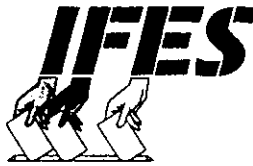


Date Printed: 11/03/2008

JTS Box Number: IFES_3
Tab Number: 2
Document Title: Comoros: A Pre-Election Assessment
Report, November 20, 1991
Document Date: 1991
Document Country: Comoros
IFES ID: R01562



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International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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COMOROS
A PRE-ELECTION ASSESSMENT REPORT
November 20, 1991

by
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and
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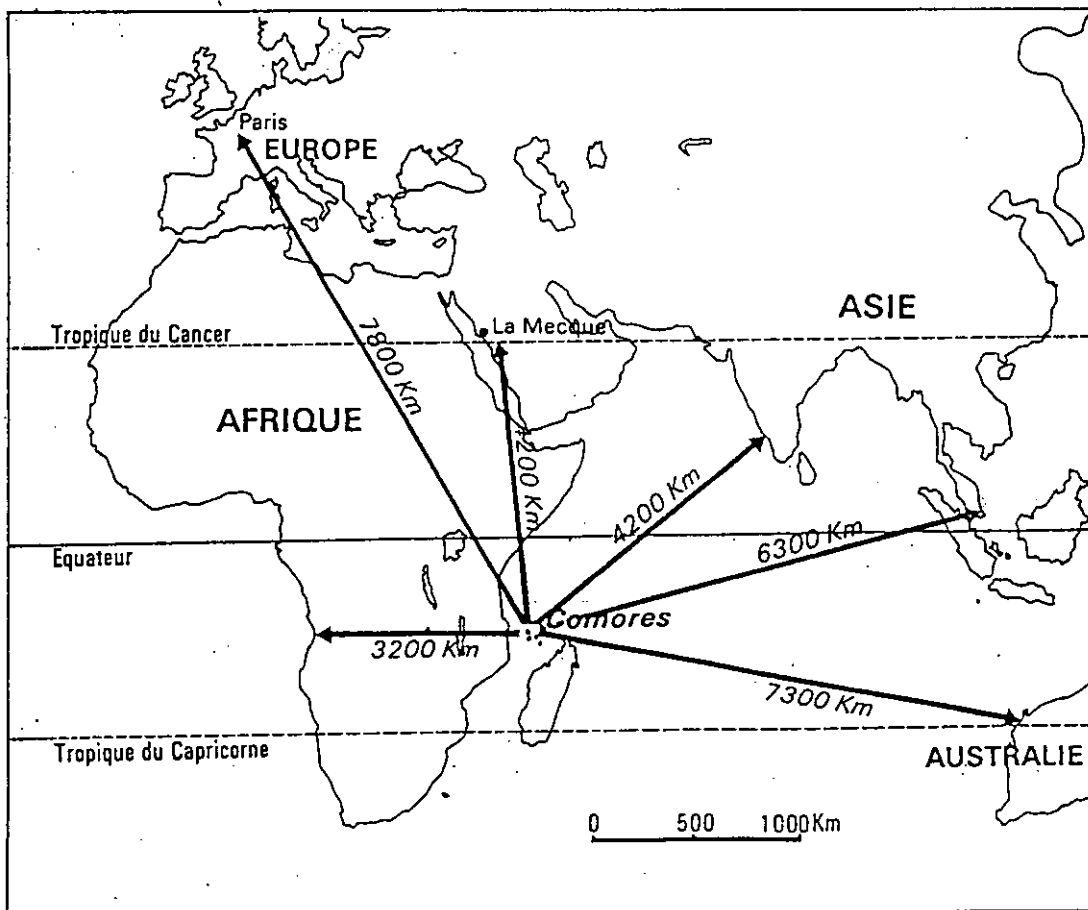
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PART I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, a small archipelago lying between the Island of Madagascar and the Mozambique coast in the Indian Ocean, has suffered a series of unstable governments since independence in 1975, after 134 years as a French colony.

With an impoverished population of some 500,000 descended from Bantu Africans and Arabs, the islands depend on foreign aid, mainly French, to survive.

Less than two years ago, Said Mohamed Djohar, 72, then Supreme Court president, assumed the acting presidency, as provided by the 1978 Constitution, after President Ahmed Abdallah Abdouramene was assassinated on November 27, 1979. Four months later, after delayed and controversial elections, he was elected president over 7 adversaries for a six year term.

The coalition government led by President Djohar is temporary pending ratification of a new Constitution by referendum. The reformed government under the new constitution will have a Prime Minister in addition to President, a National Assembly, and a multi-party system. The interim government's progress has been slowed by several alleged coup attempts and various opposition party imbroglios. Delays in French support payments creating state employee unrest, economic difficulties arising from slumping vanilla, cloves, and perfume essence export, and slow tourism development have also impeded governmental reform efforts. Several political parties oppose President Djohar's efforts to implement IMF and World Bank-promoted economic reforms. These parties also boycotted a Roundtable Conference of political parties convened this year to finalize and promote a new Constitution.

The President is now awaiting a favorable opportunity to call a referendum to pass the Roundtable's Constitution and create a new government under a Prime Minister. Multi-party elections for a National Assembly and Island and Municipal Councils should follow shortly after the referendum.

A number of socio-economic characteristics of the country are conducive to establishing a democratic political system. Comoros has a small, relatively homogeneous population of approximately half a million, grouped mainly in villages and towns; a total of only 700 square

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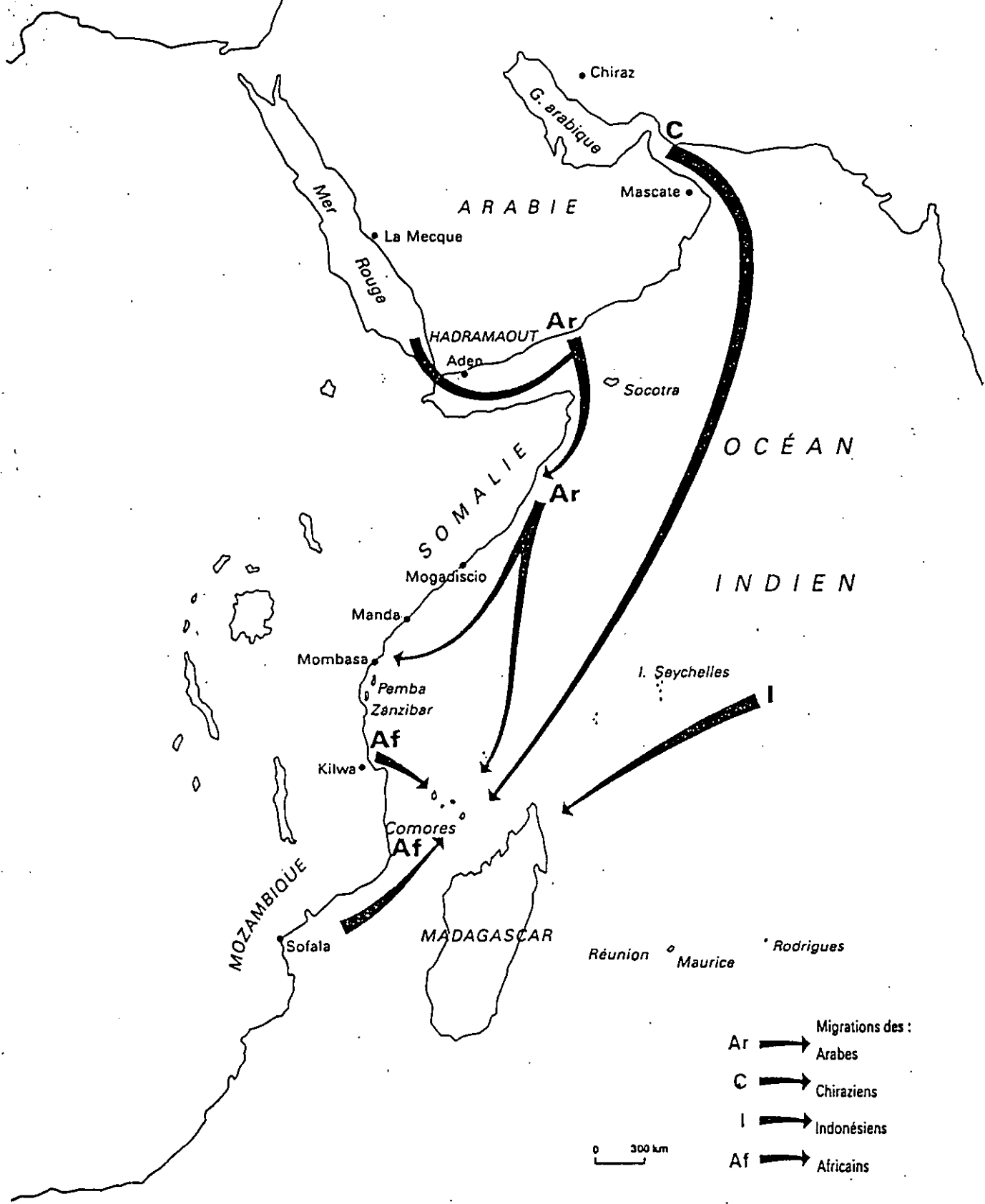
miles of mostly arable land on three close islands with enough resources for a self-supporting economy; and relatively easy internal communications, and good roads to get to town to do business, shop and vote. Comoros has the opportunity to organize itself into a working democracy that demonstrates model elections practices. The IFES team found interest in democratizing the country with free and fair elections, but very little awareness of the discipline it will take on the part of all citizens to bring it about, and little awareness of how to proceed.

The IFES team recommends that nine sets of actions be undertaken to help establish a working democracy that includes fair and free elections in Comoros. These are 1) institution of a clarified Constitution and Election Code; 2) a broad civic education program; 3) further election worker training; 4) creation of an independent Election Commission; 5) improved enumeration and security measures; 6) reorganized and redefined political districts; 7) more economical and transparent election practices; 8) observers from international organizations at forthcoming elections; and 9) provision of modest seed funds to enable Comoros to demonstrate improved elections practices. The IFES team recommends material and technical support packages for seven of these nine recommended actions, as detailed in Part IV of this report.

Members of the international donor community could support these actions with financial assistance, totalling about a half million dollars. Most recommendations' support packages range only from \$23,000 to \$63,000 each.

The IFES team wishes to thank Ambassador Kenneth Peltier who had the foresight to request the mission and who supported it admirably. The team also extends its thanks to Mr. Darouèche Abdallah, Secretary General of the Comoros Ministry of Interior whose interest and responses to our queries were unflagging.

Migrations anciennes



- Migrations des :
- Ar → Arabes
 - C → Chiraziens
 - I → Indonésiens
 - Af → Africains

0 300 km

PART II. THE ROAD TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN COMOROS

PROJECT INITIATION

Following discussions between Hon. Kenneth Peltier, United States Ambassador to Comoros, and the Comorian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) was invited to send a two-person international team of election experts to assess Comoros' preparations for legislative elections under its new Constitution, focussing on ways and means to establish an electoral process reflecting citizens' rights and will.

IFES was asked to review the Comorian election system in terms of its enabling documents and its polling practices and to make suggestions for improvements in order to assure free, fair and open elections. Appendix A describes the IFES team members. Appendix B lists their interviews and meetings during their stay in Comoros from October 23 to November 4, 1991.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

The Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros is little known in the Western world. It is an archipelago of several tropical volcanic islands in the western Indian Ocean between Mozambique and Madagascar, and directly south of the Arabian Peninsula. Over the past fifteen centuries, the islands were invaded by Africans, Persians, Indonesians, Malagasy, and Portuguese explorers and settlers. Shiraze Arab migrants introduced Islam in the 16th century, and it has become the major religious and cultural influence today in the islands. France established colonial rule in 1841 and with wealthy Arab merchants set up a plantation-based economy for export crops. Three of the four major islands declared independence from France in 1975, but Mahore (in French called Mayotte), with about 15% of the population, elected to remain a French territorial collective with attendant subsidies. This remains a source of internal and international contention; however, France is committed to keeping Mayotte as long as its people so elect.

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Comorians are mainly from the Bantu peoples of East Africa, intermixed with Arab traders and Indonesians. The lingua franca is Comorian, a version of Swahili. French is the business language. A few people speak English. Expatriate Indians and Mauritians, as well as a few French business people and technical advisers, reside mainly in the capital area of Moroni on Ngazidja (Grand Comore). The technical community also includes Belgians, a few Canadians, Dutch, South Africans, the U.S. Peace Corps, and UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). There are French, Japanese, Chinese, South African and U.S. Embassies in Moroni.

Comoros is a poor nation of a half million people who make an average income of \$340 per year. There is little theft or major crime. The people are friendly, hospitable, and love to argue about nearly any issue; but they seldom resort to violence.

The country is agrarian, but will run out of arable land without more aggressive environmental protection. Soil erosion on steep volcanic slopes is increasing, and lax production methods have deteriorated spice and perfume extract exports, with lessened revenues. Three key families control exports.

Each of the three islands has a distinct topography and life. Ngazidja, the largest, with 443 square miles shaped like a bean, is dominated by Mt. Kartala, an active volcano. A thin coastal zone of coconut palms, mangoes and bananas scattered with vanilla, cloves, and ylang-ylang plants rises to 1,300 feet, and then a forest zone to 5,900 feet hangs above. People live in villages clustered around the coast and on some inward slopes. Each village has at least one polling place.

