international delegation to observe the national elections. This proposal does not include such an initiative.

In addition to carrying out the above-mentioned activities, NDI would cooperate with other donors and USAID grantees in the interest of coordinating its election-related program; included in this would be continued collaboration with USIS in the production of Worldnet Dialogue programs that are complimentary to the program design.

VI. RESULTS

Consistent with the stated goal and objectives of this program, NDI anticipates the program activities carried out with the Clean Campaign Committee will yield the following results.

1. CCC increased ability to recruit and train monitors.

2. Voter lists reviewed and assessed.

3. Campaign activities monitored to determine degree of free expression and assembly and other elements for fair electoral competition.

4. Media monitored to determine fairness.

5. Reports published and distributed.

VII. EVALUATION

NDI's department of Program Design and Evaluation and Program Coordination will oversee the evaluation of the program. A variety of methods will be applied in compiling and reporting the results of the program. Monitoring will be done on an ongoing basis and a final field evaluation will be conducted. Evaluation modalities will include:

1. Written surveys completed by workshop participants;

2. Weekly reports by provincial trainers;

3. Written reports and debriefing by international trainers; and

4. Analysis of laws and regulations related to the election.

NDI will provide USAID with written quarterly reports throughout the duration of the program. International Observer Teams will assess the situation and report to NDI and the US mission in Zambia.

CONSOLIDATING MULTIPARTY POLITICS IN ZAMBIA

THE 1996 LOCAL GOVERNMENT, GENERAL AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATION:	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
DATES OF PROJECT:	April 15, 1996 -June 30, 1996
BUDGET:	$280,539

I. PROGRAM SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposes to continue its programmatic activities to support the entire Zambian electoral process in 1996, extending its local election support program through the presidential and parliamentary elections. The completion of truly representative and broadly participatory elections in 1996 will be a crucial step in consolidating the democratic gains initiated in Zambia in 1991.

NDI proposes to concentrate its program on political parties because of the central role parties will play in the electoral process. As the only organization with the experience and the capacity to work with parties across the political spectrum, NDI seeks to encourage dialogue between the competing parties through a series of activities ranging from political party agent training to the promulgation of an electoral code of conduct. Inasmuch as political party programming will benefit from the engagement of Zambia's civic organizations, NDI will enter into partnerships with NGOs in implementing its program.

To encourage an election that has the confidence of not only the competing political parties but the public at large, NDI would organize pre-election and, if needed election day international observer teams.

II. BACKGROUND

On October 31, 1991, the people of Zambia ushered in a new political era that has served as a model for the transition from one-party rule to multiparty government with a change in governing parties. The 1991 multiparty elections began a process of political and economic transformation, ending 23 years of one-party rule in Zambia by the United National Independence Party (UNIP), and bringing to power the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). In the last two years, however, tensions have increased between the MMD government and various sectors of the nascent democratic society, including opposition political parties, the press, civic organizations, the churches and trade unions. Recently the tensions have surrounded the content and process of a new constitution, press freedoms and rights of assembly. At the same time, the government has received recognition and encouragement from international financial institutions for its transformation of economic structures.

Zambia's economic restructuring has had negative political repercussions. The pace of economic reforms under the structural adjustment program, reduced mineral revenues and higher prices have caused segments of the Zambian population to become disillusioned with the new, multiparty system. As a result, there is an upsurge in popularity for former President Kenneth Kaunda who has returned as leader of UNIP. The government is attempting to prevent his return to the political arena by proposing a constitutional prohibition on his candidacy for president.

Despite these conditions, many Zambians indicate that today's political atmosphere is free from much of the fear and intimidation that existed under one-party rule. Zambia has viable opposition political parties, in some cases with nation-wide representation, an independent press and a capacity to hold elections (i.e., between 40 and 50 by-elections have been held since 1991). However, many problems still persist that contribute to voter alienation and lack of confidence in the electoral process.

In 1996, Zambia is scheduled to hold national elections for local government councils, parliament and the presidency. There also could be a national referendum on major constitutional revisions. The Zambian government, political parties, NGOs and other interested sectors face a variety of political issues that could impact negatively on the legitimacy of the upcoming elections. These include:

a) A difficult voter registration process. With the last registration of voters occurring under one-party rule in 1987, the Zambian government undertook an effort to create a new voters list beginning in December 1995. However, voter registration has been hampered by a scarcity of financial resources; poor timing and logistics; a dearth of voter education; voter skepticism and apathy; and a lack of transparency concerning the role of a foreign company contracted to complete some components of the process. These problems have been exacerbated by the unavailability of National Registration Cards (NRCs) which prospective voters must first obtain in order to register. Opposition party leaders have publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the low number of registrants. As of February 22, government figures indicated that approximately 1.6 million out of an estimated 4.6 million voting age citizens - less than 35 percent - had registered. The government extended registration three times, ending on March 15, 1996. Updated registration figures were unavailable at the time of this proposal, but sources estimate that the total number registered will be approximately 2.3 million. By comparison, in 1991 an estimated 2.9 million Zambians were registered to vote, and about 1.3 million cast ballots. Some opposition parties have threatened to boycott the elections if the voters roll figures remain low, and unless there is more transparency in the registration process in general. Some also have threatened to disrupt the upcoming elections.

