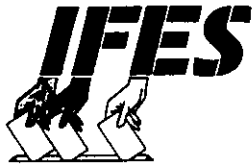


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International Foundation for Electoral Systems

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Latin American and Caribbean Election Studies

GUYANA

A Pre-Election Technical Assessment Report

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October 31, 1990

by
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GLOSSARY

AID	U.S. Agency for International Development
Assessment	IFES's Phase I technical assessment of the need for election commodities and related training for the 1991 elections
BPP	Berbice Progressive Party, a regional opposition party
Candidates' List	A political party's list of the Presidential and parliamentary candidates
Carter Center	Carter Center, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A. and its Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, chaired by former President Carter
CEO	Chief Election Officer
Commission	Elections Commission of Guyana
Constitution	The 1980 Constitution of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana Act 1980, also known as Act No. 2 of 1980, assented February 20, 1980 and effective October 6, 1980
Disciplined Forces	The military, a/k/a the Guyanese Defence Forces (the "GDF"); the police; and others
DLM	Democratic Labour Movement, an opposition party
EEC	European Economic Community
Elections	Presidential and parliamentary elections required to be held no later than May 2, 1991; a/k/a the "1991 Elections"
Elections Commission	Elections Commission of Guyana
EMC	Election Monitoring Committee of the Guyana Human Rights Association
Executive President	The President of Guyana
GDF	Guyanese Defence Forces, a part of the disciplined forces

GLOSSARY, cont.

GHRA	Guyana Human Rights Association
GOG	Government of Guyana
GUARD	Guyana Action for Reform and Democracy, a politically involved civic reform organization
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Washington, D.C.
LP	Liberator Party, a small opposition party
National Assembly	Guyana's unicameral Parliament
NDF	National Democratic Front, a small opposition party
NDMA	National Data Management Authority, University of Guyana
NRP	National Republican Party, a small opposition party
PCD	Patriotic Coalition for Democracy, a coalition of opposition parties
PDM	People's Democratic Movement, a smaller opposition party
PNC	People's National Congress, the present Majority Party
PPP	People's Progressive Party, the present principal opposition Party
PSC	Public Service Commission of Guyana, its career civil service commission
Team	International Foundation for Electoral Systems' Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team; see Appendix J
UF	United Front, an opposition party

GLOSSARY, cont.

URP	United Republican Party, a small opposition party
USG	United States Government
UWP	United Workers Party, a small opposition party
WPA	Working People's Alliance, an opposition party

PART 1. AN OVERVIEW

MISSION

SUMMARY

A two-member Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team (the "Team") conducted an on-site, technical assessment of Guyana's electoral system on October 8-13, 1990 prior to the 1991 Presidential and parliamentary elections (the "1991 elections"). They did so in order to prepare a report for consideration of the Government of Guyana ("GOG"), the United States Government ("USG") and others in assessing the Guyanese electoral process' capacities to assure "free and fair elections" as those capacities relate to elections commodities.

Members of the Team were Randal Cornell Teague, Sr., Counsel to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems ("IFES"), Washington, D.C., U.S.A., and Ronald A. Gould, Assistant Chief Electoral Officer, Elections Canada, Ottawa, Canada. Both are authorities in electoral law and practice. (See Appendix L.)

The Team met with representatives of the GOG, including the Chairman, members (which include a member representing the Majority Party, the People's National Congress (PNC), and a member representing the principal Opposition party, the People's Progressive Party (PPP)) and the Secretary of the Elections Commission of Guyana, (the "Elections Commission" and the "Commission"), the latter being the principal staff officer of the Commission. The Team met also with the USG at Georgetown and with representatives of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government at the Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia, including former President Carter. Unfortunately, the Team was unnecessarily proscribed from meeting with the Opposition, under the specific warning from President Hoyte of the risk of "aborting" the Team's mission (see Appendices G and H), potentially jeopardizing the credibility of the Team's findings and recommendations. Fortunately

and without breach of that limitation, the Team was informed extensively both prior to and while in Guyana of Opposition concerns and suggestions respecting the voters' lists and the upcoming elections, as well as the GOG's and Majority Party's reactions thereto.

The Team examined the electoral process, including the role of the constitution, electoral and related political rights laws, the composition and role of the Commission, national registration procedures, voter list compilation procedures, ballot security, vote counting and verification, and contest and appeals procedures. It also discussed the role of political parties, minority parties' coalitions and civic reform organizations in the past and in the upcoming elections.

In addition to this report, the Team received, reviewed and returned with relevant law and other documents and delivered them to IFES for purposes of this project and IFES's elections data base, library and permanent records. Some have been made appendices to this report. (See list of Appendices on page iv and Appendix K.)

The Team's recommendations are set forth herein at Parts 4 and 5 found at pages 52 - 68.

ELABORATION

Under grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development ("AID"), IFES (a nonpartisan electoral assistance, nonprofit corporation organized in 1987 to "monitor, support and strengthen the mechanics of the election process in developing countries and to undertake any appropriate education initiatives which abet a successful conclusion to those efforts") is undertaking a two-phased program of "technical assistance and commodity support" to the Commission in preparation for the upcoming Presidential and parliamentary (National Assembly) elections. This IFES program is intended to assist and to encourage such Commission and others to assure "free, fair and credible elections."

The IFES program is in two parts:

Phase I (under AID grant PDC-0086-G-SS-1180-00) consists of "the sending of a two-person team to Guyana to undertake an in-depth assessment of the electoral system" and the preparation of "a comprehensive report that would be useful to the GOG (Government of Guyana) and the USG (United States Government) in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process", including the making of specific recommendations for areas of improvement in the electoral process. This report is Phase I's Pre-Election Technical Assessment Report and is intended to be a planning document to assist AID in the implementation of any subsequent actions deemed by it to be appropriate.

Phase II (under AID grant LAC-0100-G-SS-00-0052-00) will consist of IFES, in coordination with the GOG and the USG, implementing selected, mutually agreed upon recommendations made in furtherance of this report, so as to increase the integrity of the electoral process, an essential element in the achievement of free and fair elections. In contemplation of a Phase II grant, IFES offered AID and, through AID, the GOG the following options, any or all of which were for the GOG's acceptance or rejection:

(1) assistance to the GOG in the selection, design and/or provision of election commodities (such as ballot paper, ballot boxes, ballot box locks and seals, voting booths or screens, communications systems equipment, indelible ink and other related equipment and accessories);

(2) training for election officials and poll workers, including training on the proper uses of election commodities, including storage, distribution,

implementation and final disposition of commodities and equipment; and

(3) on-site and ongoing technical electoral assistance through the services of an IFES project manager based in Georgetown, Guyana, through the elections whose duties would include providing assistance in the procurement and distribution of election commodities and related training.

At the outset of this Phase I Assessment, the GOG rejected Phase II parts (2) and (3) as "intrusions" into their electoral process. However, at the conclusion of the assessment, there were some indication that, if much of the Team's recommendations was approved by AID, the offer of assistance of an on-site IFES "facilitator" might be viewed by the Commission in a more positive light.

PART 2. THE CONTEXTS

THE HISTORIC CONTEXT

GUYANA: THE COUNTRY

"Guyana" was the name given the area sighted by Columbus in 1498, comprising modern Guyana, Surinam, French Guiana and parts of Brazil and Venezuela. It is an Amerindian word meaning "land of waters."

The first Europeans were from the Dutch West Indian Company in the late 16th century, and the Dutch retained their hold until 1796, when the area was captured by the English. In 1814, the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice were formally ceded to Great Britain and in 1831 were consolidated as British Guiana. Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice exist today as Guyana's three counties, with Venezuela making substantial territorial claims in Guyana's west and Surinam making claims in its east. While Guyana sits as a small (83,000 square miles), tropical nation on the Atlantic coast of South America, situated to the east of Venezuela, west of Surinam and north and east of Brazil, it is historically, politically and culturally considered part of the English-speaking Caribbean.

On May 26, 1966, British Guyana became an independent member of the Commonwealth under the name of Guyana. It became the world's only cooperative republic, based on a doctrine of "cooperative socialism", on February 23, 1970. On October 6, 1980, a new Constitution went into effect that reinforced the country's commitment to "cooperative socialism," a commitment which has since given way to a more market-based economic system.

After the 1973 election, the PNC administration nationalized the economy and engaged in substantial, some would say additional, socialist experimentation, the combined effects of which contributed to Guyana's economic slide, prompted a severe exodus of professionals and skilled labor, and led to sharp reductions in

personal incomes. In 1987 President Hoyte rejected allegations of a shift to the political right, insisting that the PNC remain committed to socialism, while arguing that socialism, given local conditions, would have to follow an "innovative course." Since then, a reduction of monopolies and reprivatization of parastatals, a vigorous program to encourage foreign investment and stimulate trade, and efforts to reduce the foreign debt have given some hope for renewed economic growth. Yet, it is said that as many Guyanese live outside Guyana today, as remain in the country, for both economic and political reasons.

According to several recent economic reports, Guyana is now one of, or the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere with a gross national product per capita estimated at US\$ 325, nearly at par with Haiti's; that annual per capita income is US\$ 1.08 per working day (at six days per week). Many ascribe this economic decline to the failure of socialist experiments. It has an illiteracy rate estimated at a reasonably low 15-to-5 percent.

The country is English-speaking.

Guyana's multiethnic society shaped its late colonial and independence politics, including its political parties. Urban Afro-Guyanese dominate the ruling People's National Congress (PNC), and Indo-Guyanese similarly dominate the People's Progressive Party (PPP), although neither consist today of only such groups.

Guyana's population (1987 est. 804,000; 1990 est. down to 600,000) lies primarily (90 percent) along approximately two hundred miles of the Atlantic coast and is comprised of Indo-Guyanese (East Indian) (51%), Afro-Guyanese (40%), Amerindians (5%) and others (primarily Chinese and Portuguese) (4%), with a birth rate of nearly 3 percent but an outmigration estimated at 20-22 persons per outbound flight. In 1980, 34% of the population was Protestant, 34% Hindu, 18% Roman Catholic, 8% Muslim and 6% others.

Guyana is, in addition to its membership in the Commonwealth, a member of the United Nations, Caricom (the Caribbean Community) and its common market, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, the Caribbean

Development Bank, the International Labor Organization, the Pan American Health Organization, and relevant international commodity associations. It is also a signatory to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and a member of the G-77 Alliance. Guyana is part of the ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific states) agreement of the European Economic Community ("EEC"), which provides Guyana with special tariff reductions and aid.

Its principal trading partners are the United States, Britain, Venezuela, Japan, Germany and Canada. Soviet Bloc trading statistics do not appear to be publicly available. Principal imports are foodstuffs, fuel and lubricants, consumer goods, machinery and transport equipment and building materials. Principal exports are bauxite, alumina, precious metals (primarily gold), sugar, rum, rice, timber and shrimp. Guyana has no crude oil or natural gas production, and its principal foreign debt is to the United States. After years, Bookers, whose properties had been nationalized, has returned for sugar production. Reynolds Aluminum has returned for bauxite, and Alcan is negotiating its return. Canada is the largest donor of government-to-government bilateral aid, being one of the few countries to have maintained a development assistance program in Guyana.

The capital, Georgetown, is home to more than nearly 30 percent of the country's population with four smaller towns (New Amsterdam, Linden, Rose Hall and Corriverton) home to another 10 percent. A poorly developed highway and road system except in the coastal areas, two railways of limited mileage and limited as well to freight, and slightly more than only two hundred miles of river navigation make transportation beyond the coastal areas difficult for any purpose.

GUYANA: THE GOVERNMENT

Under the October 1980 Constitution, the National Assembly (a unicameral Parliamentary body consisting of sixty-five (65) elected members) is chosen by direct and indirect elections.

The National Assembly is composed of:

- (1) 53 members elected directly under a single-list system of proportional representation, with the whole of the country forming one electoral area and each voter casting his vote for a party list of candidates (known as the "Candidates' List"); and
- (2) 12 additional regional representatives elected indirectly,
 - (a) one each from the ten Regional Democratic Councils, and
 - (b) two from the National Congress of Local Democratic Organs.

The head of the Majority Party in Parliament serves as the Executive President, a position created by the 1980 Constitution which transformed the presidency from a ceremonial office to a powerful position. The Executive President is both head of state and head of government. He is, as well, commander-in-chief of the Guyanese Defence Forces (hereinafter the "GDF" or the "armed forces"). He also appoints vice presidents, one of whom serves as the Prime Minister, and a Cabinet. The Executive President has the power to veto all legislative bills.

Presidential and parliamentary elections, including those for the regional seats in Parliament, are held at least approximately every five (5) years. The most recent national elections were held on December 9, 1985. Constitutionally, the upcoming elections must be held no later than May 2, 1991. In any event, all political parties have all known of the approximate date for late 1990 or 1991 elections since 1985.

Parliamentary elections in Guyana are much shorter than U.S. elections and are shorter than many others, usually lasting only about 5 to 6 weeks, following, as a Commonwealth nation, the British Parliamentary elections model of short campaigns. The minimum period is 39 days.

THE CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICS

The majority and principal minority political parties had their origins in the pre-independence era following the Second World War. Their principal leaders today were already in senior leadership positions by the time of the introduction of the ministerial system in 1953. These parties were initially, and today remain, organized along lines approximating the principal ethnic groups within the population. These ethnic groups were derived from early importation of African slaves (the Afro-Guyanese comprising the base of the PNC) and later of East Indian laborers to work principally on sugar plantations (the Indo-Guyanese comprising the base of the PPP).

GOVERNMENT PARTY

People's National Congress (the "PNC"). The PNC was formed in 1957, under the leadership of Linden Forbes Burnham after he had broken with PPP leader Cheddi Jagan. Primarily, but not exclusively, an urban-based party, it represents almost all of the Afro-Guyanese, over one-third of the population. Initially, it advocated a policy of socialism and hospitality to private investment, especially foreign investment, but an increasing swing further Left, culminating in then-Prime Minister Burnham's 1974 "Declaration of Sofia," brought the PNC close to the opposition PPP on most economic issues. The PNC had drawn heavily on the overseas vote in securing a two-thirds legislative majority in 1973 and was accused of "massive fraud" by the defeated parties, international observer delegations and others in obtaining better than three-quarter majorities in 1980 and 1985.

PNC's senior leaders are Hugh Desmond Hoyte (Executive President of the Republic), Hamilton Green, MP (First Vice President and Prime Minister of the Republic), Viola Burnham, MP

(Vice President and Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic, as well as Linden Forbes Burnham's widow), Ranji Chandisingh, MP (Vice President and Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic, as well as General Secretary of the Party).

In the December 9, 1985 elections for the National Assembly, the PNC won forty-two (42) seats, while the PPP won eight (8), the United Front ("UF") won two (2) and the Working People's Alliance ("WPA") won one (1). The remaining twelve (12) seats, reserved for indirect elections by the Regional Democratic Councils and the National Congress of Local Democratic Organs, were all won by the PNC.

OPPOSITION GROUPS

Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD). In the wake of those 1985 elections, the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD) was organized, promising to restore the "election principal" and forming a coalition of five opposition parties to, in the words of the PCD, oppose the PNC's purported "defiance of the will of the majority of the population." The PCD was not organized as a voting bloc, but rather as a coalition "to expose alleged irregularities in the electoral process". This coalition consisted initially of three larger parties and two smaller ones:

- the People's Progressive Party (PPP);
- the Working People's Alliance (WPA);
- the Democratic Labour Movement (DLM);

- the People's Democratic Movement (PDM); and
- the National Democratic Front (NDF).

The PCD's Secretary is Gail Teixeira, a PPP activist and a former member of the Elections Commission.

People's Progressive Party (the "PPP"). The PPP is the oldest of Guyana's existing political parties. Launched in 1950 by Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan and his wife, Janet Jagan, the PPP began as an anticolonial party speaking for lower social classes, but it has increasingly come to represent almost exclusively the Indo-Guyanese, as other ethnic, social and economic segments of the population have gone elsewhere as subsequent elections stresses created new tensions and political parties multiplied. Until recent reforms in the Soviet Union, it fairly consistently followed a pro-Soviet line, and at a June 1969 Moscow meeting of various nations' Communist party leaders, Dr. Jagan formally declared the PPP to be a communist party. Jagan's attitudes toward reform in the Soviet Union deemphasizing Marxist doctrine have not been publicly elaborated. The PPP has long advocated state ownership of industry but not collectivization of agriculture. Although the PPP and other Opposition groups were charging that the PNC fraudulently manipulated the overseas vote in the 1973 election, Dr. Jagan offered "critical support" to the PNC in August 1975. But, by 1980's elections, the PPP Central Committee narrowly approved participation in the December balloting, at which the PPP was officially credited with winning ten seats. It was awarded eight seats in the 1985 elections.

Today, its leaders are Dr. Cheddi B. Jagan, the Parliamentary Opposition Leader (its General Secretary); his wife, Janet Jagan, MP (Executive Secretary); Reepu Damon Persaud, MP and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly; Clinton Collymore, MP (National Security Spokesman); and Harriperand Nokta (Central Executive Member); and Ms. Gail Teixeira.

Working People's Alliance (the "WPA"). Organized in late 1975 following the tender of PPP support to the ruling PNC, the WPA began as an alliance of left-wing groups that included the African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa (ASCRIA), founded by Eusi Kwayana during his own affiliation with the PNC. Three of its principal leaders were indicted on arson charges in

July 1979, one being subsequently (June 1980) killed in a bomb explosion. The WPA did not contest in an election, however, until the 1985 elections. It has been described as having "the appearance of a genuine bridge across the racial barrier in Guyana" in that its membership is drawn from both the Afro-Guyanese and Indo-Guyanese ethnic communities. It refused to participate in the December 1980 election on the grounds of anticipated irregularities, but it campaigned in 1985, winning one seat.

Its leaders are Eusi Kwayana, MP (Leader); Dr. Rupert Roopnarine (Co-Leader); and Moses Bhagwan.

Democratic Labour Movement (the "DLM"). The DLM was founded in 1982, as an affiliate of the small National Workers' Union, contesting for the first time in 1985. The DLM is a largely centrist organization that has called for a more integrated PCD structure than has been favored by either the PPP or WPA.

Its leaders are Paul Nehru Tennassee (Leader); Wendell Persaud George (General Secretary); Oswald Legall (Vice President); Dave Ramnaraine (Secretary); and Sandra Persaud (Executive Secretary).

People's Democratic Movement (the "PDM"). The PDM is a small centrist group founded in 1973.

Its leader is Llewellen John.

