

**International  
Republican Institute**

**AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK**

**Conference Report**

**February 2-4, 1994**

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"What is helpful is that we can come here and share our hopes and fears for democracy; because at home you often feel isolated and alone -- to the point that you are the only person saying it. But here we can discuss practical ideas and learn from our democratic colleagues elsewhere in Africa." A participant from Zimbabwe.

### **Executive Summary**

The inaugural African Democracy Network (ADN) conference, held in Gaborone, Botswana, from February 2-4, 1994, brought together more than 120 cabinet ministers, parliamentarians, election commissioners, political party representatives, non-governmental organization (NGO) officials and journalists to discuss the current conduct of elections in Africa and to suggest possible improvements in the electoral processes. Organized by the International Republican Institute (IRI), the conference was funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development through the African Regional Electoral Assistance Fund.

The ADN conference was not designed as a "stand-alone" event, and it became clear during the three-day meeting that the vast majority of the participants agreed that an ongoing democracy network project should grow out of the conference. For many of the participants, this was the first time they had an opportunity to meet their colleagues from even neighboring African countries. Political opponents, such as FRELIMO and RENAMO representatives from Mozambique, had an opportunity to meet in a neutral setting and discuss the electoral process. Similar contacts between election commissioners and party and NGO personnel in such a setting allowed more frank discussions than had previously been possible at home.

This was not a conference devoted to discussing the theoretical viability of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa. This was a conference consisting not of theoreticians, but of practitioners. The participants are the people who labor to make democracy work in Africa, and they gathered not to discuss if it could work, but how to make democracy function better in their respective countries. Although the various workshops focused on the nuts and bolts of an election process, there was also plenty of time in the corridors and over dinner to ponder the more abstract questions of whether or not democracy is going to succeed in Africa.

The conference was organized around the very practical topics that are crucial to all African elections: Design of Electoral Districts, Registration of Voters, Civic Education Campaigns, Electoral Campaign Scheduling, Regulation of Parties, Role and Registration of Party Agents/Domestic Observers, Role and Registration of International Observers, Administration of the Polling Place, Security of the Ballot, and Tabulation and Announcement of Ballot Results.

Each of the ten issues were presented in at least two workshops that were about 1 1/2 hours in length. The methodology used in the workshops was straightforward: there were two African discussion leaders for each workshop who quickly canvassed the participants in an effort to describe the current policy towards the electoral issue at hand in the participants' countries.

Once a basic understanding of the status quo was reached, the leaders then moved the discussion toward assessing and analyzing these electoral policies and regulations. Finally, the leaders probed the participants in discussing if changes should be made, and how one would go about effecting those changes. Most of the workshops successfully followed this basic outline of 1) descriptive assessment of electoral practices, 2) prescriptive analysis of the problems and 3) strategies and tactics of how to implement changes.

Workshops were the primary focus of the conference, but each morning there was a short plenary session that addressed broader issues, such as the Western view of African democratic development. In these plenary sessions, which included substantial time for comments from the floor, the participants were able to discuss democratic goals and objectives before breaking into the more technically-oriented workshops.

At the opening plenary, Botswana Minister of Public Administration and Presidential Affairs Lt. Gen. Mompoti Merafhe welcomed the delegates and helped set the stage for the rest of the conference: "The ways and means of democracy will differ from country to country," he said, "but underlying it all is the idea of people having a voice in how they are to be governed." Or, as a participant from Uganda commented during the first morning plenary, "What democracy is really about is the ability every few years to throw the rascals out."

The conference never lacked spirited debate and discussion. Of the many pertinent points made during the three-day conference, seven stirred significant interest:

- 1) Africans are held to a lower standard by some Westerners who feel they are not capable of achieving and sustaining sophisticated civil societies and democratic electoral systems;
- 2) Civic education is the key to making democracy work, and African governments must cooperate in disseminating non-partisan information on the democratic process;
- 3) Cooperative ventures among African nations, agencies or organizations should be encouraged, such as a central civic education library or a shared sophisticated voting equipment program;
- 4) Women comprise the majority of the electorate in African countries and must be extended a more meaningful role in the political and electoral processes;

- 5) Because international election observers have such a important influence on the perception of an election, such observers should do a better job of understanding the context in which elections are held and be more cautious in describing an election process before issuing any statements;
- 6) Opposition political parties remain at a tremendous disadvantage versus ruling parties, which have state resources at their disposal, and
- 7) Ethnicity is a legitimate factor which must be considered in all phases of a multi-party democratic environment.

In the workshops, in the plenary sessions and in the corridors at coffee breaks and at meals, there was always a vibrancy that kept the three-day event fast-paced and challenging. This was, in large part, due to the geographical and political mix of participants. From 20 countries, the participants arrived in Gaborone eager to meet, share and learn from their colleagues in eastern, southern and western Africa. English was the primary language, but side conversations in French and Portuguese were often heard.

## **Conference Workshops**

The ten electoral workshops each were offered at least twice during the three-day period. There were no assignments per se. Each workshop was open to all participants, and some were more heavily attended than others. There were always two African discussion leaders per workshop, who were participants with particular expertise in the issue at hand. What follows is a brief description of the ten workshops:

### **I. Design of Electoral Districts**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. Stephen Akabway, Chairman**  
**Uganda Constituent Assembly Commission**

**Dr. Bojosi Boglhogile, Board Member**  
**Democracy Research Project, Botswana**

The design or demarcation of electoral districts was recognized by the participants as a critical issue for any electoral process. At this early stage the "political playing field can be altered to favor certain groups," as one Kenyan participant stated. The practices were varied, ranging from Botswana's regular demarcation every ten years based on a population census and conducted by an independent commission, to Ethiopia's district drawing which is based primarily on language (ethnicity) and existing administrative boundaries.

Facilitated by the discussion leaders, the workshop broke the demarcation issue into key questions: who does the drawing of boundaries, what criteria are used, how frequently are districts redrawn, who is consulted during the process, and how can challenges be raised. As was the case for a number of the workshops, the discussion concerning technical aspects of electoral district design led to other major issues. This was particularly the case with demarcation problems leading directly to the broader issue of proportional representation versus single member constituencies. (There appeared to be a rather broad consensus that favored more reliance on proportional representation. A number of the participants suggested a mix, where 1/3 to 1/2 of the seats in parliament would be chosen by proportional representation and the remaining seats by single-member electoral districts or constituencies.)

The question of who designs the electoral districts emerged as a chief concern among most of the participants. The Ugandan and Botswanan examples, for instance, demonstrated how an "independent electoral commission" could be established effectively. In Botswana, the commission is chaired by the chief justice and its members are nonpartisan. On the other hand, Zimbabwe was an example of districts drawn by a commission appointed by the President, with the President's office having the final approval of the demarcation lines. The Mozambique

practice addresses the issue from a different perspective. It recognizes the highly political nature of designing districts, and therefore has the National Electoral Commission composed primarily of political party leaders, who negotiate the drawing of all boundary lines.

There was general agreement that the electoral commissions responsible for the designing of the districts must be truly independent and allowed a free hand to draw constituencies based on nonpartisan criteria.

But what should those criteria include? The one factor that dominated this portion of the discussion was ethnicity. Should an electoral commission draw boundaries so as to preserve tribal or ethnic groupings, should demarcation intentionally force different ethnic groups into the same constituency or should the design of districts simply ignore tribal realities? Many African electoral commissions currently recognize tribal realities and design districts that might place different ethnic groups in the same constituency. But they also draw lines so as to allow some tribal groups to be clearly represented in a national parliament.

Ethiopia is an example where administrative boundaries were used as the basis for electoral districts, but the administrative boundaries were based almost entirely upon language groupings that are tantamount to ethnic districts. Zimbabwe's constituencies also are carefully drawn with ethnicity as the primary criteria. The Seychelles' experience is interesting because it uses the church's demarcation of its parishes to determine constituencies. Thus, each parish is an electoral district.

The consensus that emerged on the sensitive subject of ethnicity was rather subtle: ethnic groups should be taken into account when designing electoral districts, but national unity and national interest must come first.

Other criteria used to draw boundaries centered upon geography (mountains, rivers, etc.) and communication. Districts should be relatively the same size in population terms, but might be large or small in terms of land area depending upon population density.

Another key aspect that was frequently mentioned was the consultation process that should accompany any boundary-drawing commission. As an Ethiopian participant suggested, ". . . people at the grass roots level should have a voice in which district they will be placed in." But for this to take place, a certain amount of civic education is required, a topic that was being covered in a workshop next door.

This workshop was well attended and provided excellent conversation on some of the technical details, as well as the broader questions involved in drawing constituency boundaries. The solution favored resoundingly by most participants for the key problems surrounding this

issue was the absolute necessity of a strong, independent electoral commission. The participants firmly believed that the greater the independence and nonpartisan nature of an electoral commission, the greater the likelihood of fair electoral districts.

## II. Registration of Voters

**Discussion leaders: Mr. P.J. Lerotholi, Vice-President  
Lesotho Council of NGOs**

**Mr. Ayo Sadikou Alao, President  
GERDDES-Africa**

Various methods of registering voters were described and analyzed. There was no firm consensus on an exact voter registration process, but numerous problems and techniques were discussed and debated.

The use of census data for voter registration is a common practice in many African states, as it is elsewhere in the world. But some participants offered words of caution on relying too heavily on a census. One participant described how voter registration can be manipulated because it is dependent on census figures. The government can manipulate the census numbers in certain districts, usually under-counting in areas where the opposition is known to be strong, thus lowering the voter registration roles. Other participants, such as a delegate from Lesotho, portrayed a process where the census is used as a guide, giving the voter registration officials only an estimate.

A frequently-mentioned concern about the use of a census in voter registration was the reality that many Africans intentionally avoid being counted in a census because they fear tax implications. It is a fairly common perception in some African countries that governments use census data for tax purposes; hence, there is a general avoidance of the census-taker. In such cases, if the census is the sole mechanism used to create voter rolls, those rolls will be incomplete.