b) Disagreement on the mode of revising the existing Zambian constitution. Of specific relevance to the electoral process is a controversial "citizenship" clause which would require potential presidential candidates to have parents of Zambian descent. This clause, if adopted, would effectively eliminate former President Kenneth Kaunda from contesting the election as the leader of the UNIP opposition. Another provision on presidential term limits would also exclude a Kaunda candidacy.

c) Lack of dialogue between the parties. Currently, there are no avenues for interparty dialogue. This has increased tensions between the parties resulting in small-scale violent clashes between party activists.

At the writing of this proposal, no official dates have been announced for either local government, presidential or parliamentary elections. The local government elections have been postponed since November 1995. Given the logistical demands and time needed to examine the voter rolls and to distribute the voters cards, it is unlikely that they will occur before the end of April. There has been some speculation that the local could be postponed further and held simultaneously with presidential and parliamentary elections. This would save resources and certainly would result in a higher turnout for local government elections. The presidential and parliamentary elections most likely will occur in October, although they may be held earlier.

During a two-week assessment mission conducted by NDI Southern Africa Regional Director Patricia Keefer and resident staff in late February, individuals representing a wide spectrum of Zambian government and society cited the need for international involvement (specifically that of NDI) in the 1996 elections. The common message was that, unlike in 1991 when most citizens voted against a system of government rather than for a particular political platform, the 1996 elections would be the first chance for Zambians to choose among political parties operating in a more genuine multiparty environment. As a result, the integrity and sustainability of Zambia's new political system will be tested.

NDI's Experience in Zambia

NDI collaborated with the Carter Center on Project Z-Vote, which assisted in the preparation and monitoring of Zambia's first democratic elections on October 31, 1991. Since that time, NDI has conducted a series of programs aimed specifically at strengthening Zambian political parties.

From 1993-to-1995, NDI worked directly with political parties to develop methods of membership recruitment, constituent outreach, grassroots organization, communications and provincial leadership development. NDI also conducted individual training workshops throughout the country with the three parliamentary political parties.

As a result of its political party programming, NDI has played a unique role in working with the major political parties, including those that are registered but are not represented in the legislature. In several circumstances, the format of NDI's all-party programs provided the first opportunity for opposing parties to meet directly and discuss issues in a noncontentious environment. In the words of one Zambian Member of Parliament, "NDI has the ability to bring people together across party lines and remind us that we are all Zambians trying to build a democratic society for our children and their future."

During the past AREAF grant AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00, NDI's *Suppporting the Electoral Process* program prepared for the upcoming local elections by emphasizing voter education and political party work. NDI also assisted with the voter registration process, in particular by assisting the Election Office in the distribution of voter education materials using the NGO network that NDI established.

NDI's Experience in Southern Africa

NDI currently conducts election, civic education, local government and parliamentary programs in Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zambia. The Institute has six in-country offices with 35 professional staff located in the region as well as a regional office in Johannesburg. NDI effectively utilizes the knowledge of its experienced staff in each country to develop and strengthen regional coordination of resources as well as program development and implementation.

II. PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

NDI proposes to conduct a comprehensive program in support of the 1996 Zambian elections which encourages broad participation in a democratic electoral process. The Institute's priority is to conduct programming that facilitates interparty dialogue at the national, provincial and district levels. This will be accomplished primarily through "all-party" training workshops on a variety of electoral activities. The purpose is to provide neutral settings in which contentious election-related issues can be raised and addressed in a constructive manner. Political parties may then be able to participate more effectively in the elections, thereby instilling greater public confidence in the legitimacy of the process.

The program has the following objectives:

1. to encourage the political parties to invest in the electoral process through all-party forums with election authorities that address the administrative framework;

2. to stimulate dialogue between the political parties, particularly on issues directly related to the 1996 elections;

3. to encourage a peaceful and open campaign through agreement and implementation of a party code of conduct;

4. to strengthen, through provincial training workshops, the capacity of parties to communicate with voters;

5. to promote poll watching activities through provincial and district training of political party agents;

6. to demonstrate international support for democratic elections and, when necessary and appropriate, promote electoral reforms through the organization of observer missions; and

7. to increase voter participation by providing civic education materials for use by political parties, governmental institutions and civic organizations.

IV. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI's proposed program will focus on the participation of political parties in the electoral process. However, it will also include civic organizations, trade unions, religious organizations, the press and election authorities. Following is a description of the specific activities NDI will conduct through this initiative. Additionally, NDI will continue to be responsive to a changing political environment.