National Democratic Front (the "NDF"). The NDF was formed in November 1985, but contested immediately in the December 1985 elections without gaining a seat.

Its leader is Joseph Bacchus.

After nearly five years of agreement and disagreement, on September 9, 1990 the PCD member parties agreed to go "their separate ways" as to a single Candidates' List in the upcoming elections, although united actions may yet occur. There are signs of this possibility.

ADDITIONAL OPPOSITION PARTIES

Opposition groups consist of those with strengths which carry them from election to election and those others which emerge and may or may not last beyond a particular election. Smaller Opposition parties are sometimes very small, in such cases usually associated with a single or a small handful of political activists.

United Front (the "UF"). A smaller party, the UF favors racial integration, for which it has found support from White, Amerindian and other minority groups. Its programs have favored more conventional economics, closer ties to Western nations, and encouragement of private investment. The UF withdrew from a governing coalition in 1968 to protest the enfranchisement of the overseas voters. It failed to win any seats in the 1973 election but was credited with winning 2 seats in 1980, both of which it retained in 1985. It is contesting in the 1991 elections, including through united actions of the Opposition parties.

Its principal leader is Marcellus Feilden Singh.

United Republican Party (the "URP"). The URP was launched in early 1987 by a US-based former member of the UF, Robert Gangadeen. Since then, he has split with the URP and founded the National Republican Party (NRP). The URP is now contesting in the 1991 elections on site and participating in the various united actions of the Opposition parties, but not as a member of either the PCD or the Guyana Action for Reform and Democracy (GUARD). The URP's leaders are Vishnu Bandhu (Executive Chairman) and Dr. Leslie Ramsammy (Leader).

United Worker's Party (the "UWP").

Liberator Party (the "LP"). The LP is a right of center party formed in 1972 by a group of UF dissidents. In the 1973 balloting it obtained 2 seats, which were reassigned to the UF when the LP

refused to participate in legislative sessions as a protest against alleged electoral fraud. It won no seats in 1980 or 1985 and has not been noticeable in the run-up to the 1991 elections.

Its leaders are Dr. J.K. Makepeace Richmond (Chairman) and Dr. Gunraj Kumar.

Berbice Progressive Party (the "BPP"). The BPP is representative of a regional political party. It was launched in the central Corentyne area in September 1987 with a platform calling for a "new Guyana" under "genuine East Indian leadership."

ADDITIONAL OPPOSITION GROUPS

GUARD. The more recently organized GUARD (the Guyana Action for Reform and Democracy) is a politically involved "civic" reform organization which has been pushing the PCD to oppose the PNC on a more unified basis. GUARD describes its principal backing as coming from churches, businessmen, grassroots organizations and progressive labor forces. It has sponsored rallies, recently in concert with opposition political parties, to highlight anticipated GOG and PNC abuse in the 1991 elections.

Its leaders are Sam Hinds (Chairman), N.K. Gopaul (Co-Ordinator), and Ursuline Sister Doreen Rowtie (Secretary).

GHRA. The Guyana Human Rights Association has directed its efforts toward advocating electoral reform, seen as essential to restoring human rights associated with the political process. It has established an Election Monitoring Committee ("EMC") and petitioned the Commission by memorandum of demands as to the election process, including irregularities in the Voters' List, proposed reforms concerning polling officials and security of ballot boxes, etc.

Despite claims of unity, Opposition remains less united than the PNC, thereby jeopardizing its capacity to defeat the Majority

Party or to reduce the percentage of the Majority Party's vote count.

ALLEGATIONS OF FRAUD AND VIOLENCE IN THE 1990-91 ELECTIONS

OVERVIEW

Guyanese are open, gregarious people, and they enjoy discoursing at length on government and politics, particularly elections. With freedom of speech and freedom of printed press increasingly tolerated, even though freedom of assembly remains restricted, alleged election abuses and concerns are discussed openly and reported widely.

The principal concern of Opposition parties and others is that the upcoming elections will see repetition of 1985 and prior elections' abuses and the introduction of new election offenses.

Can the Guyanese resolve these matters among themselves? While there has been a rapidly growing legitimization of international bodies (such as IFES) facilitating both democratization of one-party governments and further democratization in other countries, the experiences of the leaders of the countries which were once colonies, such as Guyana, when those leaders can recall personally of being told from afar what to do locally, can be irritating to them. It is seen, whether self-serving or not, as an "intrusion" into their internal affairs, analogous to colonial days, no matter how well intended by the overseas persons. Some Guyanese express concern also that persons abroad do not understand that those persons may be unconsciously violating a cardinal principle of democracy: to abide by elections results, whether they like those results or not.

By background, the PNC government formally asserts that there was no election fraud in 1985 but, if there were such fraud, there were only isolated instances and, further, those instances may not have been limited to any single political party. The PNC attests, further, that not only is it committed to free and fair elections but also is now systematically eliminating opportunities for election fraud, a process which began in the run-up to the 1985 elections. In that 1985 run-up, the PNC government:

1. abolished postal voting;
2. restricted proxy voting to the blind and otherwise incapacitated; and
3. restricted the overseas vote to (a) those serving in overseas diplomatic missions and (b) bonafide students studying abroad.

In the run-up to the present elections, the PNC government has now:

1. (a) further moved the counting of ballots toward the actual polling stations, that is, a once centralized counting of ballots, which was then decentralized to 3 centers (one in each county), has been further decentralized to ten counting centers (one in each of the 10 administrative regions), and (b) apparently accepted President Carter's October 13, 1990 recommendation to President Hoyte to conduct a preliminary vote count at the polling stations (see Appendix I);
2. transferred certain election responsibilities of the Minister of Home Affairs to the Elections Commission, so as to consolidate election responsibilities in one office;
3. agreed to a house-to-house enumeration in the nature of a door-to-door canvas, to produce a Voters' List purged of names of persons either no longer alive or no longer resident in Guyana (except living overseas in accepted statuses), a list projected by most knowledgeable persons to be approximately 425,000 persons (see Appendix I);
4. apparently agreed to a broader participation of international elections observers (see Appendix I);

5. apparently agreed to consider reform, including possible expansion of the Commission (see Appendix I);
6. waived fees for filing claims and objections to the Preliminary Voters' List (see Appendix G); and
7. provided all political parties with copies of the Preliminary Voters' List and the "list of the dead" to assist scrutinization and objection to the Preliminary Voters' List, providing these copies further ahead of time in this election cycle than in prior elections cycles (see Appendix G).

"Apparently" must be used to describe items 1, 4 and 5 because neither President Hoyte, the GOG or the PNC have articulated in depth the "kinds of reforms, which President Hoyte has approved," mentioned as an agreement by President Carter on October 13, 1990 at his closing press conference (see Appendix I). Despite President Carter's indication of that agreement, specifics remain to be defined by the GOG or PNC in detail.

SPECIFIC ABUSES

Opposition and other concerns over potential 1991 election abuses focus principally on the following specifics and are said by such Opposition and others to be based on prior elections' actual incidents and 1991 election run-up events to date:

1. (a) There is concern over compromise of the contents of the ballot boxes. The Opposition says that after the polls close, they expect ballot boxes to be "stuffed" in at least this way: "The ballot boxes are seized by the military and kept out of public view. The ballot boxes are later, sometimes two or three days later, produced at the counting centers. The motions are completed, and the desired results duly announced."

[Response: The presiding officers at the poll, who have verified the emptiness of ballot boxes prior to their locking, first seal those locks, and then seal the slot in the top of each ballot box after the polls are closed, including in both instances with sealing wax and steles, making it "impossible" for any additional ballots to be inserted into the boxes through such slots or doors. Any broken seals or destruction of the covering papers invalidate all ballots in such box. In addition, a preliminary vote count announced at each polling station will reduce the likelihood of stuffing the boxes between the preliminary vote count and the counting center and official vote counts.]

(b) Opposition believes that the highly formalistic sealing of ballot boxes still does not preclude their being "stuffed." There is a broadly held lack of confidence in the security of the existing wooden ballot boxes, of which there are approximately 915, it being contended that the wooden bottoms, and perhaps the sides, can be pried open sufficiently to insert additional completed ballots without destruction of the seals covering both the slots on top and the locks on one side. (Having read this, the Team experimented with the ballot boxes, which were in storage at the offices of the Chief Election Officer ("CEO"), and was able to insert a properly folded 1985 election ballot into several ballot boxes because of the loose fits between the ballot box doors and sides. Such loose fits were not common, but they did exist.)

[Response: Polling station officers are not precluded by law from sealing all sides and corners to prevent their prying open and inserting ballots, and if Opposition wishes such additional sealing, it should indicate that to the Elections Commission, presiding officer and other polling station officers, candidates, etc.]

2. The Opposition believes that counting ballots at central locations invites abuse by removing the ballot boxes from constant observation by election officers. Opposition officials and international observers lose minute-by-minute custody to other persons, including the military personnel transporting ballot boxes.

[Response: The country had a bad experience in the 1973 election with counting ballots at the polling stations. A person was, or persons were, killed; others were intimidated at gunpoint with threats of death. Several polling officials had to escape attacks by area residents for fear of life and limb. Ballot boxes completely disappeared. Now, nearly 20 years later, movement toward decentralization of counting centers continues in cautious, election-by-election steps to move the counting of ballots closer to the polling stations. This election ballots will be counted officially at the ten regional counting centers. In addition, the preliminary vote count at polling stations should reduce opportunities for election fraud at the polls themselves. Not counting at the polling stations is said to be consistent with other Commonwealth nations' practices, e.g. Belize, Antigua, Barbados, St. Nevis and St. Kitts, and inconsistent with others', e.g., Malaysia, which now has central counting but in which its opposition is calling for decentralized counting.]

3. The Opposition contends that the Voters' List, either preliminary or final, ought not to be just an updating of the 1985 national registration list of all Guyanese attaining age 14 (but not eligible to vote until age 18) and thus qualifying for an identity card. They contend that house-to-house enumeration of voters is essential, as this would be less susceptible to padding and other manipulations.

[Response: The traditional response of the Government has been that in a country of short financial resources and

limited government payroll, a separate enumeration would be duplicative, time-consuming, expensive and fraught with its own problems. Such an enumeration would also delay the election call by three to four months. Further, it has contended that not all households are accessible (guard dogs, etc.), and not all would have residents on site, leaving only neighbor-provided information (as is permitted in other Commonwealth countries' enumerations) of dubious accuracy. More recently, however, the Government has apparently agreed, in response to the Carter Center's and others' recommendations in support of a house-to-house enumeration prior to the 1991 elections, to such an enumeration (see Appendix I).]

4. Electoral functions should be under the Commission, not divided or under the Minister of Home Affairs.

[Response: Following the 1985 election, the posts of Commissioner of Registration and Chief Election Officer were combined. In addition, the Election Laws (Amendment) Act of 1990, passed by Parliament in September and assented to by the President on September 29, transfers jurisdiction over most all election functions to the Commission (see Appendix A). Moreover, President Hoyte appears to have concurred in President Carter's recommendation that the Commission be reformed (see Appendix I).]

5. Even if the Voters' List is culled from the National Registry, the Commissioner of Registration and Chief Election Officer should have control over all input and all printouts of both lists. At present, such control rests effectively with a data processing contractor, the National Data Management Authority, located at the University of Guyana, which is the only available facility with the required computer equipment.

[Response: The Commissioner of Registration and Chief Election Officer concurs, but he does not have the financial

resources to procure the required hardware, software and staff.]

6. Trained international observers should observe all elements of the 1991 elections. Such participation would discourage persons wishing to engage in election fraud and take knowledge of any fraud into the international electoral systems community, simultaneously validating free and fair elections.

[Response: The Government, in consultation with the Opposition Leader, has invited observer delegations from the Commonwealth and the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government at the Carter Center. Others may be added, either separately or under the umbrellas of the Commonwealth observers or the Carter Center/Council's observers. As of October 22, a three-person Commonwealth Secretariat team and the Carter Center team had undertaken separate assessment trips. In addition, Americas Watch, a private organization, and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), a Congressionally established organization, had each undertaken one-person, on-site, pre-election assessments, and other entities, such as the Socialist International, have requested observer statuses.]

NOT
true

7. A number of grievances focus on the role of the disciplined services (the military a/k/a the Guyanese Defence Forces (GDF), the police and others). There are three principal grievances:

(a) The disciplined services vote separately and in advance of election day, specifically seven days ahead.

[Response: Voting by these services in advance of election day is a common practice in Commonwealth nations. Canada permits it for a one week period, two weeks prior to its federal elections. The United Kingdom permits it for 10 days prior to the elections. In any event, the Government contends that such voting does not prejudice the outcome of the

election by intimidation of other voters, because the votes are not counted until after the election and results are not announced separately, even after the election.]

(b) The military gathers and accompanies ballot boxes from polling stations to counting centers. Sample complaints here include: "After polling closes, the ballot boxes are seized by the military and left out of public view. The ballot boxes are later, sometimes two or three days later, produced at the counting centers. The motions are completed, and the desired results duly announced". Also, Guyana needs to "remove soldiers from the process," for "soldiers are used to transport and 'protect' ballot boxes" and "heavy ballot stuffing takes place during transportation."

[Response: The Commission has indicated that the military will not transport ballot boxes to and from polling stations in the 1991 elections, if the Commission's ground, aircraft and boat transportation requests of the USG are granted, indicating that, in the absence of that elections commodities assistance, it will have no choice but to rely on military vehicles, military helicopters, etc. [This would probably be a practical necessity, ed.] The Commission has also indicated that constables will be used in the 1991 election to accompany ballot boxes, etc., but Opposition believes that some constables can no more be trusted as to assuring free and fair elections than can some military.]

(c) The military presence on election day is unnecessarily apparent, intimidating voters and chilling the exercise of the right to vote. The military is said to be "on every street, at every street corner," in numbers far greater than on other days.

[Response: The military has been present in greater numbers to assure no civil disturbances which would threaten polling stations, polling officials and/or voters, a presence augmenting limited constabularies.]

8. Attacks by government and PNC supporters against participants in marches and other demonstrations, rallies, etc. have begun. An attack by a "gang" of approximately 100 young men occurred against a group of people taking part in a "pro-democracy" march in a south Georgetown neighborhood in the district of Albouystown, on September 19, described publicly by the Opposition as "the first sign of election violence" and as "organized thuggery and violence directed at anti-government forces."

[Response: This was an isolated event; similar events have not occurred. No one has persuasively linked the "gang" to the Government, including the military or police, or to the PNC.]

9. Presiding officers at polling stations are all, or nearly all, PNC, and these officers have broad powers at law at the polling stations. For example, a presiding officer can eject or reject a voter with an identity card, yet accept a voter without his identity card, etc. Presiding officers are appointed by the Chief Election Officer and are claimed by the Opposition to be chosen by him from "the PNC faithful," using as rationale for their appointments their prior experiences in national elections (won by the PNC with heavy majorities).

[Response: Presiding officers and other polling officials carry out their duties at the polling stations, more often than not, under the eyes of both Majority and Opposition parties' representatives.]

10. Opposition contends that the red ink used in the 1985 election is not "foolproof," that it can be removed, even if laboriously.

[Response: The ink cannot be completely washed off, no matter how laboriously, for it remains both under the fingernail and cuticle for five to seven days, and if efforts are made to remove it, the attempt leaves the finger suspiciously lighter than other fingers on the hand. That

said, the Chief Election Officer did not oppose the procurement of a totally new ink for the upcoming elections, an ink with additional security properties, but he did indicate that his office does not have sufficient funds for a complete replacement. He had, instead, been planning on "topping off" the existing inventory.]

In summary, while it was impossible for the Team to determine with total accuracy to what degree the allegations of actual fraud or perceptions of fraud were true, the extensive focus on such allegations was extraordinarily helpful to the Team in its principal task, that of elections commodities review.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE CURRENT GUYANESE ELECTORAL PROCESS
BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

United States Reports

United States Government. The most recent formal statement by the Government of the United States on the status of those human rights in Guyana directly relevant to the electoral process was set forth in Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989, a report by the U.S. Department of State to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in accordance with sections 116(d) and 5028(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended.

This report is, in part, as follows:

"GUYANA

"Human rights concerns in Guyana continue to center on police abuse of persons arrested, limitations on press freedom, and questionable electoral practices. [Emphasis added] * * * * *

"RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

"Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

 "a. Freedom of Speech and Press

"The constitutional provision for freedom of speech is respected, and Guyanese can, and do, criticize their Government and its policies.

"Guyana's public television station, Guyana Television (GTV-10), broadcasts a 1-hour program on Sundays. It also provides a nightly 15-minute news program, which generally presents the Government's point of view but does include coverage of opposition views and events, to the country's two private television stations. The two private stations normally broadcast satellite transmissions from the United States, including uncensored network news, but do not produce their

own local news broadcasts. The country's only radio station, the government-owned Guyana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC), is selective in reporting the views and activities of opposition parties. Some of the GBC's radio interview and commentary programs allow public criticism of the Government, but, in general, they reflect government policies. * * * * *

"In 1989, the government-owned daily newspaper, the Guyana Chronicle, reduced its previously expanded coverage of news and commentaries that differ from government views, and became more clearly reflective of government positions. Independent periodicals remained free to criticize the Government and its policies. Information on government activities is carefully controlled, although in 1989 government officials were increasingly available to the press through press conferences. The April 1989 Public Corporations Act, which provides for the fining and imprisonment of employees of public corporations who disclose unauthorized information about government activities and operations, continued to be viewed by the media as a restraint. To date, no one has been charged under the law. Guyanese can receive printed materials from abroad without restrictions, but scarce foreign exchange limits their availability. Certain regional newspapers and international news magazines, which often contain criticism of the Government, are, however, regularly available. * * * * *

"Section 2 Respect for Civil Liberties, Including:

"b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

"The Public Order Act requires police permits for mass political meetings but allows the police commissioner, at his discretion and without explanation, to refuse permission for a public meeting. In 1989 opposition parties organized numerous rallies and marches, particularly in April, to protest the establishment of the Government's economic reform program. Opposition figures complained, however, that

polling places rather than at central counting places. President Hoyte stated in September that he opposed the counting of ballots at polling places on grounds that voters in "ethnic enclaves" could easily be subjected to intimidation. The PCD boycotted the November 1989 municipal elections, stating that current electoral laws were insufficient to guarantee that they would be free and fair. The unopposed PNC slates were declared elected. Thirty-six prominent individuals from a broad cross-section of Guyanese society signed an open letter on electoral reform in August calling for the creation of an acceptable elections commission as well as election monitoring by local and international observers. * * * * *

"Political parties are organized generally along ethnic lines, a situation that predates the independence. * * * * *

Americas Watch. In addition to the USG report, Americas Watch, a private organization, undertook a one-person assessment in Guyana in late July and early August 1990. It has published a report, Electoral Conditions in Guyana, and begun its broad distribution. It is a report critical of election abuses and the GOG's perceived roles, either actively or by acquiescence in those abuses, and is available from Americas Watch offices in New York, N.Y. and Washington, D.C.