Extensive erosion is stripping Ndzouani (Anjouan) of its fertile but thin soil, and cattle pasturage is limited. People are cutting back the verdure to bake charcoal to sell. This dramatic, beautiful island of 164 square miles has a population of 198,000 clustered in villages mainly around the coast.

Mwali (Moheli) lies in the center and is the smallest island, 110 square miles, with low hills and fertile valleys and a populace of around 25,000 that agitates for equal representation with

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its larger neighbors. Some young agitators recently raided government offices on the island, destroying property and census and election records.

According to development agents working there, Comoros has the potential to develop a thriving market economy of spices, perfume essence and tourism. At present, the government is the biggest employer and is dependent on French subsidies to meet its payroll, and on foreign aid from whatever source it can attract for any improvements.

1989: THE BEGINNINGS OF DEMOCRACY

On November 27, 1989, the President of Comoros, Ahmed Abdallah Abdouramene, was slain. His 17 year dictatorship was interspersed with two coups engineered by mercenary presidential guards who threw him out in 1975 after independence, then brought him back in 1978, then assassinated him eleven years later. French military forces came in to stabilize the government while South Africa quietly arranged to evacuate the mercenaries. Determined to reverse single party rule, leaders set up multi-candidate elections, but they were delayed from January 1990 due to management errors and accusations of fraud. When the elections took place in March, the acting president, Said Mohamed Djohar, won the majority runoff vote.

President Djohar heads a fragile government that has been slow to reduce dependence on expatriate guidance and aid, and has some conflicting internal cultural and religious influences. Since the President's election 19 months ago, "Papa Djo," as he is called, has shuffled his cabinet several times. At the same time, political parties have grown to sixteen (See Appendix E) and have formed various coalitions both supporting and criticizing the President.

Long time residents in Comoros gave the IFES team the impression that regardless of the day-to-day conflicts, the Government of Comoros (GOC) functions quite well and has the capacity to reform and organize a working democracy, given some moderate outside aid. The team gained the same conclusion from its working discussions with officials.

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For several years, the GOC has professed strong interest in establishing democracy in Comoros, undoubtedly bolstered by Western aid strings which are increasingly tied to recipients' democratization actions.

The Djohar regime has been functioning as a transitional government until a new constitution can be instituted to replace the 1978 Constitution. The latter was discredited because it was not confirmed by referendum as required, and it was twice illegally amended by presidential fiat. To gain broad input and support for a new governing document, the President called a Roundtable of Political Parties six months ago to draw up a new Constitution based on a draft prepared by the Interior Ministry. Four important parties boycotted the meetings, however, fearing their views wouldn't be accepted. Their non-participation assured that they weren't heard, and thus accomplished the very thing they hoped to avoid. It also enabled them to charge that the document developed by the ten participating parties does not represent the will of all. The ability and willingness to participate and dissent within the system is obviously one lesson of democracy that has not yet been accepted by all political actors in Comoros.

According to participants in the Roundtable, the proposed Constitution, which has not yet been released, calls for adoption by referendum, legislative elections by constituent districts, and a Prime Minister chosen by the President. (It is unclear whether the President must choose as Prime Minister the head of the majority party or coalition in the Assembly.) The new Constitution also calls for reactivated Island Councils (Conseils des Iles) and increased island governing autonomy; Municipal Councils; Governors elected by indirect suffrage (not by Presidential appointment as now, or by direct island elections preferred by many); and district prefects appointed by the Ministry of Interior from qualified civil servants.

President Djohar's professed desire to move ahead toward a ratified constitution and a permanent government faces a lack of consensus among the political actors. There is public unease about how fair the new Constitution may be, arising from years of repression under the Abdallah regime when the 1978 Constitution was ignored. Many officials give little credence to the old Constitution or its amendments, and depending on their needs for authority, cite whatever they want, or in a void, cite old or current French laws. Several ratification methods have been proposed. Some people recommend a new Constitutional Assembly be

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called. Others want the Constitution referred to representatives of all government levels, since they distrust the National Assembly that was elected during the old regime. Others want only a popular referendum, but worry that there's inadequate public understanding of the new constitution. Questions about Federalism complicate the issue. Some people believe Comoros should have a strong federal government as there's not enough fiscal resources to support a decentralized government.

THE ROAD AHEAD

The one theme that permeates discussions with both government and private individuals is that everyone wants "democracy," and is eager to discuss it and follow guidelines to achieve it, especially if materiel and funding are provided.

Based on a prior review of press clippings about events in Comoros over the past several year, the IFES team expected to find government structures in some disarray, but instead found a functioning territorial administration (See Appendix C) for elections under the assiduous direction of the Ministry of Interior's Secretary General, Daroueche Abdallah. There appears to have been, however, a lack of consistency in that functioning during the recent 1990 presidential elections, the first multi-candidate elections since independence. According to expatriates who were there at the time of the elections, the variances were due to honest errors emanating from a variety of local interpretations of laws and rules, and there was probably also some fraud from zealous voters and party workers. Their conclusion was that the overall 1990 election results were probably correct, though registration and voting procedures should be improved.

The team met with election officials and workers at federal, governors', island prefects' and village levels and believes that capability exists in Comoros to hold free and fair elections if a series of remedial actions is undertaken as recommended in section IV of this report.

There are pitfalls, particularly a wide lack of understanding of how democracy works, what elected officials do, and how citizens' participation and guidance is vital, but with a properly

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trained elections staff at all levels and a good civic education program, fair and free elections can be attained.

The government has a great opportunity now to "take a stand" and get on with elections by early 1992, and thereby avoid loss of public trust. Time is of the essence, because the term of the current National Assembly expires in March, 1992, and a new Assembly should convene by April if orderly governance is to proceed. The time frame concerned, then, would dictate the following calendar of elections:

February, 1992: Constitutional Referendum

March, 1992: Concurrent National Assembly, Island Council and Municipal
Council Elections.

PART III. CURRENT ELECTIONS POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

This section of the report summarizes the IFES team's findings concerning specific current and potential elections enabling documents, administration, and practices in Comoros, and offers suggestions for improvements.

THE LEGISLATIVE SETTING

At the present time, the rules and regulations governing elections in Comoros are found in several documents. The IFES team was provided with what was deemed to be the electoral code, but was told that this was currently being reviewed by officials in the Ministry of the Interior and may be extensively amended. The team was also told that, should there be any gaps in the electoral code, then recourse would be made to the French electoral code. The 1978 Constitution, in its various versions, contains extensive provisions regarding the manner of voting, qualifications of candidates for various offices, electoral boundary delimitation, and the organization and recognition of political parties. Officials indicate, however, that they use portions of the 1978 document or its amended versions at will, depending on the needs of the moment.

As a result of this evolving legislation, and because the IFES team concluded that further study and development is required of the legislative framework, this report will not provide extensive detail or analysis of the laws governing elections. This area requires specialized study which would have as its goal the clarification and the development of an integrated legal framework for the administration of elections, providing assurance that there would then be no conflicting provisions between the constitution and any enabling legislation. Such an extensive study would then produce an electoral system for which the constitutional and legislative framework would be unique to Comoros.

The team was also told that the GOC eventually intends to hold regional (for the council of each island) and municipal elections. The provisions for these types of elections will have to be

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written or adapted for those particular situations. It appears that every time a different type of election is to be held, different rules would be applied, a new voter registration would be carried out and the electoral machinery would be mobilized one more time. In the interest of saving time, resources and funds, the GOC may wish to consider holding more than one type of election on one polling day. Further consideration should be given to integrating the organizational aspects of the electoral process and developing appropriate enabling codes.

The IFES team learned that officials in the Ministry of the Interior were, at the time of the team's visit, preparing the legislation regulating the registration of political parties. It was not clear if this meant that new legislation was being drafted or that former legislation was being revised. Team queries about specifics to be incorporated went unanswered.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF ELECTIONS

The Ministry of Interior

The Minister of Interior is responsible for the administration of all elections in Comoros. In this area, he is very ably assisted by the Secretary General and his staff. Coordinating the process on each island is the Governor, who is a state official appointed by the President. Each island is divided into prefectures, and responsible for government administration at this level is an official called a Prefect who is appointed by the Minister of the Interior. These prefects, of whom there are twelve (five on Ngazidja, four on Ndzouani and three on Mwali) are in effect the election officers and they execute the electoral proceedings.

The prefects, working with local village chiefs, arrange for the preparation of the lists of voters, the appointment and training of election day workers and presiding officer for each polling station, the storage and distribution of election material, and the compilation of election results sent in by courier from each station, among other things. They do this in addition to their normal daily functions.

Election Commissions

For the presidential elections in 1990, a special National Commission was established to oversee the election. There were also regional or island commissions established and local commissions at the prefecture level. These commissions were to oversee the process but in many cases, according to the report of the National Commission, they had to take the place of the prefects in the running of the election. It was stated that many prefects were indifferent and incompetent.

The team received the impression that during and after the 1990 election there was some conflict between the National Commission and the Ministry of Interior. There were charges and countercharges made in response to situations that arose during the election period. One way of avoiding this type of conflict would be to remove the administration of the electoral process from the responsibility of a government minister, who often have political allegiances.

One of the recommendations of the National Commission in its final report was for "the creation, in the near future, of a specialized service which would be responsible for the organization and the preparation and control of elections throughout the national territory. It should be given a qualified staff with the qualities of authority, honesty and integrity, in order to inspire confidence...". The IFES team wholeheartedly supports this recommendation. In a country where democracy is in the early, developmental stages, it is essential that the organizational and administrative aspects of the process be perceived to be above reproach.

Constituency Delimitation

Although earlier versions of the Constitution have contained provisions concerning the delimitation of constituency boundaries, it is not clear if past practices will be those used in the future. The IFES team was led to believe that past provisions would be applied but, in the draft of the new constitution shown to the team, some of the provisions are changed or cannot be found.

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Article 25 of the 1978 Constitution, as amended in 1982 and 1985, provides that the federal Assembly of Deputies (National Assembly) will be elected at five-year intervals, by direct suffrage. Each deputy is to represent an electoral district. These districts are to be determined by federal law, and there can be no less than five electoral districts on an island. Based on this minimum, each electoral district is to have a population of 6,000 to 11,000 inhabitants. Any change in electoral boundaries cannot be made without a resolution of the council for the island or the islands affected. The team was told that, in reality, the standard practice was for the Governor of the island to prepare a proposal and then present it to the Minister of the Interior. The Minister would then make a presentation in the Council of Ministers. After it has been passed there, a law would be drafted and eventually passed in the Assembly.

Since each island must have a minimum of five seats, a proportionally high level of representation has been maintained for the island with the smallest population, Mwali. There is a total of 42 seats in the current assembly. The statistics from the 1990 election provided to us by the Ministry of the Interior indicate that Ngazidja had a voter population of 173,787 divided into 20 electoral districts, Ndzouani had 124,682 divided into 17 electoral districts, and Mwali had 13,520 divided into 5 electoral districts.

The draft constitution shown to the IFES team indicates a revision to Article 25. The National Assembly would be elected for a period of four years, by direct universal suffrage. The Assembly is to assure the equitable representation of the population, according to demographic criteria, and, in Article 31, it is also to establish the regulations governing local assemblies. It is not clear if this gives the National Assembly the authority to establish rules governing the establishment of boundaries for regional elections. In any event, there are no recommended figures for the population to be contained in an electoral district, nor are there any rules to be found governing a maximum or minimum number of seats for any island. There was also no mention of modifications of electoral boundaries being subject to a resolution of the island council. Such provisions may be seen as necessary protection in a federal system.

Actual population statistics were not available to the team, but the United Nations has been helping Comoros perform a new census which is nearly finished. As soon as the census results are available, it will be necessary to analyze the population statistics to determine if the total

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number of seats should be altered to reflect population shifts and growth. It will have to be decided what population an elected member can effectively represent. For the purpose of this report, we use the Ministry's figures of 310,000 electors and 400 polling places in the 1990 election, and its current estimates of 360,000 electors and 450 polling stations for forthcoming 1992 elections.

It may be the intention of the Government to wait until a National Assembly is elected and ask it to enact a detailed piece of legislation describing how constituency delimitation is to be performed in this country. It would seem, however, that this process should be established before elections are held for the first Assembly in order to provide it credibility. The general process should be established first in the Constitution, as has been the case in the past. At this time in the country's history, it is important that the people be allowed to make some contribution to the manner in which this process is to be carried out and, when it is established, that they fully understand the process.

Political Parties and Political Advertising

A more tolerant administration has allowed for the proliferation of political parties and political party activity. These parties to be more what one might term political movements. Many of them do not have a cohesive structure but are adherents of a charismatic leader or a particular issue. At present, a political party is recognized once it files certain documents with the Ministry of the Interior. These include the political party statutes (the Constitution), the location of its office, and the names, addresses, and responsibilities of its officers.

No official regulations were provided to the team but in discussion, the team learned that political parties are identified by color and for historical reasons, the colors white and green cannot be used. This is reinforced in the sections of the electoral code dealing with presidential candidates.