A. Interparty Dialogue Seminar

One of NDI's primary objectives in this program is to create an ongoing dialogue between political parties. In pursuit of this goal, NDI proposes to sponsor a two-day, Lusaka-based seminar on elections,

bringing together Zambia's political parties and international experts. Seminar leaders will provide the participants with models from other countries on a variety of electoral topics, including: international standards for political party competition; the role of security forces in the election; the relationship between political parties and election authorities; and codes of conduct. Ideally, a code of conduct would be a long-term by-product of such a seminar. NDI also would seek to work with the parties to convene similar seminars at the provincial level.

As part of these seminars, NDI will seek to work with the political parties to facilitate the revival of the Interparty Liaison Committee (ILC). The ILC could continue addressing issues raised in the seminars and serve as a mechanism to resolve electoral disputes and help enforce a code of conduct. This body existed during the 1991 elections, serving as a venue for the parties to engage in dialogue and to resolve conflicts. Participation in the Committee declined after the elections, and eventually the body disbanded. NDI would work to reconvene the ILC, and would bring in international experts to assist with the discussion of electoral issues where cooperation is most necessary. NDI will provide training to the party participants with the ILC in order to effect constructive participation. In addition, NDI could provide modest funding to the ILC for secretariat activities, such as the compilation of meeting reports and agendas.

B. Political Party Election Activity Training

Party Agent Training

NDI has been requested by political parties to provide election monitoring training to political party agents. During the 1995-96 local election support project, NDI conducted preliminary training on the role of party agents in multiparty elections for about 250 political party organizers from four of the main political parties: the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), United National Independence Party (UNIP), National Party (NP) and Zambia Democratic Congress (ZDC). The parties sent between five and ten provincial representatives to each training session, which were conducted in a multiparty setting in each of the nine provincial capitals.

NDI proposes to continue this effort by providing additional party agent monitor training, but with the focus at the district and branch levels. One representative from each contesting party for each of Zambia's 61 districts will be represented at the multiparty training sessions. Most sessions will be conducted in a multiparty format; the premise being that it will be important for the parties to learn to work cooperatively now since, on election day, they will be observing together inside the polling stations. NDI would, however, be available to work with parties on an individual basis.

NDI would consult with the political parties in designing the agendas for the training program, which will focus on a variety of topics related to pre-election, election day and post-election activities. These include: media coverage, voter education, impartiality of election officials, monitoring voting and counting and reporting complaints.

Party-Specific Election Activity Training

NDI also has been requested by the Zambian political parties to conduct additional training for the parties on other election-related activities. These training sessions would feature a combination of individual party consultations and all-party forums, based on criteria developed by the parties themselves. Training will focus on topics such as voter contact, message development, communications and media relations. NDI will conduct a needs assessment with each party in creating the agendas for these training workshops.

In addition, NDI proposes to produce political party materials that will encourage political party members to have tolerance for other party members and not promote activities that would infringe on their access to the electoral process. These materials will be produced after consultations with political party organizers from four of the main political parties: the MMD, UNIP, NP and ZDC. The materials will be distributed during the Lusaka-based and provincial workshops and be used to supplement the work of the ILC, publicizing proposed codes of conduct. Posters will also be produced prior to the general elections. The posters will include photographs and feature a motivational message to encourage participation in the electoral process.

C. Nonpartisan Domestic Monitor Training

NDI would provide consultations, upon request, to Zambian NGOs conducting nonpartisan election monitoring. NDI has previously worked with two monitoring organizations -- the Zambian Independent Election Monitoring Team (ZIMT) and the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) in designing monitor training programs, and would continue to work with these and other NGOs in this effort. The Institute also would continue to distribute to the NGOs copies of NDI's handbook entitled How Domestic Organizations Monitor Elections: An A to Z Guide, a 152-page publication that provides information on the practical implementation of election monitoring efforts from the training of poll watchers to maintaining office facilities. The handbook deals extensively on pre- and post-election monitoring and includes sample monitoring forms and reports.

D. International Observer Delegations, Electoral Commission Consultations Technical Assistance

NDI proposes to sponsor two international delegations that would assess preparations for the national elections and the campaign environment. Based on the outcomes of these missions, NDI also will determine the need and feasibility of deploying a third delegation to monitor the elections themselves. The two pre-election delegations would include political leaders and election experts from Africa, Europe and North America. Delegation members also would be drawn from NDI's 1991 pre-election missions and, therefore, would have a keen understanding of the political context in which the 1996 elections will occur. The delegations would not only demonstrate the international community's support for an open electoral process, but would be prepared to identify real or potential problems and recommend measures that could ameliorate these problems prior to the elections.