Commonwealth Reports

In addition to two prior reports by Commonwealth nations' observers covering the 1980 and 1985 elections by Commonwealth nations' observers -- Something to Remember: The Report of the International Team of Observers at the Elections in Guyana, December 1980, known more commonly as the Avebury Report after the Team's Chairman, Lord Avebury, and Political Freedom in Guyana, a joint report of the British Parliamentary Human Rights Group

mission of 1985, known more commonly as the Chithis Mission and Americas Watch -- a new Commonwealth Secretariat staff report has been concluded for review by the Commonwealth's Secretary General. This new report sets forth a three-person Commonwealth Secretariat delegation's findings and conclusions from an early September 1990 assessment in Guyana. As of October 22, this report had not been publicly released, but it is believed to be "critical," if not "highly critical," of election fraud and the Government's perceived roles in it.

In summary, these reports reflect in the aggregate that the "scope of full democratic expression" in Guyana "remains limited."

PART 3. ELECTION LAW

ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

CHAIRMAN, ELECTIONS COMMISSION

(appointed by the President, presently Hugh Desmond Hoyte)

- **Sir Harold Bollers**

GPO Building
Robb Street
Georgetown, Guyana
Tel: 02-59133

MEMBERS, ELECTIONS COMMISSION

(appointed by President on advice of Parties)

- **Neville Bissenber, Sr.**
(on advice of the People's National Congress)
- **Clement Rohee**
(on advice of the People's Progressive Party)

SECRETARY, ELECTIONS COMMISSION

(appointed by Public Service Commission ("PSC"))

- **Lionel ("Lance") P. Ferreira**

GPO Building
Robb Street
Georgetown, Guyana
Tel: 02-59133 and 02-61588

COMMISSIONER OF REGISTRATION AND CHIEF ELECTION OFFICER

(appointed by PSC)

- **Ronald A. ("Andy") Jacobs**

National Registration Centre and Election Office
High Street, Kingston
Georgetown, Guyana

All election officials below are appointed by the Chief Election Officer as delegated by the PSC:

- **One Returning Officer and one Election Clerk for each district**
- **One Presiding Officer and one Poll Clerk for each polling place**

- **Additionally, Deputy Returning Officers and Assistant Presiding Officers, as required.**

Section 7 of Representation of the People Act

AGENTS OF CANDIDATES: Organization

- **One Representative and one Deputy Representative of the Candidates' List**

The Representative of the Candidates' List can appoint someone else or can himself be the **Election Agent** of the Candidates' List. The Election Agent, in turn, may appoint:

- (a) **an Assistant Agent for each district,**
- (b) **a Counting Agent for each district, and**
- (c) **a Polling Agent for each polling place.**

NON-RESIDENT VOTING

- **A Ballot Officer is an ambassador or High Commissioner or other person appointed to represent Guyana outside the country.**
- **Ballot Attendants are appointed by the CEO to locally administer the electoral process outside the country.**

VOTING BY SPECIFIED DISCIPLINED FORCES

- **A Ballot Officer for each of the specified disciplined forces is appointed by the Chief Election Officer.**
- **Ballot Attendants are appointed by the CEO, and there is one (1) per balloting place.**

SUMMARY OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

The Constitution of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana Act 1990 (see Appendix A for full text) provides as follows:

- **Parliament**

Section 51 - There shall be a Parliament consisting of the President and the National Assembly.

- **National Assembly**

Section 52 - The National Assembly shall consist of sixty-five members; a Speaker of the Assembly is permissible in addition to the 65 members.

- **Qualifications for Election as Members**

Section 53 - A person shall be qualified for election as a member of the National Assembly if he is (a) a citizen of Guyana, 18 years of age or older and (b) proficient enough in the English language to participate in the Assembly.

- **Qualifications to be an Elector**

Section 59 - Every person may vote at an election if he is 18 years of age or older, a citizen of Guyana or a Commonwealth Citizen domiciled in Guyana.

- **Electoral System**

Section 60 - Elections of members of the National Assembly shall be by secret ballot. Fifty-three (53) members of the National Assembly shall be elected through a proportional representation system. Regional Councils (10) elect one of their members to the National Assembly. The National Congress of Local Democratic Organs (made up of two (2) members from each Regional Council), elect two (2) members to the National Assembly.

- **Time Limit for Election**

Section 61 - Within three months after every dissolution of Parliament by the President, an election must be held.

- **Elections Commission**
Section 62 - Elections shall be independently supervised by the Elections Commission.

- **Sessions of Parliament**
Section 69 (1) - Each session of Parliament shall begin within six (6) months from the end of the preceding session if Parliament has been prorogued or within four (4) months of that session if Parliament has been dissolved.

- **Dissolution of Parliament**
Section 70(3) - Parliament may continue for five (5) years from date of its first meeting (following the election).

Section 40(4) - If Guyana is at war, the President may extend Parliament for up to twelve (12) months at a time for a maximum of five (5) years.

- **Regional Elections**
Section 73(1) - Members of regional democratic councils shall be elected by persons residing in the region and registered as electors. NOTE: There are 10 regions and elections are held at the same time as National Assembly elections.

- **Local Government Elections**
Section 78 - Parliament may make provision for local government elections. NOTE: Last ones were held in 1979.

- **Qualifications for Election as President**
Section 90 - A person shall be qualified for election as President if he is a citizen of Guyana, qualified to be elected to the National Assembly.

- **Tenure**
Section 92 - A person assuming the office of President shall continue in office until the newly elected President assumes office.

- **Qualifications to Vote**
Section 159(1) - A person must be qualified as an elector as per Section 59, and registered as an elector in order to vote.

• **Electoral System**

Section 160(1) - A system of proportional representation to elect fifty-three (53) members of the National Assembly shall exist with votes being cast in favor of lists of candidates and with each elector having one (1) vote.

Section 160(3) - Parliament may make provision (a) for the registration of electors, (b) to (g) for allocation of seats, preparation of lists, elections process, filling vacancies, and (h) generally for the conduct of elections.

• **Elections Commission**

Section 161(1) - There shall be an Elections Commission consisting of a Chairman and other members.

Section 161(2) - Chairman shall be appointed by the President and shall be or have been a court judge or is qualified for appointment as a judge.

Section 161(3) - One Commission member representing every list which obtained at least 5 seats at the immediately preceding election.

Section 161(5) - Commission members are appointed by the President, including a representative from his own list.

Section 161(7) - The term of office of Elections Commission members expires three (3) months following the date of the election following his appointment.

• **Functions of the Elections Commission**

Section 162(1) - Registration of electors or conduct of elections as conferred by the Constitution or Act of Parliament and the Commission:

(a) shall exercise general direction over registration and conduct of elections and

(b) issue instructions and ensure impartiality, fairness and compliance by all persons involved.

Section 161(2) - The Commission may generally or in a particular area in the case of danger postpone the election date or delay the voting in a particular area.

• **Determination as to Members or Irregularities**

Section 163(1) - The High Court has exclusive jurisdiction concerning the qualification of a person to be elected to the National Assembly, concerning the lawful conduct of elections in general or a particular place, and whether a person has been validly elected.

THE ELECTORAL LAW

The principal electoral law is found at The Laws of Guyana, Chapter 1:03, Representation of the People Act of 1975. NOTE: The Election Laws Amendment Act (1990) transferred responsibility for the preparation of the Lists of electors to the Elections Commission.

- **Districts and Polling Divisions**
Section 6 - The Minister specifies the number and names of polling districts and divisions.
- **Polling Places**
Section 6 - The number of polling places in the division is determined by the returning officer, as approved by the Chief Election Officer.

CANDIDATES

- **Submission of Lists of Candidates**
Section 9 - The deadline for the submission of lists of candidates is the thirty-second (32d) day before polling day. Lists to be submitted to the Chief Election Officer.
- **List Requirements**
Section 11(1) - A minimum of two hundred (200) and a maximum of two hundred twenty (220) names are required to be on the list of candidates at the time of submission of the list.

Section 11(3) - A list of candidates must list a minimum of fifty-three (53) and maximum of sixty-five (65) candidates alphabetically.

Section 11(5) - Each list must have a title.

Section 11(6) - No person can be a candidate nor a sequatory (nominee) on more than one (1) list.

Section 11(9) - NOTE: One of the candidates on a list is designated as the Presidential candidate.

- **List Symbols**
 Section 16(1) - By the thirty-second (32d) day before polling day, the list representative may apply to the CEO for the allocation of a symbol.
- **Validation of Lists**
 Section 17(1) - To be valid, lists must be approved by the Commissioner no later than the twenty-eighth (28th) day.
- **Appeal**
 Section 18 - Where the Commission refuses to approve a list, the list representative can appeal to the High Court up to the twenty-sixth (26th) day.
- **Publication**
 Section 19 - Publication of all titles and symbols of lists required to be done by the Commission in the Gazette by the twenty-third (23d) day.
- **Withdrawal of Lists**
 Section 20 - Lists can be withdrawn.
- **Death or Withdrawal of Candidates**
 Section 21 - Death or withdrawal of candidates does not invalidate an already approved list.
- **Joining of Lists**
 Section 22 - Up to the twenty-fifth (25th) day, two (2) or more lists can be joined for distribution of seats by notifying the CEO.
- **Election Agents**
 Section 23 - By the thirty-second (32d) day, the representative of the Candidates' List must inform the CEO of the name of the election agent of the candidates, which can be himself.
- **Other Candidates' Representatives**
 Section 24 - An election agent may appoint (a) an assistant agent for each district (maximum one each), (b) a counting agent for each district (maximum one each), and (c) a polling

agent for each polling place (maximum one each). By no later than the seventh (7th) day, the election agent must inform in writing the returning officer of the district of these appointments and the returning officer must give public notice of this information.

VOTING

- **Enrollment to Vote**

Section 27 - Other than blind and incapacitated electors, all electors must vote in person. Other than where proxy voting is concerned, electors have one vote.

- **Where to Vote**

Section 28 - The elector can only vote at the polling place where his name appears on the list of electors.

- **Proxy Voting**

Section 30 - The following electors shall be entitled to vote by proxy: military or police personnel; those electors with electoral responsibilities; those electors employed by the Transport Department and running a vessel on polling day; a candidate at an election who is unable to be present in his district; and the blind and physically incapacitated. A person appointed to vote as a proxy must be an elector entitled to vote at the same polling place, and can vote by proxy for a maximum of two (2) electors at the same time as he casts his own vote.

- **Applications for Proxy**

Section 31 - Every application for proxy must be received by the returning officer at least ten (10) days before election day, accompanied by the consent of the elector named as proxy.

POLL PREPARATIONS

- **Notice**

Section 34 - A notice of poll shall be given by the twentieth (20th) day at the latest, listing day and hours of polling and all polling locations in the district. By the fourteenth (14th) day, this notice must be posted along with all lists

of candidates, and the official list of electors on at least one (1) building in each division of the district.

- **Polling Hours**

Section 34(3) - Polling hours are normally twelve (12) consecutive hours from 6:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m. unless otherwise prescribed by the Minister.

- **Equipment**

Section 37 - The district returning officer is responsible for the provision of all furniture, etc. and voting compartments in each polling place.

- **Directions for Voting and Ballots**

Section 38 - The CEO is responsible for printing and sending to returning officers sufficient quantities of: directions for voting, ballot papers and tendered ballot papers along with a list of the serial numbers of the ballots. (Samples of these forms, Form 10 and Form 11, can be found in Appendices E and F.)

- **Provisions of Election Supplies**

Section 40(1) - The district returning officer is responsible for supplying each presiding officer with all election supplies, including ballot papers, directions, copies of the Act, lists of electors, ballot boxes and seals, oath forms, poll book lists of candidates, etc.

- **Ballot Box**

Section 40(2) - Ballot boxes must be of convenient size and designed so that ballots can be deposited but not removed without the box being unlocked.

- **Voter Identity Card**

Section 43 - If the Commissioner of Registration cannot provide a photograph on the voter identity card, or if there are other differences from the normal card required, this will not invalidate the card for voting purposes.

NON-RESIDENT BALLOTING

- **Non-Resident Electors**

Section 45A(1) - The non-resident electors roll must be completed by the twenty-first (21st) day.

Section 45A(2) - Persons qualified as non-resident voters are those employed by the Government or any public or State-controlled corporate body and fulltime students outside Guyana, if they apply to the CEO no later than thirty (30) days before election day.

- **Ballots**

Section 47 - Ballot papers supplied to ballot officers for non-resident voters are identical to all other ballots, except for being a difference color. The CEO is responsible for providing these and all other supplies and forms to the ballot officers.

- **Non-Resident Ballots**

Section 51 - By the fourteenth (14th) day, the ballot officer or the CEO shall send to every non-resident elector in a sealed envelope, (i) an unsealed "return" envelop addressed to the ballot officer or the CEO; (ii) a declaration of identity form including the voter registration number of the voter, (iii) an unsealed ballot envelop marked "To the Chief Election Officer", (iv) directions for balloting and (v) a ballot paper stamped with the official mark.

- **Ballot Attendants**

Section 53 - The CEO may appoint ballot attendants outside of the country.

- **Non-Resident's Voting Procedure**

Section 54 - Not later than the ninth (9th) day, the non-resident voter alone or before a ballot attendant, secretly marks his ballot, folds it and places it in the ballot envelope which he seals; completes the certification of identity form, and places the form and the ballot envelope in the return envelope which he seals and either gives to the ballot attendant or posts himself.

• **Transmission**

Section 55 - The above documents must be received by the officer concerned by the seventh (7th) day before election day.

Section 56 - The above documents are kept in safe custody unopened for delivery to the CEO.

• **Non-Resident Electors in Guyana**

Section 58 - Where a non-resident elector is in Guyana and will be unable to vote abroad, he may obtain the non-resident ballot and envelopes from the CEO by applying. These must be completed and returned to the CEO by the seventh (7th) day.

• **Counting of Non-resident Votes**

Section 59 - The counting of non-resident votes shall take place on election day, at a time set by the CEO and published in the Gazette. Those permitted to be present include: (a) the Chief Election Officer and such staff as he may appoint; (b) the Minister, members of the Commission, and any team of observers appointed by the Minister; (c) one candidate from each list appointed by the election agent; (d) the election agent himself; (e) members of the police, Guyana military and militia and (f) anyone else the CEO permits to attend.

• **Counting Procedure**

Section 60 - The CEO opens an empty ballot box and after examination secures it.

Section 61 - The return envelopes are opened and the number of sealed ballot envelopes counted. Signature comparisons with the registration card are permitted on request unless the CEO finds the requests unreasonable. Such refusals can be appealed to the High Court.

Section 62 - The ballot papers are removed (folded) from the ballot envelopes and deposited in the ballot box by the CEO and the name of the elector checked off against the non-resident roll.

VOTING BY SPECIFIED DISCIPLINED FORCES (SDF)

- **Ballot Officers**

Section 65I - The CEO appoints one ballot officer for each of the SDF and one ballot attendant for each voting place and determines the voting place in each district.

- **List of SDF Electors**

Section 65J - Each ballot officer prepares an SDF electoral list of persons on the electoral list who are SDF members in his jurisdiction and sends this list to the CEO who in turn provides copies to the relevant district returning officer for display at each regular polling place.

- **Balloting**

Section 65K(1) The CEO in the Gazette designates the day and hour for SDF voting which must be between ten (10) and five (5) days prior to election day. The CEO provides the ballot officer with ballot papers stamped with the words "Disciplined Forces." The ballot officer in turn provides the ballot attendants with enough ballots to cover the names on the list the day before voting takes place.

- **Voting**

Section 65K(6) - A person whose name appears on the SDF list may, as he desires, either vote according to the SDF provisions or in the normal poll, but in the latter event must notify the ballot officer of this, fifteen (15) days before SDF voting day so his name can be removed from the list sent to the CEO.

- **Close of Poll**

Section 65L - When balloting ends, the ballot attendant personally delivers the sealed ballot box to the ballot officer who must keep it in safe custody until election day when the boxes are given to the CEO.

THE REGULAR POLL

- **Close of Poll**

Section 66 - If electors are still waiting to vote at poll closing, then the poll will remain open until they have voted.

- **Appointment of Candidate at Poll**

Section 67 - The election agent may appoint one candidate from the list to attend at one (1) or more polling places, but no more than one (1) candidate from any list can be in any one polling place.

- **Opening of Poll**

Section 68 - At the hour of poll opening, the presiding officer in the presence of others entitled to be in the poll, if any, (a) opens the ballot box to ensure it is empty; (b) locks the box, retaining the key and seals the box so that it cannot be opened without breaking the seal; (c) puts the box on a table in full view, where it must remain until poll closing, and (d) calls electors to vote.

- **Initial Voter Procedures**

Section 69 - On entry, the voter states his name, address and occupation and hands the poll clerk his identity paper and any other relevant documents such as a notice of proxy appointment. The poll clerk ascertains whether the voter's name (and the proxy, where applicable) is on the list of electors.

Section 69(3) - Where a name or other particular suggest that the entry on the list is intended to refer to the voter, the applicant, after taking an oath of identity (Form 19), shall be deemed to be that person.

Section 69(4) - Where an applicant provides both an identity paper and a certificate of employment, his name will be added to the official list of electors and entered in the poll book. The documents above are then returned to the applicant by the poll clerk, to be given to the presiding officer.

- **Application for Ballot Paper**

Section 70 - On receipt of the documents, the presiding officer checks that the applicant has not already voted, as well as his identity and entitlement to vote by (a) checking the applicant's fingers for any electoral ink stains, (b) comparing the applicant's signature with the identity paper, (c) comparing the photograph on the identity paper, (d) comparing the thumb print on the identity paper, (e) comparing

the height recorded on the identity paper, (f) if applicable, checking the proxy appointment, (g) making further comparisons as reasonably necessary, and (h) requiring the applicant to take an oath of identity.

• **Issue of Ballot**

Section 71 - The presiding officer shall refuse a ballot paper if not satisfied as of the above, but otherwise shall give the voter a ballot paper stamped with the official mark, enter the voter's registration card number on the ballot counterfoil; check off the voter's name on the official list of electors; and return the identity documents. If the elector is also a proxy voter, he will receive up to two (2) additional ballots, as applicable.

