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**AFRICA**

**REGIONAL**

**ELECTORAL**

**ASSISTANCE  
FUND**



**ANNUAL REPORT**

Cooperative Agreement No. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00  
(Aug. 28 1992 - Aug. 28, 1993)

The African-American Institute  
The International Republican Institute  
The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs  
September 28, 1993

## PREFACE

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

AREAF is funded through a cooperative agreement with the Agency for International Development and is a direct result of the U.S. government's commitment to provide technical assistance, training and international observer missions to Africans undergoing transition to democratic governance and multi-party participation.

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

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund (AREAF) is at the forefront of aid to democratic transitions on the continent. The project began in August 1992, and during the first year of the ARAEF project, the partners have conducted more than 40 programs in 30 sub-Saharan African countries. One of the ARAEF project's principal objectives was to support improved electoral processes and increased civic participation through innovative programs capable of providing a rapid response to the dynamic environment of African democratic transitions. In its first year, the ARAEF project has proven itself effective in accomplishing this objective.

### HIGHLIGHTS FROM PROJECT YEAR 1

#### RAPID RESPONSE

At project inception, the ARAEF partners were faced with a significant number of urgent requests for assistance from African governments, U.S. Embassies, USAID Missions, African NGOs and African political parties. During the first three months of the project, ARAEF partners launched programs in 12 countries and provided assistance to seven elections — Cameroon, CAR, Ghana, Namibia, Madagascar, Djibouti, Kenya — and had begun an assistance program for the later-suspended elections in Togo.

Throughout its first year, the ARAEF project has been called upon to respond quickly to rapidly changing circumstances whether it be a shift in election dates in Kenya or hastily called elections in Congo and Togo. *The key factor providing ARAEF's rapid response capability has been the quick and decisive actions of the ARAEF Senior Project Council and the joint AID/State Committee in responding to urgent needs.*

While the ARAEF partners accept that rapid responses will be required throughout the life of the project, they have set as a goal greater ARAEF involvement in the period leading up to African elections. The premise is that more effective assistance can be provided if there is sufficient lead time during the pre-electoral stage. ARAEF programming during the second half of the reporting period reflects a greater emphasis on increased pre-electoral involvement.

## **FLEXIBLE PROGRAMMING**

AREAF programs have proven to be designed to provide clarity of purpose with sufficient flexibility to meet changing needs on the ground. For example:

- Changes in election dates in Guinea prompted a shift in the order of implementation of civic education and pollwatcher training
- Controversial results in Senegal's presidential election prompted the need to maintain an extended presence through the vote counting and post-election period
- Storm damage to polling stations in Eritrea prompted a shift in commodity assistance to provide for reconstruction of the polling stations

## **INCREASED AFRICAN PARTICIPATION**

There has been an important increase in trained African participation in AREAF activities. Noteworthy are GERDDES's participation in NDI's Cameroon and Togo election observer missions. GERDDES (the Group for the Study and Research on Democracy and Social and Economic Development) is a West Africa-based democracy NGO which has received support from NDI in the past. GERDDES's members are all African, and the association has chapters in most of the francophone African countries.

Aside from organizations like GERDDES, the past year has seen an increase in the capability and sophistication of local African NGOs committed to supporting the democratization process. AREAF partners have worked with African organizations in Madagascar, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Namibia, Ghana, Eritrea, Togo, Cameroon, Uganda and Senegal among others. A good example of this is the Malagasy organization CNOE (National Committee of Election Observers). CNOE is a newly formed NGO which has been busily developing local monitoring and training capacity. It played a crucial role in promulgating the election law as the accepted code of conduct, and in providing local observers the chance to participate in, and hence own a part of the popular process.

African participation in international observer delegations has also been characteristic in AREAF programs. This has proven to be a cost effective means of promoting indigenous capacity building. African participation in international observer delegations provides those active in their own democratic transition a comparative perspective and provides a platform for fruitful exchanges on the continent.

## INNOVATION

The planned AAI/NDI/IFES/UN colloquium will bring together election administrators, NGOs, regional organizations and representatives of political parties to further refine and develop standards of expectation in the democratization move on the continent. It will bring together African elections expertise from a cross-section of the continent to review and explore the organization and execution of transparent elections. The colloquium is scheduled for February 1994.

The IRI's Guinea-Bissau project is another fine example of innovative thinking. IRI identified a local non-partisan human rights group to assist in the development of its democratic support and training. By empowering the group to train other civic groups, IRI was instrumental in facilitating cooperation among the Bissauan civic groups, and the ultimate establishment of a national network of election monitors.

The NDI Niger project, close cooperation with the United Nations Electoral Assistance Unit and the UNDP was an exercise that commenced coordination of all impartial observers in country. As anticipated, a sense of common purpose developed amongst the international observers and their conclusions about the elections reflected their access to more information about elections than would have been the case absent this project.

The NDI's seminar on electoral assistance in the CAR was a very useful exercise. This project provided technical assistance for the electoral process, and a debriefing of the diplomatic community on the methodology of election observation.

## CONSORTIUM ACTIVITIES

All of the AREAF consortium partners have been busily involved in the design and implementation of projects geared to respond to African-initiated requests. Some highlights of the past year include:

- The NDI's political party training seminars for Niger's first and second round presidential elections (February and March 1993). This project included the training of political parties and Nigerien civic associations to monitor the proceedings of the highly successful presidential elections as well as introducing concepts of collaboration and coordination of intergovernmental organizations and western donors.
- The IRI's Kenyan election project. This project provided an assessment mission, international observers, training and coordination of election observers, as well as commodity support for the presidential and legislative elections of December 1992. The election exercise was influential in that it engendered coordination of an expansive indigenous monitor organization and encouraged an all-parties code of conduct for participation in the Kenyan presidential elections.
- The Carter Center's observer mission to the November 1992 Ghanaian presidential elections. This project provided an assessment of the electoral environment, and training for domestic monitors. This project was one of the first collaborative exercises including the AAI, NDI and IFES at various stages of the project.
- The joint AAI/NDI OAU observer training seminar. This project provided election observer training for the OAU to develop election assistance capability. The main objective of this project was to assist the OAU in the development and implementation of credible election monitoring efforts.
- The joint AAI/IRI Ugandan assessment mission. This project resulted in two AREAF funded projects for on-going work in Uganda to provide pre-electoral assistance to a host of Ugandan NGOs, the newly formed Ugandan electoral commission and the training of party poll watchers for the anticipated December 1993 Constituent Assembly elections.





**GUINEA** **IRI** **\$95,604**

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

**GUINEA** **IRI** **\$296,491**

AREAF provided political party training and party pollwatcher training in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

**GUINEA-BISSAU** **IRI** **\$11,456**

AREAF provided a pre-electoral assessment in preparation for legislative and presidential elections.