The next major area of concern aired during this workshop centered around voter identification cards. A number of countries have used ID cards as the primary voter registration method with mixed results. Botswana, for instance, found that issuing voter ID's worked reasonably well, with little fraud or manipulation. On the other hand, a delegate from Tanzania described how the ruling party has used its "Party Membership card" as the document necessary to receive a Tanzanian voter ID card.

The South African participants discussed the current voter registration process for the April 26-28 elections in South Africa and described how mobile units with equipment to produce

picture ID cards were successfully churning out thousands of cards every week. A workshop participant from Mauritius warned that they have had some instances of voter ID cards being bought and sold by various political parties.

There was no general consensus on the use of voter identification cards. Clearly, some countries were better situated for fair administration of ID cards, while other nations were more susceptible to political party manipulation. Regardless of the voter registration process -- be it ID cards, a general voter list or instant voter registration at the polls -- it was widely agreed that a system of checks and balances must be maintained by independent electoral commissions. One participant recounted the story of how Ghana President Jerry Rawlings was in fact listed twice on the Ghanaian voters rolls, pointing out that voter rolls are as likely to fall victim to incompetence as they are mischief.

The final area of major interest was the role the political parties should play during the voter registration process. One of the workshop leaders articulately described how political parties were quite constructive during voter registration for Lesotho's election in 1993. But the most effective organizations in the voter registration drive were churches and religious organizations.

A number of participants recalled how political parties were helpful when it came to developing radio and television spots encouraging voter registration, but they also described how political parties often would attempt to manipulate voter registration, either implicitly or explicitly, using various media channels. There was broad consensus that it should be permissible for political parties to engage in voter registration efforts, but the process must not be dependent upon the parties. That is, non-governmental organizations like independent voter registration groups, churches and human rights groups must act as watchdogs to these political party activities, as well as launch their own voter registration efforts.

The voter registration workshops were well attended, and although frequently focused on problematic details of the process, proved to be useful in sharing warnings and caveats about various registration systems.

### III. Civic Education Campaigns

Discussion leaders: **Mr. Winston Ngaira, Researcher**  
**Legal Education and Aid Programme, Kenya**

**Dr. Maxime Ferrari, Founder and President**  
**Seychelles Institute for Democracy**

A participant from Zimbabwe charged at the opening of a workshop: "Our past has not been good to us when it comes to civic education. Colonialism prohibited voter education because we were not allowed to vote. Authoritarianism did not do much better. Now is the time to start anew." The two workshops that examined civic education focused on the various forms that education campaigns assume (particularly as regards the media) and the appropriate timing for civic education projects.

There were a number of comprehensive descriptions of civic education campaigns in various countries and the vehicles these programs used for information dissemination. Those institutions and media most frequently mentioned included: schools, churches, radio, television, billboards, pamphlets and fliers. These vehicles were fairly universal, and the discussions quickly turned to how a civic education program can tap into these various organizations. This led to the core question and problem of who controls these mediums.

A participant from Uganda recalled how past governments in his country have used civic education programs essentially for propaganda purposes. In the past, Ugandan governments have taught "military science" and "political education" in Ugandan secondary schools. "These were not legitimate civics courses, they were phony. They only justified whatever regime might be in power," he said. One delegate described similar "civics" classes taught in his country's schools. These courses were drawn up by the so-called Institute of Curriculum and attempted to "justify the ideological directions of the socialist one-party system." A workshop participant from the Seychelles also discussed how in years past, Marxist-Leninist courses were taught in most of the schools and were classified as civic education.

In many of the countries, however, these propaganda courses have declined. Most of these courses grew out of an attempt to justify socialist or Marxist ideology. As African countries have abandoned the command economy and one-party policies of the past, the need for genuine civic education aimed at explaining democratic principles has emerged.

In Uganda, for instance, there is now a network of 13 local NGOs that conducts civic education. The network has three primary functions: 1) teaching about the constitution (via schools, pamphlets, radio, television); 2) teaching about the electoral process, and 3) allowing legislators to informally explain and debate the issues with which they will be concerned in

parliament. In Zimbabwe, NGOs also have been hard at work developing a civic education program. The Legal Resources Foundation, for instance, is currently working on a curriculum for secondary schools, and University of Zimbabwe students are being trained to teach civics courses to primary school children.

One particularly useful description of a civic education project was offered by two participants from South Africa. They explained that it is primarily the NGOs that are involved in civic education, and they have successfully coordinated a basic educational approach. Although these education projects are underway in urban areas, very little is being done in rural parts of the country. They cautioned against political parties doing the civic education because "most political parties do not teach people about democracy, but rather, they teach people how to vote for them." They also mentioned that existing newspapers already have become quite partisan. Churches, they said, have yet to make an impact, but could still become a major player in civic education.

After the South Africans described these points, a Zimbabwean suggested that a "civic education library" be formed, in which African countries could pool their civic education material and where any organization from across Africa could borrow the material and adapt it to their local needs.

In many African states, the civic education programs are being conducted by independent NGOs, and that is how it should be, according to most of the participants. However, there is frequently a problem with access to the major media institutions. In most African countries, the radio and television networks are owned and/or controlled by the government. Independent radio and television stations are few and far between; independent newspapers are slightly more common, but often struggle financially, have a limited circulation and adhere to a self-imposed censorship.

In the Seychelles, for example, the television network does have a separate board of governors, but 90 percent of those on the board are linked to the ruling party. Civic education programs usually were not aired on government radio and television unless the ruling party felt that it would benefit their political ambitions. The need for explicit laws allowing non-partisan civic education programs to be aired on state-controlled television and radio was widely favored by most participants.

The civic education workshops were highly useful in tracking the various methods and problems in operating civic education programs. But as one participant reminded everyone: "You can teach every child and every adult in the country the reasons and rules about a democratic government, but it is all for nothing if the participants in a society -- the voters -- are scared or intimidated and do not exercise their vote."

#### **IV. Electoral Campaign Scheduling**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. Andre Sauzier**  
**former Seychelles Director of Elections**

**Mr. Rakwadi Modipane, Deputy Executive Secretary**  
**Botswana Democratic Party**

These workshops proved useful in assessing the technical details of how an election is announced, the length of the campaign period and political party regulations during the campaign. The discussions also addressed the broader questions of the positive and negative factors of the Westminster system where a prime minister or president can call elections at any time, compared to set campaign and election schedules.

There is no dominant model in Africa for how an election date is set. The announcement of a campaign period and the setting of an election date may be the result of a negotiated settlement (as happened in Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, etc.), it could be solely determined by the president or prime minister, or it could be clearly defined in a constitution. A majority of the participants felt that the British system of a prime minister having the ability to call elections at virtually anytime was ill-suited for most African nations. There was a general agreement that sitting prime ministers and presidents probably have a tendency to exploit this type of election-setting power. A Kenyan participant, for example, discussed how he believed the Kenyan government used the timing of Kenya's 1992 election to the ruling party's advantage.

The exact length of a campaign was less crucial to participants than the laws explicitly stating to all parties when the campaign begins and ends. Most participants believed that the length of any campaign should be explicitly written in law and that the ruling and opposition parties should be required to abide by that law.

The regulation of political parties during a campaign season touched on a number of important and sensitive issues. There was a wide consensus among participants from opposition parties and NGOs that ruling parties frequently abused their government positions during campaign seasons. Participants from ruling parties reminded their colleagues that although a campaign may be under way, the country still must be governed, and they must continue to exercise their governmental authority while also campaigning for election.

A number of participants suggested that once an election is called, all ministers in the cabinet should lose their right to dispense and use public funds. The funding of campaigns also

was discussed. Many African governments provide money to all registered political parties, but as one delegate from Zimbabwe reminded the workshop, "Some political parties seem to receive more generous shares than others."

#### **V. Regulations of Political Parties**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. Cleophas A. Rugalabamu, Researcher  
Eastern and Southern African University Research Programme  
(Tanzania)**

**Dr. Peter Katjavivi, Vice-Chancellor  
University of Namibia**

The workshops focused primarily on how political parties are registered and what rules - if any -- pertain to alliances formed between political parties.

The process of registering political parties was fairly common throughout eastern and southern Africa. Most countries require a minimum number of signatures, party platforms of some kind and the filing of the names of the party leadership with the government. Tanzania, for example, requires 200 signatures in every province, the names of the party's leaders, a draft platform or statement of basic policies (one policy required for all parties is a commitment to the union) and an electoral process inside the party.

Smaller counties require fewer signatures. Namibia, for instance, demands only 500 signatures from across the country for the establishment of a political party. The perspective most frequently aired on registration of political parties was that, whatever the rules might be, they should be fairly administered by an independent electoral commission.

One interesting and lively discussion that arose during one workshop was on the role of women in the registration of political parties. Several participants suggested that women must be given leadership positions in political parties, or those parties would not be truly representative of the people and should not be registered. The issues of using quotas to bring women into party leadership positions was intensely debated. No conclusions were reached, but the discussion allowed for an important exchange of views that did not end with the workshop, but was discussed in the hallways and at the final plenary.

Another important issue that emerged during the workshops on political party regulation was the number of political parties in a country. As one participant from Botswana put it: "Just how many political parties should there be in a country, especially a small one like my own? When does it become nonsensical?" The discussion of smaller opposition parties quickly led to the debate on alliances and mergers of political parties. As a delegate from Tanzania suggested,

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"If two or three smaller parties believe in essentially the same ideas and have the same goals, why not merge and become a more likely challenge to the ruling party?"

A participant from Mauritius described how political parties in his country routinely make alliances and form coalitions. In fact, since 1988 no one party has ever won more than 50 percent of the vote. Consequently, alliances and coalitions are essential. A participant from South Africa had a very different perspective: "Alliances are unholy; just look at Inkatha and the AWB. All alliances should be closely checked and prohibited if need be." The majority of participants, however, agreed that smaller parties should consider entering into alliances and coalitions if the political parties share basic goals and policies.

A participant from Namibia concluded a workshop by describing how alliances between opposition parties in his country are quite effective and how this spirit of cooperation has extended to include cooperation between the government and opposition parties. The government, for instance, usually discusses with the opposition all major appointments to senior government positions. "And that cooperation becomes a two-way street, both in and out of Parliament," he said.