• **Mode of Voting**

Section 72 - The presiding officer shall ensure the elector understands how to mark and fold the ballot paper. The elector then enters one of the polling compartments and secretly marks the ballot within the space opposite the name and symbol of his preferred Candidates' List and folds the ballot paper. He then shows the folded paper so that the presiding officer can see the official mark on the reverse of the ballot. The voter then immerses a finger in the stamping electoral ink and subsequently places the ballot in the ballot box. (NOTE: The presiding officer shall not permit the deposit of a ballot in the box until the finger is stamped.) If the elector refuses to comply, the presiding officer takes the ballot paper and "shall destroy" this ballot, making an entry in the poll book. An inadvertently spoiled ballot may be marked as cancelled and replaced by the presiding officer. Showing a marked ballot to any person renders that ballot as spoiled, except if shown to the presiding officer for his guidance as to how to correctly complete a ballot. The presiding officer can also appoint an interpreter to assist a voter.

• **Blind and Incapacitated Voters**

Section 73 - The presiding officer may permit another elector, even one who has voted, to accompany a blind or incapacitated friend and vote on his behalf.

• **Tendered Ballots**

Section 74 - A voter who has not voted but finds his name already checked off the list is eligible for a tendered ballot paper on provision of his identity papers, taking an oath of identity and satisfying the presiding officer. A tendered ballot is not put in the ballot box, but given to the presiding office and endorsed with the name of the elector and his number on the official list. The tendered ballot is set aside in a separate packet and not counted by the returning officer. The poll clerk will note this in the poll book.

• **Power to Dispense with Production of Identity Paper**

Section 75 - The presiding officer or the poll clerk may dispense with the production of the identity paper and permit a person to vote if he is satisfied as to the identity of the elector.

• **Secrecy at the Poll**

Section 77 - Every person attending the polling place shall not communicate before the close of the poll: (a) the name of any elector who has not voted, (b) the registration number of any elector on the list who has not voted nor (c) the official mark.

Other than in an official capacity, no person shall interfere with an elector when voting, attempt to find out how an elector voted, or communicate information of this nature.

• **Disturbance and Obstruction**

Section 78 - No person within a distance of two hundred (200) yards of a poll shall interfere with an elector in any way or attempt to find out how that person has voted or intends to vote. Also, interference in poll access, the voting process, the transport of election materials, the counting of votes and the functions of election officers is prohibited.

• **Those Permitted in the Poll**

Section 79 - To preserve order, the presiding officer may regulate the admission of electors, and allow only the following people in the poll: (i) the Minister, members of the Commission and members of any team of observers appointed by the Minister; (ii) election officers; (iii) authorized

candidates; (iv) polling agents; (v) police, military and militia; (vi) election agents; (vii) assistance agents. Any misconduct or failure to obey lawful directions, requirements or orders of the presiding officer may result in the person concerned being removed from the poll by the Police or other authorized person. The person removed may not reenter the poll again on election day. This power cannot be used to prevent an elector from voting.

• **Sale of Liquor**

Section 80 - Sale of intoxicating liquor is prohibited on election day.

• **Time Off**

Section 81 - Employers shall provide reasonable time off to employees to vote on election day.

• **Close of Poll**

Section 83 - The presiding officer "as soon as practicable" after poll closing, in the presence of those permitted to be present (Section 79) shall:

(a) secure and seal the ballot box with his seal and the seal of those duly appointed candidates and polling agents if they so wish, in a manner that the box cannot be opened and nothing inserted without breaking the seals;

(b) make up separate sealed packets with (i) unused, spoiled and tendered ballot papers; (ii) used tendered ballots; (iii) ballot counterfoils; (iv) marked copies of electors list; (v) proxy documents and (vi) the poll book; and

(c) deliver the sealed ballot box and packets to the district returning officer.

COUNTING OF THE VOTES

• **Returning Officers Count Votes**

Section 84 - Votes cast in all polls in each district shall be counted by the returning officer of that district.

However, for efficiency or security reasons, the CEO can publish in the Gazette a notice which would combine the counting of two or more districts in one place.

• **Candidates at Count**

Section 85 - The election agent may appoint one (1) candidate from the list to attend the count and notify the returning officer of this by the seventh (7th) day before polling day.

• **Attendance at the Count**

Section 86 - Those who may attend the count include:

(a) the returning officer and those election officers he appoints to assist in the counting;

(b) the Minister, members of the Commission and members of any team of observers appointed by the Minister;

(c) designated candidates;

(d) counting agents; and

(e) other persons permitted by the returning officer.

The returning officer shall give the counting agents all reasonable facilities for overseeing the proceedings and information with respect thereto, consistent with the orderly conduct of the proceedings.

• **Counting**

Section 87 (1) - The returning officer "as soon as practicable" after the receipt of all ballot boxes and packets, in the presence of such authorized persons as listed in Section 86, shall (a) open each ballot box, (b) remove the ballots, (c) count and record the number of ballots taken from each box, (d) mix together all ballots from all boxes and (e) count the votes cast for each Candidates' List.

• **Rejected Ballots**

Section 87(2) - Any ballot paper will be considered invalid that (a) does not bear the official mark, (b) has not been marked or is uncertain, (c) where votes have been cast for

more than one list, (d) which contain a mark which would identify the electors.

• **Acceptable Ballots**

Section 87(3) - A ballot shall not be rejected where the vote is marked (a) elsewhere than in the proper place, (b) with other than a cross ("X"), (c) by more than one mark if the intention that the vote for one Candidates' List is clear, and (d) the elector cannot be identified. The decision of the returning officer on any question concerning a ballot paper is final. Where the returning officer rejects a ballot, he writes the word "Rejected" on it and if there is an objection to this by a candidate or counting agent, the returning officer will mark on the ballot "Rejection objected to."

• **Recounts**

Section 88 - A candidate or counting agent may request a recount of the votes, but if considered unreasonable, the returning officer may refuse.

• **Conclusion of the Count**

Section 89 - At the conclusion of the count, the returning officer shall seal the counted and rejected ballots in separate packages and verify the ballot papers with the presiding officer's report, prepare a written statement of the verification, publicly declare and communicate to the CEO the number of valid votes cast for each Candidates' List in his district and provide a written report (Form 24) to the CEO, which may be copied by any counting agent.

• **Secrecy of the Count**

Section 90 - Every person attending the counting of votes shall not communicate any information obtained at the count as to the votes for lists of candidates.

COUNTING NON-RESIDENT VOTES

Sections 91 through 95 - The process is the same as that described above, but is conducted by the Chief Election Officer. Those who may attend include the CEO and his staff, the Minister, members of the Commission and an appointed observer team, candidates and election agents and others approved by the CEO.

INFRACTIONS AND PROHIBITIONS

- **Illegal Hiring of Transport for Electors**
Section 119 - No person shall let, lend or use any vehicle or animal for the purpose of conveying electors to or from the poll.
- **False Statements Concerning Candidates**
Section 124 - Any person before or during an election who makes or publishes a false statement of fact concerning the personal character or conduct of candidates is guilty of an illegal practice.
- **Election Publications**
Section 125 - No person shall print or publish or post any bill, placard or poster referring to an election or printed document distributed to promote the election of candidates unless the document bears the names and addresses of the printer or publisher on the face.
- **Plural Voting**
Section 127 - Any person who votes on his own behalf more than once or more than twice as a proxy is guilty of an illegal practice.

CALCULATION OF ELECTION RESULTS

- **Allocation of Seats**
Section 91(1) - The total number of votes cast for all candidate lists shall be divided by fifty-three (53) and the whole number resulting is the electoral quota.

(2) The total votes cast for each list shall be divided by the electoral quota and the whole number resulting identifies the number of seats won. The remaining fraction (or if all votes cast are less than the electoral quota) are treated as "surplus votes".

(3) Unallocated seats will be apportioned as follows:

(a) one (1) seat to the list with the largest number of surplus votes;

(b) the second, third, fourth, etc. seats (whatever number remains unallocated) will be given to the lists with the next largest number of surplus votes; and

(c) where the number of surplus votes is equal, the Chairman of the Commission will draw lots.

Combined lists are treated as one (1) list for allocation purposes.

Membership National Assembly

Section 98 - When all seats have been allocated, the representative of the list or his replacement shall extract from the list as many candidates' names as there are seats allocated to that list and the CEO shall declare those persons as elected.

PART 4. ELECTION COMMODITIES

Despite efforts by the GOG, begun before the Team's arrival in Guyana and continued during the Assessment, to prohibit the Team from "speaking with political parties or groups other than the Elections Commission," at risk of "aborting the mission," the Team had informative meetings and discussions, as well as effective election facilities and election commodities inspections. These meetings, discussions and inspections were required to make informed recommendations as to the nature and number of various election commodities which could assist in promoting free and fair elections if accompanied by other measures and commitments.

Election commodities are, in themselves, neutral. For example, a properly secured truck can be used to transport ballot boxes from the polling stations to counting centers when those boxes have either been properly administered, sealed and secured or illegally "stuffed." That same truck can be misused to transport partisan voters to polling stations. The examples are numerous. Thus, the central questions involved in an assessment of election commodities are not only "Which commodities?" and "Based on what rationales?," but also "How will they be used?" and "By whom?"

The Team assessed election commodities in respect to the major components of the electoral process: voter registration, voting, counting and administrative support. The charts which follow on pages 56 - 62 constitute the Team's findings and recommendations. They are set forth in an election's sequence, and they address:

- the nature of the commodities;
- quantities desired by the Elections Commission, the Chief Election Officer or recommended by others;
- descriptive information as to each commodity, its intended use, its estimated cost, whether it should be

purchased or leased, and whether it is available in Guyana or not;

- the Team's recommendations as to priorities; and
- any additional comments helpful to the USG in determining whether to approve or disapprove a commodity request.

The Team recommends:

- without present reservation those commodity requests with urgent priority, noted under "Priority" by "U", and those other requests with high priority, noted thereunder by "H";
- those requests with intermediate priority, noted as "I", and has no objection to those requests with low priority, noted as "LO", if USG funds are sufficiently available for low priority procurements. A "LO" prioritization is not a recommendation not to authorize procurement; it is an anticipation of potential fiscal realities, also taking into account the importance of the item to the integrity and success of the electoral process.

The Team has not recommended at this time several requests, because additional information and/or justification is required.

Additional Team observations should be noted:

- The Team's October 8-13 assessment anticipated an early elections call, then widely forecast as either December 10 or December 17, 1990. Yet, a house-to-house enumeration will require "three to four months" to complete, including the production of a final Voters' List, thereby pushing the date of the elections back to March or April, 1991. This is important to note for at least two reasons: first, the October 8-13 requests of and recommendations to the Team were based on an assumption that all work related to election commodities would have to be on a dramatically expedited basis,

including procurement and use, and that expedited process may not now occur; and second, a longer timeframe before the elections will almost certainly result in a greater number of requested amendments to the initial commodities requests. It should also be noted that certain urgent items related to the registration process remain urgent, even though the elections are more distant, such as those related to the registration card backlog.

- Costs set forth herein are only estimates for several reasons, including lack of certainty as to specific local availabilities in Guyana; on-going computation of handling and ocean and/or air shipping costs; on-going research into less costly alternative commodities; searches for donations of commodities; adherence to USG "Buy America" regulations, etc.
- While leasing would appear initially to be more cost feasible than purchase, there are instances where purchase would more purposefully facilitate the longterm process of electoral reform, e.g., having the Polaroid cameras and related photo-identification card commodities available after the 1991 elections to prevent a backlog of potentially tens of thousands of persons and cards from occurring again as the 1995-96 elections approach.
- While remaining within USG law and regulation, the USG must expedite the procurement of these commodities. The Team recommends the provision of the commodities described in the chart which follows and that an IFES "facilitator" be engaged under AID Grant LAC-0100-G-SS-00-0052-00 whose primary responsibility would be to liaise with the Elections Commission and to facilitate the procurement, leasing arrangements, payment authorizations, etc. both in the United States and in

Guyana. The Team is concerned that all election entities of the GOG are too thinly staffed to assure the timely completion of those tasks. However, the relationship of the "facilitator" to the Elections Commission is a matter for delicate negotiation in order to avoid accusations or concerns related to interference in the administration of the Guyanese elections process.

In these contexts, the Team's findings and recommendations are directly tied to the involvement of a "facilitator" and set out in the charts which follow.

ELECTION COMMODITIES

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTORAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST	Procurement Available Locally?	PRIOR- ITY
I. IDENTIFICATION CARDS								
1. POLAROID CAMERAS	6	Polaroid 403 with built-in flash; takes "four prints per film sheet"; accommodates Polaroid 667 film; commonly used otherwise for identifications, e.g., passports, visa applications, etc.	To eliminate existing backlog of approximately 80,000 photo identification cards required before election day	Voter Registration	The Chief Election Officer now has 12 Polaroid cameras which take "two prints per film sheet." With purchase or loan of additional cameras, the CEO could send out more teams; he is now planning on 5 or 6 teams for 2 weeks each. (For a 3 week effort of 5-6 teams, the teams would have to take 376 pictures a day to reach 80,000.) The purchase or loan of six Polaroid 403 cameras would expedite the photo-registration process, since this camera will make four prints per film sheet (2 identical shots each of 2 persons). These cameras should be utilized by teams in more populated, urban areas, allowing the photo teams to process twice as many people without changing film in the camera. Provision of photo-identification cards should provide increased credibility and reduce opportunities for electoral fraud.	\$1,073 @ \$6,438	P N or LN	U
2. POLAROID FILM	150 cases	Polaroid 667 film; black & white; if using with Polaroid 403 camera, 1 case equals 1,600 exposures; if using with existing Polaroid cameras ("two prints per film sheet"), 1 case equals 800 exposures. 160,000 exposures needed for 80,000 cards (cards require 2 exposures each, one for each card and one for permanent records)	Same as above	Voter Registration	In utilizing Polaroid 403 cameras, the amount of film to be purchased would decrease by half, since four prints are exposed on one sheet of Polaroid 667 film, rather than the current two prints with the existing Polaroid cameras. Since the same type of film, Polaroid 667, is utilized by both cameras film costs would be reduced be approximately \$15,000.	\$300 @ \$45,000	P N	U
3. BATTERIES	200	Polaroid 403 built-in camera flash requires 4 "AA" batteries each	Same as above	Voter Registration	Most identification card photographs are taken outdoors or under otherwise satisfactory lighting conditions. However, for any photographs which require a flash, batteries are required for the Polaroid 403 built- in flash.	\$1 @ \$200	P	LO
4. MYLAR POUCHES (Plastic envelopes)	80,000	3 7/8" x 2 5/8"; 10mm in thickness	Waterproof, etc. plastic coating of photo identification cards	Voter Registration		\$0.11 @ \$8,800	P N	U

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTORAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST	P	N	PRIOR- ITY
I. IDENTIFICATION CARDS, cont.									
5. LAMINATING MACHINES	6	Avant Laminators	For laminating photo identification cards	Voter Registration	Chief Election Officer has 3 Avant laminating machines on hand, but no others are locally available. Process could benefit from purchases, loan or "gift" of additional machines.	\$295 @ \$1,770	P	N	U
6. PHOTO DIE CUTTERS	6	Advance ID photo die cutter; rounded or square photo corner cuts; compact design	For cutting photographs to 1" x 1 1/4" size to affix to photo identification cards	Voter Registration		\$195 @ \$1,170	P	N	U
7. GLUE STICKS	100 boxes	12 per box	To affix photos to photo identification cards before lamination	Voter Registration		\$.34 @ \$408	P	N	U
8. GENERATORS	3	Portable gas operated 8 HP Briggs and Stratton Homelite, 4400 watt, 60 Hz, 120-240 volt	To power laminating machines in rural areas where no power exists	Voter Registration	Now have 3 on hand; need 3 additional	\$1,000 @ \$3,000	P	N	U
[NOTE: Items 1-2 along with Items 4-8 are a "package" recommendation.]									
[NOTE ALSO: House-to-house enumeration may increase the number of persons requiring photo registration cards.]									
II. BALLOTING									
9. METAL BALLOT BOXES	1650	Metal construction, lockable and sealable, have handles and are fire resistant. Boxes available from Elections Canada. Dimensions are 12" W x 8" D x 12" H with 1 1/2" L x 3/8" W slots.	To replace existing boxes (wooden, nailed together, approximately 13 1/2" W x 13 1/2" D x 19 1/2" H with 3 1/2-3 7/8" slots and capacity of about 1000 ballots each) with a more secure product	Elections Commission	There are approximately 915 wooden boxes in stock, some needing repair, for the estimated 800-850 polling stations whose exact number will not be determined until the Voters' List is final. Existing locks and keys can remain used. Modifications will be (1) to spray paint over "CANADA"; (2) to number each box internally and externally and (3) possibly to widen slots. If accepted by Guyana, only cost will be shipping boxes with Elections Canada making modifications noted above. The initial reaction of the Commission was negative. Elections Canada sent during the week of October 29 to the Canadian High Commission in Guyana a sample metal ballot box and voting screen for possible further consideration by the Elections Commission.		C	N	U

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTIONAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST			PRIOR- ITY
II. <u>BALLOTING</u> , cont.									
10. VOTING SCREENS	1200	Corrugated cardboard, crossed to make self- standing	For enhanced assurance of secrecy of the ballot; purpose in all polls is to replace existing wooden screens of which there are not enough in good repair presently and which are large, heavy and difficult to transport	Polling day/ voting	Rather than repair 208 large wooden voting compartments and build at least 700+ others, Elections Commission has agreed to accept cardboard voting screens to set on existing tables in polls. These are already "in stock" at Elections Canada, and a sample was sent during the week of October 29 to the Canadian High Commission in Guyana for possible further consideration by the Elections Commission.	\$1.30 @ \$1,560	P	Y	H
11. PLASTIC POUCHES	1100	Opaque vinyl pouches; 16" x 12" x 2"	To enclose and seal balloting materials in a waterproof environment, since the elections may be in rainy season	Polling day	Paper ballot destruction or damage is possible from rain; not an essential item, however.	\$28.80 @ \$31,680	P	N	I
12. STAINING INK	2500 bottles	(1) Red, if supplementing present stock (2) Purple acceptable if supplying total stock; visible marking ink; 2 oz. fill in a 4 oz. wide mouth container with die cut foam insert to prevent spillage; security seal on cap; each bottle contains ink for marking approximately 200 voters' fingers	For staining voters' fingers at polls	Polling and voting security	Voting integrity marking ink, as described under "Item Details," remains on voters' finger approximately 5-7 days. When finger is inked in the bottle's sponge, it blackens both the finger and the nail. Guyana obtained its present supply from "overseas" probably USA. The Team recommends total replacement of that ink with an ink with additional security features, as used elsewhere in recent years in Latin America and the Caribbean, and with a color other than red to enhance voter confidence by differentiating it from the 1985 elections. Prior to further action, additional research into staining inks available should be conducted.	\$7.45 @ \$18,625	P	N	H
13. BALLOT PAPER	138 reams (69,000 sheets)	50 lbs/100m white 25 x 38	For printing of ballots	Balloting	CEO requested various types of papers, but no designation was made as to their intended uses (i.e., ballots, stationary, etc.). The actual specimen 1985 ballot the Team received in Guyana is made of a heavier paper, both white and green in color. However, further clarification will be necessary from the Elections Commission prior to procurement. The Team has depicted all other paper requests under "Office Equipment and Supplies" in Items 25 and 26.	\$35.31 @ \$4,873	P	N	H