The observer delegations would first undertake a broad assessment of the current electoral situation, meeting with representatives of political parties and civic organizations, religious leaders and journalists. As was done in 1991, these pre-election missions would evaluate the campaign environment and the legal and administrative framework for the elections. Based on their observations, the delegations will issue reports that would include options for resolving electoral problems and disputes. Based on their assessment, NDI would determine the feasibility and need for an international observer delegation at the time of the national elections. This proposal does not include such an initiative.

E. Other

In addition to carrying out the above-mentioned activities, NDI would cooperate with other donors and USAID grantees in the interest of coordinating its election-related program. This effort would include:

a) collaboration with USIS in the production of Worldnet Dialogue programs that are complementary to the program objectives; and

b) continued work with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy.[1]

V. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

NDI's program will be conducted in three phases: the first from April 15 to June 30, the second from July 1 to October 31 and a final post-election phase from November 1 to December 31, 1996. NDI request funding for the first phase of activities under AREAF Cooperative Agreement AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00, now scheduled to conclude on June 30. Should AREAF be extended, NDI will request additional funding for the second and third phases.

Phase One Activities:

I. Facilitation of dialogue between parties, and convening of Interparty Dialogue Seminar in Lusaka
II. Replication of Interparty Dialogue Seminar at provincial level
III. Re-convening of Interparty Liaison Committee (ILC)
IV. Domestic monitor training (provincial)
V. Individual and multiparty agent monitor training (Lusaka and provincial)
VI. First pre-election international observer mission
VII. Publication and distribution of political party materials with ILC
VIII. Quarterly activity report to USAID-AREAF/intermediate results identified
IX. Collaboration with USIS on Worldnet Dialogue programming

[1]The Westminster Foundation for Democracy, a British based firm offering support to democratic development in initiatives around the world, supported the NDI *Strengthening Political Parties* program. Specifically, Westminster provided critical support for the Democratization Symposium and the National Youth and Students Consultative on Political Participation.

Phase Two Activities:

I. Party-specific election activity training (individual party and multiparty)
II. Second pre-election international observer mission
III. Publication and distribution of political party materials with ILC
IV. Quarterly activity report to USAID-AREAF/intermediate results identified

Phase Three Activities:

I. Final evaluation of program conducted
II. Final report submitted to USAID-AREAF
III. Program close down

In implementing this nine-month program, NDI will employ full-time field organizers. The program officers will have specific knowledge and experience in electoral processes and political organization. They will: work with Zambian political parties, election officials, and others; monitor current political developments in the electoral process; and provide direct training. The staff will be able to begin activities immediately and will rely on existing structures and contacts to facilitate programming.

NDI's current office and communication infrastructure will be maintained and the local employees who have worked with NDI on past programs will be retained; the Institute has three full-time local hires--an administrative assistant, program assistant and logistics coordinator--working on the project. These individuals have extensive knowledge of NDI's programs and provide invaluable assistance in the implementation of programmatic activities.

In addition, NDI has developed an international team of political and technical experts who have worked in Zambia with NDI over the past five years. These experts will complement the work of the in-country staff.

VI. EVALUATION/RESULTS

NDI will use the Institute's self-evaluation procedures to evaluate the program and to determine whether it met the goals outlined in the program objectives of this proposal. A variety of mechanisms will be utilized in compiling and reporting assessments of the NDI program. These include:

1. written evaluations that will be distributed to all workshop participants;

2. written reports that will be filed by the training teams and international observer delegations;

3. interviews that will be conducted with participating organizations including the US Embassy and USAID mission at midterm and at the completion of the program;

4. analysis of new Zambian electoral rules and regulations that were promulgated during the program;

5. monitoring the media; and

6. an evaluation report that will be published at the completion of the program.

The following questions will be addressed in the evaluation of the program:

a) Did the political parties engage in substantive, regular and sustained dialogue?
b) Was a forum established to promote interparty dialogue?
c) Did the political parties develop a Code of Conduct?
d) Did the political parties develop mechanisms to implement the Code of Conduct?
e) Did the political parties communicate the promulgation of the Code of Conduct to the electorate?
f) How many political party polling agents were trained?
g) Did the party representatives who were trained as pollwatchers monitor the balloting?
h) Did the party agents cooperate with one another on election day?
i) How many domestic monitors were trained?
j) Were party agents and domestic monitors knowledgeable about the election laws?
k) Did party agents and domestic monitors apply the techniques that they were taught?
l) Which recommendations of the international observer delegations were implemented, and what affect did they have on the electoral process?
m) Were materials produced through the Interparty Liaison Committee (ILC)?
n) In which areas of the country were the political party materials distributed? Did they reach all of Zambia's nine provinces?

Finally, NDI will submit to AREAF its standard quarterly reports which will detail programmatic activities and achieved results.

VII. BUDGET AND NARRATIVE

Attached is a proposed budget totaling $280,539 for phase one of the proposed program. The budget narrative is also included.