The IFES team was told that, during the discussions of the Roundtable, various opinions were expressed on the qualifications of candidates to the presidency and to the National Assembly. One of the contentious issues was whether or not a presidential candidate should be allowed to

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hold dual citizenship. The electoral code presently indicates that persons with dual citizenship are not be permitted to present their candidacy.

The team hoped to provide more detailed information with respect to the qualifications of candidates; however, the team was led to believe that the written information with which it was provided would be changing, to an unknown extent. The team also found that some of the requirements which candidates must meet were somewhat stringent.

The IFES team believes that certain aspects of the electoral law that are less than fully democratic because of the subtle way in which the process is limited to only certain types of candidates. There are deposit requirements, language requirements, and the necessity to produce specific documents at the time a candidacy is put forward, all of these narrowing the field of potential candidates.

Even though some of these areas relating to parties and candidates do not directly reflect on the ability of the government to hold democratic elections, they are issues which must be soon decided upon. The resolution of such issues is as much a part of "transparency" as are financial issues and those related to patronage.

Political advertising is very rigidly controlled in Comoros. At the level of presidential elections, there is a formula established for the division of radio time (there being no television). For the 1990 presidential elections, there was a commission established which managed this division of radio time. The radio station is controlled by the Government and there was much public criticism of the way that the time was divided. In 1990, criticism was levelled at the station because the son of the President was responsible for the broadcasting. It was alleged that President Djohar received extra political time because he used the airwaves to make government announcements. Although this is a difficult line to draw, more attention should be paid to this aspect of the broadcasting provisions. Even the perception that there is a degree of unfairness can leave the process open to challenge.

At the local level, bulletin boards are set up and each candidate is given equal space to post their pronouncements. They are not allowed to use paid newspaper or media advertising. With

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the proliferation of political parties have come new methods of political dissemination, such as party newspapers. It will be interesting to see how this strict control can be managed in the future without limiting constitutional freedoms.

PROCEDURES

Because of the evolving status of enabling legislation for Comorian elections, the following is intended to provide an overview of the process which has been used in the past for the administration of elections and to perhaps act as a guide for those who wish to assist further. Most of the procedures discussed are those which were used in the 1990 presidential election and will have to be adapted to the type of electoral event being held, be it a referendum or legislative elections.

Voter Registration

Without exception, when the IFES team asked what was the greatest impediment to democratic elections in the Comoros, the response was the registration of electors. The lists created using the current process are said to include many electors more than once, and to contain the names of those under the voting age and those of the deceased. It is generally perceived that, even though the Ministry of Interior is administratively responsible for the compilation of this list and has a structure in place for this work, they have absolutely no control over the process. Again and again, the IFES team heard complaints about the accuracy of the list and the potential for voting fraud that it allowed. When the list of voters, one of the most crucial elements of the process, is seen as error-ridden, the entire process is undermined.

The team noted that many officials understand the theory of democratic elections, especially in the Secretary General's office, but local procedures vary and are widely described by former elections observers and some prefecture workers as lax, and sometimes fraudulent. For example, the team was told that some local voters openly show 3-4 voting cards they have registered for under varying similar names. This is easy to do as people go by single names, or by their own plus father's given name.

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The voter registration list does appear to be high compared to the population. It is interesting to note that the population is said to be about a half million, of which about 72% (360,000) are voters. In most countries, the population 18 and older is usually nearer 50% and diminishing as the youth population expands.

The IFES team was told that, in principle, a registration of electors should take place every five years, with a revision being carried out on an annual basis or when an electoral event is to take place. Since the system does not at present provide any integration of the various types of elections, the Ministry of the Interior feels that they will have to carry out a registration for each type of election planned, distributing electoral cards as well. This becomes very repetitive and costly.

Currently, the voter registration is carried out at the village level. The village chief, who is not an official of the government but someone who holds the respect of the people in the village, is the person responsible for registering the voters. This is done by holding meetings or conducting a visit to each residence in the village. The chief, who has been issued a notebook and pen, makes a note of the name of each elector, plus their year of birth and their occupation. Since there is a list of electors available from the previous year, they may simply write revisions on the copy of the list given to them. The notebooks are then sent to the office of the prefect who arranges for the lists to be typed and electoral cards to be prepared. Secretarial staff is paid 5 francs for each name typed and for each card. If, however, the list is not retyped, as has been suggested, it would be quite messy and difficult for the poll officials to follow.

This continual preparation and correction of the list becomes quite tedious, especially as the whole process is carried out by hand. Since there are only about 360,000 electors in the country, according to projections for 1992, it might be possible to automate the list on a very minimal amount of computer equipment. Although the Ministry of Interior does not have such equipment available to it at the present time, consideration should be given to making this entire process more efficient by automating it.

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Automation could also eliminate some of the fraudulent double entries. If electors are asked to provide three full given names along with their birth date, their place of birth and profession, computer checks could be run for double entries.

Even though the same first names are frequently used among the people, officials say that three generation name combinations almost never repeat in local villages, though they may be close. For example, Said Mohamed Abdallah, Abdallah Said Mohamed, Said Abdallah Mohamed, Mohamed Said Abdallah, Mohamed Abdallah Said and Abdallah Mohamed Said, would be six different people. Women's names follow the same system also.

Steps are now being taken to issue a national identity card requiring three names -- own, father's and grandfather's. Triple-name voter registration should also be required, and this system should be put into practice for the forthcoming elections. An added safeguard would be to add each voter's national identity card number on the registration list for easy cross checking when the lists become computerized. The national identity cards might even be integrated into the electoral system, perhaps even eliminating the necessity for separate voter cards.

Because the preparation of the voters list is the cornerstone of the process and one of its more costly aspects, and because of the seriousness of the allegations made with respect to the quality of the electoral list, the IFES team recommends that the entire voter registration system be the focus of a study. An expert should be found with experience in voter registration and computerized systems who could provide valuable insight for the improvement of the procedures already in place.

Polling Stations

The electoral code currently provides for the establishment of polling stations, requiring that there be at least one in each village. The maximum number of electors which may vote at one polling station is one thousand. The team was assured that the polling locations chosen would be convenient to all electors. For religious reasons, most people live in the village itself or close to it and so would not have to travel great distances to vote.

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The locations chosen as polling stations are public buildings, such as schools, although when necessary, private homes could be rented for the day. Once the list of voters has been prepared, it is posted at the polling location. The list of polling stations is later published in the Official Journal of Comoros (Journal officiel des Comores).

Polling Officials

Responsible for the polling procedure in each polling place is the presiding officer (le président). The presiding officer and the poll clerk (le secrétaire) are appointed by the Minister of the Interior or someone acting on his authority. The persons appointed must be able to read and write French and Arabic, so those appointed are usually teachers or, more commonly, civil servants. Many civil servants are perceived, however, to be affiliated with a political party so this may not serve to develop a perception of credibility or fairness in the system.

In addition to the presiding officer and the clerk, each candidate may designate someone to represent him or her while acting as an assistant (un assesseur) to the presiding officer. There must be at least four of these assistants. Notables from the village may also fill this role. The members of the poll personnel should be chosen well in advance of the vote and their names made known.

On polling day, the responsibilities and duties are assigned by the presiding officer and may vary throughout the day. Four members of the poll personnel must be present at all times and if the presiding officer must be absent, his or her duties are assigned to one of the assistants in the interim.

Besides the poll officials, only the electors registered for the polling station, as well as a delegate for each candidate, may be present at the poll during the polling hours. The presiding officer has discretion to maintain peace and order in the poll and may decide if the presence of a security agent is required.

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The presiding officer, the clerk, the assistants and the delegates permanently representing a candidate may transfer their vote to the polling station to which they have been assigned.

Training of Poll Officials

At the time of the 1990 presidential elections, the National Commission responsible for their control published guidelines for the presiding officers at the polling stations. These guidelines and copies of the electoral code were provided to all prefects. The prefects were in turn responsible for the training of the poll officials in their area.

The National Commission, in its final report, prepared in light of some of the problems that arose, recommended that the government should consider appointing to the position of governor and prefect individuals with particular qualifications. They maintain that the position requires highly qualified individuals of recognized competence, capable of being flexible but who can show authority in arbitrating the conflicts which will certainly arise between political parties and interest groups, given the development of democratic institutions with public openness, or "transparency".

It is evident, however, that many of the prefects who administered the 1990 elections, with its attendant administrative flaws, are those who will be administering the pending referendum and legislative elections. In their defence, it must be recognized that these officials are not specialists in election procedure and may not have received any training in this field.

If all of the prefects were to receive a standardized training course at a central location, it is more likely that the information that they would then provide to their presiding officers would be standardized as well. This would reduce the likelihood of a variety of interpretations to resolve similar situations and would work to ensure that the voting and counting procedures follow the guidelines established for the entire country. The IFES team recommends that an extensive training program be developed which would provide information to officials involved at all levels of the electoral process. All election officials must be made aware of their roles and their responsibilities in order to ensure the success of the process.

Election Fees and Expenses

Included with the budget documents presented to the IFES team, prepared by the Ministry of the Interior, was a listing of the fees which the Ministry hopes to be able to pay the personnel involved in the election process. The list covered such items ranging from fees paid to the presiding officer to an amount to be paid to persons involved in the verification of election results at the Ministry itself. These fees are outlined in Part IV of this report.

The IFES team was told that the Government hoped for some assistance with this aspect of the election costs, because the GOC does not have enough funds to pay all these fees from its own resources. They are willing to make some compromises, such as restructuring the fee schedule, so that the elections might still go on.

It must be noted that a portion of the fees are to be paid to persons already involved in the election process by virtue of their position in the public service, such as the prefects, staff at the Ministry of the Interior, secretarial staff, etc. This may be because Sunday has been chosen as voting day and this is a form of overtime, and elections are seen as extra, not regular, work for public administrators. If the Government were to decide to make economies, voting could be held on a regular working day when civil servants would not have to be paid overtime, other than for the night work involved. Sunday was probably chosen, however, because on that day many electors go back to the village where they were registered to vote.

The team was told that the amounts to be paid would be public knowledge. In the past this was not always the case. Officials at varying levels were provided with sums of money to distribute as they saw fit and this may not have been done equitably and following the prescribed amounts. It is especially important, given the government's commitment to "transparency", that the fees to be paid to election workers are known ahead of time and well advertised. This increases awareness of the role of the election worker in the system and shows that the system is open and accountable. The IFES team suggests that the Ministry of Interior establish a formal schedule of fees, publishing it in the Official Journal of Comoros (Journal Officiel des Comores).

Ballot Design

Voting in Comoros has traditionally involved the use of a special ballot envelope. An elector is provided with an envelope by the presiding officer into which the elector places a ballot paper.

There is a ballot paper prepared for each candidate and each response to a referendum question. Each ballot at the 1990 presidential election was approximately 4.5 inches by 3 inches and contained a line explaining the type of election (élections présidentielles), the date of voting, the name of the candidate in Latin characters and in Arabic characters, and the symbol of the candidate, and was printed on colored paper, the color chosen by the candidate.

Once the elector receives the ballot envelope, he or she collects a copy of all of the ballots, enters the voting compartment, chooses one of the ballots to represent his or her vote and places it in the ballot envelope. The ballots not used are then discarded on the floor or the elector places them in a pocket. The elector then exits the voting compartment, returning the filled ballot envelope to the presiding officer who publicly puts it into the ballot box.

Such a system of balloting is probably suited to a country where there is a high degree of illiteracy, as it is an easy system for an elector to manage. Nevertheless, it does present some difficulties. It would appear at first examination that more emphasis is placed on the envelope in elections in the Comoros than is placed on the ballot itself. Indeed, the sample which the team was given of the envelope used at the 1990 presidential elections bears an official stamp, while nothing particularly sets the ballot papers apart. Many of the allegations of fraud arise from the lack of official control over the ballot papers, because as indicated, the envelope receives more scrutiny.

The team was told stories of voters going to the poll already in possession of ballot papers, given to them by the agents of candidates. Under the electoral code, the candidates are entitled to receive a number of ballots, representing one half of the number of electors on the list. Ballots were apparently given to illiterate and elderly electors who were told that they were to place this ballot, and this one only, in their envelope. Since there was no civic education

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on the process, it is possible that these electors were led to believe that they had no other choice.

Some electors pick up only the one ballot after receiving their envelope. They do not have the benefit of a secret ballot. Electors who leave their unused ballots on the floor do not have a secret ballot either. It is evident to the poll officials or the electors who follow them in the voting booth which ballots they have left behind. Political agents enter the voting booths and if they see that their candidate is losing, since his ballots are on the floor, they collect them to mislead the electors who follow. Sometimes, it is said, political agents even pick up discarded ballots and take them to other polling stations to leave on the floor, in order to mislead electors.

One of the principles recognized in countries held to be democratic is the right to a secret ballot. Provisions are built into the election process to promote and protect this right. If for any reason the secrecy of the ballot is suspect, then the ability of a country to hold free and fair elections can be open to question. Perhaps the time has come for Comoros to investigate ways of revising the process so that electors can be assured of a secret ballot. Although there is a high degree of illiteracy, electors could learn to identify their candidate, make a mark or place a fingerprint by their candidate on a ballot containing the names of all candidates, if there were an effective civic education program.

If there is not enough time available before a Constitutional referendum or legislative election to change the system, safeguards should be built into the existing system. More control should be exercised over the distribution and safekeeping of the ballots. If necessary, a system of receipts could be instituted, from the Ministry of Interior to the prefect, and from the prefect to the presiding officer, with these officials signing for the ballots and envelopes at every step. Political party officials should have no access to the polling material.

