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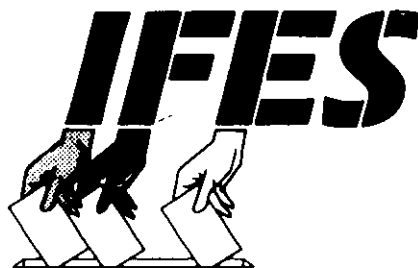
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ANGOLA

Assessment of Proposed Voter Registration Process

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IFES

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSED VOTER REGISTRATION PROCESS AND ELECTIONS IN ANGOLA

NOVEMBER 1991

Prepared for
The International Foundation for Electoral Systems
by

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SECTION ONE

1.0   <u>INTRODUCTION</u>

1.1   This report was prepared following a 10 day visit to Angola (4th to 15th November, 1991). The report is divided into 5 sections. The Introduction (Section One); notes of meetings and discussions; summary of information and details of the work undertaken in the 3 days after arrival (Section Two); Seminar Programme work (Section Three); summary of proceedings at the Seminar (Section Four); and an overview of the position (Section Five).

1.2   I went to Angola as a member of a three person UN Team led by Mr. Horacia Boneo who has a wealth of experience on registration and election matters following responsibility for UN work on elections in Nicaragua, Haiti and Cambodia. The other member of the UN team was Maria Grossi who was also involved in the Nicaragua and Haiti elections. I also represented the interests of IFES.

1.3   During the assignment I worked closely with Mr. Nigel Buttler who was the UK Government representative at the Seminar. This arrangement worked both to my advantage and his in terms of ability of both of us to gain additional information.

1.4   The primary purpose of the assignment was to attend the Seminar organised by the Angolan Government which was to discuss the registration process and elections. The advance planning of the Seminar was minimal and the brief given to Mr. Buttler in the United Kingdom prior to travel to Angola was changed substantially and Mr. Buttler ended up speaking on different topics. Mr. Buttler and I having known one another for several years were able to work jointly on many aspects of the Seminar.

1.5   The cost of the Seminar was met largely by the Swedish Government.

1.6   Although the time spent in Angola was limited to 10 days the programme of activity was intense and, with the exception of one half day, all the time was spent either in meetings, preparations for the Seminar, at the Seminar or at post-Seminar meetings.

1.7   The assignment was characterised for me by the excellent working relationships between all those who were involved in the organisation and management of the Seminar (the Angolan Government delegates and the delegates from the UN, UK, Portugal and Zimbabwe) which made the task both easier and enjoyable and also by the quality of Mr. Boneo's leadership of the UN team and the depth of his knowledge of registration and elections in a difficult environment.

1.8   Mr. Boneo has reported directly to the UN and this report has therefore been prepared for IFES; certain of the information contained herein has also been incorporated in Mr. Boneo's report.

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SECTION TWO

2.0 NOTES OF MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS AND SUMMARY OF INFORMATION

2.1   The situation in Angola with reference to the implementation of the registration process and the elections was discussed with the following persons in the 3 days following arrival and prior to commencement of preparations for the Seminar:-

> Paolo Baldan - Programme Officer, UNDP.
> Tore Zetterberg - First Secretary, Swedish Embassy.
> Stephen Noakes - First Secretary, British Embassy.
> Antonio De Merandar - Assistant to the Vice-Minister, Ministry of Territorial Administration, Government of Angola.
> Georges Dawitt - Co-ordinator, Special Relief Programme, UNDP.
> Guiseppe Lubatti - Representative of the World Food Programme, UNDP.
> J.B. Kussumva - Vice-Minister, Ministry of Territorial Administration, Government of Angola.
> Alfred Fawundu - Deputy Resident Representative, UNDP.
> Hugo Anson - Senior Political Adviser, UNAVEM.
> Nigel Buttler - Representative of UK Government at Seminar.
> Lopo do Nascimento - Minister of Territorial Administration.

2.2   The Peace Accord signed on 31st May, 1991 requires the completion of the registration process and the holding of elections in September, 1992, both activities to be conducted subject to international verification by observers, who have to remain in Angola until they certify that the registration and elections were free and fair.

2.3   There will be two Elections, one for President and one for a National Assembly. The Presidential contest is likely to be on a "first past the post" basis with the National Assembly on a simple Proportional Representation Basis - i.e. the vote will be for the Party and if a Party gets 33% of the vote it gets 33% of the seats. However, no final decisions have yet been made.

2.4   The organisation of the registration process and the elections is a massive task due primarily to the lack of infrastructure the scale both of the country of Angola and of the potential electorate coupled with the lack of an organised administrative structure with the capacity to undertake the work.