#### **VI. Role and Registration of Party Agents/Domestic Observers**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. T.T. Mudede**  
**Zimbabwe Registrar General**

**Mr. Selassie Queshie, Co-Founder**  
**Pollwatch Africa (Togo)**

The workshops discussed how party agents and domestic observers functioned on election day and the critical role they play in making an election process legitimate.

Although the terminology varied slightly from country to country, most participants described how a party agent was chosen by the political party or candidate and what functions the agent performed on election day. Generally, the party agent either performed strictly polling station duties or chose a "polling agent" to conduct these functions on the party's behalf. Most of the responsibilities of a party agent included: 1) communication with observers and other parties, 2) reporting irregularities in voting or security, 3) witnessing counting -- including the sealing of ballot boxes, 4) advising candidates and 5) maintaining direct access to the commissioner of elections.

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These party agents are chosen by the candidates or party, and they are their representatives at the polling station. As one participant stated "These men and women are the eyes and ears for the candidates; they have to know the rules, because if they do not, they will not know if their party has been wronged."

During the workshops, there were numerous accounts of how intimidation is used leading up to an election and on election day. One participant recalled how the intelligence service in his country would tell people that they had special "rear view mirrors" inside the voting booth that enabled them to see how each ballot was marked, and if they did not vote for the ruling party, they would be in trouble. These were the chores and the problems that a party agent must recognize and deal with on the spot.

The role of domestic observers was generally agreed to be increasingly important, especially as African democratic traditions mature and reliance on international observers declines. The participants frequently commented on how governments must allow domestic NGO observer teams to effectively observe and monitor the elections. If there are separate roles for observers as opposed to monitors, participants felt they should be explicitly stated in electoral law, but domestic observing and monitoring is widely considered critical to a legitimate electoral process.

### **VII. Role of International Observers**

**Discussion Leaders: Ms. Terry Kantai, Vice-Chair  
League of Kenya Women Voters**

**Mr. Oziya Tungwarara, Director  
ZIMRIGHTS (Zimbabwe)**

The workshops actively discussed how international observers could be more effective during their observation missions. Most participants readily agreed that international observers are necessary and welcome, but greater coordination between international teams and domestic observer teams would result in more thorough and complete analyses and conclusions.

The majority of participants had favorable recollections of most international observer teams, but there were examples of "observer tourism" that occasionally took place. The example of a team landing in a country, checking into the best hotel and heading for the golf course is not unknown during African elections.

Workshop participants stressed the need for international observer teams to link up with domestic observer teams early in the election process. As a delegate from Lesotho commented, "An international observer team cannot come in cold and expect to learn everything about a country's political structures in three days." Participants felt it is only through a domestic group that an international team can gain the detailed knowledge that can make an observer mission a success.

A number of participants expressed some anxiety over international observer missions overshadowing domestic groups, even while they might be cooperating. A delegate from South Africa suggested that "a type of disempowerment of local observers occurs when international teams descend in large numbers." But the general consensus was that, if international teams could develop links with the domestic groups, a more comprehensive assessment could be rendered.

Of particular interest to most all of the participants was the setting of criteria for the "free and fair" label that international monitoring teams often bestow upon elections. Many delegates recalled how that first public judgement released by an international observer group was critical to the acceptance or rejection of the election. As one participant from Lesotho stated: "That first word on the radio, particularly if it says free and fair, is the most important announcement an international observer team makes."

A number of workshop participants urged careful language when it came to making a pronouncement on an election. "There are a number of shades of grey, when it comes to 'free and fair,'" one delegate stated. International teams should use language that reflects such gradation. Cautious terminology would include phrases like "initial indications suggest..." and "early observations appear to indicate..."

But eventually, an international team must use some criteria to determine if the election truly was free and fair. The workshops suggested that "free" refers to the ability of a voter to express his choice. If the polling place, the ballot, the ballot box, counting of ballots, etc. were unbiased - then the "free" label could apply. "Fair" refers more to the campaign and electoral process that led up to election day. Was there intimidation, did the government interfere, were the demarcation lines for districts just, was there equal access to media, etc.

For most participants, the role of the international observer is critical in most African elections. But for the international teams to be truly effective they must coordinate with domestic groups and be cautious in their post-electoral pronouncements.

### **VIII. Administration of the Polling Place**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. N.T.K. Mono**  
**Botswana Supervisor of Elections**

**Mr. Amare Tekle, Chair**  
**Eritrea Election Commission**

The workshops quickly determined that most of the rules and regulations governing the polling place are universal. Electoral commission polling officers had specific duties and rules to follow, ranging from the hours the polls should be open to the numbers of meters a campaign sign must be from the voting booth. However, one delegate said, "The polling place rules that are in place are basically good rules, but that is not necessarily what happens. The rules seem to get broken far more than they should."

For the most part, polling place regulations follow a system that creates as neutral a voting area as possible. Party campaign signs and symbols are not allowed near to voting stations, police are generally unarmed, there are regulations for blind voters, and the media and election observers must follow certain rules. To make all of these rules and regulations work, there must be one primary factor: a strong, independent polling officer from an independent electoral commission. It is this polling officer who knows, interprets and enforces the rules of the polling place. The polling officer, along with party agents, make election day function correctly and with legitimacy at the polling stations.

Virtually all of the workshops participants reiterated the crucial nature of the polling officer. As one Burundi delegate suggested, "If the polling station officer is neutral and independent, and if he knows and understands the rules, the election will probably be free and fair."

### **IX. Security of the Ballot**

**Discussion Leaders: Mr. Kwesi Addae, Executive Director**  
**Pollwatch Africa (Ghana)**

**Mr. Henry B. Ssewanyana, Executive Director**  
**Foundation for African Development (Uganda)**

This rather specific, technical workshop reached a number of helpful conclusions despite sparse attendance. Ranging from how ballots are presented to how they are counted, the participants shared the most common problems with ballot security.

The workshop concluded with four recommendations:

- 1) **One ballot box for all candidates.** In some countries there have been separate boxes for each candidate or party. This has frequently led to "stuffing" where party agents and others have been able to add additional ballots to their candidate's box. A single box for all candidates, sealed and checked before voting begins, is the safest procedure;
- 2) **One ballot paper listing all candidates running in the election.** Party symbols or photographs of the candidates have become increasingly popular and help with illiterates. Separate ballots for regional or referendum questions was believed to be a good idea for a parliamentary or presidential race, all candidates in that district should be on the same ballot;
- 3) **One-day polling.** Multiple polling days add risk to the voting procedures. What to do with the ballots overnight as they wait to be counted becomes very problematic. If voting must last more than one day, then a system of overnight vigils or fail-proof seals witnessed by all party agents must be employed. The consensus remained, however, that the more days for voting, the greater the opportunity for fraud and manipulation, and
- 4) **Count the votes at the place of voting.** Transporting ballots to a central location for counting can be problematic. On-site counting has its drawbacks, but if there are appropriate polling station officials to lead the party agents in counting ballots, it is the process that leads to the least amount of manipulation.

The workshop participants concurred that clear and concise rules on balloting must be described well in advance of the election day. With specific laws and good polling station agents, the chance of ballot manipulation is greatly reduced.

#### **X. Tabulation and Announcement of Ballot Results**

**Discussion Leaders: Justice Z.R. Chesoni, Chair  
Kenya Election Commission**

**Mr. Onofre Dos Santos, General Elections Director  
Angola National Election Council**

The procedures for counting ballots and announcing the results were similar in many of the countries. For most African elections, counting is done manually. The ballots are either counted at the polling station or taken to a centralized counting station. The counting essentially

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follows agreed-upon rules that have electoral officials count and tally and the political party agents observe and check the ballot, as well as the tally sheets. Many participants described how the party agents often keep unofficial tally sheets themselves.

After each ballot box has been counted, the polling station officer and the party agents must agree on the final tally numbers. Once the tallies have been certified by all the agents, the numbers are taken or phoned into the central electoral headquarters.

As in every step of the electoral process, there is an opportunity for fraud and manipulation. One participant described how ballots in his country are placed in stacks of 100 for each candidates and then the number of stacks are counted. Fraud can occur in only putting 75 or 80 ballots in a candidate's stack. Most workshop participants agreed that there is no system that can completely guard against fraud, but that every tabulation process requires good, independent people working as polling officers and officials of the electoral commission.

One interesting discussion centered on how the results of the tabulation should be made known to the public. There was considerable disagreement concerning whether returns should be made available as each district was reported, or if the counting process required the holding of all numbers until the last district had reported. In Angola, for instance, the electoral commission decided to hold all numbers until the election returns were complete. A participant from Angola, who was involved in the electoral commission during the 1992 election, felt that if they had released the early returns, there would have been immediate problems and probably violence. (The early returns showed a lopsided victory for the MPLA.)

Other participants were more comfortable with the approach that the returns from each district could be released as they came in, with some sort of explanation that these were not final figures.

Either approach has its positive and negative aspects, but all concurred that whatever announcement process is used, it should be agreed upon before election day and carried out by the electoral commission.

## Plenary Sessions

Ambassador Richard Williamson, a former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations and an IRI board member, presented at the first plenary a Western perspective on assistance for Africa. He told the gathering that Africa is struggling for a "second independence" from post-colonial despotism.

"Some nations have made clear progress, in some efforts at democratization are ambiguous, and in a few there have been setbacks," Ambassador Williamson noted. "On the other hand, the West celebrates the triumphs. But increasingly, the West recognized it must constructively engage this African struggle for a 'second independence,' help it, support it."

His remarks, which were well received, sparked an animated discussion from the audience of the myriad difficulties African democracies face. However, most comments regarded the condescension that many Africans feel Westerners display toward African democratic efforts. There is a notion, some participants said, that Africans are not capable of having sophisticated democracies and that some Western observers seemed to allow violations of rights because flawed elections were to be expected from Africans.

The second plenary was almost a necessity because of the developing debate on the role of women in democracy. This arose from a discussion of the regulation of political parties and uncovered a well of anger among both men and women on this topic. The discussion during the plenary appeared to act as a mirror, reflecting for many male participants their true positions rather than how they portrayed themselves on such matters.