Within the poll, if the electors are to discard unused ballot papers, then perhaps a locked box could be provided for the discarded papers, which would shield from view the names or options for which the elector did not vote.

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The ballot type used in Comoros has been in place for some time and the government may feel that it provides adequate safeguards. At this time in the development of the electoral process, however, it may be an appropriate occasion to look at alternatives, some of which would be cost-saving. For example, if a decision were made to move to a single ballot, paper and printing costs might be reduced and the ballot envelope could be eliminated. The idea merits further study.

Voting Procedures

The electoral code provides for the voting for an electoral event to take place on one day, with the polling station opening at 6:30 in the morning and closing at 6:00 in the evening. For the 1990 presidential elections, the National Commission directed that the polls be open from 8:00 in the morning until 7:30 in the evening. Presiding officers and their assistants were to be at the polling location at 5:00 in the morning to receive the ballot boxes, voters' list, envelopes, ink, ballots, etc., and to set up before opening the polls. According to the electoral code, this transfer of material is to take place no later than two days before the poll opens. Transferring the material on voting day itself should, however, reduce the possibility of tampering with the election material and ballots. There is no evidence to say that this altered procedure was or was not effective.

Each polling station is to contain two to three tables, several chairs, and a voting compartment. The voting compartment shown to the IFES team was one used in the 1990 election and is rather large and must be difficult to transport and then put together upon arrival at the poll. It was constructed by building a three-sided frame approximately seven feet high and two feet deep. Around the top of the frame would be hung opaque curtains or blankets. The size of the compartment is dictated by the fact that the elector must be completely hidden when choosing a candidate. In a country where it can be difficult to transport election supplies, it may be of benefit to look at alternative types of voting compartments. Canada, for example, uses a large compartment made of cardboard which sits on a table and the elector can be shielded behind it. These screens can be folded flat, easily stored and reused.

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The ballot box used in the Comoros is a large wooden container, approximately two feet square. It is to be locked with two large padlocks while the poll is open, the presiding officer keeping one key and the second key remaining with one of his assistants, either the oldest one present or one drawn by lot. A ballot box of this design must be very difficult to transport and to store. Consideration might be given to one of smaller and lighter construction for the remote polls which usually have less electors and therefore do not require such a large box. Boxes made in different sizes could be stored inside each other and thus take less warehouse space at the prefectures between elections.

Before opening the poll, the poll officials are to ensure that they have an adequate supply of envelopes and ballots. The ballot box is verified to ensure that it is empty before it is locked.

On entering the polling station, the elector presents his or her electoral card to one of the polling assistants, who in turn provides the elector with a single envelope after having verified that his or her name is on the list. The envelopes are opaque and carry some mark or statement identifying the election for which they are used. The envelopes shown to the team were marked with an official stamp. Carrying the envelope, the elector moves to the table where all of the ballots have been laid and takes a copy of each one. Unfortunately, electors do not always take a copy of each one and thus it can be determined for which candidate or option they did not vote.

At the presidential elections in 1990, the National Commission added the use of indelible ink to the process to try and prevent double voting. Before the elector entered the voting booth, he or she was to mark a finger or thumb with this ink, and thus could be detected if he or she were to try to vote a second time.

France sent a supply of ink which arrived in a powder form. Evidently, the directions for diluting the powder with specific quantities of water to make the liquid ink properly indelible were not always followed. Much of the ink was overly diluted, and therefore not indelible. As a result, the voting was suspended. When the presidential election was re-held in March 1990, proper mixtures of indelible ink were used.

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Some complaints arose from this process. The team was told that some electors placed oil or grease on their fingers before entering the polling place and as a result the ink could be washed off afterwards. Whether or not this is true cannot be verified; however, even the perception that the process is not secure can do significant damage to the credibility of the election. It may be possible to provide a solvent to the poll which would be used to clean an elector's finger before it is placed in the ink, helping to ensure that the indelible ink remains in evidence.

Once the elector is inside the voting compartment, he or she places the ballot representing the candidate or option of their choice inside the ballot envelope. After emerging from the voting compartment, the elector hands over his electoral card to the presiding officer. The presiding officer reads the name of the elector out loud and the assistant responsible for the polling list provides the date and place of birth of the elector from the list. Once the elector has been identified, the card is handed to another assistant who must mark the card so that the card cannot be used again for that electoral event. The ballot envelope is placed in the ballot box by the elector, the list is marked and the electoral card is returned to the voter. The voter must then leave the polling place.

If an elector arrives and does not wish to vote without assistance, he or she may be assisted by an elector of his or her choice. It was stressed to the IFES team by election officials that such a situation was to be allowed only at the instigation of the elector and the person assisting the elector was to be chosen by the elector, but workers told the team that this had not always been what actually happened. Poll officials and political party representatives will have to be more vigilant to ensure that this provision is not abused in the future.

Although the team was told that there were few polling stations where there would be as many as one thousand electors on the list, the potential does exist for polls to have high numbers of electors voting. The voting process would take as much as five minutes for each elector. An analysis should be made of the efficiency of the voting operations to ensure that a poll would indeed be able to serve a high number of electors in one day. Even though it might reduce the control of the presiding officer, it may be necessary to add another voting compartment in order to speed up the process.

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Once the hour for closing the poll arrives, the presiding officer makes an announcement to this effect. All electors present at the time of this announcement should be allowed to vote. No provision has been made, but one suggestion might be for an assistant to note who was indeed present in line at the time the poll closed.

Absentee/Proxy Voting

The electoral code as it is presently written provides for voting by proxy. In the presidential election, proxy voting was not allowed, having been suspended by the National Commission.

Any elector who is prevented from voting on his or her own or who is at some distance from the poll may appoint another elector on the same list to vote for him or her by proxy. The proxy appointment is made in writing and countersigned by a *cadi* (a religious magistrate), a magistrate, an administrative officer or a diplomatic or consular officer in a foreign country. The person appointed must present a legal piece of identification bearing his or her photo in order to register their proxy appointment with one of these officials. This latter requirement might provide a hardship for individuals who do not have a photo identification.

As mentioned, this provision was suspended by the National Commission as there was some doubt as to whether or not it could be administered properly. Since this provision exists in the legislation, it has obviously been considered as a viable manner in which electors were to vote. It may require some review in order to determine if it should be removed from the legislation, revised, or replaced with some form of absentee voting.

Vote Counting and Certification

Although there were some slight changes in the process used for the counting of the ballots at the close of the poll at the 1990 election, for the most part the procedure in the electoral code is the one which was followed.

After the close of the poll, the list of voters used during the day is signed by the presiding officer and poll personnel and they proceed directly to the count. The count itself is open to

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the public, although it is hoped that the presiding officer is allowed to control this somewhat to maintain peace and order.

The ballot box is opened, and the envelopes within are counted and checked to see that the number of envelopes corresponds with the number of electors marked on the list. The envelopes from the box are opened and if they contain one ballot are counted as one vote. Empty envelopes are termed blank votes. Those envelopes which contain two or more ballots or any document which is not a ballot are considered invalid.

The poll personnel prepare totals for each category and the presiding officer then makes a declaration of the results and posts them on the outside door of the polling station. The statement of the count and of the proceedings is then prepared in two copies. This is the procès-verbal and it is a very crucial document to the process. Noted in it are the type of election and the date, the full names of all members of the poll personnel, the time the poll opened, any incidents or problems which arose during the day and how they were resolved by the presiding officer, the number of envelopes found in the box, the number of electors shown on the list as having voted, the number of blank and invalid ballots and the number of votes shown in favor of each candidate or in response to a referendum question.

A political party representative may make any complaint or comment that they feel is necessary in the procès-verbal. The document is then signed by the officials present. One copy is placed in an envelope and is kept by the presiding officer. The second copy is placed in an envelope with the copy of the voters' list that was used during the day. This envelope is then sealed and can be signed by those present before transmittal to the local commission responsible for the centralization of the results, usually at the office of the prefect. This document is especially important as no care is taken of the ballots and ballot envelopes. They are left in the location where the poll was held or are destroyed. The procès-verbal is therefore the official record of the proceedings and the election results. Every care must be taken for its safe transmittal.

There is a results commission in the office of the prefect, which compiles the results for each polling station in the prefecture. These are then sent to the commission established at the level of the governor's office which compiles the results for all prefectures on the island. These results are then forwarded to the Ministry of Interior which compiles the results for the entire

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country. This all takes place on election night, and the information is passed on by telephone or telegram. These results are deemed unofficial results. At a later time, the Supreme Court, sitting in special committee, examines and has totals compiled from the procès-verbaux and it is the responsibility of this body to announce the official results. The Supreme Court can also hear evidence of any complaint or challenge to the election results and decide on the validity of the election in the entire country or in one electoral district.

Security

During the 1990 presidential elections, the security of the process became an issue. The IFES team was told that ballot boxes and polling material, including envelopes and ballots, were stolen from the polls. After the count, some of the procès-verbaux were tampered with or destroyed before they could reach the office of the prefect. In some polls security officers were present but, if these reports can be believed, they were not present in all polls or, if they were, their presence was not effective. Additional precautions will have to be taken by the Ministry of Interior to ensure the security of the material before it is delivered to the polling stations and that it will not be interfered with during the day.

The IFES team was told that the police and military had adequate resources to deal with problems on election day. Too much of a police or military presence can have an adverse effect on the process. It may not be necessary for security officers to be present in the polls during all of the hours that the poll is open and the counting is taking place, but it should be well known to the populace that these forces can and will respond, in the hopes that this might act as a deterrent to any overt act of fraud.

There were also reports of electors being harassed, mostly by political party workers, as they entered the polling place. It is one thing to solicit votes but some actions were perceived as rather intimidating, even threatening, to people who had never had the opportunity to vote before. Every elector should have free access to the poll and the presiding officers should use every means at their disposal to ensure this access.

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The resources of the military and the police should be reviewed in order to determine what support they could provide to the election process. This review should also consider means of communication and transportation and the effect that this has on response time in the event that a disturbance has to be dealt with.

Above all, the government has to demonstrate that they are doing all that is possible to ensure the security of the process, for in this way they can demonstrate their sincerity and their support of the electoral process.

INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS

The GOC has expressed an interest in the presence of foreign observers in the polling stations. In 1990, there were observers present for the presidential elections who represented the Organization for African Unity but it was not made clear to the IFES team if they filed a report. In addition, the team was advised that there were human rights observers from Comoros present at some polling locations in the earlier stages of the voting.

Due to the allegations of fraud at the presidential elections, the IFES team recommends that the GOC seriously consider inviting international observers to be present when the constitutional referendum and legislative elections take place. It would be preferable if a team of observers could stay in each poll during all of the hours that the poll remains open, but this will of course depend on the number of observers present in the country. Since there will be 450 or less polling stations, it may indeed be possible for observers to be present in all of the polls. It is important that as much of the routine proceedings of the poll as possible are seen, and not just the count. Most of the allegations of fraud arose from events which occurred during the day, not just at the closing.

It will be essential for the international observers to receive training, and the training program should be based on the experience gained from the presidential elections. If a similar voting system is used, then the same potential for fraud exists. It is suggested, therefore, that if international organizations decide to send observers, they analyze the allegations of fraud from

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the last election and develop a training program for their observers specifically based on the electoral procedures to be used in the Comoros.

The country itself poses a logistical challenge for international organizations sending observers since the polling stations will be located on three islands. Much advance planning will have to be done in order to ensure that the observers will have adequate transportation and accommodation. In most cases, it is the international organizations themselves which do this planning. Due to the unique geographical nature of this country, however, the GOC may have to dedicate resources and personnel to this task in order to assist the international organizations.

CIVIC AND VOTER EDUCATION

Civic education entails the dissemination of information on a broad range of topics. In the Comoros, important topics include how to vote; political party purposes, formation and activities; citizen participation in a democracy; protocols of the loyal opposition; differing responsibilities of president and prime minister, or federal and local assemblies; the separation of executive, legislative and judicial branches of government; the role of religion in politics and governance; the definitions of a constitution, bill of rights, law, and charter; people's responsibilities in a democracy, such as paying taxes and voting, and so forth. In Comoros, the Government takes no official role in civic education. Yet if a true democracy is to be achieved, these things must be taught by impartial institutions, understood by everyone, and practiced.

Instead, all political education is left to the candidates and their party workers who may not know or may distort the correct facts and fundamentals for their own ends.

Radio Comores, which reaches 100% of the population, was careful to give equal time to all candidates in 1990, and would follow the same procedure in the future. The station, however, has no public education program on the fundamentals of democratic governance or civic participation in a democracy. The same is true of Al Watwan ("The Nation" in Arabic), the state newspaper which prints 1200 copies each Saturday and probably reaches 10% of voters at best.

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Since 1989, opposition newspapers such as Le Miande and Archipel have emerged along with multiple parties, but they are struggling for funds, and are more argumentative, critical, rabble rousing, and anecdotal at this point than offering constructive or useful alternate positions on public issues. Indeed, public issues are unclear and party differences seem to lie in style and leadership rather than issues.