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STATEMENT BY NDI PRESIDENT KENNETH WOLLACK ON SUSPENSION OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES IN ZAMBIA JUNE 17, 1996

Since early 1991, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) has been working to assist Zambian efforts to promote and then consolidate democratic institutions in the country. This effort has been a concrete expression of the international community's interest in and support for democracy and human rights in Zambia. The Institute is proud of its association with courageous democrats from across the political spectrum who have struggled against tremendous odds to establish a political system that reflects the hopes and aspirations of the Zambian people.

Five years ago, the citizens of Zambia made a historic turn in their call for multiparty democracy. In fact, the 1991 elections were a watershed event that influenced positively democratic elections throughout the region. Zambia's political transition was a model of democratic change for other states on the continent and beyond.

However, we are deeply concerned that the political environment leading up to this year's elections threatens to undermine these achievements. Actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression raise serious questions about the prospects for meaningful elections.

Under such circumstances, and in the absence of genuine interparty dialogue, NDI is not able to effectively carry out programs that are designed to help ensure an open and fair electoral process. Therefore, once our funding from the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) expires on June 30, NDI plans to suspend its election-support program and withdraw its Lusaka-based staff.

Given NDI's longstanding presence in Zambia and our commitment to the democratization process, this decision was a difficult one for us to make. At the same time, our activities to support the upcoming elections were becoming incompatible with political developments that hinder the ability of Zambians to participate fully and freely in the civic and political life of the country.

NDI remains committed to those civic and political leaders who are seeking peaceful ways to restore the integrity of the electoral process. We will continue to monitor the situation and if these efforts succeed, the Institute would hope to resume its program activities in Zambia.

The Citizen, 18 JUNE 1996

in 1992 continuing ... ing incident before dawn but said the incident was not serious.

The official Croatian news agency HINA said a ... "Ustasha get out".

Ustasha is a derogatory word for Croats, taken from Croatia's azNi puppet Ustasha regime of the Second World War.

... joint city government scheduled for June 30.

Analysts are closely watching the vote which is regarded as a dry run for countrywide elections to ... atNional ... firmed the separate ... weekend ... new gover ... "Croat ... Herceg-Bo ... west Mo ... Herzegovi ... south-wes ... –Reuter.

US institute stops aid work in Zambia

LUSAKA. – A US-funded pro-democracy body said yesterday it was suspending projects in Zambia and would close its Lusaka office on June 30.

Zambia has incurred aid donors' wrath with constitutional reforms barring former President Kenneth Kaunda from running again for office.

Mr Kenneth Wollack, president of the atNional Democratic Institute, said: "We are deeply concerned that the political envorinment leading up to this year's elections threatens to undermine these achievements (of the last five years)."

Mr Wollack, added: "Actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression raise serious questions about the prospects of meaningful elections."

The institute, which monitored the freedom of Zambia's last elections, was to have been an observer at October's presidential election, but will no longer be present.

"Once our funding from the US Agency for International Development expires on June 30, the NDI plans to suspend its election-support programmes and withdraw its Lusaka-based staff," Mr Wollack said.

Last month, Zambia passed a new constitution that effectively bans some key presidential aspirants, including Dr Kaunda, from challenging President Frederick Chiluba in this year's poll.

It bars second-generation Zambians, and former presidents who ruled for two terms, from contesting the presidency.

Another clause banning traditional rulers from engaging in active politics disqualifies Dr Kaunda's deputy, chief Inyambo Yeta, from standing in his stead.

The NDI withdrawal comes three weeks after Washington said it was cutting direct aid to Zambia in protest at the new constitution.

Several other Western governments, including Norway and Denmark, have also said they would review aid to Zambia. –Reuter.

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Mr ... majid, a ... retary at ... also an ... town co ... Casbah c ... was kil ... home ... –Reuter.

AIDS fund-raising flop

PARIS. – A nationwide television AIDS benefit in France this month was a financial flop, organisers said yesterday, predicting it will have raised less than a quarter of the amount raised by the previous such event.

The event on June 6, in which all national TV channels devoted an entire evening's simultaneous broadcasting to fund-raising, enjoyed dramatically less support than the first version in 1994. – Sapa-AFP.

Mick Ja send so

LONDON. – Rolling Stone Mick Jagger, the wild man of British rock music in the 1960s, is considering sending his son to Eton, one of Britain's most exclusive private schools.

The Daily Telegraph said yesterday that Jagger and his American model wife Jerry Hall visited the school last week. Its pupils in ... Prince ... heir to ... Charles ... wife Pri ... Jagge ... 11 years ... educate ... on, the ... of Mus ... couple ... accepte ... Eton in ...

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FROM THESE MANA

TIMES OF ZAMBIA, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996.