**GUINEA-BISSAU** **IRI** **\$237,605**

AREAF provided an assistance program that includes civic education training through a non-partisan human rights group. IRI will also develop a broadcast voter education program and provide political party poll watching training for all the legalized political parties.

**KENYA** **IRI** **\$85,258**

AREAF provided a pre-election assessment in November 1992 in preparation for general elections in December 1992.

**KENYA** **IRI** **\$849,268**

AREAF international observers, training and coordination of election observers and commodity support (provided by AAI/AMEG) for the presidential and legislative elections of December 1992.

**KENYA** **IRI** **\$36,292**

AREAF provided an observation team for the Kenyan parliamentary by-elections in May 1993.

**LESOTHO** **IRI** **\$149,756**

AREAF provided an assessment of the electoral environment and an election observer mission for the legislative elections of March 1993.

**MADAGASCAR** **AAI** **\$160,000**

AREAF provided international observers to both rounds of presidential elections (11/92 and 2/93) and legislative elections (6/93). Additionally, AAI supported civic education and the domestic monitors for the legislative election.

**MADAGASCAR** **AAI** **\$98,874**

AREAF provided an assistance program that included civic education and training assistance to Malagasy election monitoring groups and a small international observation delegation for the legislative elections of June 1993.

**MALAWI** **NDI** **\$61,733**

AREAF provided assistance to Malawian groups in the development and implementation of a referendum monitoring operation for the multiparty referendum of June 1993.

**NAMIBIA** **NDI** **\$145,000**

AREAF provided civic education programs and commodity support for the legislative elections of November (first round) and December (second round) 1992.

**NIGER** **NDI** **\$141,414**

AREAF provided political party training seminars in October and November 1992 in preparation for presidential elections.

**NIGER** **NDI** **\$155,786**

AREAF provided international observers and coordination of all international observers for the presidential elections of February 1993 (first round) and March 1993 (second round).



**UGANDA**

**AAI**

**\$485,826**

AREAF provided an assistance program that includes training Ugandan election monitors and civic education trainers, technical assistance to the election commission, international observers and commodities for Constituent Assembly elections in December 1993.

**UGANDA**

**IRI**

**\$131,283**

AREAF provided training of political party pollwatchers for the Constituent Assembly elections.



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

| COUNTRY   | ELECTION                      | DATES                               | \$ APP    | INST.   | RESPONSE   | 1992  |       |                                   | 1993                      |       |       |       | 1     |       |
|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|--|-------|-------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|           |                               |                                     |           |         |  | Qtr 2 | Qtr 3 | Qtr 4                             | Qtr 1                     | Qtr 2 | Qtr 3 | Qtr 4 | Qtr 1 | Qtr 2 |
| SENEGAL   | Pres<br>Leg                   | 21-Feb-93<br>09-May-93              | \$557,235 | NDI     | TRAINING,<br>ASSESS.,<br>OBSER., POL<br>PARTY<br>RONTABL |       |       | 12-6                              | SENEGAL<br>██████████ 7-3 |       |       |       |       |       |
| MADAGAS   | Pres #1<br>Pres #2<br>Leg # 1 | 25-Nov-92<br>10-Feb-93<br>16-Jun-93 | \$258,874 | AAI     | OBSERVERS,<br>CIVIC<br>EDUCATION                         |       | 11-15 | MADAGASCAR<br>██████████ 6-30     |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| GERDDES   | Regional                      | Feb - Jun -93                       | \$55,000  | NDI     | TRAINING   |       | 1-31  | GERDDES<br>██████████ 6-29        |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| LESOTHO   | Leg                           | 27-Mar-93                           | \$149,756 | IRI     | ASSESSMEN<br>OBSERVERS                                   |       | 2-27  | LESOTHO<br>██████████ 3-31        |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| BURUNDI   | Pres<br>Leg                   | 01-Jun-93<br>29-Jun-93              | \$431,021 | NDI     | POLITICAL<br>PARTY<br>TRAINING,<br>OBSERVERS             |       | 3-1   | BURUNDI<br>██████████ 7-3         |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| GUINEA BI | Leg & Pres                    | TBD                                 | \$249,061 | IRI     | ASSESSMEN<br>VOTER ED. &<br>OBS.<br>TRAINING             |       | 4-1   | GUINEA BISSAU<br>██████████ 12-31 |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| CONGO     | Leg #1<br>Leg #2              | 02-May-93<br>06-June-93             | \$62,038  | AAI     | OBSERVERS  |       | 4-28  | CONGO<br>██████████ 6-15          |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| MALAWI    | Referendum                    | 14-Jun-93                           | \$61,733  | NDI     | TRAIN<br>DOMESTIC<br>MONITORS                            |       | 5-14  | MALAWI<br>██████████ 6-30         |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| GABON     | Pres & Leg                    | TBD                                 | \$41,448  | NDI     | ASSESSMEN<br>TRAINING<br>POLL<br>MONITORS,<br>INTL       |       | 5-3   | GABON<br>██████████ 6-15          |                           |       |       |       |       |       |
| UGANDA    | Cons.<br>Assmby               | 20-Dec-93<br>(est.)                 | \$702,665 | AAI,IRI | ASSESSMEN<br>TRAINING,<br>CIV ED,<br>COMMODITIE<br>PARTY |       | 4-1   | UGANDA<br>██████████ 12-31        |                           |       |       |       |       |       |

As of: 8-28-93

DURATION 

Progress 

**Total Request: \$6,395,143      Total Approved: \$6,395,143**

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY: ELECTION MONITOR**  
**TRAINING**

**September 14 - 18, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: OAU CAPACITY BUILDING**

The joint AAI/NDI training seminar for the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was the first program funded under AREAF (funded jointly with the National Endowment for Democracy). This program was planned in response to the OAU Secretary General Salim Salim's requests for a training seminar for OAU staff. The seminar joined experts, diplomats and activists to discuss election monitoring and advise the OAU on developing capabilities for assisting and monitoring elections in Africa.

Nine faculty members traveled to Addis Ababa to orchestrate five days of workshops and seminars. The team prepared briefing books outlining the implementation of election monitoring programs. The books discussed terms of reference, monitoring techniques, election day checklists and plans of action for monitoring the media and for parallel vote tabulations.

Sessions covered electoral processes, standards for free and fair elections, conflict resolution, election monitoring and electoral assistance strategies. Daily working sessions were attended by an average of 65 ambassadors and staff from the OAU.

The partners produced a resource manual entitled *The Evolving Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in Election Monitoring*. The manual covers the issues considered at the seminar and includes over 700 pages of articles regarding election assistance and monitoring in Africa.