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTORAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST			PRIOR- ITY
II. BALLOTING, cont.									
14. RUBBER NUMBER STAMPS	900	Number stamp; 6 number bands; adjustable	For marking each ballot at a polling site with the same special secret number, which number is agreed to by election officials at each poll immediately prior to balloting	Voting	Not agreed to by CEO when initially proposed; recommended by Carter Center staff. Further discussion with CEO and perhaps sample needed before any procurement action is taken.	\$6.60 @ \$3,940	P	N	H
15. NUMBER STAMP INK	450 bottles	Number stamp ink; bottle application	Same as above	Voting	Same as above	\$1.90 @ \$855	P	N	H
16. NUMBER STAMP INK PAD	900	Felt pad for number stamp ink; 2 1/4" x 3 1/2"	Same as above	Voting	Same as above	\$2.82 @ \$2,538	P	N	H
III. LAND TRANSPORTATION									
17. (a) TRUCKS	13	Flatbed type; to have backs enclosed	To transport ballot boxes and supplies for Districts 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in order to avoid use of military vehicles and personnel; would use police instead	From close of poll to beginning of count; expedite deliveries to counting centers	Can lease trucks locally and build wooden enclosures on rears; must be secure and lockable; must ensure trucks will not be used to transport electors to polls	\$275 @ \$3,575	LS	Y	H
(b) ENCLOSURES	13	See above	See above	See above	See above	NNK	P	Y	H
18. MINI-BUSSES	13-26	Regular 15-passenger	To transport candidates and poll officials in accompanying trucks at all times in 3-vehicle "convoy"	From close of polls to counting center	Can be leased. This is "packaged" with truck rental with one minibus in front and one minibus at rear of each ballot box truck	\$165 @ \$2,145/13 \$4,290/26	LS	Y	H
[NOTE: Trucks and Mini-buses are a "package" recommendation.]									
19. LAND ROVERS	3	Hard top; 4-wheel drive	Two for Chief Election Officer's personnel and one for Elections Commission; for deliver of electoral materials and supplies	Setting up and supplying polls	Cannot be leased would have to be purchased and shipped	NNK	P	N	Not recom- mended at this time
20. MOTOR CARS	3		Additional information required from COC		Can be leased	NNK	LS	Y	Not recom- mended at this time
IV. WATER TRANSPORTATION									
21. BOATS	12	14'-20' aluminum with	Transportation (deliver and pick up) of ballot boxes and election supplies in remote areas	Administration of election	Elections Commission would prefer purchase, but indications are that these can be "chartered" locally; this is our recommendation.	Lease-> Purchase->	LS	Y	H
22. OUTBOARDS	12	45 HP manual start engines					P	N	LO

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTORAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST			PRIOR- ITY
V. AIR TRANSPORTATION									
23. AIR (FIXED WING AND/OR HELICOPTER)	Under preparation	Under preparation; lease of aircraft	To deliver and pick up ballot boxes to and from remote locations in Regional Districts 1, 7, 8 & 9 (the "interior")	Chief Election Officer	This could significantly reduce the time between sealing of ballot boxes at the polling stations and the beginning of counts; Note: Statute prohibits counting of <u>any</u> District's boxes until <u>all</u> boxes are at that District's counting center.	NWK	LS	Y	H
[NOTE: Rapidly rising fuel costs will constitute a substantial increase in expense for air transportation.]									
VI. COMMUNICATIONS									
24. RADIO COMMUNICATION SETS	Under preparation	Under preparation	To provide communications from field to district centers during transportation of ballots and ballot boxes to polling stations and back to counting centers	Elections Commission	Not used in previous election; IFES needs ironclad assurance that this communications system would not be used to "get out our vote" or any other partisan purposes by political parties	NWK	P	Y	Not recommended at this time
						NWK	+	+	
							LS	N	
VII. OFFICE EQUIPMENT & SUPPLIES									
25. (a) PHOTO-COPYING MACHINES	3	Xerox 1065, because of local dealers' servicing and USG procurement regulations	To copy election forms, laws, etc; would also significantly facilitate provision of information to international observers	Administration	1 for Elections Commission; 2 for Chief Election Officer. None available now. Costs of 85 Guyanuan dollars per page at present warrant this lease; can be leased locally.	\$600 mo/ 6 mos. @ \$10,800	LS	Y	U
(b) TONER FOR ABOVE	3 cartons	80,000 copies per carton	Same as above	Administration		\$110 @ \$550	P	Y	U
(c) DEVELOPER FOR ABOVE	1 cartridge		Same as above	Administration		\$145	P	Y	U
(d) FUSER LUBRICANTS FOR ABOVE	2		Same as above	Administration		\$37.83 @ \$76	P	Y	U
(e) STAPLES FOR ABOVE	5 cartons	5000 staples	Same as above	Administration		\$63.05 @ \$315	P	Y	U
(f) PAPER FOR ABOVE	1400 reams	8 1/2" x 11"	Same as above	Administration		\$3.50 @ \$4,895	P	N	U
	1500 reams	8 1/2" x 14"				\$3.84 @ \$5,760	P	N	U
26. ADDITIONAL PAPERS REQUESTED:									
(a) TYPING PAPER	1000 reams	Photocopy paper okay; add to above quantity		Administration		\$3.50 @ \$3,500	P	N	H
(b) ONION SKIN	11 reams	16 lbs/64m; white Victory Bond 22 & 34		Administration		\$30.94 @ \$340	P	N	H

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTIONAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST			PRIOR- ITY
VII. OFFICE EQUIPMENT & SUPPLIES, cont.									
(c) CARD STOCK	356 reams	80 lbs/160m; white 25 & 30		Administration		\$54.81 @ \$19,512	P	N	H
(d) COMPUTER PAPER	500 cases	White, four-part, carbonless, tracked computer paper for forms; 8 1/2" x 11"; 800 forms per case	For printouts of new Voters' List	Voters' List	Essential commodity for printing and distributing a new Voters' List containing the results of the house-to-house enumeration enacted by the Parliament on or about November 2, 1990, in response to Preliminary Voters' List inaccuracies and recommendations of observers and their assessments	\$55.08 @ \$27,540	P	N	U
(e) BRISTOL BOARD	6 cartons	201m Green Velium Bristol Board 23 & 25			Further clarification sought from Elections Commission as to intended use for this commodity.	\$93.94 @ \$564	P	N	H
27. TYPEWRITERS	12	Manual office type (not portable); Royal, Adler or Olivetti	11 for Chief Election Officer 1 for Elections Commission	Administration/ Voter Registration	Not available locally; in U.S., only Royal and Olivetti have available manual typewriters, and these are portable models. However, with sufficient lead time, the requested number of manual office typewriters could be located. \$150 @ P H \$1,800H				
28. TYPEWRITER RIBBONS	100 spools	1/2" black and red; spool to spool ribbon	For above typewriters	Administration/ Voter Registration		\$4.50 @ \$450	P	N	H
29. CALCULATORS	36	Pocket; solar-powered function with percentage feature; preferably with paper printer, but not mandatory; memory useful	Chief Election Officer	Ballot counting at district center	Not available locally	\$15 @ \$540	P	N	H
30. DESKS	9	Standard type	Elections Commission for additional staff	Administration	Can be purchased locally	\$82.50 @ \$248	P	Y	I
31. CHAIRS	12	Standard	Elections Commission for additional staff	Administration	Can be purchased locally	\$21.70 @ \$260	P	Y	I

ITEM	QUANTITY	ITEM DETAILS	USE	ELECTIONAL PROCESS CONCERNED	COMMENTS	ESTIMATED COST			PRIOR- ITY
VII. OFFICE EQUIPMENT & SUPPLIES, cont.									
32. FILING CABINETS	2	Standard	Elections Commission	Administration	Can be purchased locally	\$215 @ \$430	P	Y	I
33. (a) FAX MACHINE	1	Xerox 7020; plain cut sheet paper; tabletop model; utilize regular photocopier paper	Elections Commission	Administration	If IPES provides commodities, frequent and fast communication will be required regarding arrangements, etc.	\$2,445	P	Y	U
(b) TOWER	2 boxes	2 rolls per box, 1400 transmission "receives" per roll	Elections Commission	Administration	Same as above	\$116 @ \$232	P	Y	U
34. STENCILS	12 boxes	Standard 4-hole stub stencil; 100 stencils per box	Elections Commission	Administration	Clarification from Elections Commission is required as to the type of mimeograph machines currently being used prior to further action on the stencil supplies.	\$71.90 @ \$863	P	N	LO
35. STENCIL CORRECTING FLUID	100 bottles	Stencil correction fluid	Elections Commission	Administration	Same as above	\$2.50 @ \$250	P	N	LO
KEY:									
Priority									
U -	Urgent Priority								
H -	High								
I -	Intermediate								
LO -	Low								
Guyana Local Availability									
Y -	Yes								
N -	No								
Procurement Mode									
P -	Purchase								
LS -	Lease								
G -	Gift								
LN -	Loan								
NNK - Not Now Known									

PART 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Election law and practice, like the government and politics which surround them, are dynamic. Except in the most severely repressive political systems, they are not static, and the case can be made, even in those instances, that the dynamics are there, just kept pent-up and growing until they evolve peacefully or explode in revolutionary ways. It is in recognition of this reality that such institutions as the National Endowment for Democracy, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, the National Republican Institute for International Affairs, the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government at the Carter Center, IFES and others have been established in the United States, and similarly-focused institutions and organizations have been established elsewhere.

In examining an electoral system, it is important to keep in perspective that not all problems result from malfeasance, corruption, manipulation or their attempts. There are instances in which the problems are mostly procedural. We are reminded from history's examples that democracy is not only a philosophical principle, but also a mechanical process. Persons can manipulate mechanical weaknesses in an electoral system, but it does not mean that a weakness had its origin in an attempt to manipulate. Conversely, from our observations, the Team believes that shortcomings in the Guyanese electoral process exist for a wide variety of reasons and experiences, some going back to colonial days and others to more recent days.

It is also important to note that, while electoral reform in Guyana has occurred since the 1985 elections (e.g., Parliament's amendments to election laws, etc.) and the intention of additional reform has been broadly outlined, there are no guarantees that election abuse in the 1991 elections by the GOG or any political parties will be any less, unless there is a genuine commitment on

the part of the GOG and the Majority Party, as well as all other parties and groups, effectively to end fraudulent practices and to instill a broad atmosphere of confidence in those efforts. Near chaos over the Preliminary Voters' List has already renewed mistrust, even before the call of the 1991 elections. On the other hand, and this point is central to our recommendations, concerted efforts such as those set forth in this and other reports are much more likely to reduce opportunities for election fraud and to provide visible international support and encouragement for free and fair elections, than if nothing is done and Guyana is left to "go it alone." Furthermore, as a result of the efforts of the Team, we believe that there was a high degree of acceptance of our views with respect to needed improvements to the integrity of the electoral process and a corresponding expectation that IFES support to facilitate these matters would be a possibility.

Shortterm Recommendations. This report recommends the following shortterm actions:

1. That the USG provide the recommended election commodities set forth in the Election Commodities charts on pages 56 - 62 hereof.
2. That an IFES "facilitator" be engaged for the United States and Guyana through the 1991 elections to act as a liaison between IFES and the Elections Commission and to facilitate the procurement of election commodities and their uses. We are persuaded that the Elections Commission, the National Registration Office, the Chief Elections Office, and others critical to the electoral process are dangerously thinly staffed, which runs risks which may jeopardize the capacity of the electoral machinery to provide free and fair elections.

3. Recognizing that observer delegations are important, for they authenticate free and fair elections and expose corrupt and manipulated elections; that almost all observer delegations focus almost exclusively on events immediately surrounding election day; and that there is much more to the electoral process than election day itself, and this is as true in Guyana as in any other country:

(a) international observers should be trained as to the specific aspects of Guyanese electoral law and system which would be most susceptible to manipulation or abuse, in order to apply informed and consistent criteria when observing activities during registration and election periods;

(b) a reasonably sized, bipartisan and "biphilosophical" delegation of USA observers should be invited to be a part of the Carter Center's observers delegation to assist President Carter, that Center and the GOG with a view to diversifying perspectives, providing for additional delegation interaction (exchanges of ideas, formulation of reports, etc.) and increasing their numbers; and

(c) a voluntary coordination mechanism be developed, perhaps under the aegis of the Commonwealth, with a view to avoiding duplication of observer activities and desirably bringing about some consistency of evaluation.

4. That Election officers, including representatives of the Opposition, accompany ballots and ballot boxes from the time ballots and ballot boxes are delivered to the polling stations until the ballots are counted and the results announced.

5. That the additional recommendations which have been articulated in recent months through a number of assessments be agreed to in Guyana and enacted into law or, if no

statutory amendment is required, otherwise put into place for the 1991 elections, as follows:

- A house-to-house enumeration of all eligible voters;
- An announced preliminary count at the polling stations;
- A fair and equitable permit system for public rallies be put in place;
- Coverage of election events and political opinions be provided on government-controlled news media; and
- An expansion of the Elections Commission be accomplished by inclusion of additional persons with additional points of view, not just an increase in the members serving on advice of the Majority Party or the principal Opposition party.

Recommendations Beyond the 1991 Elections. Because elections, electoral administration and reform do not end with any election and because the USG and others have committed themselves to courses of action intended to assure free and fair elections in Guyana, we believe those commitments should look beyond the 1991 elections and immediately in their wake, to the 1995-96 elections. To such ends, we believe that election commodities provided for 1991 and considered for 1995-96 could be most effectively utilized, if the following measures were also undertaken:

- That ballots be counted officially and announced promptly at polling stations, with only formal certification occurring thereafter in a central location, as is the case in jurisdictions in the United States and in many Commonwealth countries;
- That senior Guyanese elections officials, including all members of the Elections Commission, be consistently involved in the international electoral systems community, including those focused primarily on Latin America and the Caribbean, such involvement to include

participation as elections observers in others' national elections and as participants in AID's Participant Training Program, through which they would study with election officials in the United States and elsewhere;

- That the Registrar General of Births and Deaths, the official who maintains the "death list" intended, among other things, for the deletion of names from the National Registry and therefore from the Voters' List, also participate in AID's Participant Training Program and amend his death certificate forms to require the inclusion of the National Registry number of the deceased thereon;
- That election commodities, including a computer terminal linked to the NDMA, be provided to the National Registration Office to update continually the registration list and to assure no substantial backlog in the issuance of photo-identification cards occurs prior to the 1995-96 elections;
- That an impartial, systematic study, perhaps by invited persons from the Commonwealth, be undertaken to determine if the Voters' List should be compiled and maintained separately from the National Registry for all purposes;
- That the electoral process should be periodically opened to competent and impartial international observers throughout the 5-year election cycle.

In summary, we believe that the combined effects of these recommendations -- procurement of 1991 elections commodities, additional shortterm recommendations and intermediate recommendations -- should result in the strengthening of the Guyanese electoral system in ways which are more likely to result

in full and free elections than not undertaking such recommendations.



APPENDIX A

The Laws of Guyana, Act No. 25 of 1990, also known as the
Elections Laws (Amendment) Act 1990, of August 29, 1990



GUYANA
ACT No. 25 of 1990

ELECTION LAWS (AMENDMENT) ACT 1990

I assent.

H.D. HOYTE,
President.

1990-09-29

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

SECTION

1. Short title.
2. Interpretation.
3. Preparation of official list of electors and non-residents' roll.
4. Transfer of functions, conferred on the Minister, to the Elections Commission.

5. Special provisions regarding regional democratic councils.
6. Amendment of Representation of the People Act.
7. Amendment of National Registration Act.
8. Mode of exercise of functions of Elections Commission.
9. Employees of Elections Commission.
10. Supervision of employment of certain officers.
11. Expenses of Elections Commission.
12. Removal of difficulties.
13. Over-riding effect of this Act.
14. Validation and saving.

AN ACT to make certain amendments in the laws relating to elections to choose the President, the members of the National Assembly and the members of the regional democratic councils and for matters connected therewith.

A.D. 1990

Enacted by the Parliament of Guyana:—

Short title

1. This Act may be cited as the Election Laws (Amendment) Act 1990.

Interpretation.
Cap. 1:03
Cap. 19:08
No. 12 of 1980

2. Expressions used in this Act and not defined herein, but defined in the Representation of the People Act, the National Registration Act or the Local Democratic Organs Act 1980, shall have the meanings assigned to them in those Acts.

Preparation of
official list of
electors and non-
residents' roll.

3.(1) The Commissioner shall, within one month from the commencement of this Act, cause to be prepared, an official list of the electors for every polling division and a non-residents' roll, in accordance with sections 2(3) and 44(2) of the Representation of the People Act and the provisions of the National Registration Act referred to therein:

Cap. 1:03
Cap. 19:08

Provided that the aforesaid period of one month may be extended by the National Assembly by resolution.

(2) For the purposes of subsection (1), the date with reference to which the preliminary list shall be prepared, under section 14 of the National Registration Act, shall be 30th November, 1990.

(3) The Commissioner shall, with effect from the year 1991, cause the official list of electors to be revised every year (hereinafter referred to as the "annual revision") on the basis of the qualification for registration as elector and other particulars with reference to 1st September of the year of annual revision.

(4) The preliminary list in respect of any annual revision shall be published in accordance with section 15 of the National Registration Act on or before 1st September of the relevant year and the official list of electors for each polling division pursuant to an annual revision shall be published in the polling division in such manner as may be specified by the Elections Commission on or before the 31st December of the relevant year:

Provided that, in relation to any annual revision, the Elections Commission may direct the Commissioner to publish the preliminary list and the official list of electors under this subsection

on dates other than those specified in this subsection and in any such case the preliminary list and the official list of electors shall be published on or before the dates specified by the Elections Commission.