2.5   A summary of other information about local conditions and factors which have to be taken into account in the organisation of the registration process and the elections follows below. No summary has been made of local conditions and considerations other than those which are relevant to the registration process or elections.

(a)   Population and Electorate

There are 18 provinces and the best U.N. estimates of population are:-

Province	Population	Displaced Persons	Refugees
Cabinda	167,100	162	13,794
Zaire	204,100	10,000	58,531
Uige	862,000	71,690	76,873
Luanda	1713,000	-	10,949
Bengo	168,700	50,000	11,163
Kwanzworte	384,300	30,000	5,900
Malanje	909,900	33,324	12,354
Lundaworte	295,000	69,303	3,000
Lunda Sul	155,000	14,669	8,196
Kwanza Sul	657,600	95,000)	
Benguela	656,500	80,000)	
Huambo	1560,700	79,539)	7,109
Huila	886,400	84,974)	
Bie	1151,600	33,283)	
Moxico	322,400	75,000	46,131
Namibe	118,300	10,000	
Kuando Kubango	129,800	70,000	
Cunene	231,600	20,000	

These figures show a total population of 10,574,000 and this includes:-

    827,000 displaced persons
    254,000 refugees
     50,000 orphans
     50,000 persons disabled by mines or other warfare.

It is estimated that demobilised troops total 150,000 with their families totalling another 100,000. There are approximately 300,000 refugees from Angola currently residing in Zaire and Zimbabwe - these are not included in the above figures. It is anticipated that the repatriation of these refugees will take place in April and May 1992.

Although it was not possible to obtain an accurate figure in Angola it is understood there are several hundred thousand Angolan citizens currently resident in Portugal.

From the above it is estimated that the potential electorate of Angola is between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000.

In terms of organisation of elections and the registration process beforehand, the scale is formidable. A further factor is that accurate statistics are hard to obtain; for example in Kuando Kubango the official estimate of population is 129,800. The Provincial Governor's estimate is 178,000 and the UNITA estimate is 549,000.

Several persons expressed the view that with the hoped for improvements to communications there could be significant movements of population both before the registration process and between the registration process and the elections.

(b)   **Communications**

All provincial capitals can be accessed by road albeit with considerable difficulty in places.   Movement on other roads is extremely difficult.   One UN Agency reported five incidents with vehicles striking mines within the last month.   Many reservations were expressed about the difficulty of travel in terms of the registration process and the elections.   In some parts of Angola, five different military forces have been laying mines in the last 20 years and records of this activity are minimal or non existent.   70% of the roads are unusable for this reason.   Movement by aircraft and helicopters would be limited only by their availability.   Telephones are difficult in Luanda and largely non-existent elsewhere.   Fuel is very difficult to obtain in many areas.

(c)   **Control of Areas**

Estimates of the area controlled by the Government vary from 50% of the country to 70%   The area outside Government control is either controlled by UNITA or there is no control.   In terms of the registration process and elections, this emphasizes the need for the support of the political parties and the people.

(d)   **Facilities**

The firm view is that there are no facilities outside the provincial capitals which could be used to accommodate any numbers of outside staff and in the provincial capitals facilities are either very basic or non-existent.   All food, water, election material and material for registration would have to be brought in from outside (Angola).   The relief programmes are currently feeding (inter alia) the 250,000 troops and families because neither the Government nor UNITA can feed their troops.   Relief programmes are in operation in 9 of the 18 provinces and the next phase will extend to all 18 provinces.

There will be no prospect of organising the registration process/elections without relying substantially on manpower sources already in the provinces in Angola and familiar with local conditions unless massive expenditure was incurred on logistical support for staff either from outside or already elsewhere in Angola.

(e)   **Organisation and Equipment**

The registration process and the elections are to be organised by the Ministry of Territorial Administration.   The Minister, Vice-Minister and two other staff are involved with the task.   The planning of the process is in its very early stage.   The scale of the task will require much greater manpower.   In terms of equipment and material, these are in equally short supply and virtually everything will have to be brought in from outside.   Government responses to correspondence and visits can be extremely long in the coming.   Whilst the Government may well appreciate the scale of the task, little work has been carried out to date.   Other UN Agencies and Embassies have found it extremely difficult to get responses to even straight forward correspondence without long delays.   Substantial losses of equipment imported through the port or airport in Luanda have occurred.   None of the Government Officials involved have any experience of the registration process or elections.

(f)   **Resources**

The Government have indicated that no funds have yet been specifically allocated either for the registration process or elections nor have any budgets been prepared.