Adult literacy is said to be about 15%. Nearly all children attend Koranic school where they learn Arabic from 3 to 6 or 7 years of age, and some continue into their teens. Three quarters of the children go to state schools in Comorian and French, but only about a third go on to secondary school. Everyone speaks Comorian, but only about 20% write it. Some 20% of the people, largely government employees and professionals, speak and write French. Ballots are currently printed in French and Arabic, but there is interest, with the new spirit of nationalism, in printing ballots in Comorian also. All three languages are considered official in Comoros. To reach everyone, voter information must be provided in all three languages.

The Ministry of Education has a struggling adult literacy program that relies heavily on outside support such as from UNESCO and CECI (Centre Canadien d'etudes et de Cooperation Internationale) for training materials. The Ministry is interested in voter education as an outreach area to add to the basic public health, nutrition and maternal and child health care themes they teach.

Booklets, village talking programs, posters, articles, radio skits and promotions, documentaries, public information tapes and videos in Comorian, Arabic and French should be developed for use over the radio, in newspapers, and in villages and towns. As soon as possible, a set of civic education texts and materials for use in public and Koranic schools should be developed.

Civics texts from both French and English speaking countries could be solicited for use in primary and secondary schools and for use by adult literacy trainers. Program materials from Radio Canada, the BBC, Radio France, Voice of America, and others could be solicited. An action program and costs are outlined in the Recommendations Section IV.

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Investigative journalism, the hallmark of an open society, should be allowed, if not encouraged, at both Radio Comores and Al Watwan, in addition to government issuances and political party equal-time releases.

The team recommends that an active, neutral, non-partisan civic education program be mounted by the government starting immediately, before the forthcoming referendum and National Assembly and island and municipal councils elections. It should be continued year around in schools, adult education classes and through all media, especially radio which reaches everyone. Outside help on this will be needed as neither the Ministries of Interior or Education have experience in elections and civic education, nor do they have the needed equipment or budget for materials.

The IFES team recommends both bilateral and NGO support for an active civic education program, without which a democratic government cannot really survive. Multi-party candidates may certainly be elected, but without broad national understanding of what democracy is, how it works, how it must be nurtured and maintained, and what citizens should expect from their elected officials, democracy in Comoros could crumble.

To enhance the appearance of transparency, the President might establish a National Democracy Education Commission to be administered by the Interior Ministry's Secretary General who coordinated a similar Commission during the presidential elections. The Commission could coordinate voter education among the Education and Planning Ministries, the National Institute of Education's Alphabetization (Literacy) and Rural Press Division, the National Propaganda Commission, Radio Comores, and Al Watwan, as well as interested NGOs, both indigenous and expatriate.

PART IV. RECOMMENDATIONS: PROGRAMS AND SUPPORTING COSTS

Technicians working on elections will want to review the detailed comments made above. Broad recommendations for policy makers and donors are summarized in this section. Most of the recommendations include an associated expense. These expenses are itemized using estimated costs that will vary according to the source and timing of expenditures. It should also be noted that the budgets below include only the direct costs of carrying out the recommended activities.

CLARIFICATION AND RATIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION AND CODES

President Djohar must find a way to institute a national constitutional referendum immediately. The three month deadline following the July Roundtable closure has passed for presentation of its findings to the National Assembly and/or public for ratification. His task is complicated by the regrettable fact that four political parties boycotted his Roundtable which drew up the new constitution, and now they claim the document is not representative of all opinions.

Not having had access to the draft constitution, and given the confusion that seems to exist about it, the IFES team recommends that a Constitutional and Electoral Code expert be invited immediately to spend three weeks studying the proposed document, advising on implications for democratic governance, and helping draft the revised enabling laws and procedures. These include the electoral code, charter of parties, and the organization of a Supreme Court, High Court of Justice, National Assembly, and island and municipal councils.

This expert should be familiar with the Napoleonic Code and Islamic tenets, be a fluent French speaker and writer, and come from a country that enjoys Comorian respect in order to encourage public confidence in the proposed Constitution. The expert should come by January 1, 1992 to help finalize the constitution which is to be announced by February 1st, and voted on by March 1st. It is important that these dates be honored because elections for a new

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National Assembly should be scheduled by March 20th when the incumbents' terms expire. The team does not feel it advisable for the Assembly Deputies' terms to be extended by presidential decree because they were not democratically elected and are not trusted. Estimated costs for the Constitution and Election Law Expert include:

Fee - 20 working days	\$ 6,000
Transportation	6,500
Per Diem (185/day x 25 days)	4,625
In-country transport (60/day x 18 days) (includes care hire and island planes)	1,080
Supplies and Equipment	200
	<hr/>
	\$ 18,405

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CIVIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Government should begin to take an official role in informing citizens about democracy, the importance of citizen participation, political party formation and activities, the role of the loyal opposition, etc. It is not sufficient to instruct voters how to cast a ballot on election day and leave discussion of both issues and democracy to the political parties which may distort facts or fundamentals for their own ends. If democracy is to flourish, the people must understand and practice its principles.

IFES recommends that the GOC start an active, non-partisan civic education program no later than January, 1992, before the announcement of the referendum. Due to lack of in-country expertise and funds, a civic education specialist should be provided for six weeks to work with the Ministries of Planning, Interior and Education, Radio Comores, Al Watwan state newspaper, Alphabetization and Rural Press Division, National Propaganda Commission and local NGOs. The objective of the specialist's visit should be to outline a calendar of activities and materials to be developed for a broad citizens education program. This specialist would also hold special

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seminars for political parties and opposition newspapers regarding their roles in democratic elections and governance.

The civic education specialist would coordinate with the Ministry of Interior's Elections Director to assure that civic education and election worker training programs reinforce each other. The specialist would also set up a means whereby radio programmers and journalists could receive tapes and background materials from which to generate programs and articles on many aspects of democracy.

Radio Comores has only one French news transceiver and three studios minimally equipped through German donations. The GOC should encourage donor nations to contribute surplus items to Radio Comores. The GOC might prepare a list of welcome equipment for friendly nations to consider giving beyond the minimal items noted below. Costs immediately associated with this effort include:

Civic Education Specialist 36 days	\$ 11,000
Transportation	6,500
Per Diem (185/day x 45 days)	8,325
In-country transport (60/day x 20 days)	1,200
Radio equipment (tape recorders, transceiving, recording, program service subscriptions)	5,000
Printing, literacy and poster materials	15,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 47,025

ELECTION WORKER TRAINING

The IFES team found in Comoros an organized elections system with a capable national director. A major need, in addition to strengthened voter registration procedures, is a unified training program at all levels, not just for polling places.

IFES recommends that the GOC organize and develop a training program for governors and

IFES Pre-Election
Assessment: Comoros

prefects and their staffs, as well as village chiefs and presiding officers and staffs. Official GOC decree No 90-00 4/MIP and National Commission instructions for presiding officers are good bases from which to start. Because GOC election staff is limited and has much else to do, IFES recommends that a training specialist be invited to work with the Secretary General for four weeks organizing and demonstrating training at the governor, prefect and pollworker levels as well as for candidates' representatives.

The team believes that Comorian government workers are capable of administering fair and functional elections, given specific training in enhanced procedures and security measures. This is extremely important if GOC is to administer (and be publicly perceived as administering) free, fair and open elections. This expert should be a seasoned materials developer and trainer who knows the French civil code on which many procedures will be based. Costs for this set of activities include:

Training expert 24 days	\$ 7,200
Transportation	6,500
Per Diem (185/day x 30 days)	5,550
In-country transportation (60/day x 20 days, and 3 island plane charters x 500)	2,700
Election worker per diems and transport (950 persons x 5,000 francs or \$7.26)	16,400
Printing of manuals and instructions	5,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 43,350

INDEPENDENT ELECTION COMMISSION

Due to considerable public distrust of the President's intentions regarding the Constitutional Referendum, distrust of the current National Assembly appointed by the assassinated dictator, and skepticism about the 1990 Presidential elections process, it's fair to say that, although the IFES team found considerable capability and experience at all levels among election officials,

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the public perception is that Comorian elections are not fair. The opposition underlines and sometimes exaggerates this perception. There are persistent and believable rumors that some candidates buy votes; that some voters register under several similar names; and that others dip their thumbs in oil so indelible ink won't stick to it.

International funding should be sought to set up an independent Comorian Election Commission to oversee the Ministry of Interior's administration of elections at all levels. It could dispel public distrust and become a model for other democratizing nations. The GOC could create a strictly non-partisan and incorruptible Commission, first for this small nation then later work with IFES and other organizations to help democratizing nations create fair elections practices and similar commissions.

The IFES team further recommends that a democratic country invite the Interior Ministry's Secretary General and General Director of Territorial Administration to visit their elections offices, preferably before and during an election, to enable the Comorian visitors to gain planning and operational insights first hand. The cost of the Comorians' visit to a western hemisphere country would include:

2 travellers' transportation (6500 x 2)	\$ 13,000
Per Diem (185/day x 2 x 15 days)	5,550
In-country transportation (500 x 2)	1,000
Administration (10%)	1,955
	<hr/>
	\$ 21,505

Given Comoros' current limited budget, it is not feasible to fund an independent Election Commission with a separate office and staff and equipment. Laws could be written, however, requiring the elections director be a neutral civil servant who, with his staff, must operate totally independently of any partisan concerns, and thus function as an independent Commission, relying on the Ministry of Interior only for logistical support. The IFES team recommends the funding of the equipment listed below to facilitate the work of the Election Commission.

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Assessment: Comoros

FAX equipment for Commission, 3 Governors, 15 Prefects' offices	\$ 19,000
Heavy duty xerox machine and supplies	8,000
Collator & related equipment & supplies	3,000
Word processor, printer and supplies	5,000
Telex equipment and supplies	5,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 40,000

COMPUTERIZED ENUMERATION AND SECURITY MEASURES

The biggest criticism of GOC elections concerns registration and security. The IFES team recommends that the GOC consider how a national identity card or number, and/or birth certificate record might be integrated with the voter identification card. Consolidation of personal identification materials makes for easier management, less cost, and less potential for duplications. Voter identification and registration procedures should be reviewed and improved with appropriate training and security measures.

For a voter population estimated at 360,000, one computer in Moroni could easily control a national record and check list, and the voter's identification card could be prepared after the Elections office notifies the local prefect that the registration is verified. In time, computers could be added at prefects' and governors' offices that interface with the national office.

IFES recommends that an elections enumeration and computerized registration expert consult with the GOC for three weeks to help set up and train elections field staff on registration taking and reporting methods, and to train prefecture and headquarters staff on maintenance and security of elections records. This presupposes that a computer be in place in Moroni with registration records staff able to run it. If it is not possible to install a computer for the forthcoming elections, that line item could be deleted below and the specialist would work with staff on manual record keeping and security. The costs include:

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Registration expert 24 days	\$ 7,200
Transportation	6,500
Per Diem (185/day x 30 days)	5,550
In-country transport (60/day x 20 days)	1,200
Computer and related equipment	10,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 30,450

Later addition of branch office computers would help, especially for cross checking and verification, eliminating costly, error prone manual registrations and lists for each election. These offices have electricity and trainable staff. Costs include:

1 GOC/President's office computer	\$ 10,000
3 Governors' offices computers	30,000
15 Prefects' offices computers	150,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 190,000

REDISTRICTING AND ORGANIZATION

To organize for new elections, the Ministry plans to take old population figures and generally estimate them upward, using a formula to be provided by the Ministry of Plan. Though complete details of the United Nations census now finishing will not be published for about two years, current population figures for citizens above 18 by island, prefecture, town and village ought to be available or could be extrapolated in the next month and should be used, rather than projections from 1990 voting lists.

Whatever population data the new census provides, whether welcome or unwelcome to the GOC, the data should be released to the public in the interests of transparency. Suppression of any unwelcome data at this time could lead to future accusations of district manipulation.

Fair elections depend on clearly delineated and understood voting districts. Voting districts in Comoros are distinct from administrative districts (i.e., prefectures) as the boundaries of the former may shift with each census, to reflect population shifts. The overlapping boundaries of voting districts and administrative districts, and the constitutional criteria for drawing the boundaries, should be carefully explained to voters so that they may understand the various types of representation they have, and what they should expect from their elected and administrative officials.

The team was told that two additional prefectures are needed on Ngazidja (Grand Comore), but there is no money to engage staff and set up two new offices. While administrative expansion may be delayed somewhat, expanding the number of voting districts should not be postponed if the country is to have constitutional credibility. If the Constitution requires 6,000 to 11,000 voters per National Assembly district, and the current voter population is 360,000, then there must be at least 33, but not more than 60 elected Deputies. Important and as yet unanswered questions remain as to who, using what criteria, will carry out the needed redistricting and publish the results in time to organize and hold spring elections.

IFES recommends that the independent Election Commission take the new census figures, and with constitutional guidance, determine and set forth voting districts that are as geographically homogeneous as possible for equal population representation in the National Assembly, Island Councils and Municipal Districts.

Clear maps with lists of villages by district should be drawn up with the help of the voter enumeration/registration specialist noted above. Maps and lists should identify the GOC **administrative** districts by island, prefecture, town, commune and village and quarter. Also important are maps of **voting** districts for National Assembly deputies, island council members, and municipal council members. The lexicon of terms should be clearly identified, as the IFES team found it difficult to get clear definitions of regions, prefectures, circumscriptions, communes, cantons, and quarters as they relate to **voting** vs. **administrative** jurisdictions. The team was shown no maps or lists delineating these various jurisdictions as they now exist.