(5) The non-residents' roll shall be revised by the Commissioner, at such intervals as may be directed by the Elections Commission, on the basis of the qualification for registration as elector and other particulars with reference to 1st September of the year of revision, and such revised non-residents' roll shall be displayed in the manner prescribed by section 45 of the Representation of the People Act for the display of a non-residents' roll on or before the date specified by the Elections Commission by notification in the Gazette.

(6) The annual revision of the official list of electors under subsection (3) and the revision of the non-residents' roll under subsection (5) shall be made in accordance with regulations made by the Elections Commission, and subject to such regulations, in accordance with the provisions applicable to the preparation of the official list of electors and the non-residents' roll under subsection (1)

(7) An official list of electors for a polling division or a non-residents' roll, prepared under subsection (1), and a revised official list of electors for a polling division published under subsection (4) or a revised non-residents' roll displayed under subsection (5), shall remain in force until the revised official list of electors prepared for the polling division consequent on the next annual revision, under subsection (4), is published under that subsection or, as the case may be, the revised non-residents' roll prepared next under subsection (5) is displayed under that subsection.

(8) For the purpose of preparing the official list of electors or the revised official list of electors under this section, each people's co-operative unit shall be deemed to be a registration division and polling division and references to registration division and polling division in the Representation of the People Act and the National Registration Act shall be construed accordingly.

(9) The official list of electors prepared under subsection (1), or last revised under subsection (3), before the date of an election shall be the official list of electors for elections to choose the President, the members of the National Assembly and the members of the regional democratic councils.

(10) If the Elections Commission so directs by order, notwithstanding anything contained in any other written law, the list of electors to choose the members of any local democratic organ (other than a regional democratic council) or other local Government authority shall consist of names extracted from the official list of electors prepared under this section or last revised thereunder and resident in the area of that local democratic organ or local Government authority.

4.(1) The functions conferred on the Minister by the sections of the Representation of the People Act and the National Registration Act specified in subsection (2) shall, with effect from the commencement of this Act be performed by the Elections Commission, and accordingly references in the said sections to the Minister shall be construed as references to the Elections Commission.

Transfer of
functions,
conferred on
the Minister,
to the
Elections
Commission.
Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

(2) The sections referred to in subsection (1) are sections 5, 6, 9, 29, 34(3), 65H, 65J(2), 65N(1) and 150 of the Representation of the People Act and sections 14 and 15 of the National Registration Act.

Special provisions regarding regional democratic councils.

Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

5.(1) The Elections Commission shall have in regard to elections to choose the members of regional democratic councils the same functions as that Commission has in relation to elections to choose members of the National Assembly, under articles 62 and 162 of the Constitution, this Act, the Representation of the People Act and the National Registration Act.

(2) The modifications made in the Representation of the People Act by sections 4 and 6 shall have effect also in relation to elections to choose the members of regional democratic councils.

Amendment of Representation of the People Act.
Cap. 1:05

6. The Representation of the People Act is hereby amended —

- (a) by the substitution for sections 59(1)(b), 86(1)(b) and 91(1)(b) of the following — “(b) members of the Commission;”;
- (b) by the substitution for section 79(1)(b)(i) of the following — “(i) members of the Commission;”.

Amendment of National Registration Act.
Cap. 19:08

7. The opening portion of section 19(1) of the National Registration Act is hereby amended by the insertion, after the words “Minister may” of the words “,on the advice of the Elections Commission,”.

Mode of exercise of functions of Elections Commission.

Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

8.(1) All directions or instructions of the Elections Commission, in exercise of the functions conferred on it by article 162 of the Constitution, this Act, the Representation of the People Act or the National Registration Act, shall be issued orally or in writing through the Chairman of that Commission or any person authorised by him in writing in that behalf.

(2) All communications or instruments from or made by the Elections Commission shall be issued or made under the signature of the Chairman of that Commission or any person authorised by him in writing and all communications to that Commission shall be addressed to the Chairman thereof.

Employees of Elections Commission.

9.(1) There shall be such employees of the Elections Commission as are considered by the Commission to be necessary for the purpose of the exercise and discharge of the functions conferred on it by the Constitution, this Act or any other written law —

- (a) designated by the Commission on such terms and conditions as it deems fit with the consent of the appropriate authority, from among persons holding appointments in the public service; or
- (b) appointed from among persons who had held appointments in the public service and had retired or resigned therefrom,

and such designation or appointment shall be only for such duration as is necessary for such purpose.

(2) In subsection (1) "appropriate authority", in relation to any person holding an appointment in the public service, means the authority vested by law with power to appoint him in the public service.

10. For the removal of doubts it is hereby declared that the power of the Elections Commission to supervise the functioning of any election officer and the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner shall include the power to issue directions to any such officer or the Commissioner or Deputy Commissioner in respect of the employment of any person by him in relation to the registration of electors or the conduct of elections.

Supervision of
employment of
certain officers.

11. The expenses incurred by the Chairman, or with his approval, for or in connection with the exercise and discharge of the functions conferred on the Elections Commission by articles 62 and 162 of the Constitution, this Act, the Representation of the People Act and the National Registration Act (including the payment of emoluments of persons designated or appointed under section 9), shall be paid out of funds provided by Parliament.

Expenses of
Elections
Commission.

Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

12.(1) If any difficulty arises in connection with the application of this Act or the Representation of the People Act or the National Registration Act, the Minister shall on the advice of the Elections Commission, by order, make any provision that appears to that Commission to be necessary or expedient for removing the difficulty; and any such order may modify any of the said Acts in respect of any particular matter or occasion so far as may appear to the Elections Commission to be necessary or expedient for removing the difficulty.

Removal of
difficulties.

Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

(2) Any order under subsection (1) shall be subject to negative resolution of the National Assembly and shall not be made after the expiry of three years from the commencement of this Act.

13. The Representation of the People Act and the National Registration Act shall, to the extent to which any provision thereof is inconsistent with any provision of this Act, be construed as amended and modified by this Act.

Over-riding
effect of this
Act.
Cap. 1:05
Cap. 19:08

14.(1) The registration of persons done pursuant to the National Registration (Residents) Order 1990 shall be deemed to be, and always to have been, validly done.

Validation
and saving.

(2) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to affect the validity of the registration of persons pursuant to the National Registration (Residents) Order 1990.

Passed by the National Assembly on 1990-09-28

F. A. Narain,
Clerk of the National Assembly.

APPENDIX B

The Laws of Guyana, Act. No. 17 of 1990, also known as the
General Election (Observers) Act 1990, July [05], 1990



GUYANA

ACT No. 17 OF 1990

GENERAL ELECTIONS (OBSERVERS) ACT 1990

I assent,

H. D. Hoyte,
President.

1990—07—

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

SECTION

1. Short title.
2. Interpretation.
3. Observers at general elections.
4. Rights of observers.
5. Privileges and immunities of observers.
6. Obstruction of or interference with an observer.
7. Personation.

AN ACT empowering the President of Guyana to invite observers at general elections and for matters connected therewith.

A. D. 1990

Enacted by the Parliament of Guyana:—

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as the General Elections (Observers) Act 1990.

Interpretation.

2. (1) In this Act "election" means an election of members of the National Assembly referred to in article 60 (?) of the Constitution.

Cap.1:03

(2) Expressions used in this Act but not defined herein shall have the same meanings as in the Representation of the People Act.

Observers at general election.

3. (1) The President may, after consultation with the Chairman of the Elections Commission, invite persons from outside Guyana to visit Guyana for the purpose of observing the democratic processes of the State as enshrined in the Constitution, and more specifically the conduct of any election.

(2) The name of any person so invited shall be published in the Gazette and he shall be issued with an identity card by the Chairman of the Elections Commission.

Rights of observers.

4. (1) Any other law to the contrary notwithstanding, an observer may scrutinise the official list of electors, enter polling places and places appointed for the counting of votes, and seek information from the Chairman of the Elections Commission, the Chief Election Officer and other election officers.

(2) An observer shall have the right to obtain from the Chairman of the Elections Commission a copy of the official list of electors for one or more polling divisions and of any written law governing or regulating any election.

(3) The Chairman of the Elections Commission, the Chief Election Officer and other election officers shall co-operate with the observers and shall comply with any reasonable request made by the observers in the performance of their functions.

Privileges and immunities of observers.
Cap.18:01

5. The person of every observer shall be inviolable and he shall enjoy as well such other privileges and immunities as are afforded diplomatic agents under the Privileges and Immunities (Diplomatic, Consular and International Organisations) Act.

6. Everyone who assaults an observer or obstructs or interferes with him in the performance of his functions or the exercise of his rights under this Act shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine of five thousand dollars and imprisonment for eighteen months.

Obstruction
of or interfe-
rence
with an
observer.

7. Everyone who falsely personates any observer with intent to obtain admission to any polling place or any place appointed for the counting of votes, or in order to avail himself of any of the other rights conferred on observers under the provisions of section 4 shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine of five thousand dollars and imprisonment for eighteen months.

Person-
ation.

Passed by the National Assembly on 1990—07—05.

F. A. Narain,
Clerk of the National Assembly.

(Bill No. 20/ 1990)

APPENDIX C

"Electoral Systems in Guyana," a paper presented by the Guyana Delegation at the Conference on Electoral Systems in the Caribbean and Central America, sponsored by Centro de Asesoría y Promoción Electoral (CAPEL); Jamaica, October 8-14, 1989

ELECTORAL SYSTEMS IN GUYANA - PAPER PRESENTED BY THE GUYANA
DELEGATION AT THE CONFERENCE ON ELECTORAL SYSTEMS IN THE
CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA IN JAMAICA 8TH - 14TH OCTOBER, 1989

Prior to the 1953 General Elections under which Universal Adult Suffrage was introduced to Guyana, then British Guiana, the system for the holding of General Elections was based upon a literacy and income or property qualification on the franchise. Besides being a British subject and an adult 21 years and above, a voter had to be:-

- (a) able to read and write some language; and during a period of six months before a stated date, either
- (b) own not less than three acres of land; or
- (c) own immovable property or house worth \$150.00; or
- (d) lease not less than three acres of land; or lease for one year immovable property or house, the rental of which is \$48.00; or
- (e) reside in the electoral district and be earning \$120.00 per annum or be the payer of income tax of not less than \$20.00 for the preceding 12 months.

The 12th General Elections held in Guyana (then British Guiana) on 27th April, 1953, in the 24 constituencies established under the new system which had been recently introduced, was for all British subjects of full age on 1st January, 1953, to vote under the system of first past the post i.e. for the candidate obtaining the most votes in each of the 24 constituencies.

At those elections, it was not found practicable to make arrangements for a preliminary count at each polling place at the close of the poll, (Report 1953 General Elections); rather it was never found practicable to make those arrangements prior to nor after the 1953 General Elections.

Because of the size and terrain of Guyana, it is not merely difficult but dangerous when there are over 800 polling places to supervise a count at the polling place at the end of the poll, when ballot boxes will be open to attack and seizure by unauthorised persons, as actually happened in 1973 when ballot boxes were seized at Wakenaam, Essequibo and No. 70 village, Corentyne by unauthorised persons. In remote areas the security of the ballot boxes could not be guaranteed.

In addition, the secrecy of the ballot can be seriously compromised in small communities, e.g., in remote areas, villages or other enclaves which are ethnically or homogeneously populated since a count at the place of the poll can reveal in substantial measure, the way in which the voters in those communities exercised their franchise.

After the suspension of the then Constitution on 8th October, 1953, and General Elections were again re-introduced in British Guiana, there were two elections held on 1957-08-12 and 1961-08-21 in 14 and 35 constituencies respectively under the same system of Universal Adult Suffrage and first past the post elections. The system of first past the post operated to the disadvantage of certain parties as is illustrated by the table which is annexed to this paper.

With the disturbances in the Country during 1962 and 1963, a new system of Proportional Representation elections was introduced in the country, which system has remained the system for all subsequent general elections since then with a few modifications made from time to time.

The system of proportional representation was "imposed" by the then Secretary of state for the colonies, Mr. Duncan Sandys, after the leaders of the country's political parties, Mr. L.F.S. Burnham, Dr. C. Jagan and Mr. Peter D'Aguiar had agreed to leave the question of the kind of Electoral System that Guyana should have, to be decided by Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

An Order-in-Council was made by Her Majesty, The Queen, on 20th March, 1964, empowering the then Governor to legislate by regulation for the preparation of fresh electoral registers for elections to be held in the 35 Constituencies or districts as laid down in the 1961 Constitution of British Guiana, now Guyana, and used in 1961 General Elections in anticipation of the new system of election for 53 members of the National Assembly. Electors were required to be British subjects of the age of 21 years and upwards; and domiciled in the Country, or resident in it for two years prior to the qualifying date 6th June, 1964.

The first exercise of the Powers of the Governor under the said Order-in-Council was to appoint 3 members of the Elections Commission, comprising a Chairman and two ordinary members.

This was the first occasion that an Elections Commission was ever appointed for the Country. The Commission was constituted and appointed under the Registration (Elections) Commission Regulation 1964.

The Elections Commission was charged with the responsibility of the general direction and supervision over the administrative conduct of the election and all election officers were responsible to the said Commission, which in turn was subject to the General Orders and direction of the Governor only, and to no one else.

The 1980 Constitution of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana also makes provision for an Elections Commission, consisting of a Chairman, appointed by the President from among persons who hold or have held office as a judge of a Court of the Commonwealth or a Court having jurisdiction in appeals from any such court or who are qualified to be appointed as any such judge.

In addition to the Chairman, there shall be one member of the Commission called a representative member, in respect of every list of candidates which at the election next preceeding the appointment of such member obtains not less than five seats in the Assembly.

The poll is taken at each polling place on polling day from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. as Polling in Guyana has always been high at the opening and closing of the poll with a large turn out around lunch hour.

At the opening of the poll, the presiding officers, in the presence of such persons, if any (being persons entitled to enter the polling place) as are present:-

- a. open the ballot box and ensure they are no ballot papers or other papers therein;
- b. lock the ballot box, retain the key thereof and place his seal upon the ballot box in such manner as to prevent it being opened without breaking the seal;

- c. place the ballot box on a table in full view of all present where it remains until the poll is closed;
- d. call upon the electors to vote.

An elector when applying to vote was required to state his name, address and occupation, and to produce his identity paper. Before issuing a ballot paper the Presiding Officer had to ensure that the applicant's finger had no stain of electoral ink, and that his name was on the official list of voters for that polling place, and not ticked off indicating that he had already voted. Care was also to be taken to ensure that the identity paper belonged to the applicant and was not previously stamped with the Official Mark.

No one was allowed anywhere within a distance of 200 yards of a polling place, to annoy, molest, or otherwise interfere with an elector, or attempt to obtain any information as to the list of candidates for which any elector in the polling place was about to vote or had voted either on his behalf, or as a proxy on behalf of another voter.

At the close of the poll each presiding officer secured and sealed with the official seal, the slot in the ballot box containing the votes. He also sealed with the official seal the separate packets of unused and spoilt ballot papers and tendered ballot papers, the used tendered papers and the certificate of employment, the marked copies of the Official List of electors, the notices of appointment to vote as proxy and copies of lists of proxies and the poll book. These were all transported under police escort to the place where the count was to be held and delivered to the Returning Officer of the Polling District in which the polling place was situated.

Each Returning Officer was responsible for the counting of the votes cast in his District. He had to notify the candidates appointed to attend the count and the Counting Agents of the time and place where the count would be held. He was not to start counting until he had received all the ballot boxes. After the count he had to make a public declaration of the number of valid votes cast for each list of candidates, and communicate the results to the Chief Election Officer, by telephone, radio or the quickest available means.

THE 1964 ELECTION REGULATIONS PROVIDED AS FOLLOWS:-

The Returning Officer was then required to deliver to the Chief Election Officer a return in writing in the form prescribed which set out the number of:-

- (1) valid votes cast for each list of candidates,
- (2) rejected ballot papers together with, in each case, the reason for rejection,
- (3) spoiled ballot papers delivered to him,
- (4) tendered ballot papers,
- (5) persons who appear to have voted.

The Chief Election Officer is required upon receipt of the official returns from the Returning Officers of all the districts add together the number of valid votes in each district for each list of candidates to determine the number of seats allocated to each list.

This is done as follows:-

- (a) the total number of valid votes for all lists of candidates shall be divided by 53 to establish the "electoral quote".
- (b) the number of votes cast for each list shall be divided by the "electoral quote" from which shall be allocated the number of seats to the whole number resulting from the division. The number of votes represented by a fraction so resulting, known as "surplus votes" of the list,

shall be considered for the remaining seats or seats unallocated.

The Chief Election Officer shall then declare the results and notify the Chairman of the Elections Commission the results so calculated.

When seats are so declared the Commission shall as soon as practicable after Election Day publicly declare the results of the election and shall cause to be published in the Official Gazette a notification thereof specifying:-

- (a) the number of votes cast for each list of candidates;
- (b) the number of rejected ballot papers;
- (c) the number of seats allocated to each list of candidates; and
- (d) the names of persons who as a result of the elections have become members of the National Assembly.

The system for General Elections under Proportional Representation has remained the system for all subsequent General Elections since 1964.

The following are the Regulations made by the Governor in 1964 acting in his discretion outlining the system for the close of the Poll and the Counting of the votes for the 1964 General Elections.

CLOSE OF THE POLL

The Presiding Officer, as soon as practicable after the closing of the poll in the presence of such of the persons entitled to be present, shall:-

- (a) secure and seal, with his seal and with the seals of such of the duly appointed candidates and polling agents as desire to affix their seals, the ballot box in such manner that it cannot be opened and that nothing can be inserted therein or taken therefrom without breaking the seals;
- (b) make up in separate packets, sealed, with his seal and with seals of such of the persons mentioned in sub-paragraph (a) of this regulation as desire to affix their seals,-:
 - (i) the unused and spoiled ballot papers and
 - (ii) tendered ballot papers placed together;
 - (iii) the used tendered ballot papers;
 - (iii) the counterfoiled of the used and spoiled ballot papers and tendered ballot papers and the certificates of employment;
 - (iv) the marked copies of the official list of electors, or part thereof;
 - (v) notices of appointments to vote as proxy and copies of the lists of proxies;

(vi) the poll book;

(c) deliver the sealed ballot box and the sealed packets to the returning officer of the district in which the polling place is situated together with a statement in writing, to be called "the ballot papers account" prepared by the presiding officer in the form prescribed.