Americans halt funding

By Times Reporter

THE United States based National Democratic Institute (NDI) yesterday announced its withdrawal from Zambia citing what a statement the institution it termed the curtailed would suspend the election electoral competition as support programmes and reason withdraw its staff from

NDI coordinator for Lusaka once its funding ex- Zambia Rob Black said in pired on June 30.

NDI is funded by the U S Agency for International development (USAID).

Mr Black said later in an interview it was not possible for him to tell how much Zambia would lose as a result of the withdrawal but his organisation had supported several projects.

He said NDI was concerned about Government's departure from democratic ideals the citizens of Zambia sought when they made a historic turn by calling for multi-party democracy in 1991.

"Zambia's political transition was a model of democratic change for other states on the continent and beyond. However, we are deeply concerned that the political environment leading up to this year's elections threatens to undermine these achievements," the statement reads in part.

NDI could not effectively carry out programmes that were designed to help ensure an open and fair election when there was minimal political discourse, curtailed freedom of expression and no genuine inter-party dialogue.

He said the NDI's activities to support the upcoming elections in Zambia were becoming incompatible with the political developments that hindered the ability of Zambians to participate fully and freely in civic and political life.

The NDI would remain committed to those civic and political leaders who were seeking peaceful ways of restoring integrity to the electoral process.

ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996.

US institute quits Zambia

By MIRIAM KALIMA

THE Washington-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) announced yesterday that it would suspend its activities in Zambia allegedly because government has curtailed electoral competition and freedom of expression.

NDI president, Kenneth Wollack, in a statement yesterday said that it was winding up after June 30 because the political environment leading to this year's elections threaten to undermine the achievements made during the past five years that the country has been democratic under multiparty democracy.

Mr Wollack said: "Actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression raise serious questions about the prospects for meaningful elections."

He said NDI was unable, under such circumstances, to effectively carry out programmes designed to help ensure an open and fair electoral process.

He said NDI's funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) expires on June 30 and that the organisation planned to suspend its election-support programmes and withdraw Lusaka-based staff.

He admitted that the decision was difficult given NDI's long standing presence in Zambia and its commitment to the democratisation process.

He observed that NDI's activities to support the upcoming elections were becoming incompatible with political developments that hinder the ability to participate fully and freely in the civic and political life of the country.

He said NDI would however continue to monitor the situation and if the efforts succeed, the Institute would hope to resume its programme activities in Zambia.

THE POST, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996.

NDI pulls out

By Reuben Phiri and Mukalya Nampito

THE NATIONAL Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), has suspended its programme of activities in Zambia saying the political environment leading to this year's electoral process is threatening to undermine Zambia's democratic achievements.

"Actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression raise serious questions about the prospects for meaningful elections," NDI president, Kenneth Wollack, said in a press statement released in Lusaka yesterday. "Under such circumstances, and in the absence of genuine interparty dialogue, NDI is not able to effectively carry out programmes that are designed to help ensure an open and fair electoral process."

The Legal Resources Foundation (LRF) described the departure of NDI as a demonstration that the international community have lost confidence in the democratic process embarked on in 1991.

"This should send a signal to the state to revise its stand, NDI wouldn't like to associate themselves with the system which has been hijacked by some undemocratic elements through institutionalised rigging," LRF's Robby Shabwanga said in an interview yesterday.

Liberal Progressive Front (LPF) president, Roger Chongwe, said it is sad to note that Zambia and President Frederick Chiluba had turned dictatorial.

"All NDI is saying is that they are not prepared to serve under a dictatorship which serves to subvert the electoral process," Chongwe said in an interview yesterday.

Wollack said once the NDI funding from the United States Agency for International development(USAID) expires on June 30, it plans to suspend its election-support programme and withdraw its Lusaka-based staff.

"The Institute is proud of its association with courageous democrats from across the political spectrum who have struggled against tremendous odds to establish a political system that reflects the hopes and aspirations of the Zambian people," Wollack said. "Given NDI's long-standing presence in Zambia and our commitment to the democratisation process, this decision was a difficult one for us to make. At the same time, our activities to support the upcoming elections were becoming incompatible with political developments that hinder the ability of Zambians to participate freely in the civic and political life of the country."

Wollack added: "NDI remains committed to those civic and political leaders who are seeking peaceful ways to restore the integrity of the electoral process. We will continue to monitor the situation and if these efforts succeed, the Institute would hope to resume its programme activities in Zambia."

Zambia Democractic Congress deputy general secretary, Azwell Banda, described the suspension as extremely "regrettable" considering that NDI had seen the birth of democracy in Zambia.

"There can be no genuine elections in this country because of the MMD failure to dialogue with the key stakeholders on the question of the Constitution and elections," Banda said in an interview yesterday.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1996.

The Post

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A deepening political crisis

OUR VIEW

Chiluba and his followers continue to bury their heads in sand

THE suspension of election - support programmes and withdrawal of Lusaka - based staff by the American National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a very clear signal that something has gone very wrong with our democratic process.