The panel, which was ably led by Terry Kantai, vice-chair of the League of Kenya Women Voters, included Members of Parliament Manuel Pinto of Uganda and Oppah Ruesha of Zimbabwe, Theresa Oakley-Smith of South Africa's Career and Resource Development Strategies and University of Namibia Vice-Chancellor Dr. Peter Katjivivi.

Both Pinto and Katjivivi agreed that women had a major role to play in electoral matters, and this seemed to have a positive effect on many of the male participants, who expected Kantai, Ruesha and Oakley-Smith to support an expanded role for women in democracy. Rather than berating men for excluding or limiting roles for women, the female presenters provided examples of women playing major roles in political parties in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

## Conclusion

The African Democracy Network Conference provided an opportunity for the practitioners of electoral systems to come together and discuss their successes and failures. A participant from Uganda commented, "We need to develop a culture for democracy; but how? Perhaps by things like this conference, where we can make partnerships, but also set goals and standards for our democracies at home. It is the goals and standards that we must fully understand, because if we do not understand the goals and standards -- and we are the ones supposedly directing our democratic institutions -- then how can the voter understand them?"

The conference brought the "goal setters" and the "standard bearers" together, and they spoke and listened and debated and learned and make it clear that such a one-time conference was useful. But what would continually benefit these practitioners of democracy would be a more permanent network. A network that could produce the "civic education library" was widely discussed, as well as a network that could purchase computer systems to count and tabulate ballots. Such a system could be shared by a number of countries and travel with a technical staff according to election needs and schedules. At the very least, the participants wanted to keep the networking alive, as demonstrated by the constant exchange of phone numbers and faxes.

In the final meeting of conference participants, 10 resolutions were approved:

- 1) The International Republican Institute should continue as facilitator for workshops and conferences for ADN and should assist as possible with continued networking among participants;
- 2) The participants want continued networking among colleagues within both the eastern and southern regions of Africa. To facilitate this, each region selected a steering committee to interface with IRI;
- 3) There should be workshops for the various disciplines, e.g. election commissioners, political parties and NGOs. These workshops should include participants from both regions represented at the ADN conference. However, participants also want future conferences bringing together all the various disciplines;
- 4) Participants from West Africa should be included in ADN activities;
- 5) The media, which plays such a vital role in elections, also should be included in ADN activities;

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- 6) ADN should include as participants representatives of regional African electoral organizations;
- 7) The first follow up to the ADN conference should be a workshop that discusses and examines democratic theory and practice and its relates to Africa. Also to be discussed is how democracy can be presented to the various populations and leaders;
- 8) Standards for democratic and electoral practices should be discussed and promulgated by ADN participants;
- 9) ADN members should be enabled to observe African elections and examine their openness and transparency for consideration by the participants, and
- 10) The military should be included in civic education efforts because of their role in operating and replacing governments.

A networking meeting near the end of the conference produced two regional steering committees to engender continuing communication among ADN participants:

### Southern steering committee

Mpho Gregory Molomo (Botswana), coordinator  
Augusto Simango (Mozambique)  
Onofre Dos Santos (Angola)  
Musa Mukhaye (South Africa)  
Patrick Kombayi (Zimbabwe)  
Sobandla Dlamini (Swaziland)  
George Simataa (Namibia)  
Moreosi Thabane (Lesotho)

### Eastern Steering committee

Geoffrey Onegi-Obel (Uganda), coordinator  
Terry Kantai (Kenya)  
Maxime Ferrari (Seychelles)  
Sanjit Teelock (Mauritius)

In many respects, the African democrats who attended the ADN conference viewed themselves as the minority on a continent that is learning and struggling to become practicing pluralist societies. They enjoyed interacting with one another, learned from each other's

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experiences and wanted to be able to do it again -- sooner rather than later. IRI believes it is not only in their interest, but also the interest of committed democrats throughout Africa that the African Democracy Network be supported beyond its initial phase. The examination of democratic traditions and styles of elections and governance by African electoral experts can achieve practical democratic benefits for the nations of Africa, and IRI stands ready to help make these benefits a reality.

**Appendix 1**  
**ADN Conference Schedule**

**African Democracy Network**  
**Conference Schedule**

**Wednesday, February 2, 1994**

- 8:00 AM: Registration**
- 9:00 AM: Introduction by IRI**  
**Welcome by Botswana Government**
- 10:30 AM: Break**
- 10:45 AM: Concurrent workshops**  
*- Design of Electoral Districts*  
*- Registration of Voters*  
*- Electoral Campaign Scheduling*
- 12:00 PM: Lunch**
- 1:30 PM: Concurrent workshops**  
*- Civic Education Campaigns*  
*- Role and Registration of Party Agents/Domestic Observers*  
*- Administration of the Polling Place*
- 2:45 PM: Break**
- 3:00 PM: Concurrent workshops**  
*- Role and Registration of International Observers*  
*- Security of the Ballot*  
*- Tabulation and Announcement of Ballot Results*
- 7:00 PM: Thomas De La Rue Reception**

Thursday, February 3, 1994

- 9:00 AM:** Call to Order  
1st Plenary session  
"Western Perspectives on Assistance for Africa"
- 10:30 AM:** Break
- 10:45 AM:** Concurrent workshops  
- *Civic Education Campaigns*  
- *Regulation of Political Parties*  
- *Role and Registration of International Observers*
- 12:00 PM:** Lunch
- 1:30 PM:** Concurrent workshops  
- *Registration of Voters*  
- *Electoral Campaign Scheduling*  
- *Role and Registration of Party Agents/Domestic Observers*
- 2:45 PM:** Break
- 3:00 PM:** Concurrent workshops  
- *Design of Electoral Districts*  
- *Tabulation and Announcement of Ballot Results*
- 7:00 PM:** Vendor Reception

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Friday, February 4, 1994

- 9:00 AM: Call to Order  
2nd Plenary session  
"Women and Democracy"
- 10:30 AM: Break
- 10:45 AM: Concurrent workshops  
- *Regulation of Political Parties*  
- *Administration of the Polling Place*  
- *Security of the Ballot*
- 12:00 PM: Lunch
- 1:30 PM: Regional networking caucuses  
- *Eastern Africa*  
- *Southern Africa*  
- *International Organizations*
- 2:45 PM: Break
- 3:00 PM: Presentation of synopses of workshop topics  
Discussion of African Democracy Network  
Closing remarks by IRI
- 5:00 PM: Conference recesses
- 7:00 PM Government of Botswana Reception

**Appendix 2**  
**Opening Address**

AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK CONFERENCE  
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1994

WELCOME ADDRESS  
BY THE HONORABLE RICHARD WILLIAMSON  
MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

Thank you and good morning ladies and gentlemen.

IRI has invited you here because of your expertise in electoral matters. Without any fear of exaggeration, I can state that this is a historic gathering, perhaps unprecedented in Western efforts to aid the progress of democracy in Africa. But before we discuss the design and intent of this conference further, let me introduce to you dignitaries attending from our host country.

First, we have with us His Worship, the Mayor of Gaborone, Mr. Ginger Ernest.

To give us the official welcome from the Government of Botswana, we have the Minister of Presidential Affairs and Public Administration, Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe.

The International Republican Institute (IRI), sponsor for this conference, is a non-profit organization dedicated to advancing the cause of democracy worldwide. IRI was established as one of four core grantees of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) when NED was authorized by the U.S. Congress in 1984. The IRI mission is to initiate and support a wide range of programs to promote and strengthen democratic ideals and institutions. IRI adheres to fundamental principles of individual freedom, equality of opportunity, and the entrepreneurial spirit that fosters economic development.

In 1982, President Reagan said, "The ultimate determinant in the struggle now going on for the world will not be bombs and rockets, but a test of wills and ideas, a trial of spiritual resolve-- the values we hold, the beliefs we cherish, the ideals to which we are dedicated ... the great civilized ideas: individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law under God."

America was built on the idea of democracy. And each of you is a leader in the battle for democracy and freedom in your own countries. Indeed this conference is further reaffirmation of the potency of ideas on international politics. We have the goal of spreading the democratic idea, not because of a chauvinism but because of a belief that "people must participate in the decisions of government under the rule of law."

To champion democracy is not to advocate identical copies of American institutions. Belief in democracy as a universal value is grounded in a conviction that human beings ought not be governed without their consent. And to advance democracy requires a recognition that the ways and means of democracy may vary from country to country, from culture to culture, whether parliamentary or presidential, consistent with fundamental principles of liberty, individual rights, consent and representation.

Democracy responds to a deep longing by man to be treated with dignity.

Democracy is premised on a longing in human nature for people to have a voice in their own destiny.

The best protection for the individual is to have the governors chosen by and responsible to the people.

It is democratic elections that institutionalize the process of meaningful participation and representation. It is through democratic elections that the individual gives government his or her consent to be governed.

Democracy has a stability and flexibility that help it to endure. Through elections and responsiveness, democracies have the capacity to repair their flaws while retaining their legitimacy. Other systems of government are inherently unstable because they lack a peaceful means to legitimize their leaders, they lack the discipline of the ballot box to represent the changing will of the people.

Democracies, as a general rule, do not start aggressive wars. Most democracies have consistent records of balancing concern for their own interests with respect for others. They have records of limited appetites. A principal reason for the peacefulness of democracies is that where people enjoy the right to criticize their government and to form associations, government becomes responsive to their citizens.

Also democracies are grounded in the principle that it is better to decide things by the right means than necessarily to get their own way. So it is for the individuals within democracies. So it is amongst democracies.

Therefore, while democratic government is not a guarantee of pacific problem resolution amongst nations, it is true that the more democratic the world, the more peaceful it is likely to be.

It is important to emphasize that democracy is not a blueprint or a promise of specific results. As American Political Scientist Joshua Muraychik has written, "It is only a principle

about how disparate or conflicting human goals should be reconciled. Other ideologies promise happiness; democracy promises only the freedom to pursue happiness." But a marvel of democracy is that in fact more people find happiness through their own pursuit freely made than when it is defined for them by others.