**AREAF PROJECT REPORT  
CAMEROON: ELECTION MONITOR TRAINING AND OBSERVATION  
April 1 to June 30, 1993**

**BACKGROUND**

NDI sent an assessment mission to Cameroon in September 1991 to analyze the democratization process. Subsequent to that mission and to the conduct of legislative polls in March, 1992, NDI decided to conduct election observer training and to send an international delegation to monitor Cameroon's presidential elections, which had been called for October 11, 1992. The purpose of the project was 1) to provide civic organizations and political parties with the capability to organize election monitoring projects, and assess the fairness of the elections themselves; 2) to develop an assessment of the legitimacy of the presidential elections; 3) to assist in the development of regional democratization networks; and 4) to encourage civic organizations focussing on democratic development to be active in the post-electoral democratic consolidation period.

From October 2 to 8, 1992, NDI conducted a series of election monitoring seminars in Yaoundé, Douala, Bamenda, and Garoua, Cameroon as the first stage of the Institute's election monitor training and election observation mission for the October 11 presidential election. On election day, the 13-member international observation delegation visited nine of Cameroon's 10 provinces to view polling sites, interview election officials and voters, and follow the vote-counting procedure. The delegation released its preliminary and interim post-election statements on October 14 and 28, respectively. The reports concluded that serious election-day irregularities called into question the validity of official results that proclaimed incumbent President Paul Biya the winner.

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES**

In April 1993, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) released its final assessment of the October 11, 1992 presidential election in Cameroon. The 120-page report detailed observations and research that was conducted by NDI's 13-member international delegation, which was present in Cameroon during the period immediately before and following the election. The final report concluded that Cameroon's electoral system was "designed to fail."

The final report built upon these earlier statements by detailing flaws in pre-electoral procedures, allegations of election-day fraud and post-election challenges to the validity of the official results. The report offered recommendations that could be useful in breaking the political impasse that developed in Cameroon following the announcement of official results on October 23. Many political and civic leaders in Cameroon have hailed the NDI report as being



objective and thorough, although little movement has occurred in Cameroon that would signal the beginning of a meaningful dialogue between the government and opposition.

Over 700 copies have been distributed thus far to political party leaders, government officials, members of the diplomatic community and other interested parties in Cameroon, Europe and the United States. The completion of the report fulfills NDI's initial goal of providing an assessment of the legitimacy of the presidential election.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GUINEA: ASSESSMENT MISSION**  
October 10 to October 21, 1993

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

Responding to requests from the USAID mission and U.S. Embassy in Conakry to develop an electoral assistance program in Guinea, the International Republican Institute deployed an assessment team to survey the pre-election environment. The primary objective of the assessment mission was to analyze how the IRI can best utilize its expertise in Guinea in assisting the development of democratic institutions.

The team assessed the need for technical aid in the implementation of civic and voter education, voter registration activities and the training of election officials and surveyed the feasibility of an assistance program in the immediate future. Their assessment concentrated on how best to train government poll workers and political party poll watchers so that the election could be held in a transparent manner. Delegates consulted with government officials, advocacy groups, political parties, professional associations, human rights groups and academics to gain a broad perspective of the functions, roles and effectiveness of emerging democratic institutions.

**CONCLUSIONS**

The assessment team concluded that without far-reaching reforms before the election date a transparent and free election that will substantially impact the development of Guinean institutions is unlikely. The delegation observed an absence of cooperation between the government and political parties; widespread ignorance of the democratic process and information necessary to facilitate elections; tensions across social and political groups threatening election administration; and procedural delays, combined with infrastructural shortcomings, preempting any reliable scheduling.



# NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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## AREAF PROJECT REPORT NIGER: COORDINATING INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS April 1 to June 30, 1993

### BACKGROUND

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) first conducted programming in support of Niger's democratic transition in March 1992, when it sponsored an election observer training seminar in Niamey. In October NDI organized political party campaign training programs in Niamey and Zinder. For Niger's legislative and presidential elections this spring, NDI conducted a pre-election assessment and co-organized a series of coordinated observer missions.

Given the growth in the number of international election observation delegations, and the demands that have been placed upon NDI to conduct observation-related programming, NDI used Niger as a model test an innovative approach to ensuring the quality of international observation efforts. The idea was to provide NDI staff expertise, in collaboration with the U.N., in preparing briefing material, a joint observer deployment plan throughout the country, and a common de-briefing. The purposes of this program, in addition to the broad objectives of encouraging transparency and adherence to the electoral laws and assessing the credibility of the process, were 1) to limit the prospect of widely inconsistent assessments based on a lack of information by observer groups; 2) to avoid duplication of efforts; and 3) to use limited resources effectively.

### ACTIVITIES

NDI, in close cooperation with the United Nations Electoral Assistance Bureau and the United Nations Development Program, conceived a program to coordinate all impartial observers attending the elections in Niger. An NDI consultant was present in Niger from January through the second round of the presidential election. The consultant and staff wrote a pre-election assessment report, explained and implemented the coordinated observer program to the international community, and helped to provide the conditions under which the consensus of the international observers could be developed and made public.

The project was highly successful. As anticipated, a sense of common purpose developed amongst the international observers and their conclusions about the elections reflected their access to more information about the elections than would have been the case absent this project. The situation was facilitated by the fact that the process of conducting and competing in the elections was generally professional, transparent and without fraud. More importantly, the results were accepted by all political parties.



Subsequent to the elections, NDI has focused on the evaluation of its program and drafting the final report. NDI held an in-house roundtable discussion on the lessons learned from the effort to coordinate election observers. The major points noted were the importance of preserving individual delegations' autonomy and the improvements in efficiency and quality of observation. In addition, NDI has written an extensive evaluation of lessons learned from the experience in Niger in the "Reflections" chapter of the final report, which should be issued in approximately one month.





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## AREAF PROJECT REPORT TOGO: INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVATION April 1 to June 30, 1993

### BACKGROUND

In support of democratic elections in Togo, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) proposed to organize observers for one or both of the two rounds of the legislative and presidential elections. The main objectives of the proposal were 1) to demonstrate the support of the international community for legitimate elections in Togo; 2) to promote public confidence in the process; 3) to provide credible observers to assess the electoral process; 4) to report to the international community on the conduct of elections in Togo; 5) to recommend to the Togolese government possible solutions to electoral problems; and 6) to reinforce the efforts of domestic monitoring groups such as GERDDES Togo.

At the time of the proposal, the elections were scheduled for October 31, November 14, December 6 and December 20, 1992. The elections were subsequently postponed until negotiations in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso between the Togolese opposition and the government of President Gnassingbe Eyadema resolved outstanding issues relating to the conduct of the elections. An accord was signed July 11; the first round of presidential elections is to be held on August 25; if necessary a second round will take place on September 8.

### ACTIVITIES

NDI is now preparing to implement its Togo program. It is a large scale observation program which includes a pre-election assessment mission, 15 to 20 member observer delegations for both rounds of the presidential election as well as collaboration and coordination with domestic monitoring groups, possibly including a parallel vote tabulation.