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The Ministries of Plan and Interior might pool resources in supporting this effort, and the voter enumeration specialist's visit might be extended two weeks to work with census and mapping staff on redistricting.

Costs to extend the Enumeration specialist's stay would include:

Specialist fee for 12 additional days	\$ 3,600
Transportation(already paid)	- 0 -
Per Diem (185/day x 15 days)	2,775
In-country transport (60/day x 10 days)	600
Computer & related equipment for Ministry of Plan	10,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 16,975

THE INITIATION OF ECONOMIES AMID TRANSPARENCY

At all levels of Government, federal, island, and local, officials have needs and ideas but no funds to realize them. They see themselves as entirely dependent on outside help. While that may be partially true, there are economies that would go far toward convincing outside donors that Comoros merits assistance which will be wisely and productively used.

A special committee within the Election Commission might be created to determine what economies could be undertaken within existing practices. Ideas to explore are listed below; however, the IFES team does not recommend that any be heedlessly followed without further consideration of the costs and cultural and religious implications of implementing them.

- Integrate Assembly and local elections as soon as possible after the Referendum. The Ministry of Interior estimates that each election requires about 20 million Comorian francs (\$69,000) for worker fees, meals, and transport fuel. Thus, three integrated elections could save 40 million Comorian francs (\$138,000), and integrating two could save 20 million francs (\$69,000).

- Combine the national identity card now being developed and the voter registration card, or set up an integrated records system if the cards are not be combined. A national identity card with all basic citizen information could eliminate need to reissue voter registration cards, which now costs some 2,100,000 francs (\$7,240). Integration might also help eliminate multiple registrations and voter fraud. Possibly, costs saved might be applied to putting photos on the national ID card to minimize misuse.
- Institute a single ballot system for multi-candidate elections. This could eliminate large paper and printing costs for millions of individual candidate ballots as well as considerable worker time in counting and dividing ballots. A single presidential ballot with all candidates' names, pictures, party color and symbol, with place for the voter to mark his or her choice, could be printed on one side only of a white sheet. After marking the chosen candidate on the ballot, the voter can fold the ballot with the plain side out, and deposit it in the ballot box in full security, thus eliminating the costly security envelope and also the throwaway ballots that, strewn in the floor, are wasteful and can give away how the vote is going. Single ballots in other colors for elections at other levels or for referendum questions could also be voted at the same time in the same way, using one or several ballot boxes in which to put the ballots.
- Set up multi-election voter lists to eliminate redoing the whole job for each election. It costs prefectures 5 francs per name to make up new voter lists for each election. Prefects might prepare master lists with multiple, say five, check-off columns, so that the same list could be used for several ensuing elections or referenda. It would cost some 12,000,000 francs (\$41,400) to redo the lists for each of the coming four spring elections. If three spring elections after the referendum were held together, 6 million francs (\$20,700) might be saved in name gathering and list typing labor. Also, a master list need only be updated between elections, costing much less than redoing the entire list each time.
- Accountable inventorying at prefectures. The French government provides

essential materials--ballot boxes, voting booth frames and curtains, lamps, chairs, tables, in addition to ballots--and most of the equipment disappears between elections. Everything reusable should be inventoried and saved between elections, with systems developed to prevent wastage and losses. This is a must as the French have advised that they will no longer replace reusable equipment, other than for normal wear and tear. Ballot boxes might be built in 4 or 5 sizes so that they could be stored one inside another to save warehouse space at the prefecture. Materials could also be stored in groups, by polling place, and pre-inventoried, so only additional materials need be counted and added, thus saving considerable worker preparation time.

- Consider holding elections on a weekday, rather than on Sunday. This could eliminate special pay for workers at every level. Only extra staff would have to be paid, and regular salaried employees would receive only overtime payment. This could save some 7-8 million francs (\$25,900) per election.
- Develop and publish a schedule of election worker fees for each level, and establish an open fee delivery system, to assure workers actually receive the fees due. If GOC has insufficient funds to pay everyone, prorated fees should be announced and paid.
- Elections costs should be part of the GOC annual budget, with funds set aside for regularly scheduled events. Expenditures should also be published for public scrutiny.

FOREIGN ELECTION OBSERVERS

Given past political unrest and lax security procedures during balloting, the team recommends that international observers from a variety of countries be invited to the forthcoming elections and that the GOC assure that they are welcomed, their needs supported, and they are provided full information and access to all polling places and centralized supervisory and counting

offices. Comoros' inter-island air transport logistics will require GOC assistance to visiting organizations.

The French have indicated that they would come if requested, and the team suggests that observers from several countries should come, thus eliminating accusations, to which Comorians seem prone, of undue influence from any one country or international sector.

Comoros is a member of various international organizations which could be invited to send election observers. Standard procedure is that these organizations pay for the observers' costs and arrange their trip so they are under no obligation to the GOC. The presence of observers should encourage staff and voters' good behavior so that correct procedures and counts prevail at all voting stations to the satisfaction of all.

MATERIAL SUPPORT NEEDS

Understandably, the GOC is primarily concerned about obtaining immediate donations of balloting materials, equipment and cash that are essential to holding the referendum. Listed below are the items that France has agreed to provide, followed by a list of additional items the Comorian Elections Director considers to be essential to put on the election.

Support from France

The French Cooperation Mission will provide up to 44 million Comorian francs (\$137,931) in the form of payments made directly to the producers for essential equipment and printing. They will not, however, pay salaries and election worker stipends which they consider to be administrative costs. They have also indicated they will no longer replace reusable equipment, so prefects must now inventory and store all such items. The French funds will be used, as needed, for any of the following:

Printing -- ballots, election forms	\$ 41,298
Two desks, typewriter, mimeograph machine,	74,348

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photocopier and supplies, instructions	
Notebooks and pens for census takers	396
Supplies for voter education lists, voting cards	19,788
Voting equipment - ballot boxes, booths, nails, curtains, pencils, envelopes	40,032

Additional Support Requested By Elections Office

Since elections are held on Sundays, special fees are required for all workers. The Ministry of Interior expects to need the following fees and expenses for each forthcoming election:

Ministry of Interior - Propaganda Commission	
Commission President fee @50,000fr	\$ 172
5 Commissioners check printers @40,000fr	690
Ministry of Interior - Central Results Commission	
5 Commissioners @25,000fr	431
3 Secretaries @15,000fr	155
3 Security agents @10,000fr	103
2 Drivers @10,000fr	69
2 Clerk/Messengers @5,000fr	34
Ministry of Interior - Elections Office	
2 Secretaries @10,000fr	69
1 Driver, 1 Janitor @5,000fr each	34
Food - 150 x 5,000fr	2,586
45 Workers: fill ballot boxes for deliveries @5,000	776
Fuel for deliveries - all locations	9,655
Governors' Offices (3)	
3 Secretaries @4,000fr	41
3 Janitors @3,000fr	31
5 Tabulating clerks @25,000fr x 3	1,293
2 Secretaries @7,500fr x 3	155
2 Drivers @7,500fr x 3	155

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2 Security guards @10,000fr x 3	207
2 Clerk/Messengers @5,000fr x 3	103
Food - (420 x 5,000fr)	7,241
Prefectures (12)	
Secretaries' overtime (200 x 10 x 100fr)	690
Secretaries type lists (5fr x 360,000 voters)	6,207
Secys prepare voter cards (5fr x 360,000)	6,207
6 Inspectors check secys @10,000fr	725
6 Inspectors' plane fares, per diem	2,070
Secretary - voting day @4,000fr x 12	166
Janitor - voting day @3,000fr x 12	124
2 Secretaries tabulate @10,000fr x 12	828
2 Controllers @10,000fr x 12	828
Food - (45 x 2,000fr x 12)	3,683
Polling Places	
Village census takers (5fr x 360,000)	6,207
Poll booth presidents (450 x 7,000fr)	10,862
Secretaries (450 x 3,000fr)	4,655
Drivers (50 x 2 days x 2,500fr)	862
	\$ 68,182

These sums are probably not excessive in toto, though several are questionable, such as Propaganda Commissioners' fees of 50,000fr (\$172) and 40,000fr (\$138) just for checking printers' output. There also appears to be a good deal of discrepancy in wage scales between offices. As noted elsewhere, many of these costs could be cut or eliminated by changing election day to a week day and/or doing most preparatory work during regular paid hours and/or improving registration procedures.

A top-to-bottom list of wages and fees should be determined and published, and all workers paid above the table. If funds are not sufficient, then fees should be cut by the same percentage across the board, not selectively.

The only official assistance request made to the team was for the above fees which the Ministry of Interior sees as urgent. Officials abstained from asking for tangential materials which speaks well for the professionalism of the Secretary General's office and his core concern of getting the elections implemented.

There are probably some cultural reasons as to why elections are held on Sundays, and why special fees and food are provided to working staff. The Secretary General has indicated willingness to make some economies and to establish fee schedules. Thus, the team recommends that a one-time grant of \$50,000 be made to Comoros to enable the referendum and subsequent legislative and municipal elections to be held. Funding in two parcels of \$25,000 is suggested to encourage that the referendum is quickly followed by integrated legislative and municipal elections.

SUMMARY

The above recommendations might be supported by varying nations interested in encouraging democracy in Comoros. Members of the international community are invited to consider backing one or several of the following assistance and reform packages that are detailed above:

• Clarify and Ratification of Constitution and Codes	\$ 18,405
• Civic Education Program	47,025
• Election Worker Training	43,350
• Independent Election Commission Working Visit	21,505
• Independent Election Commission	40,000
• Enumeration and Security Measures	30,450

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• Later Equipment for Branch Offices	190,000
• Redistricting and Organization	16,975
• Material Elections Support	50,000
• International Observers (paid by sending organizations)	<u> </u>
	\$ 457,710

Appendix A.

THE IFES TEAM IN COMOROS

Loren A. Wells is assistant to the Chief Election Officer in the Province of Ontario, Canada. She advises provincial election officials, manages election worker training, consults on elections administration, and manages press and public information programs on elections. She was formerly Executive Assistant and Registrar of Political Parties and conducted election research and parliamentary documentation. She advised on enumeration and correct polling procedures in Nova Scotia in 1988, and on election administration and correct polling procedures in Newfoundland, also in 1988. In 1990 she coordinated and trained observers for the Organization of American States in Haiti, and returned in 1991 as an observer. Earlier this year, she co-authored an International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) pre-elections assessment study in Lesotho.

Hilary Whittaker has organized political party elections at the local, county and state levels, coordinated a school tax election at the municipal level in the United States, and directed state and local public information and candidate campaigns. She outlined the original administrative procedures for the U.S. Federal Election Commission in 1975, and was a management advisor to state governors' staffs from 1978-85. She has worked on development, census, computerization, education and disaster management programs in France, Morocco, Iran, India, Samoa, Fiji, Mali, Togo, Sierra Leone, Botswana, Cameroon and Kenya with the U.S. Peace Corps, under USAID contracts, with the American Red Cross, and the International League of Red Cross Societies. She led an IFES pre-assessment study team in Mali in June and July, 1991.

INTERVIEWS

Hon. Kenneth Peltier, United States Ambassador to Comoros

Peter Harding, U.S. Embassy Administrative Officer, Moroni

Colonel John Weck, U.S. Army Reserve, Disaster Prep. Ofc., Oregon

Ms. Lora Berg, Comoros Desk Officer, U.S. Department of State

Ms. Carol Herrera, U.S. Peace Corps Director, Moroni

His Excellency, Said Mohamed Djohar, President, Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros

Said Hilali, Personal Counselor to the President

Mohamed Taki Mboreha, Minister of the Interior, Comoros

Oussein Said Mohamed, Directeur de Cabinet, Ministry of Interior

Darouèche Abdallah, Secretary General, Ministry of the Interior

Issihaka Abdourazak, Director General of Territorial Administration

Mohamed Djimbanao, Chargé de Mission, Ministry of the Interior

Abderemane Mohamed, Governor of Ngazidja (Grand Comore Island)

Ali El-Mihidhoir Said Abdallah, Secretary General, Governor's Office, Ngazidja Island

Soilihi Moumini, Cabinet Director, Ngazidja Governor's Office

Youssef Mbechezi, Prefect, North Region, Mitsamiouli, Ngazidja

Said Soilihi Charif, Assistant Prefect, North Region, Ngazidja

Ahmed Mohamed, Chief of Bangoi-Kouni village, North Ngazidja

Youssef Ibrahim, Notable, Bangoi-Kouni village

Moussa Nazi Soilihi, Canton Chief, Bangoi-Kouni

Ali Bousry, Prefect, Mutsamudu, Ndzouani (Anjouan) Island

Gerard Perrolet, Deputy Chief of Mission, French Embassy, Moroni

M. Frank, French Development and Cooperation Mission, Moroni

Pierre Thouin, Coordinator, Canadian Study & Cooperation Mission

Ali Saadi, Director General, Al Watwan state newspaper

Ali Djae, Assistant Director, Radio Comores

Damir Ben Ali, Director General, National Center for Documentation and Scientific Research

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Mme. Said-Bacar Fatouma Isslame, Director of Literacy, Department of Non-Formal Education,
Natl Institute of Education