The cynics who question the growing global uprising for freedom, human dignity and democracy are wrong. But also wrong are the naive dreamers who thought that all that was necessary for democracy to triumph was for old totalitarian and old authoritarian governments to fall. In fact the march of democracy is an uneven struggle with surges and retreats, with victories and defeats. Some countries have experienced democracy only to return to dictatorship. In a number of those countries, democracy has risen again.

In the twentieth century there have been three great tides of democracy. Following World War I there was a great spread of democracy. In 1922, there were 32 democratic countries, but 20 years later only 12 remained. Following World War II there was a second tide of democratization that crested in the 1950s only to diminish by the early 1970s. Today the world is experiencing a third wave of spreading democracy.

Notwithstanding the rugged path and the uneven record, we believe the democratic revolution is strong. It is strong because it holds the most powerful idea in history, that each individual is valuable because he or she is endowed with inalienable rights, with unique talents, with the right to the fruits of those talents, and the right to be governed by consent. Gladstone, defending the Reform Bill of 1866, declared: "You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side." We believe the global spread of democracy is the future, but it is something we must fight for.

We must appreciate that while elections are the central institution of democracy they alone do not constitute democracy. Democracy requires competitive elections where citizens make decisions. Democracy requires that elections be held periodically and be definitive. As Earnest Baker wrote in Reflections on Government, "The reality of political liberty consists in the details and the substance of actual institutions."

Democratic elections require political parties. Citizens must be able to form voluntary associations based on shared interests. Free speech and a free press must be practiced and respected. Election laws are necessary that permit broad participation, active competition, and acceptance of this democratic process for determining who shall govern and in what direction. Periodic, definitive elections are the means by which individuals guarantee the responsiveness of government to the people, the governors to the governed.

The National Endowment for Democracy and the International Republican Institute seek to "foster the infrastructure of democracy... the system of a free press, unions political parties,

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universities -- which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

. Their mission is to provide financial and technical support to groups working to enrich the institutions of civil society. Their mission is to strengthen mediating institutions to serve as buffers between the individual and the state. Independent cultural institutions foster the diffusion of ideas, information and aspirations. Independent business and labor institutions help grow a society's autonomy. Such institutions strengthen the tendency toward democracy. And while a tendency is not an inevitability, it helps advance the cause of freedom. Pluralism, including the promotion of democracy, freedom and competition in the political, economic and social institutions within nations is the goal of NED and IRI. And that is why the International Republican Institute has organized this conference of the African Democracy Network this week in Botswana.

This conference hopes to set in motion a self-sustaining exchange of expertise, techniques, ideas and personnel to advance African democratic development. This conference will combine sharing electoral experiences and practical training workshops in the areas of political party development, independent election administration and appropriate non-governmental organization involvement in the electoral process. Through this cross-fertilization of ideas and experiences, this conference will focus on sharing lessons already learned by experienced, multi-party democracies to strengthen those countries who have recently begun the transition and those considering such a transition.

All of us who believe in the rights of the individual, who believe in human rights, who share a conviction that "freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings" must support and assist in the construction of democratic societies. It is for this that we are gathered here in Botswana. I welcome you.

Thank you.

**Appendix 3**  
**First Plenary Address**

WESTERN PERSPECTIVES ON ASSISTANCE  
FOR AFRICA

SPEECH GIVEN BY  
THE HONORABLE RICHARD WILLIAMSON  
MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

AT THE  
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK CONFERENCE  
FEBRUARY 2-4, 1994  
GABORONE, BOTSWANA

During the past 50 years, the West has had a tragic neglect of Africa's indigenous problems. Through the Cold War, East-West strategic considerations were central factors in the West's view of Africa. Western foreign policy, including assistance both bilateral and through multilateral institutions, was dominated by the U.S.-Soviet competition. With the end of the Cold War, that dynamic is gone and the West has been recalibrating its policies toward Africa. Of course, haunting any Western policy is the quiet desperation and vast human suffering in Africa. Africa continues to slip further and further into poverty as individual rights to own property, sell produce at market prices and trade freely remain prohibited through much of the continent. Africa remains the poorest continent on the globe with per capita income of only \$370 a year. Sixteen of the world's twenty poorest nations are in Africa. Approximately 100 million Africans face chronic food shortage. The overwhelming number of sub-Saharan Africa's 400 million people still cannot speak freely. In Somalia, Liberia, Angola, and Zaire, the collapse of dictators has led to chaotic power struggles, famine, and war.

With the end of the Cold War, the West has begun to look at Africa anew. While still too neglected, Africa has received increased Western attention. Three areas, especially, has received media attention.

In January 1991, Somalia head of state Mohammed Siad Barre was overthrown by anti-government rebels. The chaos and clan warfare that followed contributed to mass starvation claiming 300,000 Somali lives in 1992, including more than 25% of Somali children under the age of 5. A great amount of Western food relief that flowed to Mogadishu was stolen by armed clans.

Finally, in August 1992, President Bush announced the food airlift to help starving Somalis. Warlords blocked much of the Western relief supplies so in December 1992, at

Washington's request, the United Nations Security Council voted to send an American-led military force to Somalia to facilitate relief missions. The initial objective of the operation was limited to support relief efforts, not to resolve the civil war or set up a new government.

There was a strong Western support for this unprecedented humanitarian expedition. And in large measure Somalia's famine was alleviated. Tragically however, over time the mission of the operation became clouded and the nature of the operation less pristine. U.N. forces became actively engaged in trying to disarm the warring factions, arbitrate the civil war and nation-build. Unprecedented numbers of men under the U.N. flag were killed. Many Western nations, including the United States, lost faith in the mission and some returned home.

This experience impressed Washington on the need to reassess how to engage effectively the problems of Africa while avoiding the deployment of armed troops.

In the past decade, Western attention, especially attention in Washington, also has focused on Angola with the elections held in September 1992 and the run-off in early 1993, which the government won. While some controversy lingers US State Department judged the election process free and fair. Last May the Clinton administration officially recognized the government. This ideological flash point has moved off center stage.

Overshadowing both Somalia and Angola, in the West, South Africa continues to capture rapt attention, generally crowding out coverage of other important African developments. In the United States, no doubt, this is due in part to our own history of troubled race relations from slavery to today's ongoing civil rights struggles. This continuing national anguish heightens our interest in and concern for the events in South Africa.

Apartheid has inflicted enormous damage on the South African economy, driving the leadership of the white minority to recognize that they either must face catastrophe or seek reconciliation. Meantime, the African National Congress saw South Africa's descent into chaos and civil war threatening the viability of any nation they might inherit. Neither side confident that it would prevail, Nelson Mandela and F.W. DeKlerk entered an enormously difficult collaboration toward a new South Africa Constitution. The election now is scheduled for three days beginning on April 27 for all South Africans including the 75% black population heretofore disenfranchised. South Africa is re-creating itself as a multiracial condominium. But even as Mr. Mandela and President DeKlerk accept the Nobel Peace Prize, violence continues.

Western approach to sub-Saharan Africa, however, should not be limited nor even dominated by the convulsions in Somalia, Angola, and South Africa. Free from the restrictive dichotomy of the Cold War, the West needs a constructive policy approach to Africa and its vigilant execution.

In the transition from colonial rule in most African nations, military intervention and the formation of single-party authoritarian regimes dominated. Today the demand by Africans for democratic governance is growing rapidly. People are demanding a role in shaping their political and economic destinies.

Africans increasingly have recognized the failure of centralized and often personalistic regimes to produce either a suitable level of economic growth or an adequate level of well-being for most Africans. Often these regimes have been unable to create capable and suitable governance, and lack public support and a sense of legitimacy. Too often there have been abuses of authority, including gross human rights violations. And there has been systematic corruption associated with narrow based, personal or neo-patrimonial regimes. This undermines the basis of investment and long-term risk taking in the economy. All these elements have led to challenges to African regimes in recent years.

As stated by Peter Nyong'o, head of programming at the African Academy of Sciences in Nairobi, Kenya, "The political changes that the African people have been calling for are based on their concrete experiences: years of dashed hopes, frustrated aspirations, misdirected efforts, and fruitless investments, all these things happened because people trusted their governments too much, let them bite off more than they can chew, entrusted them with public resources that were either squandered for personal gain or--even more tragically--were simply left to be gnawed by the mice or carried off by ants of the savannah.

The West must recognize that democracy is not their concept to be imposed on others. Human rights are universal; the right to be ruled democratically is enshrined in the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, documents well known, cherished and promoted within Africa. There has never been a time since independence when there was not indigenous pressure for democracy from below in Africa.

Again to quote Professor Nyong'o, "The struggle for democracy has been there since independence; the only difference now is that the constellation of circumstances in the wider world has changed in ways that favor popular struggles against repressive states in Africa. The people must seize this opportunity and accelerate the making of their own history by democratizing their societies today, and not tomorrow.": He writes, "Get thee to the ballot box."

Africa is struggling for a "second independence" from various post-colonial despotisms. Some nations have made clear progress, in some efforts at democratization are ambiguous, and in a few there have been setbacks. On the other hand, the West celebrates the triumphs. But increasingly, the West recognized it must constructively engage this African struggle for a "second independence", help it, support it.

The Cold War often drove the United States and other Western nations to submerge principles of liberty and freedom to imminent threats and challenges from the Soviet Union. Now that contortion is no longer required. We are free to seek our higher purposes. There is a new opportunity to focus on broad, functional initiatives in Africa.

While there is heated debate, disagreements and even opposition to the Clinton Administration's policies toward the former Soviet Union, Bosnia, China, North Korea, and elsewhere; the Administration's articulated policies towards Africa have received wide acceptance both in Washington and in other Western capitols. Of course, this greatly enhances its prospects for success.

President Clinton's National Security Advisor Tony Lake made his first foreign policy address in office on the subject of Africa. Noting the some two dozen multi-party elections scheduled to have been held in 1993, last spring Mr. Lake said that the Clinton Administration was to contribute to where Africa is going and to craft a "new relationship" built upon the rapid movement toward democracy in Africa. At the time Mr. Lake said that the White House was "exploring means to assist Africa's economic reforms and economic growth" and to ease Africa's debt burden. Mr. Lake pledged an "activist approach to disasters in the making" to try to forestall future Somalia-type disasters.