**AREAF PROJECT REPORT  
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC:  
INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS  
October 18 to October 19, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT SURVEY**

Pursuant to discussions with the State Department, USAID mission and embassy personnel, the National Democratic Institute sent a two-person team to Bangui for a survey mission of the pre-election environment. The objectives of the mission were to assess the development of democratic institutions in the preparation for multi-party elections and to advise embassy personnel about the process of election observing.

The team met with political and labor leaders, election officials and members of the diplomatic community. The delegates observed an atmosphere rife with confrontations and distrust and unprepared for a free and fair competitive elections. Such tensions continued to grow and on election day, the CAR government halted the balloting process and postponed the elections, citing various disruptions of elections procedures throughout the country inhibiting a free and fair elections process.



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## AREAF PROJECT REPORT RWANDA: STRENGTHENING POLITICAL PARTIES April 1 to June 31, 1993

### BACKGROUND

In support of Rwanda's transition to multiparty democracy and that country's anticipated national elections, NDI proposed to conduct programs to strengthen the country's fledgling political parties. The program's objectives were 1) to enhance the organization of Rwanda's political parties, with respect to internal management and external communication; 2) to encourage parties to develop organizational structures that could accommodate parliamentary and electoral functions; 3) to promote the development of local, regional and national party structures that would be accountable to constituents; and 4) to encourage parties to develop voter education and domestic monitoring capabilities.

Following a two-day assessment mission in Rwanda in December 1992, NDI noted that political party leaders did not encourage party-building programs in their country before the conclusion of the Arusha Peace Talks. NDI opted to delay its program in Rwanda until the talks were completed and party leaders increased their interest in the Institute's offer to conduct political party projects.

### PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Due to extensive delays in concluding the Arusha Peace Talks, NDI programs in Rwanda remain on hold. NDI staff members are continuing to monitor developments in Rwanda and at Arusha to determine the optimal time to review their program efforts.

Over the past two months, as NDI became increasingly visible in the Burundian electoral environment, Rwandan political leaders in Burundi contacted NDI staffers. The leaders expressed renewed interest in NDI becoming involved in Rwanda and tentative plans were made for a two-person NDI team to visit Kigali. NDI staff members also remained in contact with State Department officials to assess the political climate in Rwanda.



**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GHANA: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER MISSION**  
**October to November, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: ELECTION MONITORING**

The Carter Center of Emory University deployed 18 international observers to join a 250-member Ghanaian observation team monitoring the November presidential elections. The NDI and AAI collaborated on the training of trainers for the indigenous monitoring operation. Observers witnessed electoral operations and the conduct of officials in polling stations in every region of Ghana.

Although monitors observed widespread irregularities, the majority of the problems originated with logistical complications. Observers noted multiple register lists in use during the elections. Mixed lists from the April referendum and presidential election resulted in the exclusion of many voters and the inaccessibility of accurate register lists to political parties. There was also an absence of a reliable and consistent procedure for identifying eligible voters. Inadequate identification excluded additional voters and provided occasions for impersonation. Technical problems at polling stations further slowed voting and often challenged the accuracy of voter identification.

While such irregularities gave rise to allegations of deliberate misconduct, accusations remain unsubstantiated and the Carter Center cannot confirm any manipulation. Despite the prevalence of administrative shortcomings and infrastructural inadequacies, the Carter Center team did not encounter any systematic patterns suggesting fraudulent conduct or the rigging of elections. The request for assistance in developing a new voters register may have alleviated some of these difficulties.

The Carter Center was not able to complete its involvement in Ghana in providing observers for the Legislative elections because of an opposition boycott. Likewise, the NDI planned training and assistance with a Parallel Vote Count operation was canceled.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT  
NAMIBIA: VOTER EDUCATION  
October 15 to December 15, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: CIVIC EDUCATION**

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a voter education program 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.

NDI consultants worked with the NBC on the content, format and frequency of programming. The programming aimed to create voter awareness of and confidence in the electoral process. Broadcasts included current affairs reports, public service announcements, feature debates, discussions among non-partisan community leaders and public commentary on the elections.

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 program revision, the project was a success. Overall, 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 to vote.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**KENYA: ASSESSMENT MISSION**  
**October 26 to November 6, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: ASSESSING THE PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT**

At the invitation of the American Embassy in Nairobi, the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Kenya, the U.S. Department of State and the Kenyan Government, the International Republican Institute deployed a seven-member assessment team to Kenya. The delegation surveyed the pre-election political environment to gauge the extent to which the political environment offered a "level playing field" to the various contesting parties. An assessment of the existing electoral institutions further enabled the team to judge the feasibility of conducting an international election observer mission for the December elections.

The delegation concentrated on Kenya's electoral law and administration, the ability of political parties to organize and disseminate their messages, and the roles of the media and non-governmental organizations in informing and educating Kenyans on a grassroots level. Seeking the broadest perspective on these issues, delegates met with a wide range of actors in the election process: government officials, election commission officials, political party leaders, civic organizations, non-governmental organizations, church officials and the media.

**OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

The IRI team found many areas of concern regarding the transparency of the pre-election environment. First, the Electoral Commission appeared to be neither a representative nor an independent body. Next, inaccuracy and discrimination seriously flawed the registration process, leaving widespread opportunity for manipulating ballots and disenfranchising as many as three million voters. The delegation also observed numerous bureaucratic obstacles to organizing public demonstrations that hindered open political competition. Widespread intimidation and violence and the prevalence of vote buying further obstructed an open and competitive campaign and only added to the instability of the pre-election environment. Finally, uncertain ballot-box security, vote-tabulation methods and mechanisms for transmitting constituency results characterized lack of preparation for both a secure and transparent election.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**KENYA: CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION MONITORING**  
**November 25 to December 31, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

Following the recommendations of the pre-election assessment team deployed in October, the International Republican Institute dispatched five teams to Kenya to continue supporting the preparations for elections and to monitor the December elections. The objectives of the IRI delegations were to offer international support for the elections, inform observers and political actors of international criteria for free and fair elections and provide a non-partisan monitor and vote of confidence to Kenyan voters. Teams included IRI staff members, consultants and observers from 13 countries and ranged in size from five to 45 delegates.

By mid-December, four delegations had arrived in Kenya to continue assessing the pre-election environment. The assessment concentrated on electoral law and administration, access to the media, political party activity and the role of non-governmental organizations in civic education. After a training session in Washington, IRI sent a 45 member observation team to Kenya to monitor election procedures throughout the country. The delegation divided into 25 teams on election day and observed the voting and counting activities in 230 polling stations in 46 constituencies.