(g)   **Political Parties**

The number of political parties who will contest the election is not yet known. 15 political parties will be attending the Seminar. 30 political parties have been "declared" but a number of these are at an embryo stage. The informal local view was that there could well be only two principal contestants (MPLA & UNITA) but several persons inclined to the opinion that a significant third party could emerge - possibly PRD. No political parties were yet qualified to stand in the elections beyond the MPLA and UNITA (the latter considered they did not need to register). The conditions for registration were complex - 3,000 signatures including a minimum of 150 from each of 14 provinces backed up by proof of identity for each signatory.

(h)   **Inter-Party Co-Operation**

According to several UN and other sources, co-operation between (the military arms of) the Government (MPLA) and UNITA has been reasonable from the Peace Accord to date. There may be scope to build on this to help with the registration process/elections. Joint Government (MPLA) and UNITA Commanders of the Armed Forces have just been appointed.

(i)   **Electoral Commission**

The Government propose to establish an Electoral Commission to regulate the election process and this Commission would include representatives of the judiciary, the political parties and other independent persons plus the Minister responsible for the elections.

(j)   **Technical Assistance**

The Government proposed to ask the UN and other possible sources for technical assistance with the organisation of the registration process and the elections.

(k)   **Validation of Elections**

The Government proposed to ask the UN to undertake the verification of the registration process and of the elections.

(l)   **Delimitation of Boundaries**

This was irrelevant as there would be no restriction on where voters could vote and the elections were both on a national basis.

From information gained at that stage of the assignment the following first impressions were formed and taken into account in the planning of the Seminar (described in more detail in Section Three):-

(1) **Overall**

It was extremely unlikely that the Government could organise the registration process and the elections without substantial external support and assistance. The experience gained in the adjoining country of Namibia, although of some relevance, should not be regarded as a precedent. Angola was 50% larger than Namibia, its electorate about 8 times greater and the infrastructure and conditions in much of Angola were far worse than Namibia. This left aside the question of the cost of the Namibia operation. For the registration process and elections to take place in a free and fair manner the constraints of operating in Angola needed to be recognised and the processes made straightforward and simple so that they could be operated largely or wholly by Angolan staff after reasonable training; considerable work would probably need to be devolved to Provincial level.

(2) **Registration**

As a primary question thought needed to be given as to whether registration was to be a prerequisite to voting. With the problems and difficulties within the country the prospect of registering a high proportion of electorate might not be good. Therefore at the election non-registered persons might be allowed to vote if, for example, they were accompanied by a registered voter who could vouch for their identity. Registration could not take place effectively without the co-operation of (at least) the Government and UNITA. The registration process needed to be simple and capable of being implemented in the most basic conditions and it was unlikely that the high quality photo ID card proposed by De La Rue was a feasible proposition. Cost alone would probably rule it out and the equipment could well be the subject of problems. A simple ID card prepared in duplicate was probably the best answer. The qualifications for registration had not been settled and no decision had yet been made on registration of Angolan citizens outside Angola.

(3) **Electoral Commission**

The Government's proposal to establish an Electoral Commission were a positive step in the right direction.

(4) **Polling and Counting Votes**

The process needed to be kept simple. There would be two ballot papers, a dye system would be used to mark both the voter (and the registration card). There was a possibility of having a tear-off slip on the registration card which would be removed when voting. This would be an additional safeguard and would avoid the need to "dye" cards. A decision needed to be made to permit or not permit voting without a registration card. An alternative would be to allow registration at the polling station. Organising security would be difficult. Counting in the polling stations was probably the best answer. Again, no decision had been made on whether voting would be allowed outside Angola.

(5) **Staff**

A massive training programme was needed; demobilised troops (officers) might be the best source of staff as suggested by the Minister. External assistance would be needed in training.

(6) Voter Education

A major voter education programme was needed both in the registration process and elections.

(7) Verification

Mobile observers would be needed to verify the registration process but as this could continue for several months there would be ample opportunity for a series of spot and continuing checks. Verification of the voting and counting procedures in "Namibia" style would be virtually impossible. Mobile observers on polling day were likely to be the best answer who would then observe by visits on Polling Day as many polling stations as possible and then stay at one count. If 300 outside observers were involved they would only be present at well under 10% of the counts if they were held in the polling stations.

SECTION THREE

3.0 SEMINAR PROGRAMME WORK

3.1 The Angolan Government prepared a broad programme for the Seminar. However the Delegation from Namibia did not attend which required an adjustment to the programme in any event.

3.2 The Portuguese Delegation (2 persons) arrived on the 10th November and the delegation from Zimbabwe (5 persons) on the 11th November. It was apparent from discussions with the Minister that the knowledge of the electoral process of those attending the Seminar was likely to be minimal.