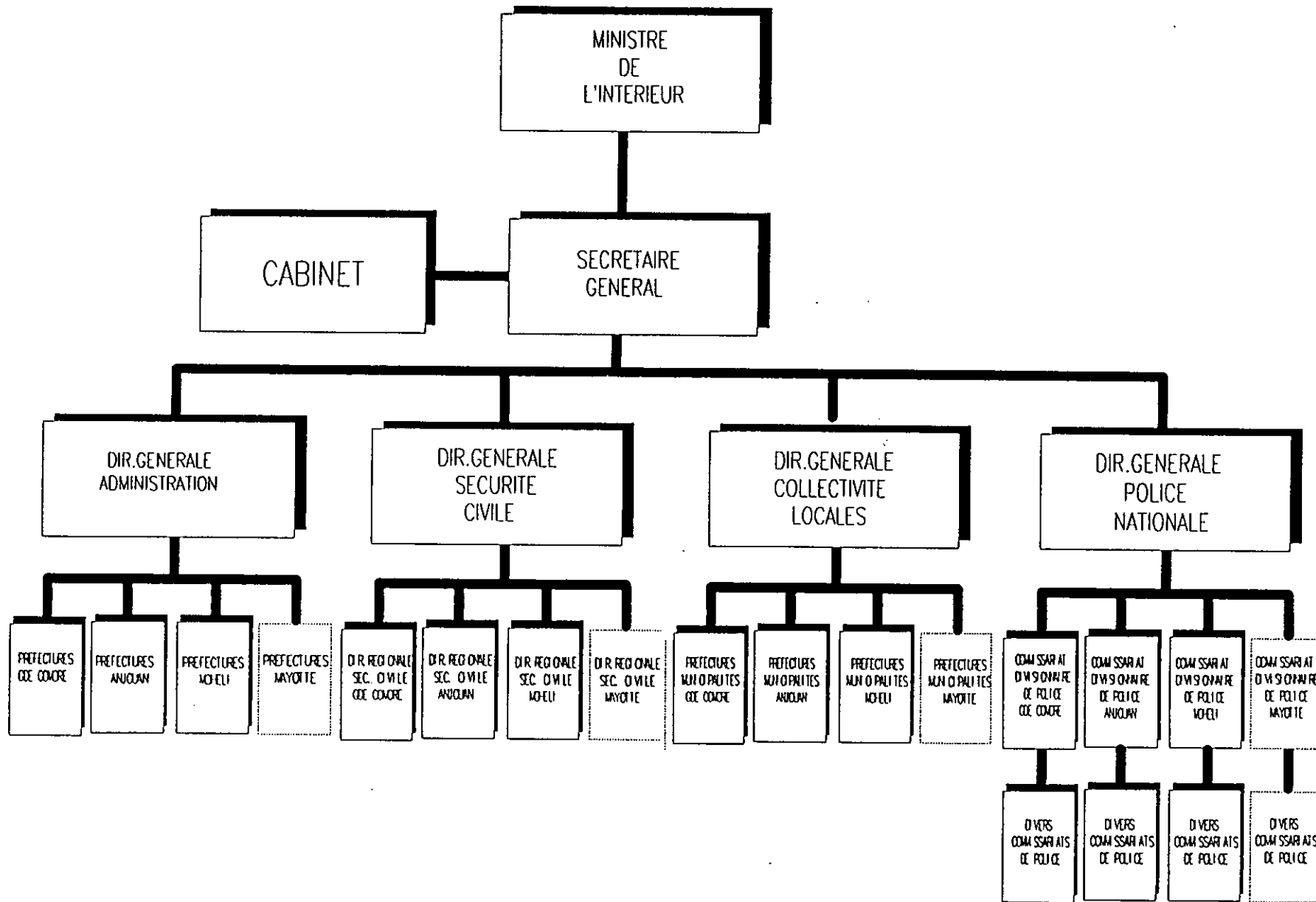
Mme. Bourhane Mounira, President, Comorian Association of Human Rights

Henry A.E. Bera, Pilot, Comoraviation

Ahmed Koudra Abderamane, businessman and opposition writer, Le Miandi opposition
periodical newspaper

M. Aboubacar, Director General, Archipel opposition biweekly newspaper

Ali Mroudjae, retired Minister of Production and Industry, head of Parti Comorien pour la
Democratie et le Progres (PCDP) political party



MINISTERE DE L'INTERIEUR, DE L'IMMIGRATION, DES
REFORMES ADMINISTRATIVES, ET DES COLLECTIVITES
TERRITORIALES

SECRETARIAT GENERAL

BUDGET PROVISIONNEL
RELATIF AUX PROCHAINES ELECTIONS

La mission de coopération française prend en charge toutes les dépenses relatives aux imprimés, fournitures, matériel électoraux (urnes, isolements,etc), jusqu'à concurrence de 800.000 francs français (40 millions comoriens). (\$149,252)

(290 Francs Comorien = \$ 1.00)

De ce fait, l'Etat n'aura à supporter que les indemnités destinées
aux :

- Agents chargés du recensement de la population électorale
5F X 360.000 = 1.800.000 Francs Comorien
- Missions de contrôle de l'Administration centrale à :
(Anjouan, Mohéli, Gde Comore) 600.000 f
- Secrétaires chargées de l'établissement des listes et cartes
électorales.

5F (360.000 X 2) = 3.600.000f

-Contrôleurs des listes électorales : 2 par Préfecture à l'exception
de Mohéli .

a) Anjouan : 10.000f (2 X 4) = 80.000

b) G.Comore: 10.000f (2 X 5) = 100.000

c) Mohéli : 10.000f X 3 (1) = 30.000 = 210.000

...../.....

- Membres de la commission de propagande

5 membres X 40.000 F = 200.000

• Présidents Com.P. = 50 .000 = 250.000

- Préparation des urnes.

1 manoeuvre pour 10 bureau de vote.

5 000 X (4 + 16 + 25) = 225.000

- Carburant : 20 l par véhicule

1 véhicule pour 10 bureau de vote

500 l pour chaque Préfet et Gouverneur.

20 l X 50 V. = 1.000 l

500 . x 15 = 7.500 l

Missions 1.500 l

Soit : 280 X 10.000 l = 2.800.000

- Présidents et secrétaires de bureau de vote

10.000 F X 450 = 4.500.000

- Chauffeurs

5.000 X 50 V = 250.000

- Peram

- Permanence le jour du scrutin

a) 1 secrétaire et 1 planton dans les préfectures et gouvernorats :

7.000 X 15 = 105.000

b) 2 secrétaires, 1 planton et 1 chauffeur, Ministère de l'intérieur.

(10.000 X 2) + (5 X 2) = 30.000

- Centralisation des résultats

a) 2 secrétaires et 2 contrôleurs dans les Préfectures :

10.000 (2 + 2) 12 = 480.000

b) Commission de centralisation des résultats, Gouvernorats.

5 membres + 2 secrétaires + 2 chauffeurs

+ 2 Agents sécurité + 2 garçon de bureau.

(25.000 X 5 X 3) + (15.000 X 2 X 3) +

(10.000 X 2 X 3) + (5.000 X 2 X 3) = 550.000f

c) Commission de centralisation des résultats, Ministère de l'Intérieur.

3 secrétaires + 5 membres + 3 Agents sécurité
+ 2 chauffeurs + 2 garçons bureau.
(15.000 X 3) + (25.000 X 5) +
(10.000 X 3) + (10.000 X 2)
(5.000 X 2) = 220.000f

- Buffet : a) dans les préfectures, 2.000F par personne

2.000 (450 pers + (7 pers X 12)) 1.068.000

b) gouvernorats, 5.000f par personnes

5.000(5 + 3 + 3 + 3) 3 = 2.100.000

c) Ministère Intérieur.

5.000 (5 + 5 + 5) = 750.000

19.738.000 = #68,182.00

Divers et imprévus 3% 539 .140

TOTAL GENERAL 20.500.000F c.

Moroni, le 24 OCTOBRE 1991

Le SECRETAIRE GENERAL

-DAROUECHE ABDALLAH -

N.B. - Electeurs inscrits en 1990 : 315 391

- Prévisions 91 : 360.000

Bureaux de vote 1990 : 387

Prévisions 1991 : 446

Liste des Partis Politiques

Appellation	sigle	Nom. du Secét. Général	observation
Parti Comorien pour la Démocratie et le Progrès.	P.C.D.P.DJA MNAZI	ALI MROUDJAE	90/112/20 06 90
Fédération Nationale pour le Progrès	MDP.NGDC	ALI MIRGHANE	90/127/14 07 87
Chama cha Upvamodja na Ugnagna wa massiwa	SHUMA	SY MOHAMED NAÇER-EDDINE	90/195/29 08 90
Mouvement pour la Rénovation et l'Action Démocratique.	MOURAD	DR. KASSIM	20/201/15 09 90
Parti Comorien du Travail et du Progrès	MAYECHA BORA	MOHAMED ALI	90/202/15 09 90
UHURU Wendza Zorenda	UWEZO	CHARIF ABDALLAH	91/007/11 01 91
Union pour une République Démocratique aux Comores	URDC	MOHAMED TAKI A. MBOREHA	91/101/14 05 91
Union Nationale pour la Démocratie aux Comores	UNDC	ABDOU BACAR BOINA	
Rassemblement pour le Changement et la Démocratie	RACHAD	SAID ALI YOUSOUF	
Front Populaire Comorien	F P C	ABDOU MOUSTAKIM	91/115/30 05 91
Front Démocratique des Comores	F D C	MOUSTOIFA SAID CHEIKH	91/164/21 08 91
Parti pour la Démocratie et le Progrès aux Comores	P D P C	MOGNE ATTOUMANE	
Parti Comorien pour le Progrès	MARANDRAZI	CHOUDJAY ABDALLAH	
wamaan	TWAMAAN	HAMID ABBAS	
Front National pour la Justice	F N J	SOIDIKI MBAPANDZA	
Solidarité Nationale pour la Démocratie aux Comores	S N D C	BACAR MMADI (GONDET)	91/214/21 10 91
Parti Socialiste des Comores	PASOCO	IDI NADHOIM	91/80/ 20 04 90
MDZEMA		OMAR TAMOU	91/110/ 22 05 91
Dialogue Proposition Action	D P A	MOHAMED SAID MCHANGAMA	

SAID AHMED DAROUECHE
 ABOUBACAR ALI
 SAID ABDILLAH
 HASSANI KAROS
 ALI MOUSSA
 AHMED ALI
 SALAH ABDALLAH
 MOHAMED ALI SOUGOU
 ELHADJI MINIHADJI
 AHAMADA ATTOUMANI
 ZALHATA IBRAHIM
 ALJANIAHMED
 ABDOULHAD BEN MASSOUND
 SOILHI MOHAMED CHEIKH
 ALI SOUFIANE
 HADJISALIM
 MADI AHAMADA
 MOHAMED SAID ASSOUMANI
 ABDILLAH M BAE
 SAID ALI MADI KARI
 LUNETTE MROIVILI

Elève
 Elève
 S/P
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 Enseignant
 S/P
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 Elève
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 S/P

Kouhani Oichill
 Mtsamdou Oichill
 Sima Oichilli
 Hasseindje Oichilli
 Chomonl
 Chamdro Sambamadi
 Idjinkoundzi I
 Idjinkoundzi II
 Idjinkoundzi III
 Maoueni Dimani
 Ntsorale Dimani I
 Ntsourale Dimani II
 Mirerenl Dimani
 Rehemani Dimani
 Sidjou Dimani
 Mboude Dimani
 Fouboudzlvouni
 Mtsangadjou I
 Mtsangadjou II
 Idjoindradsja
 Madjoma

Appendix F.

Art.2. - Le présent arrêté sera enregistré, publié et communiqué partout où besoin sera.

Moroni, le 13 Février 1990
 Ministre de l'intérieur
 OMAR TAMOU

ARRETE N°90-004/MIIP
 Portant modalités de l'élection du Président de la République - Scrutin des 18 et 25 Février 1990 et instructions électorales.

VU la Constitution ;
 VU le décret N°90-003/PR du 7 Janvier 1990 portant convocation du corps Electoral pour l'élection du Président de la République ;

ARRETE :

1°) Les scrutins pour l'élection du Président de la République les 18 et 25 - 2 - 90 sont ouverts les Dimanches 18 et éventuellement le 25 Février 1990 à 6h30 et clos à 18h00. Les bureaux de vote sont ouverts en permanence aux électeurs pendant ce laps de temps.

2°) Le vote a lieu sur enveloppe opaques non gommées fournies par l'Administration.

3°) Chaque bureau de vote doit impérativement recevoir au moins autant d'enveloppes et de bulletins qu'il comporte d'électeurs au plus tard 24 heures avant le scrutin. Ils sont conservés par le Président du bureau de vote.

4°) Les bulletins sont tous de même format et portent pour seules inscriptions l'identification du scrutin (élection du Président de la République - scrutin du 18-2-90).

Les noms et prénoms des candidats en caractères latins et arabes et les sigles des candidats.

dont : ALI MROUDJAE : cocotier avec noix
 MOHAMED HASSANALY : vanille avec gousse
 SAID MOHAMED DJOHAR : balance
 SAID ALI KEMAL : Clef
 MOHAMED ALI MBALIA : livre ouvert
 MOUSTOIFA SAID CHEIKH : coelacanthé

ABBAS DJOUSSOUF : Soleil levant

5°) Chaque bureau de vote est présenté par un Président assisté d'un secrétaire choisis par le Ministère de l'Intérieur ou l'autorité désignée par lui.