**ELECTION RESULTS**

Approximately 5.5 million voters (more than 65 percent of the registered voters) cast ballots in Kenya's first multi-party presidential, parliamentary and civic elections. Although President Daniel Arap Moi won re-election with 36.45 percent of the vote and the ruling KANU party won a parliamentary majority, seriously flawed election procedures brought in question the results.

In addition to the widespread disenfranchisement, corrupt administration, vote-buying and violence that characterized the pre-election environment, monitors observed countless irregularities on election day. These included: late delivery of voting materials; late opening of polling stations; a boycott by some polling clerks; insufficient voting material in some polling stations; errors on ballot papers; insecure ballot boxes; disorderly polling stations; and inaccurate registration lists susceptible to manipulation.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**ERITREA: ELECTION MONITOR TRAINING AND OBSERVATION**  
**December 1992 to April 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE**

At the invitation of the Eritrean Referendum Commission, AAI designed a program of support for the referendum on Eritrean independence in April 1993. This program included a preliminary needs assessment team, training for indigenous monitor trainers, and elections observer delegation to Eritrea.

The AAI pre-election assessment delegation aimed to survey the political environment and determine the effectiveness and feasibility of electoral support. The team met with private citizens and officials of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, the Eritrean Referendum Commission (ERC), international organizations, and donor nations and reported an urgent need to support Eritrea's transition to independence. Upon this report, AAI collaborated with the UNDP to provide technical assistance for elections administration, indigenous monitor training, and civic education.

To provide international support for the elections and a neutral measure of their legitimacy, AAI sent a 17-member international delegation of elections observers to monitor the referendum. The observer delegation concluded that the referendum proceeded in a free and fair manner: polling officials, monitors, and observers were thoroughly trained; the public was well-informed of elections procedures; there were no incidents of fraud or intimidation; few irregularities obstructed voting procedures; and 98 percent of the registered voters turned out to vote.

The success of the referendum inaugurated not only the independent state of Eritrea, but also the first and most fundamental edifice for a democratization process. However, the future for multi-party participation in Eritrea remains uncertain and continued support is warranted to assure the full movement toward democracy. The government has appointed a constitutional commission that is charged with producing a draft constitution. AAI is prepared to work with Eritrea to develop occasional civic education seminars in anticipation of further democratic exercises.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**DJIBOUTI: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS MONITORING**  
**December 15 to December 20, 1992**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: SURVEY AND ELECTION MONITORING**

At the invitation of the Djiboutian Government and the American Embassy, the African-American Institute sent a three-member observation team to Djibouti on December 15. In a two-day intensive assessment of the pre-election environment, the AAI team met with all the significant actors in the process: members of the election commission, leaders of the three legal political parties, the media, non-partisan groups, Afar leaders, and civilians throughout the country.

In accordance with the revised Constitution, adopted in a referendum on September 4, 1992, Djibouti held its first multi-party elections for the National Assembly. On December 18, the AAI team joined other international monitors to observe voting procedures at over 30 polling stations.

The elections took place in a tense environment - the Afar people in the North waging a civil war, approximately 30 percent of the population boycotting the elections, and only two of the three legal parties participating in the election. While the AAI team observed some procedural irregularities on election day and heard credible reports of others - particularly in areas outside the capital - the team did not witness systematic fraud. Voting took place in an environment free of intimidation and voters confronted only peaceful protesters at polling stations.

**LOOKING FORWARD**

The ruling party's three-to-one victory in the election and consequential predominance in the National Assembly cannot be taken as a fully representative reflection of the will of the Djiboutian people. Considering the boycott by the Afar people, abstention of one political party and "winner-take-all" list system, it is unlikely that these elections will significantly contribute to democratic development until the ruling party addresses the issues of the Afar and other boycotting parties. The U.S., France and other donors were urged to support negotiations for a second and more inclusive round of elections.



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## AREAF PROJECT REPORT SENEGAL: ELECTION OBSERVATION April 1 to June 30, 1993

### BACKGROUND

In January 1993, NDI proposed to organize an international election observation program for the February 21 presidential election in Senegal. This program was intended to supplement NDI's AREAF-funded pollwatching program for political parties. The six program objectives were 1) to demonstrate the support of the international community for free and fair elections; 2) to promote public confidence in the election process; 3) to provide credible observers for the presidential elections and to assess the electoral process; 4) to report to the international community on the electoral process; 5) to increase the chances that losing candidates and parties will accept the results of a reasonably fair process; and 6) to recommend to the Senegalese government possible solutions to electoral problems.

In April, due to serious problems that were noted during the presidential elections, NDI proposed to reprogram money left over from the presidential election observers program and send a four-member assessment team to the May 9 legislative elections. NDI sought to lend support to a transparent process and assess the changes made in electoral administration following problems encountered during the presidential election.

### PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

NDI representatives Jill Pilgrim, Steven Siegler and Program Assistant Maryam Montague were present in Senegal for a number of weeks before the election and throughout the three-week presidential campaign. They closely followed the pre-election period, and assessed media fairness, voter registration and other election preparations. They also held regular meetings with election officials, political party representatives, journalists and Senegalese electoral experts who provided information regarding the conduct of the election. Based on these observations, NDI released a pre-election report shortly before the election.

For the election, NDI sponsored a 38-member international observer delegation, which was made up of parliamentarians, political party leaders, electoral experts and regional specialists from 16 countries in Africa, Europe, North America and the Middle East. Following their arrival in Dakar, the delegates were briefed by Senegalese political party representatives, journalists and government officials. Two days before the election, the delegation leaders held a press conference in Dakar to describe their activities.



Before election day, the delegation was divided into nine teams, eight of which were dispatched outside of Dakar. The delegation leaders remained in Dakar to meet with several presidential candidates. Upon arrival at their destinations, the teams met with the local mayor, governor and member of the departmental election commission. Observer groups were dispersed on election day to allow for a maximum number of polling sites to be visited in each assigned region.

At each polling place, delegates completed election-day checklists and interviewed voters. Following the closing of the polls, delegation members observed the counting of the ballots at the polling stations. Most delegates were assigned responsibility of collecting polling results from a number of pre-selected polling sites as part of a vote count verification exercise. Some delegates also observed the tabulation of the results at the departmental level.

On February 22, the delegation leadership met with Senegalese President Abdou Diouf before the entire delegation reassembled in Dakar for a debriefing session. Delegates presented reports on their observations from around the country. The group's consensus was outlined in a preliminary post-election statement that was issued at a February 23 press conference. NDI announced during the press conference that it would continue to monitor post-election developments by stationing two field representatives in Senegal until the announcement of the final results.

Official results were proclaimed on March 13. Announcement of results was delayed due to the failure of the National Vote Tabulation Commission to complete its work because of internal partisan divisions. On April 8, NDI issued an interim report based on observations made by the Institute's field representatives. The report concluded that insufficient evidence existed to call into question the re-election of Abdou Diouf.