3.3 Meetings took place between the various overseas delegates and also with the Minister which resulted in the overseas delegates preparing a revised overall programme which was agreed by the Minister. The programme aimed at providing a balanced discussion and explanation of the experiences from similar elections elsewhere coupled with addressing directly the anticipated problems in Angola and giving practical advice on alternative ways in which the registration process and elections could be undertaken in Angola.

3.4 The general consensus among the overseas delegates was that it was necessary to concentrate on processes which were relevant to the local conditions and it was also agreed to stress the need:-

(i) for the electoral law to be settled as soon as possible;

(ii) for there to be as much co-operation between the political parties as possible; and

(iii) for the establishment preferably of both an Electoral Commission and settlement of a Code of Conduct governing the activities of the political parties.

3.5 The various overseas delegates worked together extremely well and substantial alterations were made to the presentations that had been planned prior to arrival in Angola; in the event the degree of repetition at the Seminar was minimal and the overall programme was well balanced.

SEMINAR REGARDING REGISTRATION AND ELECTION

Congress Hall, Luanda, Angola

12th - 15th November, 1991

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

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SECTION FOUR

1. ## Introduction

The Seminar took place in the Congress Hall, Luanda, starting at 4.00 p.m. on Tuesday 12th November and concluding at mid-day on Friday 15th November. The official Opening Ceremony took place in the Main Hall and all other proceedings in the Main Conference Room. Once the Opening Ceremony had been concluded all other sessions were Chaired by Lopo do Nascimento, the Minister for Territorial Administration.

The Seminar took the form of presentations by speakers on Registration and Election processes elsewhere and on various aspects of the Registration process and Elections which might apply in Angola, followed by questions and general debate.

2. ## Seminar Programme

This was as follows:

Tuesday 12th November, 1991

16.00 - **Official opening by Prime Minister Fernando Franca Van Dunem.**

17.00 - **Professor Reg Austin, Zimbabwe - Subject: Organising Elections in a Post Conflict Situation in Zimbabwe.**

This session included a detailed explanation of the first elections in Zimbabwe which were organised in a post conflict situation similar to Angola. The elections were not preceded by any form of registration and relied on application of dye to voters' fingers to guard against double voting. Professor Austin gave details of the political situation in Zimbabwe at the time and also that the elections were carried out in a very short timescale due to requirements imposed by the British Government. He continuingly referred, during the course of his address, to the fact that the British had established a commission and appointed Lord Soames to oversee the election process. He also referred to the presence of observers from outside Zimbabwe and of Police Officers from the United Kingdom to assist in keeping order at the polling stations.

Wednesday 13th November, 1991

09.00 - **Mr. Nigel Buttler, United Kingdom - Subjects:**

   (1)   **The Electoral Register and Means of Identification**

   (2)   **Nomination of Agents by Parties**

   (3)   **The Electoral Campaign**

Mr. Buttler gave a detailed explanation firstly of the registration process and started by giving examples of the situation in the United Kingdom which involved the preparation of a Register of Electors. With regard to Angola, he drew attention to the fact that the registration problem was likely to be the most difficult task. In terms of means of identification, he advised that electoral law would lay down the qualifications for registration and gave examples of what these might be. He then gave the various alternatives as to means of identification varying from the potential elector simply satisfying the Registration Officer that the voter was of age and an Angolan citizen through to the potential elector being vouched for by a third party and additionally relying on some form of identity document.

He stressed the need for simplicity in any registration process due to the scale of the task to be undertaken and that it was better to have a simple system that worked well but risked a few people getting the vote who should not have it, rather than a complicated one which worked badly.

With regard to political party agents, he outlined the role of party agents in observing the registration and voting processes and drew attention to the specific roles which they could have in these areas and at the counting of the votes. He explained in detail that the role of the agents was not to carry out any specific function but to see that the officials dealt with the job properly and the agents also had an important role in helping to control their supporters.

The final part of his address dealt with the electoral campaign and the elements which were included in this and Mr. Buttler outlined the type of activities which were often regarded as offences in other countries during the period running of the election campaign. He considered it would be highly advisable for a Code of Conduct to be prepared governing how the political parties should operate.

11.30 -   **Domingo Migueles, Portugal - Subject: Organisation of Electoral Rolls**

Mr. Migueles spoke on how the compilation of a list of voters was dealt with in Portugal and gave a detailed explanation on how the rolls were prepared. He stressed the time which it had taken in Portugal to develop the system and that it would be difficult to implement such a system in Angola in a short timescale.