COUNTING OF VOTES

The votes cast at the polling place in each district shall be counted by the returning officer of that district, in accordance with the provision of the regulations.

The elections agent of each group of candidates may appoint one of the candidates, hereinafter referred to as the "duly appointed candidate" to attend at the counting of the votes in a district.

Notice in writing of appointments stating the names and addresses of the candidates appointed shall be signed by the election agent and delivered to the returning officer of the district not later than the 7th day before election day.

There shall not be more than one duly appointed candidate of the same list of candidates for any one district at the count.

No person shall be present at the counting of the votes except:-

- (a) the returning officer and such other election officers as he may appoint to assist him in the counting;
- (b) members of the Commission, and members of the team of Observers appointed by the Secretary of State and their Secretary;
- (c) duly appointed candidates;
- (d) accounting agents;
- (e) such other persons as, in the opinion of the returning officer, have good reason to be present.

The returning officer shall give the counting agents all such reasonable facilities for overseeing the proceedings and all such information with respect thereto as he can give them consistent with the orderly conduct of the proceedings and with the discharge of his duties in connection therewith.

The returning officer shall, as soon as practicable after the receipt of all ballot boxes and packets delivered to him in the presence of such of the persons entitled to be present as attend:-

- (a) open each ballot box;
- (b) take out the ballot papers;

- (c) count and record the number of ballot papers taken from each ballot box;
- (d) mix together the whole of the ballot papers taken from the ballot boxes;
- (e) count the votes recorded for each list of candidates.

In counting the votes the returning officer shall, reject as invalid and not count any ballot paper:-

- (a) which does not bear the official mark;
- (b) which has not been marked for any list of candidates or is void for uncertainty;
- (c) on which votes have been given for more than one list of candidates;
- (d) on which there is any writing or mark by which the elector can be identified;

A ballot paper on which the vote is marked:-

- (a) elsewhere than in the proper place;
- (b) otherwise than by means of a cross;
- (c) by more than one mark;

shall not be rejected solely by reason thereof if:-

- (i) an intention that the vote shall be for one or other of the lists of candidates clearly appears; and

- (ii) the elector is neither identified nor can be identified by the manner in which the ballot paper is marked;

The returning officer shall endorse the word "rejected" on any ballot paper which he may reject as invalid and shall add to the endorsement the words "rejection objected to" if any objection to his decision be made by a duly appointed candidate or a counting agent present during the counting.

The decision of the returning officer as to any question arising in respect to any ballot paper shall be final.

These Regulations have remained in force ever since and have been used in the 1968, 1973, 1980 and 1985 General Elections, with one amendment made by Regulation No. 30. of 1969.

This Amendment empowered the Chief Election Officer, if in his opinion, the ballot boxes may not be secured and be in danger, in the event of violence at the end of the Poll, to make arrangements for the votes to be counted at a place appointed by him for the security of the ballots.

On 18th November, 1967, the National Registration Act was passed in Parliament, providing for the registration of persons resident or domiciled in Guyana 14 years and above to be registered on a house to house registration and such registrations became the National Registers. Under the said Act, provision has been made for the Minister to instruct the Commissioner of Registration, who is also the Chief Election Officer, to extract from the National

Registers the names of all persons qualified to vote and this list then becomes the Preliminary List of Voters. This list has to be corrected for names to be added, deleted or amended as the case may be for use as the Final List of Electors for National Elections. The Central registers are opened periodically by Order of the Minister, and brought up to date.

During the 1968 General Elections, overseas voting of all Guyanese residing outside Guyana, was introduced; but this system was abolished in 1985, with only embassy personnel and bona fide students studying outside Guyana being allowed to vote outside of Guyana for National Elections.

During the 1973 General Elections, Postal Voting was introduced; but this system has completely been abolished in 1985.

A referendum by the electorate of Guyana was held on 10th July, 1978, which approved the introduction of a new constitution for the Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

Commencing with the promulgation of the 1980 Constitution three elections are now held simultaneously;

- (1) The Presidential Election;
- (2) Elections for the National Assembly and
- (3) Elections for the Regional Democratic Councils.

In order to be elected as a President, a candidate should be designated as Presidential Candidate on a list of candidates for National Elections and he shall be deemed to be elected as a President and shall so be declared by the Chairman of the Elections Commission if:

- (a) he is the only Presidential Candidate at the General Elections or
- (c) where there are two or more Presidential Candidates, if more votes are cast in favour of the list in which he is designated as the Presidential Candidate than in favour of any other list.

On 29th August, 1980, the Local Democratic Organs Act was made law in Guyana and under this Act, Guyana was divided into ten (10) Regional Districts.

By the said Act, Elections of Councillors are held on the same day and time as National Elections are held and voters are eligible to vote simultaneously for both members of the National Assembly and Councillors of the 10 Regional Districts. The ballot paper is in two parts separated by a perforated line and distinguished from each other by different colours, one for the list of candidates of the National Assembly and the other for the list of candidates for Councillors to the respective Regional District. An elector may vote for either list on one ballot paper.

Under this system of voting, the counting of the ballots and the declaration of the results of the elections are similar to the 1964, 1968 and 1973 General Elections. There are therefore two lists of candidates at the Elections for each party contesting the Elections, one list for the National Assembly and the other list for the Regional Democratic Councils.

After the Regional Democratic Councils have been duly constituted each of the 10 Councils nominate two of their members of the National Congress of Local Democratic Organs and one of their members to be a member of the National Assembly.

After the National Congress of Local Democratic Organs has been duly constituted, the Congress nominates two of their members to be members of the National Assembly.

As a result of this new system, the number of members of the National Assembly has now been increased from 53 members to 65 members.

A new system was introduced in 1985 for all members of the disciplined forces in Guyana to be allowed to vote not later than five (5) days before Election Day. The voting is similar to the Existing System pertaining to National and Regional elections only that it is done a few days before Election Day. This system was introduced in order to permit members of these forces to be free on the appointed day to perform their normal duties.

At the close of the Poll under this system, the ballot boxes with the ballots and other documents are sealed and kept in safe custody of the ballot officers until they are delivered on Election Day to the Chief Election Officer, after which the ballots are counted for the districts in which the relevant ballot papers were situated together with all the other ballots cast on Elections Day of that district.

The most significant changes in the procedure to be followed by the electorate exercising the franchise on Election Day in both National and Regional elections commencing with the 1985 elections are the abolition of overseas voting, postal voting, and the restrictions on the issue of proxy voting.

The Elections Commission also published directions which it had given to the Chief Election Officer for permitting polling agents at the close of the poll to follow the ballot boxes closely from the polling places to the places of count.

All of the changes referred to above were designed to further enhance the freedom and fairness of elections in Guyana.

APPENDIX D

Specimens of Guyana Registration Application, Form No. 1;
Guyana Master Registration Card, Form No. 3,
including on the Triplicate Copy only the
Counterfoil Identity Card to present for Purposes of the Photo
Identification National Registration Card;
and such Card

_____ District

Form No. 1

Reg. 6
Serial No 3 104169

R. Div. No. _____

GUYANA REGISTRATION APPLICATION

Pursuant to Order No. _____ of 19 _____

Name _____
(surname) (other names)

Maiden Name (if married woman) _____

Address at which resident in Guyana _____

Are you domiciled in Guyana? _____ Nationality _____

Period of residence in Guyana immediately preceding qualifying date _____

Date of Birth _____ Age last birthday _____ Place of Birth _____
(day) (month) (year)

* Race _____ Sex _____ Height _____ ft. _____ in. Colour of eyes _____

Personal distinguishing marks _____

Marital status _____

Name and address of husband/wife _____

Name of any reputed husband/wife with whom resident _____

Occupation _____ Industry in which engaged _____

Employment status _____
(enter one)

- (1) Employer
- (2) Self employed
- (3) Salary/wage earner
- (4) Unpaid family worker
- (5) Not stated

Economic situation _____

- 1 - (a) Working
- (b) In a job but not at work
- 2 - Out of employment

- 3 - (a) House duties
- (b) At school
- (c) Retired
- (d) Sick and disabled
- (e) Other (specify _____)

Average weekly wage/salary _____ Average weekly pension _____
(other than Gov't old age pension)

Do you suffer from total blindness? _____ Total deafness? _____

Are you a deaf mute? _____ Were you previously registered? (if so give particulars) _____

If an Amerindian, is your birth registered? _____

Passport or travel document number _____

Signature of applicant _____

Category _____ Identity number _____
(A or B)

Signature of Divisional Registrar _____ Date of divisional registrar's signature _____

* East Indian, African, Mixed, Amerindian, Portuguese, Chinese, European (other than Portuguese), etc., as the case may be.
† Note to be entered by Divisional Registrar indicating which finger, if other than left thumb, print taken.

left thumb/finger print †



Name	Identity No.			
Sex	Colour of Eyes	Height	ft.	Ins.
Date of Birth	Nationality			
Distinguishing Marks				
Date of Issue	Signature			

SPECIMEN

APPENDIX E






Specimen Ballot Paper (Form 11) and
Actual 1985 General Elections Ballot

FORM ¹¹ A4








Paper

SPECIMEN BALLOT SHEET



FOR DEMONSTRATION AT POLLING PLACE ONLY
GENERAL ELECTIONS

1	G.L.P. GUIANA LABOUR PARTY CANDIDATES LIST		
2	G.L.P. GUIANA LIBERAL PARTY CANDIDATES LIST		
3	R.P. REPUBLICANS PARTY CANDIDATES LIST		
4	T.B.P. TRIAL BY ERROR PARTY CANDIDATES LIST		
5	V.P. VICTORY PARTY CANDIDATES LIST		

GENERAL ELECTIONS

1	D. L. M. DEMOCRATIC LABOUR MOVEMENT Candidates' List		
2	N. D. F. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT Candidates' List		
3	P. D. M. PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT Candidates' List		
4	P. N. C. PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS Candidates' List		
5	P. P. P. PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY Candidates' List		
6	U. F. UNITED FORCE Candidates' List		
7	W. P. A. WORKING PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE Candidates' List		

REGIONAL ELECTIONS FOR REGION No. 7

1	P. N. C. PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS' Candidates' List		
2	P. P. P. PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY Candidates' List		

APPENDIX F

Specimen of Directions for Voting (Form 10), The Laws of Guyana,
Chapter 1:03, Representation of the People Act

s. 38(a)

FORM 10

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT
GENERAL ELECTION

DIRECTIONS FOR VOTING

1. You can vote for only one list of candidates at this election.
2. You should see that the ballot paper, before it is handed to you, has been stamped with the official mark.
3. You are to go into one of the compartments and there place a cross within the blank space opposite the name and symbol of the list of candidates for which you wish to vote. You are to make the cross like this: X
4. When you have marked your vote, fold your ballot paper so as to conceal your vote but so as to show the official mark appearing at the back. Then show that mark to the officer presiding and permit your finger to be immersed in electoral ink. After that put your ballot paper in the ballot box and leave the polling place.
5. If you accidentally spoil your ballot paper you may return it to the presiding officer who on being satisfied of the fact will give you another.
6. If you vote for more than one list of candidates or place any mark on the ballot paper by which you can afterwards be identified your vote will be void and will not be counted.

Chief Election Officer

APPENDIX G

News Accounts of 1990 Election Matters
while the Team was in Guyana, October 8-13, 1990

Daily Express

Features

Getting Around with Angela Pidduck
Pages 26 and 27
Comics, Radio, TV, Crossword and Horoscope
Pages 28 and 29

PNC confident of victory

By KEN ALLEN

The Gleaner's Executive Editor who spent a week from September 16-23 sampling the political climate as Guyana approaches national elections

PRIME MINISTER Desmond Hoyte is "absolutely confident" his People's National Congress will win an election looming large as a crucial test of Guyanese democracy.

He voiced a vote of confidence in a September 20 interview with the Gleaner, reacting to allegations of flawed voting, as shared by a wide cross-section of Guyanese society and now, increasingly, a matter of international concern.

It is taken for granted in this 83,000-square-mile South American republic that elections have been routinely rigged; but Hoyte rejects this, describing the allegations as "a tired excuse" by the People's Progressive Party for their failure to defeat the ruling PNC these past 26 years.

This time, with elections due by March next year, economic deterioration has threatened the long hold on power of the PNC; and knowledgeable observers feel the PNC cannot win unless they rig the contest.

A loose association of opposition parties, called the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD), is trying to mount a challenge; but it is a far cry from normal electioneering, in that the objective is couched not so much as a contest to win power, but rather as a moral crusade to achieve "free and fair elections."

The campaign is thus based on what a prominent businessman says every Guyanese knows: that all the elections since 1964 have been rigged to keep the PNC in power.

But, as Hoyte sees it, the allegation is nothing new. He says it began with the emergence of Cheddi Jagan and party politics in 1953.

"It has been a tactic of Jagan in every election since 1953, even under the British," the President



Jagan



PM Hoyte



Fr Morrison

says. So much so that Jagan coined a slogan — "cheated, not defeated."

From the perspective of Jagan and other opposition spokesmen, their rallying cry is more than a tactic, it stems from defects in the law which they want amended to provide for the counting of votes at the places of polling, rather than the transportation of ballot boxes to a central counting point in each constituency.

One of the main allegations is that the rigging is done when heavily armed soldiers transport the boxes, forcibly preventing any opposition observers or escorts in the process.

The PNC counters this by saying that the counting of votes at a central place is not peculiar to Guyana and in fact is also the practice in other Caribbean countries such as Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua and Belize.

Opposition spokesmen are also critical of a voters' list which is drawn

from a national register of all Guyanese attaining age 14 and thus qualifying for an identity card. They say that house-to-house enumeration of voters would be less susceptible to manipulation and padding. They would also like to see an Election Commission independent of what they see as partisan control by the Minister of Home Affairs.

In the run-up to the 1985 elections the PNC government made some concessions. Postal voting was abolished; proxy voting was restricted to the blind and otherwise incapacitated, and the overseas vote was restricted to the serving members of overseas missions and bonafide students abroad.

Yet while the ruling party acclaimed the 1985 elections as the most peaceful and scrupulously fair of them all, the harshest critics of the government say they were the worst.

The Catholic Standard, edited by

Jesuit priest Fr Andrew Morrison, described the 1985 poll as "the most flagrantly rigged elections in the history of Guyana."

This view is shared by the Anglican Bishop of Guyana, Randolph George, who with Roman Catholic Bishop Benedict Singh had issued a joint statement condemning the elections.

Bishop George is still openly critical of the PNC regime. He told this reporter that the few concessionary moves by the PNC since 1985 were "cosmetic" and that the consequences of the Burnham "dictatorship" had persisted.

Convinced that there is a breakdown of morality in Guyanese society, Bishop George is active in the platform rallies of a civic reform movement called Guyanese Action for Reform and Democracy (GUARD).

The PNC sees GUARD's association with the PCD in campaigning for "free and fair elections" as an "unholy alliance" of politics and the clergy. Bishop George concedes that some in the movement would like to politicise it; but he makes the point that there is not enough time between the elections for a political party to be properly ...

Jagan is sceptical of this objective, taking the view that voters expect to see performance from a government right after elections and would be intolerant of a vaguely defined interim.

"The PPP is a national democratic party," he said. "What is important is a programme and policy and the achievement of racial and class balance in any administration."

Any notion that Cheddi Jagan might be a spent force of Guyanese politics is dispelled by reports of his drawing power, particularly in the rural hinterland where he is said to have pulled crowds of up to 20,000.

Hoyte himself cited their failure up to mid-September to select a consensus presidential candidate and a running mate who would be prime minister, as symptomatic of their inability to frame programmes and policies for an election platform.

An impressive array of evidence purporting to document the rigging of elections over the years has been compiled in a memorandum by the PCD. It is a series of eyewitness accounts and photographs of supposedly fraudulent activity.

For its part the administration has compiled a carefully crafted rebuttal analysing the election results. It was this document that was presented to the famous Mustique meeting of 1986 arranged by Prime Minister James Mitchell of St. Vincent.

Although President Hoyte told this reporter that the Mustique meeting was not pre-occupied with concern over Guyana's elections, it was nonetheless one indication that the Caribbean heads have shown some interest in the issue.

Asked the basis for his optimism about an election victory the President said that between 1964 and the mid-'70s there was strong growth every year; and the people remembered that it was the PNC administration which since independence in 1966 had laid down the infrastructure of a road system, rural electrification, expanded potable water supply, and housing.

Kim Klasan, President of the Guyana Manufacturers Association, expressed some doubt that attempts by the administration to woo the support of the business sector would readily succeed.

With popular support eroded by the economic debacle that has seen the Guyanese dollar reach 80-to-1 vis a vis the American dollar, the only way for the PNC to win it is to rig it, some people say. Hence the rallying cry for "free and fair elections."

An Indian taxi driver talking with me on the road to Timor airport thinks Cheddi could win in free and fair elections. Another, an Afro-Guyanese in downtown Georgetown, offers another model: "They should do like you in Jamaica: two terms and they gone."

TOMORROW: PCD memorandum lists PNC practices to retain power.

Guyana Perspective

Stabroek news

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Commonwealth team may deal with opposition complaints

THE Commonwealth is unlikely to ignore electoral issues raised here by the Opposition, informed sources in London say.

The Commonwealth preparatory observer team under Sir Anthony Siaguru, which tested the electoral waters here last month, has submitted its report to the Secretary General who is still studying the findings. The Secretary General was not available for his reaction to the report but well-placed sources in London say he is expected to make a statement on the matter as soon as he has completed his study.

Sir Anthony and his team, which met with a wide cross-section of groups during their preparatory mission, have reportedly dealt, in their

report, with all queries raised and the sources expect these will be taken into account and dealt with by the Secretary General. Based on previous experience, (teams observed elections in Uganda and Southern Rhodesia - now Zimbabwe - in 1980), sources speculated the Secretary General may approach the Guyana government on the representations made to the preparatory mission.

Opposition and other groups which met the Siaguru team, were not impressed with signals that the Commonwealth would restrict any observer mission it sends to monitoring and commenting on the events of election day. The sources say the team here was impressed with the detailed

representations from opposition groups on issues like voting lists, the composition of the Elections Commission and the counting of ballots at polling stations. They further contend that the Commonwealth will not want to send a team here in a situation in which there is dispute as to such basic conditions for a fair election. They pointed out that in the case of Uganda, the Elections Commission reversed an earlier ruling and votes were counted at polling places.

The Commonwealth observer team has not yet been finalised for the Guyana elections and team members will be announced as soon as they are selected. In the case of Uganda, many assistants accompanied the observer team to help with the monitoring process on polling day.