The report also contained a number of recommendations to establish voter confidence and participation in the Senegalese electoral process.

NDI continued to observe the Senegalese electoral process by organizing a four-member international assessment team for the May 9 legislative elections. The team convened in Dakar for briefings several days before elections.

On election day, the team traveled throughout Dakar and nearby regions assess the voting and counting processes at the polling places. The team reassembled in Dakar after the election for debriefing and informational meetings.

## **RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

NDI was successful in meeting most of its objectives. The NDI delegation was the largest international observer delegation present during the presidential election and the only organization that maintained a continuous presence in Senegal from before the campaign period

until the official proclamation of the results and the only organization to return to assess the parliamentary elections. NDI's decision to remain in Senegal throughout the tabulation process proved significant in light of controversies that arose when the National Vote Tabulation Commission became deadlocked over vote counting procedures.

NDI was therefore able to promote confidence throughout the entire presidential election process. NDI's press conferences and executive summary report of April 8 provided the international community and the Senegalese population with an objective and independent assessment of events surrounding the presidential election. NDI subsequently organized a roundtable, "Building Confidence in the Electoral Process," which was held in Dakar from July 8 to 10 that sought to resolve some of problems that arose in the presidential and legislative elections.

NDI is currently completing a final report on the 1993 presidential and legislative elections.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**MADAGASCAR: ELECTION MONITORING**  
**Presidential Elections Round One: November 15 to November 29, 1992**  
**Presidential Elections Round Two: January 31 to February 15, 1993**  
**Legislative Elections: June 6 to June 24, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

Responding to requests from the Government of Madagascar, AAI deployed elections observer delegations to monitor the 1992-93 presidential and legislative elections. The objectives of these monitors were to display strong international support for peaceful democratic elections, evaluate the legitimacy of election procedures, and provide a measure of confidence to Malagasy voters.

AAI dispatched a three-member observation team to monitor the November 25 presidential elections. Despite the instability of the pre-election environment, the team reported an unobstructed and professionally conducted elections process and turnout rate of 74 percent. Inconclusive results required runoff elections and in February, AAI sent a fifteen-member observation team to monitor preparations and elections procedures. While the voter turnout rate reached only 68 percent, efficient elections procedures demonstrated this round's legitimacy and Professor Albert Zafy's rightful succession to the presidency.

The seven-member AAI monitor team reported an equally professionally conducted legislative election in June 1993. Although participation rates fell to 45 percent, the elections procedures encountered few irregularities, adequate and fair media coverage, sufficient elections materials, and accurate vote-counting.

In Madagascar's three rounds of multi-party elections, the conduct of the electoral commission, political parties, candidates and media was exemplary. High voter turnout rates in the presidential rounds indicate high voter confidence and subsiding anxiety after a period of widespread intimidation. Despite some minor administrative oversights, smooth voting procedures and the absence of any fraud and intimidation signify the legitimation of electoral politics and the increasing momentum of the democratization process in Madagascar.

AAI anticipates further consolidation work in Madagascar with both the NGO community and the new government. The CNOE, an umbrella indigenous monitoring group has developed considerable capacity and is prepared to work with the AAI in developing civic education modules in anticipation of future elections.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GUINEA: POLL-WATCHER TRAINING PROGRAM**  
November 28 to December 12, 1993

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: CIVIC EDUCATION**

The primary assessment mission of the International Republican Institute's program in electoral assistance to Guinea concluded that the likely postponement of elections required limiting electoral assistance to poll-watcher training. The IRI deployed a second mission comprised of six members to assist in ensuring that the upcoming elections would be as transparent and as peaceful as possible. The mission aimed to increase voter confidence in and acceptance of the democratic process by training trainers in the principles of poll watching and transparent elections and by fostering a basic understanding of the democratic process.

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

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**LESOTHO: ASSESSMENT AND ELECTION OBSERVATION**  
**March 5 to April 2, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

On March 27, the Kingdom of Lesotho held its first multi-party elections since 1970. Responding to an invitation from the Government of Lesotho, the International Republican Institute sent a ten-member delegation to Lesotho to assess the pre-election environment and monitor the elections. The objectives of the delegations were to determine whether an observation mission was feasible; recommend solutions to electoral problems; inform voters about the standards for transparent and open elections; promote voter confidence; and verify whether the elections were held in a free and fair manner.

The primary assessment of the pre-election environment concentrated on the legal framework for the election, internal security, media accessibility, political parties and civil society. A four-member delegation considered these issues at the national and local level in meetings with representatives of the U.S. Embassy, the international community, the Government of Lesotho, political parties and civic society. Although the team observed a well-prepared and calm pre-election environment, widespread concerns for constitutional reform generated significant tensions.

Upon the recommendations of the assessment team, IRI sent thirteen observers to monitor the elections. On March 27, the delegation divided into six teams and observed the voting and counting activities at 124 polling sites in 18 constituencies.

**ELECTION RESULTS**

Despite the degree of apprehension and skepticism preceding the election, 72 percent of all registered voters peacefully cast their ballots to overwhelmingly vote for the Basutoland Congress Party. Complications in elections procedures included: late and incomplete distribution of voting materials; late opening of polling stations; inaccurate and incomplete registration; insecure ballot storage; and inefficient processing time at polling stations. While administrative deficiencies did occur, the IRI did not witness any evidence of voter fraud or hear any allegations of election day intimidation.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GUINEA: DEMOCRACY-BUILDING PROGRAM**  
January 24 to October 30, 1993

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: CIVIC EDUCATION**

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

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

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



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## AREAF PROJECT REPORT BURUNDI: ELECTION MONITORING April 1 to June 30, 1993

### BACKGROUND

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) developed a comprehensive program to assist the Burundi democratization process up to and through national elections. The program included assessment and technical assistance missions, a seminar on election issues, a sustained field presence, training for domestic monitors and international observation teams at election time. Its goal was 1) to provide advice, where appropriate, on issues that develop during the preparations for elections; 2) to strengthen confidence in the election procedures and encourage cooperation among the parties; 3) to evaluate the election process in order to properly assess the legitimacy of the elections; and 4) to support the development of civic organizations dedicated to strengthening democratic institutions.

On June 1, 1993, the people of Burundi elected Melchior Ndadaye, leader of the Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEBU), President of the Third Republic. A former exile and political prisoner, Ndadaye had watched over the development of a democratic opposition in Burundi from its clandestine birth in 1986 through its legal acceptance in June 1992, to its victory in the country's first multiparty presidential elections.

The June 1 elections marked the completion of a five-year transition in large part initiated and directed by President Pierre Buyoya. Taking power in September 1987, Buyoya confronted a nation trapped in cycles of ethnic violence between the ruling Tutsi, and the majority Hutu. Four times in the past 30 years, Hutu uprisings have led to mass killing, claiming the lives of hundreds of thousands and sending thousands more into semi-permanent exile. Burundi became an international symbol of the destructive and inescapable dominance of ethnicity in Africa.