The administration's first proposed budget earmarked \$2.7 billion, or almost 13% of its proposed \$21.6 billion fiscal 1994 international affairs budget, for building democracy worldwide. Some of this money was earmarked for monitoring elections in countries moving from dictatorships to democracies. A great deal of it involved informational and educational programs as well as grassroots technical assistance. This policy reflects Secretary of State Warren Christopher's statement, "Democracy cannot be imposed from above. By its very nature, it must be built, often slowly, at the grass roots level." The United States Information Agency and the U.S. Agency for International Development have received increased resources for this effort. Also, nongovernmental agencies such as the National Endowment for Democracy and the International Republican Institute are getting support to advance these policies.

In May of last year, Secretary of State Christopher made an important address before the African-American Institute. In his remarks, Mr. Christopher said, "At the heart of our new policy is an enduring commitment to democracy and human rights." He said that the U.S. would no longer support dictators in Liberia, Zaire, Sudan, and a half dozen other countries. Africa's future lies "not with corrupt dictators like Mobutu [of Zaire]," he said, "but with courageous democrats in every part of the continent."

Mr. Christopher promised to keep development aid for Africa at \$800 million. He promised to work with other creditor nations to reduce debt for countries cooperating with International Monetary adjustment programs. And he promised \$70 million to protect Africa's environment and continued support to fight drought.

Ambassador George Moose, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Affairs, has pledged that the Clinton Administration will follow through with this agenda. Furthermore, he has stated the intention to avoid giving money directly to corrupt rulers by transferring assistance through nongovernmental organizations that assist democracy-building.

Generally the Clinton Administration had followed the policy set out by Secretary Christopher in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in Africa, he said, "a new generations demanding the opportunities that flow from multiparty democracy and open economies. They deserve our understanding and support. We need to assist their efforts to build institutions that can empower Africa's people to husband and benefit from that continent's vast resources and to deal with its economic, social and environmental problems and address its underlying causes of instability.

In the West, there is broad recognition that crisis of governance in Africa is a major constraint in development. Western Assistance, both bilateral and through multilateral institutions, has become increasingly conditioned on criteria identified as "democratization" by the U.S. government and "governance" by the World Bank. Economic assistance is more likely to be extended to countries where there is a trend toward multiparty politics, respect for human rights, and competency in managing the economy through reliance on the market forces. Increasingly, the view is that without power sharing it will be impossible to either maintain market-oriented policies over the long-term, or to stabilize regimes which can create improved environments for economic development through greater legitimacy and rule of law.

In the United States, the Development Fund for Africa (section 496 of the Foreign Assistance Act) shifted assistance to promoting long-term and sustainable economic development. To achieve this goal, it is the U.S. government's view that a country needs market-oriented development and participatory development. Democratic governance is the means by which participation can be effective. Economic policies that stimulate growth, and political systems which broaden participation and demand accountability are interrelated and inseparable.

Let me close by noting that Western policy is an effort to encourage the basic characteristics of democracy -- pluralistic, tolerant, accountable, transparent systems of governance that protect basic human rights. It is not an effort to "export" or "impose" any particular democratic system. We must appreciate and recognize the validity and imperatives of diverse systems. Rather, the Western approach is to respond to and assist Africans who are struggling to bring about more open and responsive governments of their own design.

**Appendix 4**  
**Address by the Government of Botswana**  
**Lt. Gen. Mompoti Merafhe**  
**Minister for Presidential Affairs and Public Administration**

OPENING SPEECH OF THE  
AFRICAN DEMOCRACY NETWORK CONFERENCE  
BY THE MINISTER OF PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS  
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION  
HON. LT. GEN. M.S. MERAFHE

Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Hon. Participants,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a distinct honor and privilege for me to have been accorded the opportunity to perform the official opening of the Conference on the Election Process in Eastern and Southern Africa Region.

On behalf of the Government and the people of Botswana, and on my own behalf, I wish to extend a warm welcome to you all to Botswana, and to Gaborone city in particular. The choice of Gaborone as a venue for this Conference is indeed a great honor for my country and its people. It is my earnest hope, therefore, that the facilities placed at your disposal will go a long way towards facilitating fruitful deliberations at this conference.

Mr. Chairman, the theme chosen for this Conference is the election process. In this connection, I should point out that election process is basic to democracy. It is a process through which the electorate is afforded the opportunity to exercise the right to choose governments or representatives in an atmosphere free of duress, hinderance or intimidation. In other words, it is necessary for peace to prevail. Any election process short of these basic conditions cannot be regarded as free and fair.

This conference comes at a time when the process of democratization world wide is in full swing not only in Africa, but also in the rest of the world. It is therefore appropriate and timely that the actors in this process come together to share views and experiences so that the principles of democracy can be fully appreciated, nurtured and consolidated, particularly in the Eastern and Southern African Region.

This region is a full participant in the global democratization process and there is no doubt that the momentum can be sustained. The participation of the Eastern and Southern Africa

Region in this global democratization crusade makes the 1990's indeed the decade of democracy. the democratic elections held for the first time in some countries in this region bear testimony to this pleasing development.

In this connection, I wish to acknowledge the positive developments taking place in Mozambique, where the General Peace Agreement, signed between the government and RENAMO in October and therefore argues well for the general election scheduled for October this year. The democratization process is rather slow, but we hope that it all ends well.

In Angola, multi-party elections were held in September 1992, under the auspices of the international community. It is most regrettable, however, that UNITA has since resorted to the barrel of the gun when it became clear that it had lost the elections. We are however encouraged that the UN Secretary General is currently resuming renegotiations. We are hopeful that these mediation efforts for peace will bear fruit. The age of shooting one's way to political power has been discredited and discarded. Those who still entertain the hope of achieving power through the barrel rather than through the ballot stand the chance of being ostracized by the international community, including African states.

In Malawi, a referendum about a multi-party political system was held, last year, resulting in the ending of a one party rule in favor of multi-party system of democracy. Elections in that country are due to be held this year. We wish them all success and lasting peace.

Mr. Chairman, the list is far from exhaustive but these developments are a source of hope for security, stability, economic and social development in the Eastern and Southern African Region and, above all, should be an inspiration to us all in Africa.

South Africa is the most interesting case of democratization process of this decade. After 300 years of oppression, 40 years of apartheid and a decade of regional destabilisation, that country is now entering a new era of peace and justice for all its people. The Transitional Executive Council comprising the majority of South African political leaders is in place, and is now paving the way for the elections scheduled for 27th April this year. Clear democratic political activities are evident, with political parties gearing themselves for the elections. We are all anxious to see in South Africa a government elected by universal suffrage. It is my earnest hope that those political parties and leaders who are currently not participating in the Transitional Executive Council will eventually do so.

Mr. Chairman, at this juncture I wish to share with you some of Botswana's experiences relating to elections and the democratic process. It will be noted that right from the time of attaining independence in 1966, Botswana declared that she would be a multi-party democracy holding regular elections every five years.

The democratic experiment in Botswana is based on the realization that people's views and political philosophy about governance are not only diverse but tend to follow the trends of the democratic movement around the world. It would be undemocratic therefore to suppress such a natural phenomenon.

Democracy is a process that goes beyond the secret ballot. It requires a continuous exchange of ideas and views on the efficacy of emphasis on good governance, accountability and transparency. Botswana is no exception in this regard. To that extent, we have an independent Supervisor of Elections whose position is entrenched in the Constitution of Botswana. Provisions of this section, the Supervisor of Elections shall not be subject to the direction or control of any other person or authority. The Supervisor of Elections therefore acts independently from the government of the day.

Mr. Chairman, I must point out that recently, there has been disagreements between the government and the opposition political parties, who have submitted that there must be established an All Party Electoral Commission. What they envision as their bottom line is that political parties must be involved at every stage in the running and conduct of elections. Government is of the view that political parties cannot be players and referees at the same time. It is obvious that political parties have vested interest in the running and conduct of elections. It is therefore, questionable that they can present a neutral forum for this purpose.

Furthermore, the Government considers that in a democratic system, there is always room for improvement, and the Government is indeed prepared to consider introducing improvements to the system. Adequate safeguards have, however, been provided for in the Electoral Act to ensure fairness, such as allowing polling agents to represent candidates in order to look after the interests of their Political Parties and candidates during the elections process and at the counting of ballots.

Mr. Chairman, it is common knowledge that sometimes elections attract the attention of the international community. Under certain circumstances for instance, it becomes necessary for foreign observers to be invited, such as was the case in Angola, but in other circumstances the Foreign observers can request to observe the elections particularly if they wish to familiarize themselves with the national electoral system of a particular country.

There is no doubt that the question of elections in Eastern and Southern Africa, is important, and should be treated with the seriousness that it deserves. It has been observed that very often differences arise on the question of political neutrality and integrity of those who are involved in the conduct and running of elections, sometimes resulting in the election results being challenged. Such incidents can be avoided if there is transparency, and non-interference by the state machinery and political parties.

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In conclusion, I would like to venture to say with conviction that Eastern and Southern Africa is certainly undergoing democratic transformation. This democratization transformation is held in the highest esteem as it aims at promoting the principles of human rights, resulting in the freedom of speech, freedom of association, reduction in the number of refugees, good investment climate, peace, stability, and tranquility.

Mr. Chairman, I have the honor of declaring this conference of the African Democracy Network in Eastern and Southern Africa officially open.

PULA! PULA! PULA!

**Appendix 5**  
**Summary of Second Plenary**

**Discussion Leaders:**

**Ms. Terry Kantai, Vice Chair  
League of Kenya Women Voters**

**Ms. Theresa Oakley-Smith, Director  
Career and Resource Development Strategies  
(South Africa)**

**The Honorable Manuel Pinto, MP  
Parliamentarians for Global Action  
(Uganda)**

**The Honorable Oppah Rusesha, MP  
Deputy Minister for Environment and Tourism  
(Zimbabwe)**

**Dr. Peter Katjavivi, Vice Chancellor  
University of Namibia**

Panel discussion leader Terry Kantai led off the plenary by conceding that the issue of women in politics was a provocative one that angers men and challenges existing power systems. However, she said it was not a question of women taking or being given all the power, rather it was about men and women sharing political power.