The NDI has been working to support the development of democracy in Zambia for many years now and their withdrawal at this point, when the country is headed for a crucial election, shows that the concerns they have raised about the existing political environment deserve serious consideration.

What is, however, alarming about this situation is the sad fact that those responsible for the country's current political crisis, namely President Frederick Chiluba and his followers, continue to insist that all is alright, save for trouble being stirred up by a few disgruntled elements who will soon be sorted out.

President Chiluba and his followers continue to bury their heads in the sand of their own political ambitions and refuse to see anything except their single - minded desire for a second term of office at any cost.

The MMD has abandoned its commitment to democratic governance and has, in fact, now become the biggest impediment to democracy in this country.

The NDI statement specifically refers to "actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression," and "the absence of genuine inter - party dialogue" as well as "political developments that hinder the ability of Zambians to participate fully and freely in civic and political life of the country".

NDI's concerns are very real and President Chiluba cannot deny that his government has failed to meet these modest expectations.

Using the constitution to bar political opponents and abusing the judicial process to harass and detain leaders of opposition parties is the worst form of dictatorship and a total negation of good governance principles.

Opposition parties and concerned members of society have continued to plead with President Chiluba and the MMD to go back to the negotiating table and seek consensus on the constitution and other important national issues but their pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

It is because of the intransigence of President Chiluba that the donor community, neighbouring countries and democrats around the world are adopting an attitude to Zambia that is reserved for oppressive regimes and tyrants like Iraq's Saddam Hussein and Libya's Muammar Gadaffi.

It is now clear that it will be impossible to hold genuine free and fair elections under the auspices of the fraudulent constitution and electoral arrangements that President Chiluba is still bent on imposing on the people of Zambia.

Not only has the opposition rejected such a possibility, non - governmental organisations, churches, traditional rulers such as Mpezeni, the paramount chief of the Ngoni people of Eastern Province, and ordinary citizens have also said No to it.

Even observers such as the NDI have recognised that the selfish MMD arrangement "raises serious questions about the prospects for meaningful elections".

It appears that only President Chiluba and his followers are blind to the true realities prevailing in Zambia today - that it is impossible for any sensible person outside the MMD to participate in the forthcoming elections under the current constitutional, legal and administrative framework.

The MMD should therefore be realistic and place the national interest before their narrow partisan ambitions of a second term of office at all costs before they plunge this country into a deeper, and worse, crisis.

Donors are with the opposition

OPPOSING VIEW

They appear to listen more to people advocating violence

EVENTS of recent weeks have shown how the international community has deliberately misunderstood the government efforts in the democratisation process of this country.

These events, which have been reflected in the threats to cut aid by our cooperating partners, show how reliance on donor aid can create instability in a poor country like ours.

There is no doubt that, as a government, we are making every effort to listen to all and accommodate their views.

But it appears our cooperating partners are in league with dissenters and people bent on causing chaos in this country.

They appear to listen more to people advocating violence than to the voice of a legitimate government duly elected and mandated by the people of this country.

We as a government are not surprised that the donor attitude has now culminated in the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs announcing the suspension of its election-support programs and the withdrawal of its staff.

To suggest that the MMD government has reneged on its democratic commitment is preposterous and unfounded.

We have met every one of our commitments to the people of Zambia under whose mandate we are serving and as a duly elected government of a sovereign state, we cannot do otherwise.

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THE MONITOR
JUNE 21-27, 1996

The monitor COMMENT

NDI departure blow to free polls

Emerging democracies the world over need the support of more established democracies to help them to thrive.

The Zambian experience is a case in point.

Zambia's transition from the one party system would not have been as smooth as it was were it not for the support that democratic governments and international pro-democracy institutions provided.

Chief among such organisations were the Carter Centre and the National Democratic Institute.

Throughout the transition, the two organisations provided civic education to an electorate whose political sensibilities had been stifled by years of suppression.

They provided logistical support to the transition, trained locals to monitor the elections, and helped identify impediments to the emergence of a true democratic culture.

On occasion, they ruffled the feathers of the powers-that-were in their efforts to create a free and competitive political environment.

They pressed on the Kaunda government to level the playing field by, among other things, releasing the transitional timetable in good time.

They also pressed on the state-run media, particularly the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) to provide balanced coverage of the election campaign.

To a large extent, the two organisations suceeded.

That Zambia's transition from one party rule was a model for Africa was due, in part, to the involvement of the Carter Centre and the NDI.

Which is why we are concerned at the decision of the NDI to withdraw from Zambia on the eve of the country's elections.

Our concern stems from the fact that much of the concerns that existed in the run-up to the 1991 election, and which the NDI helped to address, persist today.

The political playing field is far from even, media bias exists, and the country still lacks a competent crop of monitors to oversee the elections.

While we acknowledge the fact that national elections are an internal matter, we suspect that the NDI withdrawal will subtract from the integrity of this years elections.