15.00 -   **Mr. N. Buttler - Subject: Procedure Before Election Day; How Voting Will Take Place; Count and Results**

Mr. Buttler outlined in the first part of this session the procedure before polling day and the items necessary to be completed including the printing of ballot papers, the provision of equipment in polling stations, the appointment of staff and the distribution of ballot papers and materials for the poll.

With regard to voting in the polling station he outlined the polling process which might be applied in Angola and also drew attention to the need to consider some form of system for persons who were not registered to vote in case the registration process was, for any reason, delayed or incomplete. He drew attention to the need to account for all ballot papers issued at polling stations.

With regard to procedure after voting finished, the most important task was the count and Mr. Buttler gave details of the options for counting in the polling stations, in provincial centres or in regional centres and again how the results could be transmitted to the central control point.

Mr. Buttler concluded by drawing attention to the need to have some Commission or organisation to deal with any disputes or challenges which might arise as a result of the election and also for all documentation to be kept in secure conditions.

Thursday 14th November, 1991

09.00 -   **Maria Grossi and George Smith, United Nations**

Maria Grossi explained in detail the experience gained in the Nicaragua and Haiti elections in terms of comparisons with Angola. She explained the political background and also the logistical difficulties which were faced. She explained how the United Nations' presence in both countries had been limited and that in many cases it was up to the political parties to observe and check that the procedure was being properly carried out. Operations in both Nicaragua and Haiti had not been of the scale of the Namibia operation.

George Smith spoke on the Namibia elections drawing attention to matters which might be of use in Angola. He gave details of numbers of registration stations, the registration process and the voting process as followed in Namibia. He drew particular attention to the scale of the problem in Angola compared to Namibia and to the much more difficult infrastructure conditions. He was of the view that it would be extremely difficult to mount a similar operation to Namibia in Angola, even if the resources were available. However, there was benefit to be learnt from the Namibian experience particularly in terms of the Codes of Conduct of the political parties and the information campaigns run both for the registration and voting processes.

11.30 -   **Georges Migueis, Portugal - Subject: Electoral Systems**

Mr. Migueis spoke on the subject of electoral systems. Mr. Migueis explained in detail the methods of voting applied in Portugal and gave examples of the various ballot papers used and also how the proportional representations process worked in Portugal. He also explained the timetabling of the Portuguese Election and the disadvantages caused on occasions by the extremely long drawn out period of the election campaign and the election itself.

15.00 - **Tobaiwa Mudede, Zimbabwe · Subject: Electoral Structures and Organisations and Conduct of Elections**

Mr. Mudede explained in details the registration provisions in Zambia which involved the preparation of a metal identity card for every citizen. This was cross-referenced with driving licences, passports and other Government material and was virtually indestructible. There was a register prepared for each of the constituencies in Zimbabwe and overall central records (both kept on a computer database). The Zimbabwe structure had taken five years to prepare and was comprehensive and well documented. Its application to Angola was, however, likely to be of limited relevance for the first elections. Mr. Mudede then went through how the voting process was dealt with in Zimbabwe and this was followed by a practical demonstration involving some of the participants at the Seminar showing how polling could take place and giving a step by step outline of the voting process.

Friday 15th November, 1991

09.00 - **Nigel Buttler, U.K. · Subject: Training Programme**

Mr. Buttler stressed that the prerequisite of successful registration and elections was adequate training. He set out the need to prepare a clear and co-ordinated programme, to find the resources to carry it out and to prepare clear and concise manuals for the various staff training areas. He then went through other aspects of training relative to education to voters about registration and election, training for party agents and training of staff in the registration, voting and counting process.

Horacio Boneo · Costs and External Assistance

Mr. Boneo gave the Seminar broad approximations of costs involved in terms of procurement of equipment, printing ballot papers and outlined the programme for the registration and voting processes. He stressed the need for separate procurement agencies to be established who could take the decisions needed to appoint staff and purchase supplies as they were needed. He stressed the need to make maximum use of resources already within Angola including possibly Army transport and demobilised members of the armed forces. Mr. Boneo then spoke on the need for external assistance and defined the role of observers from outside of Angola. He explained the scale of the U.N.'s involvement in Namibia in terms of observers and compared this with Nicaragua, Haiti and other elections where the number of U.N. was much less.

With regard to technical assistance he gave details of the types of assistance which might be available from outside Angola including computer systems, staff to assist in training those to work on the registration and election processes, and staff who could deal with the voter education campaigns both on registration and the voting process itself. The UNDP representative then spoke outlining the

role of UNDP and pledging their help to achieve a successful conclusion of the registration and voting processes.