According to Kantai, there were several factors mitigating against an increase in female political power. Foremost among these factors is that the role of women in Africa is burdened by work that leaves little time for political participation. Moreover, African traditions often are not conducive to leadership by women. Finally, laws often discourage female leadership in many African societies.

Kantai said women have played a key role in African independence struggles, as both men and women were needed to fight side by side. Unfortunately, after independence this sense

of equality was quickly dismissed, and women have not fully reaped the benefits of that independence. Many countries, including her native Kenya, have never had a female cabinet minister. She also said most countries also have never had a female chief.

**Manuel Pinto** said women should be at the center of politics because democracy should focus on all people and 50% of the adult population of any given country is female. He said men are often in the minority in electoral politics but still dominate. However, he added that a democracy is not sound if it ignores women.

According to Pinto, young girls are producing citizens before being ready to be fully participating citizens themselves. Women are responsible for youth and primary health care and play the predominant role in agriculture. Still, he said, women may need some form of affirmative action to become more involved in politics.

Disputing the view that voters exclude women from politics, **Theresa Oakley-Smith** contended that it is actually African laws and traditions that exclude women.

She said the constitutional talks in South Africa last year mandated that 50% of the people involved in the transition process be women. Some political parties already had women in meaningful roles, Oakley-Smith recalled, while others brought in any available female to meet the requirement. One-third of all African National Congress (ANC) candidates on the national and regional candidate lists are women, although only Albertina Sisulu of the ANC is prominent. Half of the candidates of the Democratic Party, she said, are women.

However, the traditional chiefs group was particularly hostile to the idea, excluding women even though there were female chiefs. The media, she added, largely portrayed women involved in the constitutional process as taking notes or looking on admiringly at men rather than debating issues.

Oakley-Smith pointed out that South African women such as Thandi Modise, Helen Suzman, Helen Joseph, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela played a major role in fighting and ending apartheid and that it would have been a great loss to exclude women from politics. She said the National Coalition of Women in South Africa currently is performing a key role in bridging ethnicity and political affiliation.

During the independence struggle in Namibia, **Dr. Peter Katjavivi** was an activist in the South-West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) and saw in his organization the transcendence of women as leaders. What was practiced in exile, he added, was carried over into government. However, Katjavivi said Namibia has a long way to go to achieve the objective of full equality. In Parliament, only five of 79 members are female -- four from SWAPO and one from the opposition. Of 26 members of the National Council, only one is female.

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Even his university engages in some level of discrimination. He said that while one cannot promote unqualified people, there should be programs to encourage the promotion of women. The university recently monitored elections in Namibia and asked questions of those exiting the polling place. Many women said they didn't think about voting for a woman, but that they would in the future. (Other participants later said women want equal rights but don't trust female candidates. It was suggested by one participant that female candidates need to stress the benefits women voters will reap by voting for them.)

A former guerilla commander in her country's independence struggle, **Oppah Rusesha** said 29 out of 140 members of her country's Parliament are women and that two cabinet ministers are female (formerly there were four). Rusesha is both a member of Parliament and a deputy cabinet minister.

"We also fought side by side with men in our liberation struggles," she explained. "We helped decide strategies that helped us win. But when it came to sharing the cake, there were very few of us."

Rusesha pointed out that not only were women missing at the national government level, but of the 1500 local councilors, only nine are women even though 90% of women were in the rural areas. She said women at the polling places are routinely voting for men without "understanding or benefitting from their vote."

She said even politically active women are shunted to supporting roles. In parties, women are usually assigned to women's wings, while female government job seekers are funneled into the Ministry of Women's Affairs. (As one participant said, "the main wing of a party should not mean the male wing." Several participants said it was the parties' duty to involve women fully in their activities, but warned against merely putting women at the forefront of their campaign to attract female voters.)

As a woman MP, Rusesha said there remain cultural barriers to the exercise of power. Married women have more roles, and there are conflicts in her roles of mother, wife and national leader. She said she is often accused of having illicit affairs when she travels from home and reminded the plenary participants that their sisters and daughters face this situation as well.

She said there is great ignorance, even among educated women, of what their rights are, and she recommended education as a solution to this problem.

At this point, questions and comments from the audience were taken.

**Justice Z.R. Chesoni** of Kenya attempted to refute the idea of women being kept from prominent roles in Kenya. He said there are women district officers and that this position is superior to the position of chief. He added that Kenya had a female High Court judge before the United States appointed Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

Chesoni said some women want special departments and programs for women, while others don't. He added that it is not easy to address gender equality without discriminating against men.

**Leach Thlomelang** of Botswana said women are disadvantaged not just in Africa, but all over the world. He recalled that when Democratic Presidential nominee Walter Mondale selected Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate in 1984, she was widely criticized.

Thlomelang said even before independence in Botswana, women were instrumental in development "even when men were sleeping in the cattle post."

**Abraham Abebe** of Ethiopia said it was women who differentiate gender roles. "When I was a boy, and I went to the kitchen, my mother would chase me out, saying the kitchen was no place for a boy," he said. **Moroesi Thabane** of Lesotho countered Abebe, stating that gender roles also are created by men.

**Valerie Rose-Christie** of South Africa said local government is the area in which women should be most involved. She called on the participants to nominate women in local areas, which govern their daily life.

**Lucy Voss** of South Africa said politics should not be confined merely to the rational. Women are more compassionate, she said, and that should be acknowledged. She added that the predominance of women in NGO activity is an example of how formal government structures have failed to incorporate women.

**Dr. Maxime Ferrari** of Seychelles said there is still an inferiority complex at work that leads men to discount the contributions of women. He said there is no difference in the leadership capacity of men and women, but there are and should be differences between them in other areas. "If women were like men, I would be a hermit," he said.

**Gabriel Komboni** of Botswana said when there is discrimination against women, there is a human rights problem. Still, he said women should be elected solely because they are capable. "I will not elect a woman because she is a woman," he said. "I will not elect a man because he is a man."

**David Coltart** of Zimbabwe described the problem as beginning in the home. He said domestic violence in Africa is widespread as men feel they have the right to discipline their wives, and this leads to dominance of men over women. He said he dislikes women's leagues because he feels they exploit women.

**Maria Kamm** of Tanzania said it was useless to concentrate on the problems posed by traditions without talking about education. Women don't have equal opportunity, she said, and the necessary change of attitude will take years because the stereotyping of women has been nurtured from childhood. "It's high time that we change now," she said, adding that it is the responsibility of parties to include women in all policy-making bodies and of governments to reserve 25% of seats in Parliament for women.

**Eitlhopa Mosinyi** of Botswana said the various roles women play is a problem because the choice of being in the home reduces the number of women available to play a leadership role in society. She added that women must fight for whatever place in politics they desire.

**Hamida Sheikh** of Tanzania said women politicians must earn women's confidence and that they have not uniformly earned this confidence. She said women must compete with men who compete with other men. Political competitors will look for all weak points, which should be expected, she explained. "If your femininity is a weak point, they will exploit it," she said.

Owing to the restrictions of time, the participants did not press for agreed-upon resolutions or points of understanding, but rather adjourned to begin the day's workshops. However, according to comments from male and female participants, the plenary had served the useful purpose of bring into the open disagreements on the need and modality of efforts to increase the participation of women in African political systems.

**Appendix 6**  
**Participants by Country**

**ANGOLA**

Mr. Barros Jose Major  
Embassy of Angola  
in Botswana

Mr. Lopo do Nascimento  
MPLA

Mr. Antonio Alberto Neto  
Democratic Angolan Party

Mr. Fernando Pacheco  
Rural and Agriculture  
Development Association (ADRA)

Mr. Onofre Dos Santos  
National Electoral Council

**BOTSWANA**

Mr. Frank Boakgomo  
Botswana Independence  
Freedom Party

Dr. Bojosi Boglhogile  
Democracy Research Project

Ms. Tsepo Chape-Wareus  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. M.M. Dabutha  
Botswana National Front

Mr. Gabriel Komboni  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. D.K. Kwelagobe  
Botswana Democratic Party

Prof. Malema  
Pana & Reuters Int.

Mr. Gus Matlhabapheri  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. Nathaniel Mmono  
Election Commission Chair

Mr. Rakwadi Modipane  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. Motlhomola M.T. Modise  
Botswana People's Party

Mr. Festus Mogae  
Vice President of Botswana

Mr. Philip Mokgethi  
*The Gazette*

Mr. Outsa Mokone  
*The Gazette*

Mr. Rasta Moloji  
*Botswana Guardian*

Ms. Athalia Molokomme  
Emang Basadi  
Women's Organization

Mr. Mpho Gregory Molomo  
Democracy Research Project

Mr. Kabo Morwaeng  
Botswana Democratic Party

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Ms. Eithlopha Mosinyi  
Lesedi La Botswana

Mr. Neo Motlhabane  
Botswana People's Party

Mr. Lemogang Dingalo Ntime  
Botswana National Front

Mr. James Pilane  
Botswana National Front

Mr. Loago Raditedu  
Lesedi La Botswana

Mr. Eric Segatsho  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. Aobakwe Sekawa  
Botswana Democratic Party

Mr. Jacob Sesinyi  
Radio Botswana

Mr. Rat Peba S. Sethantsho  
Botswana National Front

Mr. Leach Tlhomelang  
Botswana Independence Party

Mr. Simba Viriri  
*Botswana Southern Post*

Mr. Isafi Peter Woto  
Botswana National Front

**BURUNDI**

Mr. Venerand Bakeuyumusaya  
Ministry of Education

**ERITREA**

Mr. Amare Tekle  
Election Commission

Mr. Araia Tseggai  
Regional Centre for  
Human Rights and Development

**ETHIOPIA**

Mr. Abraham Abebe  
Ethiopian Congress  
for Democracy

Mr. Mesfin Wolde-Mariam  
Ethiopian Human Rights Council

**KENYA**

Mr. Z.R. Chesoni  
Election Commission

Ms. John Kadede  
African Association  
of Political Science

Ms. Terry Kantai  
League of Kenya Women Voters

Ms. Ann Kariuki  
FIDA

Mr. Christopher Mulei  
International Commission  
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Mr. Winston Ngaira  
Legal Education and  
Assistance Programme