However, Zambians can still draw, to a lesser extent, from the NDI experience.

Following the 1991 elections, the NDI and Carter Centre published a book, 'The October 1991 Elections in Zambia', in which they outlined their perception of the Zambian transition.

Starting next week, *The Monitor* will publish relevant excerpts from their observations, unedited, to remind political players - and the electorate - of the many hurdles Zambians had to cross in the transition to plural politics.

We are sure that readers will be surprised at how little has changed since the book was published.

The Monitor
June 21-27, 1996

Election monitors pull-out

NDI had planned to monitor polls

An international election observer group has decided to pull out of Zambia in protest against changes to the electoral rules it says limit voters choices in this years elections.

The National Democratic Institute - one of several international bodies that oversaw the 1991 elections - said this week it would not monitor this years elections as expected.

"We had planned to monitor this years elections, but the prevailing circumstances do not allow us to," NDI representative in Lusaka, Rob Black told The Monitor.

Earlier, NDI President Kenneth Wollack said in a statement that NDI was suspending its projects in Zambia at the end of the month.

"Zambia's political transition was a model of democratic change for other states on the continent and beyond," he said.

"However, we are deeply concerned that the political environment leading up to this year's elections threatens to undermine these achievements.

"Under such circumstances, and in absence of genuine inter-party dialogue, NDI is not able to effectively carry out programmes that are designed to help ensure an open and fair electoral process," Wollack added.

The NDI will suspend its election-support programme and withdraw its Lusaka-based staff when its US Agency for International Development (AID) allocation expires on June 30.

However, NDI will remain committed to civic and political leaders who are seeking peaceful ways to restore the integrity of the electoral process.

"We will continue to monitor the situation and if these efforts succeed, the institute would hope to resume its programme activities in Zambia," Wollack said.

NDI worked hand-in-hand with the Carter Centre to monitor the 1991 elections.

The two organisations pointed out several anomalies in the electoral process, including media bias, UNIP abuses of government resources in its campaign, and the lack of preparedness of the electoral office.

Since the elections, it has been engaged in trying to strengthen democratic institutions through, among other things, civic education

Zambian News Agency

Zambia

Election Agency To Leave End Of June

Zambian News Agency - June 17, 1996.

Lusaka - The National Democratic Institute is to pull out of Zambia at the of June once funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) expires.

NDI President Kenneth Wollack said in a statement issued in Lusaka on Monday that the move will affects his organisation's election support programmes and it will the withdrawal of all Lusaka based members of staff.

"Given NDI's long standing presence in Zambia and our commitment to the democratization process, this decision was a difficult one for us to make," Mr Wollack says.

Inspite of the pull back NDI will, however, continue to monitor the situation and if dialogue between civic and political leaders will yield desired results then the institute will resume its programme of activities in zambia, he added.

NDI talks of 'political environment leading up to this year's elections' without going into specifics but hinting that some of these actions may have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression.

Zambia adopted a law, end of May, which require future presidential candidates to be Zambians whose parents too were Zambians.

Some candidates, like former President Kenneth Kaunda, are precluded from contesting elections by this law since his parents came from Malawi and he himself only renounced his Malawian citizenship in 1969 - five years after taking over as President of Zambia.

Source: ZAMTODAY

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US observers quit Zambia

Lusaka A US-funded pro-democracy body said yesterday it was suspending projects in Zambia and would close its Lusaka office on June 30.

Zambia has incurred aid donors' wrath with constitutional reforms barring ex-president Kenneth Kaunda from running again for office.

Kenneth Wollack, president of the National Democratic Institute (NDI), said: "We are deeply concerned that the political environment leading up to this year's elections threatens to undermine the achievements of the last five years."

Wollack, in a statement released in Lusaka yesterday, added: "Actions that have curtailed electoral competition and participation, political discourse and freedom of expression raise serious questions about the prospects of meaningful

elections."

The institute, which monitored the freedom of Zambia's last vote, was to have been an observer at October's presidential election but will no longer be present.

"Once our funding from the US Agency for International Development expires on June 30, the NDI plans to suspend its election-support programmes and withdraw its Lusaka-based staff," the statement added.

Last month Zambia passed a new constitution that effectively bans some key presidential aspirants, including Kaunda, from challenging President Frederick Chiluba in this year's poll.

It bars second-generation Zambians, and former presidents who ruled for two terms, from contesting the presidency.

Kaunda's parents were Malawian.

He ruled for six terms starting at independence from Britain in 1964.

Another clause banning traditional rulers from engaging in active politics disqualifies Kaunda's deputy, chief Inyambo Yeta, from standing in his stead.

The NDI withdrawal comes three weeks after Washington said it was cutting direct aid to Zambia in protest at the new constitution.

Several other western governments, including Norway and Denmark, have also said they would review aid to Zambia. Reuters.