The Minister then closed the Seminar with thanks to the parties concerned.

3. **Attendance at Seminar**

This comprised the following:-

3 representatives from each of the 18 Angolan provinces, representatives from the political parties (although the numbers varied), representatives from the Judiciary, representatives from the various Ministries and representatives from the Universities.

From outside of Angola there were the following delegates:-

Great Britain (1), United Nations (3), Portugal (2), Zimbabwe (5).

The average attendance during the Seminar was of the order of 120 to 130 persons. There was no noticeable change in the attendance rate during any of the sessions.

4. **Conclusions**

The quality of translation at times during this Seminar was poor but this did not cause any major problems. The quality of questions and level of interest from those attending the Seminar was quite good. There were many questions directly pertinent to the voting processes, the roles of the political parties, the options for registration and the scale of the logistical tasks to be undertaken all of which indicated a keen interest on the part of those present.

The Minister chaired the Seminar very effectively and the general organisational arrangements were good. A few of the sessions over-ran the allocated time but this only caused difficulties for one or two of the following sessions in that they started and finished later.

At the end of the Seminar the Minister met with all the outside delegates and expressed thanks for their part in organising the Seminar. Generally he was quite pleased with the outcome and particularly with the level of co-operation, support and interest which was received from those other political parties present.

Taken overall, the Seminar was quite effective in achieving the overall objective of advising as many people as possible of the scale of the work to be undertaken in Angola; the need to start planning immediately and the number of decisions to be taken.

The work carried out in the three days preceding the Seminar in terms of meetings with the Minister and also the liaison which took place between the various "overseas" delegates to ensure compatibility of presentations, was undoubtedly a great advantage and without this the Seminar would have been much less effective.

SECTION FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND OVERVIEW OF POSITION

The conclusions and overview arising from the assessment are as follows:-

(a) **Scale and Logistics**

The scale of the logistical task facing the Angolan Government in the organisation of the registration process and elections is enormous. Statistics have been included earlier in this report giving details of population size etc. Suffice to say that there were a number of people both in the UN organisation, in the military and elsewhere who had experience of the Namibian elections (myself included) and the general consensus was that organising registration and elections in Angola would be between ten and twenty times more difficult than it was in Namibia.

(b) **Attitude of Government and Political Parties**

As far as can be judged there is a genuine willingness on the part of the Government and the political parties who were represented at the Seminar to see the registration process and elections succeed. Bearing in mind the fact that the Government controls probably not much more than 50% of the country, there is no way the elections can take place without the complete support of MPLA and UNITA as an absolute minimum. The Election Organisation Administration currently existing within the Government is minimal; it consists of one official with some help. There is no sign of any effective administration unit being formed for the purposes of elections or electoral registration and the establishment of such a unit must be a priority and it must be given proper resources in terms of both materials and manpower.

The establishment of a Political Party Forum to exchange views on registration and election matters in a less formal atmosphere than the Electoral Commission would be an advantage.

(c) **Registration Staff**

The Government's proposals are to use demobilised military personnel made up into teams for the purposes of registration. Although this has some draw backs in terms of getting the correct balance of the teams, it is probably the only workable solution given the logistical problems. However, use of this type of personnel, even at officer level, highlights the need referred to later for an urgent programme of training.

(d) **Registration Card**

The registration card originally favoured by the Government was a high quality De La Rue printed card on security paper incorporating a photograph of the bearer and sealed in a laminated case. The cost of this would be substantial compared to a simpler card and the general view of those familiar with local conditions was that the prospect of being able to produce this type of card throughout the country

were minimal. Following discussions with the De La Rue representatives on the final day in Angola, they were advised of this view (prior to their meetings in the following week with the Government). The general consensus was that a more simple card on security paper including the voters name, address, basic particulars and thumb print or signature would be preferable and the card could be kept in a simple plastic wallet. There could be a perforated tear off section on the card containing the same registration number as the card which could be detached at the polling station and kept in a separate ballot box - this would serve as an additional safeguard against fraud. The registration card would be prepared in duplicate and one copy kept centrally and a computer database established of the overall electorate and provincial totals.

(e)   Registration Implementation

To achieve a high percentage of Registration is going to present problems. In Namibia there was a very high percentage of registration, probably almost 100%; however conditions there were much more favourable. In Angola with the number of displaced persons and movements of population it may well not be possible because of the timescale and having regard to the logistical and other constraints to get a high percentage of persons registered before the election date.

At this stage it is premature to speculate at what level it would be satisfactory to continue with the elections; however, consideration must be given to some means of allowing persons, who through no fault of their own are not registered, the ability to vote in the polling station whether through being vouched for by another elector with identity or whatever. The success of the registration process will depend to a considerable degree on the voter education campaigns and the staff training programmes both of which are referred to later.