Despite widespread concerns both within Burundi and internationally, the elections took place without incident or accusation. Opposition parties feared misuse of the administration machinery that was firmly in the hands of the governing party, the Union for the Progress of the Nation (UPRONA). Fair and transparent elections were assured, however, by an independent election commission established in March 1993 that worked tirelessly to reinforce public confidence in the process. After the election, national and international observers unanimously concluded that the June 1 elections permitted the free expression of the people of Burundi in the selection of their president.



## **NDI ACTIVITIES**

The Burundi elections provide a model of international support for a transition process. Active in Burundi since early 1992, NDI has played an important role in the establishment of a fair and transparent electoral system and in the peaceful completion of elections.

Responding to invitations from Prime Minister Sibomana and Burundian political leaders, NDI undertook a series of programs to support the democratic transition in Burundi. Recognizing the importance of the situation there, and the risks if the elections should fail, NDI committed itself to a comprehensive program to provide support, advice and monitoring at each step of the process.

## **NDI INVOLVEMENT IN BURUNDI IN 1992**

An NDI team first visited Bujumbura, Burundi in February 1992 to assess the democratic transition already underway and to explore options for NDI programs to support this important process.

In May 1992, NDI conducted a regional election seminar, "Strengthening East Africa's Democratic Elections," in Bujumbura. The three-day seminar assembled more than 60 government, party and civic leaders from nine countries throughout East Africa to address important political, institutional and administrative issues associated with the conduct of a democratic election process. More than 20 Burundian leaders, including government officials, military officers and a range of party and civic leaders attended.

Prime Minister Adrien Sibomana visited NDI in Washington, DC in September 1992 to discuss Burundi's transition to multiparty democracy and to determine the most effective and appropriate NDI program to support that country's democratization process. The prime minister requested that NDI conduct an electoral assistance program in Burundi in the fall.

NDI responded to the prime minister's request with a five-member assessment mission that visited Burundi from December 13 to 19, 1992. The program provided technical assistance and practical advice to government officials and political leaders and members of the National Consultative Commission in establishing a democratic election framework. The consultations were designed to help promote consensus on the development of an electoral law and on administrative issues relating to the elections. The NDI staff also met with members of the international donor community to discuss efforts to support Burundi's democratization process. NDI's report on the mission included several recommendations that were incorporated into the electoral process including political party representatives on the national election commission and a campaign code of conduct and the importance of an independent verification of election results.

## **NDI's 1993 BURUNDI PROGRAMMING**

An NDI team, which included one member of the December assessment mission traveled to Burundi April 2 to 10, 1993. The team consulted with party leaders and government officials involved in the elections, and examined developments that have taken place subsequent to NDI's December mission. On the last day of the mission the team met with Prime Minister Sibomana to discuss a number of concerns about the upcoming elections. The prime minister provided reassuring answers to a number of issues including: the independence of international observers, the legal acceptance of national observers, the ratio of voters per polling station, safeguards to be employed during the transport of ballot boxes to counting centers and the importance of a liberal interpretation of the press code.

NDI adviser Jean Lavoie remained in Burundi to establish a field office and begin election monitoring programs. In late April, he was joined by NDI Program Officer Kevin Johnson. The field representatives were responsible for monitoring developments in the country and organizing NDI's election related programs. They were present in-country from the beginning of April until the middle of July.

NDI organized a three-day seminar on the role of political parties and civic organizations in election monitoring. The seminar took place in Bujumbura from April 28 to 30, 1993. In addition to explaining how party pollwatchers observe elections, seminar trainers from Belgium, Hungary, Niger, Senegal, the U.S. and Zambia also helped participants develop pollwatcher training and implementation programs. Based on concerns identified during the seminar, NDI President Kenneth Wollack issued a letter to the prime minister outlining NDI's intentions to closely monitor key issues such as the registration and media fairness.

In order to be in a position to comment on possible allegations of irregularities during the registration process, NDI conducted a comprehensive monitoring of the voter registration process. NDI observers selected a representative sample of urban and rural registration centers from 37 communes in 15 of 16 provinces where observers conducted interviews with registration officials, party observers, government officials and citizens. In many cases, specific allegations of irregularities presented by party representatives were investigated. The NDI team concluded that the registration had been conducted in a peaceful, cooperative atmosphere, which allowed for the free and fair registration of the Burundian electorate. A small number of irregularities were noted in certain provinces, and these concerns were brought to the attention of the National Election Commission.

To ensure NDI's position to substantiate or refute allegations of undue bias or unequal coverage of the campaign, NDI conducted a systematic analysis of the content of radio, television, and public newspaper reporting. This analysis recorded the amount of coverage given to each candidate and whether the coverage presented the candidate in a positive, negative or neutral light. The analysis found that considerable improvement had been made in public media coverage allowing for generally neutral coverage of the campaign.

Following the April seminar, NDI staff worked closely with the non-partisan Group of Independent Observers (GIO) to develop and implement a domestic monitoring mission. With NDI consulting, the GIO recruited and trained 900 observers, developed an operations headquarters, and organized a statistical verification of election results through a parallel vote tabulation. For the presidential and legislative elections, GIO observers verified voting and counting processes in 10% of the polling stations. The election results obtained in these sample polling stations differed from official results by less than 1%, providing further confirmation of the accuracy and fairness of the process.

NDI organized a 16-member international observation mission May 28 to June 5, 1993 for the Presidential election and a four-member mission June 24 to July 4, 1993 for the legislative elections. For the June 1 presidential election, the delegation visited more than 300 polling stations and counting centers in eight provinces. The delegation concluded that the election permitted the free expression of the Burundian people in choosing their new president. During the mission, NDI delegation leaders former President of Sao Tome and Principe Manuel Pinto Dacosta and former Canadian foreign minister Charles Lapointe consulted with President Buyoya and President-elect Ndadaye.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GUINEA-BISSAU: ASSESSMENT MISSION**  
**April 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: PRE-ELECTION SURVEY**

Responding to requests from the U.S. Embassy in Bissau to send a program planning team to Guinea-Bissau, the International Republican Institute deployed a two-person assessment team to survey the existing democratic institutions. The team assessed the needs for democratic institution-building and electoral assistance leading up to the legislative and presidential elections scheduled for March, 1994. The primary objective of the assessment mission was to analyze how the IRI can best utilize its expertise in Guinea-Bissau in assisting the development of democratic institutions.