Mr. Jacob Oguk Oderah  
African Association of  
Political Science

Mr. Jules Olongo  
Sudd H. Consultant

Mr. Ogunde Ombidi  
Church Agencies Network

Mr. Oki Ooko-Ombaka  
Public Law Institute

**LESOTHO**

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Lesotho Council of NGOs

Mr. Ebenezer Malie  
Basotho National Party

Mr. Mophato Monyake  
Marematlou Freedom Party

Ms. Moroesi Tau Thabane  
Lesotho Federation of  
Women Lawyers

**MAURITIUS**

Mr. Soorunjnundun Moosun  
Election Commission

Mr. Sanjit Kumar Teelok  
Mauritius National Assembly

**MOZAMBIQUE**

Ms. Alcinda Antonio de Abreu  
Women, Law and  
Development (MULEIDE)

Mr. Antonio Fernando  
FRELIMO

Mr. Manuel Mendes Fonseca  
RENAMO

Mr. Machado da Graca  
Radio Mozambique

Mr. Pedro Loforte  
FUMD

Mr. Arlindo Moiane  
FRELIMO

Mr. Augusto Simango  
RENAMO

Mr. Lutero Simango  
PCM

**NAMIBIA**

Dr. Peter Katjavivi  
University of Namibia

Mr. Cornelius Pontac  
Directorate of Elections

Mr. George Simataa  
Directorate of Elections

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**SEYCHELLES**

Dr. Maxime Ferrari  
Seychelles Institute for  
Democracy

Mr. Andre Sauzier  
Former Election  
Commission Chair

**SOUTH AFRICA**

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Community Law Centre

Mr. Musa Makhaye  
Vuleka Trust

Ms. Theresa Oakley-Smith  
Career and Resource  
Development Strategies

Ms. Valerie Rose-Christie  
Network of Independent Monitors

Ms. Lucy Voss  
Community Law Center

**SWAZILAND**

Mr. R.M. Dladla  
Law Society of Swaziland

Mr. D.J. Dlamini  
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Mr. Dumsane Dlamini  
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Mr. Sabelo Moses Dlamini  
Swaziland Convention for  
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H.R.H. Hon. Sobandla Dlamini  
Minister for Home Affairs

Mr. Jeremiah Gule  
Institute for Democracy  
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Mr. Arthur Khoza  
Parliamentarians  
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Mr. K.M. Mabuza  
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**TANZANIA**

Mr. Ussi Khamis Haji  
Zanzibar Electoral  
Commission

Ms. Maria Kamn  
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Global Action

Mr. Ben Lobulu  
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Chief Sub-Editor, *Weekly Mail*

Mr. Meshak Maganga  
Parliamentarians for Global Action

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Mr. Cleophas A. Rugalabamu  
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Ms. Hamida Hassani Sheikh  
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Mr. Christopher Kasanga Tumbo  
Union for Multiparty Democracy

### TOGO

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Commission Haute Conseil  
de la Republique de Togo

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Constituent Assembly Commission

Mr. Elly Karuhanga  
Uganda Think Tank Foundation

Mr. Geoffrey A. Onegi-Obel  
National Organization for  
Civic Education & Election Monitoring

Mr. Manuel Pinto  
Parliamentarians for Global Action

Mr. Livingstone Sewanyana  
Foundation for Human Rights Initiative

Mr. Henry B. Ssewanyana  
Foundation for African Development

### ZAMBIA

Mr. Winright Ken Ngondo  
Parliamentarians for Global Action

Eric Suwilunji Silwamba  
Parliamentarians for Global Action

### ZIMBABWE

Mr. Michael Auret  
Catholic Commission  
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Mr. Ephraim Chikadaya  
Zimbabwe High Commission

Mr. David Coltart  
Legal Resources Foundation  
of Zimbabwe

Mr. Patrick Kombayi  
Forum Party of Zimbabwe

Mr. Robert Mabulala  
Zimbabwe High Commission

Mr. T.T. Mudede  
Registrar of Parties

Mr. Peter Musiyiwa  
Forum Party of Zimbabwe

Ms. Lucia Muvingi  
Zimbabwe High Commission

Mr. C.R. Puzey  
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Mrs. Oppah Rusesha  
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Mr. Dennis Rwafa  
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Mr. Ozias Tungwarara  
ZIMRIGHTS

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Mr. Kwesi Addae  
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Mr. Alao Sadikou Ayo  
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Mr. Selassie Quashie  
Pollwatch Africa

Mr. Frank Spengler  
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Mr. Teedzani Woto  
UNDP-Gaborone

**Appendix 7**  
**Participants by Category**

## ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS

Mr. Stephen Akabway  
Chairman  
Uganda Constituent Assembly Commission

Mr. Z.R. Chesoni  
Chairman  
Kenya Election Commission

Mr. Ussi Khamis Haji  
Vice-Chairperson  
Zanzibar Electoral Commission  
Tanzania

Mr. Lewis M. Makame  
Chairperson  
Tanzania Electoral Commission

Mr. Nathaniel Mmono  
Supervisor of Elections  
Botswana

Mr. Soorujnundun Moosun  
Commissioner  
Mauritius Electoral Commission

Mr. T.T. Mudede  
Registrar of Parties  
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Mr. Cornelius Pontac  
Deputy Director  
Namibia Directorate of Elections

Mr. Onofre dos Santos  
General Elections Director  
Angola National Election Council

Mr. Andre Sauzier  
Former Director of Elections  
Seychelles

Mr. George Simataa  
Chief Control Officer  
Namibia Directorate of Elections

Mr. Amare Tekle  
Chairman  
Eritrea Referendum Commission

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Ethiopian Congress for Democracy  
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Ms. Alcinda Antonio De Abreu  
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Zimbabwe  
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Mr. Jeremiah Gule  
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International Federation of Women  
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Uganda Think Tank Foundation  
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Rev. Benjamin Mwangi  
BEERAM  
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Mr. Winston Ngaira  
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Mr. Ogunde Philip Ombidi  
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Mr. Fernando Pacheco  
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Mr. Henry B. Ssewanyana  
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Mr. Ozias Tungwarara  
ZIMRIGHTS  
Zimbabwe

Mr. Mesfin Wolde-Mariam  
Ethiopian Human Rights Council  
Ethiopia

Ms. Lucy Voss  
Community Law Centre  
South Africa

**POLITICAL PARTIES**

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Botswana

Mr. M. Chiswedere  
United Front  
Zimbabwe

Mr. Paul B. Chow  
Democratic Party  
Seychelles

Mr. Maitshwarelo Batu Modikeng Dabutha  
Botswana National Front  
Botswana

Dr. Joao Carlos B.C. de Faria  
Front for Democracy  
Angola

Mr. Antonio Fernando  
FRELIMO  
Mozambique

Mr. Manuel Mendes da Fonseca  
RENAMO  
Mozambique

Mr. Davison Todson Gomo  
Democratic Party  
Zimbabwe

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Mr. John Kadede  
FORD-Kenya  
Kenya

Mr. Thabo Motlamelle  
Basotho National Party  
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Mr. Gabriel Komboni  
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Mr. B. Muchenje  
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Mr. Patrick Kombayi  
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Zimbabwe

Mr. Peter Musiyiwa  
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Zimbabwe

Mr. Pedro Loforte  
FUMO  
Mozambique

Mr. Lopo de Nascimento  
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Mr. Ebenezer Meli Malie  
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Mr. Rakwadi Modipane  
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Mr. Lemogang Dingalo Ntime  
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Botswana

Mr. Matlhomola M.T. Modise  
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Botswana

Mr. James Pilane  
Botswana National Front  
Botswana

Mr. Arlindo Moiane  
FRELIMO  
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Mr. C.R. Puzey  
Forum Party of Zimbabwe  
Zimbabwe

Mr. Mophato Monyake  
Marematlou Freedom Party  
Lesotho

Mr. Loago Raditedu  
Lesedi la Botswana  
Botswana

Ms. Eithopa Mosinyi  
Lesedi la Botswana  
Botswana

Mr. Aime Rakotondrainbe  
Madagascar National Assembly  
Madagascar

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Mrs. Alice Ranthimo  
Lesotho Labour Party  
Lesotho

Mr. Zivaishe Ratisai  
Democratic Party  
Zimbabwe

Mr. Eric Suwilanji Silwamba  
Movement for Multiparty Democracy  
Zambia

Mr. Augusto Simango  
RENAMO  
Mozambique

Mr. Lutero Simango  
PCN  
Mozambique

Mr. Sanjit Kumar Teelok  
MTD  
Mauritius

Mr. Leach Tlhomelang  
Independence Freedom Party  
Botswana

Mr. Ephraim Tsvaringe  
United Front  
Zimbabwe

Mr. Christopher Kasanga Tumbo  
Union for Multiparty Democracy  
Tanzania

Mr. Isafi Peter Woto  
Botswana National Front  
Botswana

Mr. Ismail Aden Yussuf  
FORD-Kenya  
Kenya

Mr. Wurayayi Zembe  
Democratic Party  
Zimbabwe

Mr. F. Zindosa  
United Front  
Zimbabwe

**GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS**

Mr. Venerand Bakeuyumusaya  
Director General  
Ministry of Education  
Burundi

Mr. Mathanzima Dlamini  
King's Advisory Council  
Swaziland

H.R.H. Sobandla Dlamini  
Minister for Home Affairs  
Swaziland

Mr. Arthur Ray Vuyisile Khoza  
Minister of Natural Resources and Energy  
Swaziland

Mr. Antonio Fernando  
Instituto Nacional de Viacao  
Mozambique

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