The role of political parties featured frequently during the Seminar and all those making presentations, including myself, stressed the need for training of political agents. Again, this is referred to later in the comment on training. There appears to be no prospect of the scale of external observation and security that was present, for example, in Namibia. In these circumstances, in many registration stations, the main check on the activities is going to be undertaken by political party agents. The role of the parties in involving agents to observe the registration processes and elections is essential if these are to stand a reasonable chance of being free and fair.

(f)   Polling Arrangements and The Count

The election date has not yet been decided nor has a decision been made as to the period of the poll. While views differed among overseas delegates, there was no support for a lengthy polling process; opinion was divided as to whether the process should last one or two days. It would not be possible to produce any form of register for each polling station and depending on the success of registration, it may not even be easy to get any form of accurate assessment as to the number of voters in a particular area. The position is further complicated by the likely substantial movements of population so numbers at polling stations could vary considerably from estimates. There would be a risk of polling stations running out

of ballot papers because of population movements and lack of information - it would be necessary to have a considerate potential "over supply" of ballot papers to polling stations because of this risk which then would give rise to security problems.

In some countries where elections have been held for the first time on the one person, one vote principle, there has been some previous history of elections of some sort. This is not the case in Angola. To hope to complete voting in a single twelve hour day may be optimistic. Within the polling station there will have to be a number of steps including as a minimum:-

(i)   checking (through dye) whether the voter has voted before;

(ii)   scrutiny of registration card (and detachment of counterfoil if appropriate);

(iii)   questioning of the voter as to name and identity;

(iv)   application of dye;

(v)   handing ballot papers to voter;

(vi)   marking of ballot papers; and

(vii)   deposit of ballot papers in ballot box.

This means that even if all voters are registered and have registration cards, the process is going to take some time. Decisions on the voting period should be made in the light of the decisions on electoral law which will define the voting process. The number of polling stations remains to be decided in the light of the registration information but could be well in excess of 3,000. The above voting process does not include marking ballot papers with an "official mark" or preparing a list of voters without Registration Cards if they are permitted to vote.

If the "detachable counter foil" system is used then these counterfoils would be kept in a separate ballot box and the number ought to tally with the number of ballot papers providing voting was only allowed with a registration card. Dealing with non-registered voters would have to involve either completion of some form of declaration (which would go in the same ballot box as the counterfoils so that the number of counterfoils and declarations equalled the number of ballot papers) or alternatively a registration prior to voting process.

To account for ballot papers a single control document could be prepared for each polling station on the lines of the following example:-

POLLING STATION NO: 76

PROVINCE: CABINDA

LOCATION: ANYWHERE

	PRESIDENTIAL	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NUMBER OF BALLOT PAPERS RECEIVED	3000	3000
NUMBER OF MARKED BALLOT PAPERS IN BOX:	2100	2100
NUMBER OF SPOILT BALLOT PAPERS IN BOX:	5	5
NUMBER OF UNUSED BALLOT PAPERS IN BOX:	895	895
TOTAL	3000	3000

RESULT

PRESIDENTIAL

CANDIDATE A	400
CANDIDATE B	500
CANDIDATE C	325
CANDIDATE D	875
REJECTED	-
TOTAL	2100

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

PARTY A	200
PARTY B	100
PARTY C	300
PARTY D	575
PARTY E	90
PARTY F	110
PARTY G	690
PARTY H	35
REJECTED	-
TOTAL	2100

....

Officer in Charge

COUNTER SIGNATURES OF PARTY AGENTS:

.... PARTY A .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE A

.... PARTY B .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE B

.... PARTY C .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE C

.... PARTY D .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE D

.... PARTY E .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE E

.... PARTY F .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE F

.... PARTY G .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE G

.... PARTY H .... PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE H

This would account for all ballot papers at the station and also include the result for that station. By use of a carbon impregnated form copies could be given to the party agents present who could countersign the form. The material returned from the polling station sealed in ballot boxes after completion of the counting would be the Control Form, the Used Ballot Papers, the Unused Ballot Papers and the Counterfoils/Declarations from the Registration. All this material could easily be rechecked centrally if necessary and in the event of a challenge.

This is on the assumption that counting takes place in the polling stations; this is probably the best option because of the travel/infrastructure problems and also would achieve prompt results and minimise the risk of confusion of several polling station boxes if these are collected together.

It would be desirable to set up a communications network to collate results centrally; Mr. Boneo's proposal to at least have a network among the outside observers and thus obtain a representative sample to get a "quick" anticipated result has much to commend it.