The team concentrated on the level of organizational sophistication among institutions committed to democratic development; the electoral system and laws regulating political participation; and the public attitude toward democratic reform. To achieve the broadest perspective, delegates consulted with U.S. Embassy officials, USAID, the United Nations, political party candidates and activists, government officials, the media, and civic leaders.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**GUINEA-BISSAU: VOTER EDUCATION AND POLLWATCHER**  
**TRAINING**

**August to December, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: CIVIC EDUCATION**

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

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

The three programs are being implemented in a fair and objective manner without bias to any party or individual. The IRI held discussions with representatives of the government, the CNE, political parties, religious groups, NGOs, foreign embassies, human rights groups, USAID and UNDP.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**CONGO: LEGISLATIVE ELECTION MONITORING**  
**Round One: May 1 to May 3, 1993**  
**Round Two: June 4 to June 8, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

AAI dispatched international observer delegations to the two rounds of Congo's multi-party legislative elections scheduled for May 1 and June 4, 1993. The delegations collaborated with other international observer delegations and the United Nations in monitoring the elections.

Although no major problems threatened the legitimacy of the May 2 elections, the observers were of the opinion that the military frequently overstepped its bounds and such a presence could have had been intimidating to some voters, and coupled with inadequate elections materials may have contributed to inordinate delays and confused scheduling. Inconclusive votes in eleven districts required a runoff election on June 6. This second round of elections was boycotted by the opposition that insisted on a re-vote in the disputed districts. The opposition resorted to a campaign of intimidation that resulted in near chaos and a drastically lower voter turnout.

**LESSONS LEARNED**

The experiences of both delegations in Congo highlight the following lessons for improving election observer missions: rumors of a boycott should be addressed seriously and contingency plans put in place; and that the training of and collaboration with national monitors should be given greater priority.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**MALAWI: TRAINING ELECTION MONITORS**  
**April 25 to June 18, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: CIVIC EDUCATION**

The National Democratic Institute sent a consultant to Malawi to assist indigenous groups in the development and implementation of a credible referendum monitoring operation. A preliminary assessment of the pre-referendum environment merited an NDI mission to Malawi. In March, NDI associate Larry Garber consulted with the Referendum Commission, party representatives, journalists, diplomats and representatives of the UNDP and concluded that NDI could provide invaluable support in supporting the development of a transparent elections process.

The objectives of the project were twofold: to promote a free and fair referendum process by assisting in the development of a professional, credible monitoring operation organized by Malawians contesting the situation; and to provide advice to groups as they implement the monitoring operation on referendum day.

The consultant met with party representatives and civic group leaders to discuss the current situation and issues most in need of attention during the pre-referendum period. Following these meetings, training seminars were conducted throughout the country covering the following topics: the referendum process, ensuring the accuracy of the voter registration lists, filing complaints regarding pre-election and election day problems, monitoring techniques and parallel voter tabulation.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT  
GABON: ASSESSMENT MISSION  
May 8 to May 15, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: PRE-ELECTION SURVEY**

In coordination with a team from IFES, the National Democratic Institute sent a two-member mission to Gabon to assess the political climate and evaluate the possibilities of conducting an electoral assistance program prior to the presidential elections in December. The objectives of the mission were to develop additional information and data on the political environment in Gabon; to determine specific programming that could be developed to assist the democratization process; and to encourage the adoption of electoral practices designed to strengthen the legitimacy of the administration of elections.

To achieve the broadest perspective of the political climate in Gabon, the team consulted with government officials, political party leaders and activists, civic organization representatives, journalists, academics and diplomats. The team observed an uneven development of democratic institutions. While numerous institutions to provide the checks and balances of an election process had been established, mutual suspicion and widespread cynicism characterized popular opinion.

**LOOKING FORWARD**

Considering the low levels of voter confidence in the election process and increasingly complex electoral system in Gabon, a pre-election training program for civic organization monitors, political party pollwatchers and polling officials was deemed necessary. Such a project would not only increase voter participation, but further empower an indigenous capacity for ensuring a free and fair elections process.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**KENYA: BY-ELECTIONS OBSERVER MISSION**  
**May 16 to May 24, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS**

The International Republican Institute deployed a four-member international delegation to observe a second round of elections in Kenya. These by-elections were declared after the MPs of Bonchari and Migori constituencies defected from their respective opposition parties to join the ruling party, KANU. The objective of this delegation was to maintain an international observer focus on Kenyan elections and to demonstrate continued international concern about the Kenyan Government's willingness to hold free and fair elections.

Prior to election day, the team traveled to Bonchari and Migori constituencies to assess the pre-election environment and observe the voting procedures. IRI delegates met with government officials, political parties, election commission administrators, NGO leaders, members of the international diplomatic corps and Kenyan citizens. These meetings, held at the national and local levels, concentrated on issues regarding electoral codes, the campaign environment, media accessibility, election administration and security issues.

**INTIMIDATION AT THE POLLS**

The delegates observed a highly unstable pre-election environment dominated by intimidation. By May 19, one day before the election, inter-party violence had reached such extreme levels that the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission threatened to call off the elections. Concurrent repression of the media and allegations of the military's collusion with KANU only aggravated the pre-election climate and further intimidated voter participation.

On May 20, the Migori seat in parliament assumed FORD-K representation while Bonchari's MP successfully defected to KANU. However, widespread evidence of vote-buying, manipulation at polling stations and low voter turnout discredited these elections. Although election commission officials displayed genuine professionalism in vote-tabulation, a pre-election environment dictated by intimidation, manipulation and corruption preempted the legitimacy of these elections.

**AREAF PROJECT REPORT**  
**UGANDA: PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT**  
**May 23 to June 1, 1993**

**PROJECT ACTIVITIES: NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION**

Responding to requests for electoral support from the Government of Uganda and the U.S. Embassy, AAI deployed a seven-member assessment team to Uganda to conduct a thorough, in-depth study of the political environment. The objectives of this delegation were to evaluate the government's commitment to democratization and to make final determinations on the desirability and feasibility of elections support for the upcoming legislative elections.

The AAI delegation met with the U.S. Embassy, government officials, political party representatives, NGOs, civic groups and citizens throughout the country. Upon their return, the team completed a Pre-Election Assessment Report, an extensive compilation of documents and reports characterizing the democratization process.

From this report, AAI concluded that conditions for the legislative election will enable a competitive election and warrant AREAF assistance. Although elections will not be contested on a political party basis, parties are not banned and will be allowed to participate as pollwatchers. While candidates cannot campaign under party banners, they are not prohibited from having party affiliations. Furthermore, expectations extend beyond the success of the legislative elections, anticipating the full recognition and development of multi-party politics and future presidential elections.

**PROGRAM FOR SUPPORT**

The AAI assessment team identified a broad range of needs for a successful and legitimate Constituent Assembly election. Such needs include: supporting an ad hoc monitoring effort; training trainers for indigenous monitors; hosting civic education; providing technical and commodity assistance to the election commission; training elections officials; and sponsoring an international observer delegation. Such areas of support will contribute to developing an indigenous capacity to monitor and promote the democratization process in Uganda.