6°) Le Président de bureau de vote est assisté par un nombre d'assesseurs égal au nombre de candidat à raison d'un assesseur par candidat.

7°) Chaque candidat peut désigner dans chaque bureau de vote un représentant permanent.

ORGANISATION DES BUREAUX DE VOTE

8°) chaque bureau de vote doit comprendre au moins :

- Une table supportant les enveloppes et une liste des électeurs
- Une table supportant les bulletins ;
- Un isoloir au moins, l'électeur y est soustrait à la vue par un rideau ne descendant pas jusqu'à la terre qu'il soit possible de constater de l'extérieur si l'isoloir est libre ou occupé ;

- Une table supportant l'urne et la liste sur laquelle sont émargés les votants

- des sièges pour les membres du bureau.

9°) L'urne ne doit comporter qu'une ouverture permettant d'introduire les enveloppes.

Elle est fermée au moyen d'un cadenas dont les clefs sont détenues par le Président.

L'urne et les cadenas, fournis par l'Administration, doivent parvenir au bureau de vote deux jours au moins avant le scrutin.

Ils sont conservés jusqu'au moment du scrutin par le bureau de vote.

DES OPERATIONS DE VOTE

10°) - Avant l'ouverture de scrutin, les membres de bureau s'assurent que l'urne est vide et procèdent à sa fermeture. Ils s'assurent également de l'existence en nombre suffisant des enveloppes et des bulletins.

11°) - Les membres du bureau de vote prennent toutes mesures utiles pour assurer la régularité des opérations, qui doivent se dérouler dans l'ordre et dans le calme.

Seul le Président du bureau a pouvoir pour requérir les forces de l'ordre qui ne peuvent pénétrer dans le bureau sans son invitation expresse en cas de nécessité.

12°) - Au moins quatre des membres du bureau de vote doivent s'y trouver en permanence dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

Lorsque le Président s'absente ou remplit son devoir électoral, il désigne un assesseur pour le remplacer.

13°) - Seuls les électeurs inscrits au bureau de vote ont le droit de pénétrer dans celui-ci, ainsi qu'un délégué de chacun des candidats. Les Présidents, le Secrétaire Général, les assesseurs et les délégués permanents peuvent voter dans ce bureau par dérogation éventuellement aux dispositions de la présente loi. Dans ce cas leur nom est ajouté sur la liste des votants ainsi que toutes les références nécessaires.

14°) - A l'entrée du bureau de vote, l'électeur présente sa carte électorale à un des assesseurs qui lui remet une et une seule enveloppe électorale après avoir vérifié son inscription sur la liste des électeurs du bureau.

15°) - Muni de son enveloppe, l'électeur se dirige vers la table supportant les bulletins et prend un exemplaire de chacun d'eux.

Il va ensuite à l'isoloir, y pénètre dès que celui-ci est libre et, à l'abri des regards, insère le bulletin de son choix dans l'enveloppe.

Il se rend alors à visage découvert pendant tout le temps de son vote vers le Président du bureau, lui fait constater qu'il ne porte qu'une enveloppe et lui remet sa carte électorale.

Si un électeur a égaré sa carte électorale, les membres du bureau de vote peuvent l'autoriser à voter s'il n'y a aucun doute sur son identité.

16°) - Le Président énonce le nom de l'électeur, pour contrôler un assesseur chargé d'émarguer la liste des votants énonce la date et le lieu de naissance de l'électeur ; celui-ci étant identifié avec certitude, le Président remet la carte d'électeur à un assesseur chargé de la composer.

L'électeur introduit son bulletin dans l'urne, sur l'invitation du Président qui annonce "a voté". La liste est émargée, la carte électorale compostée est rendue à l'électeur qui doit quitter le bureau sans s'y attarder, pour éviter tout encombrement nuisible au déroulement des opérations.

17°) - Tout électeur atteint d'une infirmité l'empêche d'effectuer par lui-même tout ou partie des manipulations exigées par le vote peut se faire assister par un électeur de son choix.

18°) - Les assesseurs peuvent échanger leurs fonctions avec l'accord du Président. L'assesseur qui s'absente présente son remplaçant au Président.

19°) - Le scrutin est clos à l'heure prescrite. Les électeurs qui se sont présentés au bureau de vote avant la

déclaration de clôture par le Président mais qui, n'ont pas encore voté sont admis à le faire.

DU VOTE PAR PROCURATION

20°) - Tout électeur empêché ou éloigné peut voter par procuration donnée à un électeur de la même liste électorale. La procuration est donnée par écrit contresigné par un cadí, un magistrat, une autorité administrative ou une autorité diplomatique ou consulaire en résidence à

Le mandant doit présenter une pièce légale d'identité comportant une photo pour faire enregistrer sa procuration par une de ces autorités.

Un même électeur ne peut recevoir qu'une seule procuration.

21°) - Sous peine de nullité, la procuration ne peut indiquer le candidat ou le parti auquel le mandant désire apporter sa voix. Le choix est effectué par le mandataire en respectant à l'égard des tiers, la règle du secret du suffrage.

22°) - Le mandataire remet la procuration entre les mains du Président du bureau. Toutes vérifications faites quant à la validité de cette procuration et à l'identité du mandataire, celui-ci vote au nom de son mandat.

La mention du vote par procuration est portée sur la liste émargée et la procuration y est jointe de justification.

DU DEPOUILLEMENT DES SUFFRAGES

23°) - Après la clôture du scrutin et l'achèvement complet des opérations de vote, la liste d'émargement des votants est signée par le Président et les membres du bureau. Il est procédé immédiatement au dépouillement des suffrages.

24°) - Le dépouillement est public.

Le président et les membres du bureau prennent toutes mesures utiles pour assurer l'ordre et le calme pendant cette opération.

25°) - L'urne est ouverte.

Les enveloppes sont comptées et leur nombre comparé à celui des émargements de la liste des votants.

26°) - Les enveloppes autres que celles utilisées pour le scrutin correspondent à des votes nuls. Elles ne sont pas ouvertes.

27°) - Les enveloppes électorales sont ouvertes:

- celles ne contenant qu'un seul bulletin comptent pour une voix.

- celles contenant deux ou plusieurs bulletins différents ou tout document imprimé ou manuscrit autre qu'un bulletin de candidature ou un bulletin surchargé ou maculé correspondent à des votes nuls.

- Le Président et les membres du bureau procèdent au comptage :

- des votes nuls
- des votes blancs

- des voix obtenues par chacun des candidats ou par chacune des deux réponses possibles s'il s'agit d'un

Le compte terminé, les résultats sont immédiatement proclamés par le Président puis affichés à l'extérieur du bureau de vote. Chaque représentant d'un candidat peut demander une expédition de ces résultats au Président du bureau.

DU PROCES-VERBAL

29°) - Un procès-verbal des opérations de vote est établi en double exemplaire.

30°) - Sont notés à mesure au procès-verbal :

- l'indication du scrutin et sa date
- les noms et prénoms des membres du bureau de vote
- l'heure d'ouverture du scrutin
- les incidents éventuels et les solutions apportées par le Président et les membres du bureau
- l'heure de clôture du scrutin
- le nombre d'enveloppes trouvées dans l'urne
- le nombre de votants selon les émargements de la liste
- le nombre de bulletins blancs
- le nombre de bulletins nuls
- le nombre des voix exprimées en faveur de chacun des candidats ou de chaque réponse au référendum.

31°) - Le procès-verbal est établi par les soins du secrétaire sur les indications du Président et des assesseurs.

Tout délégué d'un candidat a le droit d'y faire insérer une réclamation ou des observations.

Le secrétaire a voix consultative dans les délibérations du bureau.

32°) - Le procès-verbal est signé et paraphé par le Président et tous les membres du bureau.

33°) - Un exemplaire du procès-verbal est mis sous enveloppe et conservé par le Président.

Le second exemplaire est fermé avec la liste émargée des votants dans une autre enveloppe scellée et signée de tous les membres du bureau, destinée à la commission de centralisation des résultats.

DES RESULTATS DES ELECTIONS DE LA CENTRALISATION DES RESULTATS

34° - Il est créé dans chaque chef-lieu une commission administrative de centralisation des résultats comprenant :

- l'autorité administrative
- le Président
- un magistrat désigné par le Ministre de la Justice
- un fonctionnaire désigné par le Ministre de l'Intérieur
- un représentant de chacun des candidats, désignés par eux
- un secrétaire désigné par l'autorité administrative.

35°) - Les enveloppes contenant les procès-verbaux et les pièces justificatives des opérations électorales de chaque bureau de vote sont adressées à la commission administrative de centralisation des résultats par porteur le soir même du scrutin ou au plus tard le lendemain dans la matinée.

36°) - A mesure de l'arrivée de ces enveloppes, la commission fait afficher les résultats et les additions, en distinguant pour chaque circonscription s'il s'agit d'élections pour la députation à l'Assemblée Fédérale.

37°) - LA commission établit un procès-verbal de centralisation des résultats pour l'ensemble du ressort du chef-lieu.

Ce procès-verbal indique le nombre de votes, blancs, nuls exprimés et ainsi que le partage des voix pour l'ensemble du ressort du chef-lieu s'il s'agit d'une élection présidentielle ou d'un référendum, pour chaque circonscription pour l'élection des Députés.

Ce procès-verbal de la commission administrative de centralisation des résultats est signé du Président et de tous les membres de la commission, et transmis sans délai à la Cour Suprême par tous les moyens appropriés.

En cas de défaillance de l'un quelconque des Présidents initialement arrêté par l'arrêté du Ministère de l'Intérieur, les Préfets sont habilités à procéder au remplacement du Président défaillant immédiatement sans se référer à une autorité supérieure.

Les Préfets, les agents de force de l'ordre, et le Président des bureaux de vote sont chargés chacun en ce qui le concerne de l'exécution des termes du présent arrêté.

Moroni, le 13 Février 1990
Ministre de l'intérieur
OMAR TAMOU

LE MISTERE DE L'ECONOMIE ET DES FINANCES

RECTIFICATION N°90-22/MIEF/CRC
A l'arrêté n°89-111/LJEF/CRC du 4-12-89
Portant concession de pension d'ancienneté de Mr. SAID BEN ALI SAID, ex-Administrateur de 1er classe 3° Echelon, domicilié à Mutsamudu Anjouan

.....
.....
AU LIEU DE :











Article 1er. - Il est concédé, sur le fonds de la Caisse de Retraites des Comores, à Mr. SAID BEN ALI SAID, ex-Administrateur de 1er classe 3° Echelon, domicilié à Mutsamudu Anjouan, une pension annuelle d'Ancienneté égale à 74% du traitement de base afférent à l'indice 1 300, valable à compter du 31 Décembre 1989.-

Appendix G

Namibia

Teenblad
Counterfoil

No.
693013



















AKSIE CHRISTELIK NASIONAAL	ACN		
CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC ACTION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE	CDA		
D.T.A. VAN NAMIBIË	DTA		
FEDERAL CONVENTION OF NAMIBIA	FCN		
NAMIBIA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY	NNDP	 NNDP	
NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT	NNF		
NATIONAL PATRIOTIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA	NPF		
SWAPO-DEMOCRATS	SWAPO-D		
SWAPO OF NAMIBIA	SWAPO		
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF NAMIBIA	UDF		











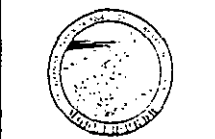

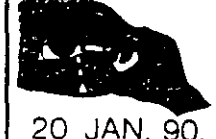


Stem slegs vir
een party.

Stem deur 'n
X te maak in
die vierkant
teenoor die
kenteken van
die party vir
wie u wil stem.

Vote for one
party only

Record your
vote by a X in
the square
opposite the
symbol of the
party for which
you wish to
vote.

					
Thomas DESULME	Fritz SIMON	Marc BAZIN	René THEODORE	Jean Bertrand ARISTIDE	Richard Vladimir JEANTY
PNT	INDEPENDANT	ANDP	MRN	FNCD	PARADIS
1	2	3	4	5	7
					
					

					BILTEN PREZIDAN
François LATORTUE	Sylvio CLAUDE	Hubert DE RONCERAY	Volvic Rémy JOSEPH	Louis DEJOIE	REPIBLIK DAYITI
MODELH PRDH	PDCH	MDN	MKN	PAIN	ELEKSYON
8	10	11	12	14	1990
					
		 20 JAN. 90.			

REPUBLIK DAYTI
ELEKSYON
1990

QILTEM- 08 03.750

DEPATMAN LWES
1ERE SIKONSKRIPSYON ZON NO

DEPITE

Joseph
PIERRE-LOUIS

Ernst Pedro
CASSEUS

Léonel
MONDESTIN

Jean Thechelet
DERAC

Fresnel
LAROSILIERE

ANDP

FNCD

MODELH
-PRDH

PDCH

RDNP

3

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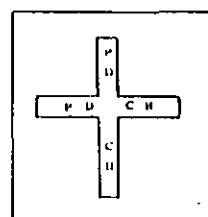
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ANDP



RDNP