After the completion of the Count all election material would be removed to firstly the Provincial Capital and eventually Luanda where it would need to be stored in an indexed manner under secure conditions pending any challenge of results of other investigations.

The question of security at polling stations needs careful consideration; it may be necessary to rely heavily on the activities of the political party agents to check the voting process and also to control supporters. To get any meaningful security presence from outside Angola would be a major task. Whether again it would be possible to use demobilised military personnel to "police" the polling stations is worthy of consideration.

(g)   Outside Observers

The requirements of the Lisbon Accord relative to outside observers mean that there would be a significant number of persons brought in to watch the registration, polling and counting processes. The infrastructure conditions are

such that any observers brought in would probably have to be accommodated in the country for the minimum period possible. The leader of the UN Team was of the view that say 300 observers would be appropriate for polling. This would mean that many polling stations would not be covered at all. If possible the outside observers would try and check all the polling stations in the country during the polling process and then go to selected counts. Having outside observers in polling stations for the whole of the polling process would be extraordinarily difficult to achieve.

(h) <u>Security</u>

As mentioned in (f) above the maintenance of security around the polling stations appears a source of potential problems. This again was one of the reasons why speakers at the Seminar continually stressed the need for political parties to train agents to control their supporters.

(i) <u>Education and Training</u>

There is need for massive education and training programmes in the following areas:-

(1) <u>Generally:</u> to the population eligible to vote about the registration process and voting. It is unlikely the normal media covers more than a small percentage of the population and there is a high degree of illiteracy.

It is essential that the political parties are involved in this process aswell.

(2) <u>Political parties and agents:</u> training is needed to the parties as to the role of their agents which, if the elections are to succeed, will be critical. This training would not be in areas of politics but as to the mechanics of the registration process and voting and how they can be checked by the agents.

(3) <u>Registration staff:</u> The registration staff need to be trained fully in the process as soon as the electoral law is settled to give details of the registration qualifications.

(4) <u>Polling staff:</u> Full training needs to be given for staff on the election process.

(5) <u>Overall:</u> It is considered manuals should be prepared for political agents, registration staff and polling staff. The establishment of the initial training programmes for voter education and for registration staff are a matter of utmost priority. It will be necessary to undertake training on a pyramid basis with a central core being dealt with first and then progressively dealing with more and more people.

(j) <u>Resources</u>

Resources within Angola to organise the registration process and elections are minimal. There is no hope of the processes succeeding without substantial outside resources both in terms of manpower and of materials. The registration cards and ballot papers would certainly have to be printed outside Angola and virtually all other materials needed for the election would have to come from outside. Establishment of communications systems would be a priority. Whether or not

there are sufficient military vehicles to deal with transport requirements should be assessed as a matter of urgency. No attempt has been made to list materials and supplies needed as was done in the case of the IFES Lesotho assessment - it is suffice to say that virtually all material for the election using the widest definition will need to be imported.

(k)   **Computer Systems**

These need to be established to deal with voter registration as an absolute minimum. Capacity should be sufficient to be used for future elections with a more refined registration process.

(l)   **Expert Staff**

Key expert staff need to be brought in as soon as possible. This is mentioned in the overview.

(l)   **Procurement**

A separate procurement executive to purchase material, appoint staff and generally make decisions to implement the registration process and elections is needed to work outside the existing administration as the time scale for making decisions is extremely tight.

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OVERVIEW

Planning and preparation work undertaken to date is minimal. Basic decisions on the content of the electoral law remain to be made from which all other work will follow.

It is not possible at this stage to identify the costs of the registration process and elections to any substantial degree. What is abundantly clear is that there is a massive logistical task to be undertaken against an extremely tight time scale in an environment where there are major infrastructure problems and a lack of resources.

Substantial immediate outside technical assistance is essential particular in the areas of:-

completion of the electoral law including establishment of Electoral Commision and Code of Conduct;

preparation of programme and timetables and identification of key tasks;

training and education (to include all voter education);

procurement of materials.

Key staff should be brought in as soon as possible to assist in these areas. The timetable is such that the immediate planning of the registration process is essential.

There may well be a case for preparing a "contingency plan" to implement if the registration process is ineffective. It would still be possible to organise a more simple election relying on only basic identification of voters and checks against double voting.

Discussions are required by the Angolan Government <u>in the early part of December</u> particularly in terms of settling the electoral law which will define the qualifications for registration and the process to be followed and also the voting process.

It is essential to retain the co-operation of UNITA and the other political parties if the registration process and the elections are to succeed.

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