Opposition condemn voters' lists - Lack of addresses - a 'recipe for fraud'

Opposition forces are in an uproar over the state of recently published preliminary voters lists and a new sense of unity is being forged with the announcement that the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy and the civic reform movement GUARD will hold a joint rally to protest the lists.

After the preliminary lists were made available on Thursday, cursory checks by opposition forces revealed the shocking discovery that between 85 to 90 per cent of the names on the lists appeared without any specific addresses. (See photos on back page.) This provoked angry responses from the Working People's Alliance (WPA) and the People's Progressive Party (PPP) who condemned it as a ploy to prevent the opposition parties from checking the authenticity of names on the list.

The WPA summoned a press conference claiming that, as had been predicted a long time ago, the voter registration system had "broken down." The WPA is demanding the immediate scrapping of the preliminary lists with recourse to a house-to-house enumeration survey for the voters' list. WPA MP Eusi Kwayana says the "marriage" between the national registration system and the voter registration process had proven a "miserable failure" and should be "dissolved" immediately. The WPA says the lack of addresses "tends itself to padding" and makes it impossible for the opposition to test the validity of names on the list.

The PPP issued a statement declaring that a most "scandalous" situation has arisen. After preliminary checks, the PPP reveals that the lists are "unclean", riddled with names of persons who are dead, migrated and do not include many eligible voters. The PPP advances that such an alarming situation could not occur unless there was some "ulterior motive" and says that given past experience, this may well be part of a "rigging process." The PPP contends that any "decent" government would have "halted" such a process.

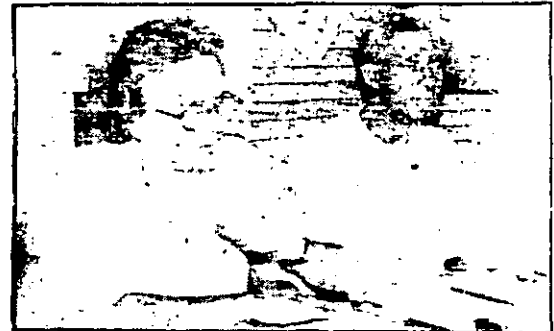
When Stabroek News contacted the Chief Elections Officer and the Commissioner of National Registration, Ronald Jacobs, to ask why addresses were omitted, he replied that the information that appeared is what was supplied by the registrants. When pressed as to whether such a small number of persons would give their precise addresses, Jacobs replied that he was no computer expert but because of the limited "field" of the computer, the lot numbers may have been inadvertently wiped out. Jacobs

added that these lot numbers cannot be appended now. Observers point out that, had there been a computer error, none of the names would have been accompanied by addresses, about five to six per cent of the names have specific addresses.

The WPA is also charging that there are many forms of irregularities appearing on the list which proves that the current system is inefficient and prone to padding. The WPA says that several persons who voted in the 1985 elections and who have ID cards have not been listed. This, the party says, is incomprehensible considering that the names should have remained on the National Register. Jacobs says that if the persons had changed their addresses, then their names should appear in the division of their last recorded addresses. The WPA says these people have not changed their addresses but their names have simply vanished from the list. The WPA also notes that many corrections that had been made to the 1985 lists have not appeared on this year's preliminary list, and this is especially so in Houston, Subryanville and Charlestown.

The PPP is claiming that many registrars and deputies are PNC activists or affiliated to its youth and women's arms. The party also discloses that four days after they should have been posted, lists have not appeared in many areas along the East Coast and in Leguan and Walkersham. The PPP says that it has also detected a clever attempt at disguising padding by inflating evenly the numbers of voters in each district. The PPP says that in certain areas such as Agricola, East and South Ruimsveld, Lodge and Charlestown there are hikes of about 10 to 15 per cent in the number of voters since 1985 which is not compatible with population trends.

Late yesterday, following a PPP proposal to the PCD, it was divulged, in what may be a major opposition breakthrough for complete unity, that the PCD and GUARD will share a platform at a public rally, Saturday, at Parade Ground from 12.30 pm. The rally will be preceded by a mass protest outside Parliament Buildings against the current registration process. Speakers from all PCD parties, GUARD and the United Republican Party will be featured at the rally. Observers see the rapprochement between GUARD and the PCD as a major development in the struggle for opposition unity. The PCD is also to finalise its own house-to-house enumeration effort.



The WPA press conference yesterday that denounced the voter registration list as a "recipe for padding." In picture from left are co-leaders Dr. Rupert Roopnarine and Eusi Kwayana.

Queenstown list impossible to check Other lists

The Queenstown voters' list (Division #413131) contains almost no complete addresses. Of a total of 2053 voters on the list, only 97 had a complete address, including lot number. This represents 4.7% of the listed voters. The rest of the names listed only the name of the street on

which the voter lived. This lack of lot numbers renders the list virtually uncheckable. For a scrutineer to ascertain facts about a voter whose full address is listed as "Laluni Street," he would be forced to walk the entire length of Laluni Street, in-

quiring for the voter at each house. Other problems exist on this list. According to a preliminary check by an Opposition party, four "voters" (ID #s 237391, 108005, 066962, 059524) have emigrated and are thus ineligible to vote. A further two "voters" (ID #s 266140, 181710) are deceased.

Several discrepancies are evident on the preliminary voters' lists for the Kingston and Kiny areas issued recently by the National Registration Centre. On the lists posted in the Centre's compound in Cowan Street, Georgetown, the names of many persons who are deceased, under-age and who have migrated overseas several years ago, are included. The addresses of

many others are not complete as no lot numbers are given. On the Region Five list, a sample was done on

about 100 persons, five of whom died several years ago. In addition fourteen have not yet attained voting age. In one in-

stance, a family of seven who migrated to North America since 1982 is listed to vote.

Jimmy Carter not coming this weekend

Officials of the Carter Center are maintaining there had never been anything fixed for former US President Jimmy Carter to visit Guyana this weekend.

Representatives of the Carter Center in Georgia, Atlanta, yesterday told the BBC Caribbean Report any announcement here

that Carter was due was premature, and he is definitely not coming this weekend. No date had ever been fixed and no trip scheduled, although discussions had been taking place, the officials told the BBC.

The government information agency, GPCA, on October 3, announced

Carter "will be arriving in Guyana on October 13 in response to an invitation issued by President Desmond Hoyte. The agency has said Carter will visit Guyana for two days to "familiarise himself" with the electoral process and procedures, and meet with various political leaders.

Hoyte, last Friday, told reporters here officials of the Carter Center had indicated the former US President "hopes to visit Guyana" between October 12-13 "to familiarise himself with the local scene."

Polling facility being established

A polling facility is now being established, and its co-ordinator, Baytoram Ramharack, says that issues surrounding the upcoming elections will be part of the future surveys.

The facility will be based at the University of Guyana (UG) and Ramharack, who last month was approved as an associate to the Institute of Development Studies of UG, says that the Turkeyen Research and Polling Institute (TRPI) will function as an independent organisation, gathering reliable and credible information about public opinion on various matters.

He says it is "ironic" that Guyana does not have a reliable and permanent polling institute especially

when there is great uncertainty here about political attitudes, beliefs and voting behaviour. He adds that, because polling requires a great deal of financial and human resources, TRPI will be seeking local sponsorship to get the programme going.

Ramharack says some of the major topics that will be addressed by TRPI are the average income of a Guyanese household, what percentage of the population here have relatives abroad, and what are the major concerns of citizens here, especially youths. With respect to elections, he says TRPI will conduct surveys into what number of people here feel the impending elections will be free and fair, what factors will influence a person's choice

of a political candidate, and if the forthcoming elections are fraudulent, how should the opposition and populace respond.

On a long-term basis, Ramharack says that TRPI also hopes to institute surveys on the "ethnic security dilemma" in Guyana. He says a voter survey will also be carried out to gather data on racial attitudes and voting behaviour. This will be done by surveys of polling divisions throughout the country and a random sampling of voters selected from the registered list of voters. Ramharack is a Ph.D candidate and says he has had prior experience of polling exercises in the United States and has mastered some of the social science, theoretical and research methods required.

Socialist international sending observers

A DELEGATION from Socialist International, a worldwide grouping of political parties, will be coming to Guyana to monitor upcoming elections.

The Working People's Alliance (WPA), which is a consulting member of the body, says that at a council meeting of Socialist International over the weekend, a resolution was passed on the free and fair elections issue in Guyana and a

decision was taken to send a delegation here. The WPA says it presumes that Socialist International will now seek permission from the government for official observer rights to be conferred on the team.

The WPA says the information was provided by its International Secretary who was present at the meeting, and the text of the resolution that was passed and details about the observer mission will become available shortly.

Diplomatic Vehicle at PNC rally

A DIPLOMATIC vehicle which appeared at the recent PNC rally was being used by the National Agricultural Research Institute (NARI) when it was commandeered by a party official, NARI sources say.

Opposition parties have queried the appearance of the diplomatic vehicle at the rally and Stabroek News has learnt that the truck belongs to what is described as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) System which includes that agency and the Food and Agricul-

ture Organisation (FAO) among others.

A UNDP official referred Stabroek News to a FAO official who said that the vehicle was being used by NARI which comes under the FAO. NARI sources say they were called by a PNC official and requested to make a vehicle available for the rally and this was complied with. The NARI truck was used to transport segments of one of the bands featured at the rally.

WPA calls for replacement of Bollers

THE Working People's Alliance (WPA) has released a detailed list of issues it wants resolved before the rapidly approaching general elections.

At the top of the list, is a call for the replacement of Sir Harold Bollers as Chairman of the Elections Commission with a person who is acceptable to both President Desmond Hoyte and the Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, Dr. Choddi Jagan. There must be preliminary counting of ballots at the polling stations, says the WPA, adding that this is the "surest way of placing limits on possible switching of ballot boxes after the close of poll." The opposition party says that the printing of ballot papers should be "tightly controlled" and points out that no account has yet been given for the amount of ballot papers circulated during the last elections. The WPA notes that there were allegations that double the required number of ballot papers were printed in 1984.

The WPA is calling for observers to be present in Guyana from this month to oversee the run-up to the elections and more importantly at each polling place on elections day. The opposition party is demanding that each voter must have a photo identification on the elections day except in cases of disfigurement.

The WPA is also asserting that the power to exempt persons from being photographed for voter identification purposes should be stripped from the Minister of Home Affairs.

During recent Parliamentary debate on government's electoral reform bill, WPA MP Eusi Kwayana repeatedly made the point that during the national registration process earlier this year, no photographs were taken of the registrants. The excuse offered by the Home Affairs Minister said administrative difficulties were being experienced but that the problem would be shortly solved. Kwayana argued that up to now, no photographs have been taken and this situation juxtaposed with the power of the Minister to exempt persons from being photographed, is disconcerting.

The WPA contends that there must be a "vigorous attempt" to provide persons with ID cards. The opposition party further claims that in the last elections polling agents were denied entry into many stations especially in Linden and in South Georgetown, where some agents were ejected at gun point without the presiding officer or the police preventing this. The WPA asserts that there must be firm guarantees that there is no recurrence.

Visiting electoral experts banned from contact with opposition

Voters' list - few addresses

GOVERNMENT says two officials looking into the provision of US electoral assistance to Guyana arrived in the country yesterday, but they have been banned from speaking with political parties or groups other than the Elections Commission.

The two men represent the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and a terse government statement declared, "If the IFES team were to meet with political parties or any other organisation or group in Guyana, it would be exceeding the mandate of its mission and the government would have to consider aborting the mission."

Government claims the team's mandate is only to talk with the Elections Commission "for the purpose of consulting and advising on the provision of assistance to the Commission in supervising the elections."

The men, Randal C. Teague, IFES Counsel, and Ronald A. Gould, Deputy Director Elections, Canada, are due to leave Friday, the state information agency announced. It says the US government has contracted IFES as consultants to advise on Washington's providing assistance to the local Elections Commission to help the body discharge "its functions in supervising the elections."

According to the information agency, "the Elections Commission disclosed that the IFES consultants would be discussing with the Commission the kind of assistance needed to strengthen the Commission's administrative and logistical capabilities for supervising the elections."

President Desmond Hoyte says the US assistance to the Commission could be vehicles, office equipment and stationery. He however declared, "there is absolutely no question of any persons coming from overseas to manage our elections, mount training and motivational and other similar programmes, review our laws, or inter-meddle in any way in our electoral process."

The photograph shows a dense list of names and addresses, likely from a preliminary voters list. The text is small and somewhat blurry, but it appears to be a standard list with columns for names and addresses.

This is another photograph of a voters list, similar to the one above. It shows a grid of names and addresses, with some names appearing to be in bold or larger font, possibly indicating specific individuals of interest.

Samples of the preliminary voters lists showing names of potential voters without any specific addresses. The above photographed samples are typical of the entire list with an average of three out of 50 names having a particular lot number. Opposition parties say this will make it impossible to check the validity of these names and are calling for these lists to be scrapped. The Queenstown sample has three specific addresses out of 55 names and the Providence list has only two out of 51.

Jacobs calls press conference on lists

AS the controversy over the preliminary voters' lists built yesterday, the GPCA announced Commissioner of Registration, Andy Jacobs, will today hold a press conference on the issue.

The agency said Jacobs will deal with the procedures to be followed

by electors in examining the electoral lists and for making claims and objections.

The announcement came as independent and opposition parties' checks of the preliminary lists threw up major doubts.

(See stories on page one.)

The WPA and the PPP urged the scrapping of the current lists and called for house to house enumeration and the compilation of new electoral rolls.

The compilation of an electoral roll by house to house enumeration has been a major demand of opposition and other groups for electoral reform. They have strongly criticised the practice of calling the lists from the National Register. They have also asked that opposition parties be allowed to have representatives on the house to house enumeration exercise.

Guyana CHRONICLE

\$6

No. 4354

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1990

IFES team should honour mandate

A Government spokesman, yesterday afternoon, responding to media enquiries as to whether officials from the visiting International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) team would be meeting with representatives of political parties and other interest groups, responded as follows:

"The government expects the IFES mission to honour its mandate agreed upon with the Government of Guyana.

It is the clear understanding of the Government that the IFES officials are visiting Guyana to carry out the first stage of their mission, that is to hold discussions with the Elections Commission for the purpose of consulting and advising on the provision of assistance to the Commission in supervising the elections.

If the IFES team were to meet with political parties or any other organisation or group in Guyana, it would be exceeding the mandate of its mission and the Government would have to consider aborting the mission". (GPCA)

7 YEARS AGO

Governor sacks PPP Govt

Today marks the 37th Anniversary of the sweeping action of Governor Sir Alfred Savage leading to the suspension of the British Guiana constitution on the grounds of an alleged PPP Government rump to set up a Communist state.

Savage, on October 9, 1953, sacked six elective Ministers of the PPP, prorogued both Houses of the Legislature, and announced that steps had to be taken to suspend the constitution.

The Governor said in a radio broadcast that the steps were necessary if law and order were to be maintained in the face of "a planned and continuous programme of strengthening links with Communist countries with a view to making British Guiana a servile state."

The PPP, through Dr Cheddi Jagan, issued a statement thus: "Her Majesty's Government in Britain today that the constitution of British Guiana will be suspended, has built up a spurious case based on a series of misstatements and suppositions. This has come after armed forces have landed, in an attempt to intimidate the peaceful people of our country."

The PPP added: "We deny any attempt at the use of force and violence and the setting up of a satellite Government subservient to any foreign power. On the contrary, our goal is the removal of subordination to any foreign power."

Yesterday, Prime Minister Hamilton Green, on a visit to the Charlestown area, took the opportunity to deliver an impromptu history lesson to youths, focusing on the events 37 years ago.

ELECTIONS CONSULTANTS START WORK TODAY

Mr Randal Teage, Counsel, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and Mr. Ronald Gould, Deputy Director Elections, Canada this morning begin meetings with representatives of the Elections Commission in connection with possible assistance to the commission, according to a GPCA release.

Mr. Teage and Mr Gould, arrived in Guyana, yesterday. IFES has been contracted as consultants by the US Government to advise on providing assistance to the Elections Commission in the discharge of its functions in supervising the upcoming elections.

The two consultants will meet with Commission Secretary Lance Ferreira, this morning. They are scheduled to leave Guyana, Friday.

The Commission said the two men will discuss the kind of assistance needed to strengthen the Commission's administrative and logistical capabilities, the GPCA release stated.

According to President Desmond Hoyte, at a Press conference last week, the consultants will report to the relevant US Department on the Commission's needs and implement the recommendations of the report, if they are accepted.

VOTERS' LISTS ARE UP. CHECK FOR YOUR NAMES

GUAYANA CHRONICLE

\$6

No. 4155

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1990

THERE ARE 83 DAYS LEFT IN THE YEAR

JIMMY CARTER ARRIVES FRIDAY

Former US President, Jimmy Carter, will now be arriving on Friday, and not Saturday, as previously reported. He will spend two days in Guyana.

Mr. Carter's visit is in response to an invitation issued by President Desmond Hoyte for the Jimmy Carter Centre to send a mission to observe the elections.

While in Guyana, the former US President will familiarise himself with the electoral process and procedures.

It is expected that he will meet with the political leaders of the parties expected to contest the forthcoming elections.

President Carter will leave Saturday.

Registration chief waives fees

COMMISSIONER of Registration Ronald 'Andy' Jacobs has waived the fees of \$2 and \$5 for filing claims and objections respectively in relation to the voters' lists now posted around the country.

The Commissioner has invited eligible persons and others interested in the accuracy of the lists to scrutinise the documents and file their claims by October 15, and objections by October 19.

Jacobs told a Press briefing

yesterday that seven political parties, the DLM, PDM, PNC, PFP, URP, UWP, and WPA, have requested and updated copies of the preliminary voters' lists to date. The GUARD, although not yet admitting political party status, has requested copies of the lists, Jacobs said. Problems of producing the quantity of lists required have forced the National Registration Centre to prioritise distribution and GUARD has as a result not yet been able to uplift lists, the Registration Chief explained.

POLITICAL PARTIES GET 'DEAD' LIST TODAY

A LIST of more than 5000 dead is being issued today, to assist political parties to scrutinise and enter objections on the voters' lists posted around the country in preparation for compilation of a final voters' list for upcoming elections.

The names of the dead, given by the General Register Office, was earlier submitted to the National Registration Centre for deletion from the register, but

problems in the computer process resulted in the names of some dead persons remaining on the register and appearing in the current preliminary list of electors.

According to Commissioner of Registration Ronald 'Andy' Jacobs, seven political parties which have to date requested and uplifted copies of the preliminary lists will be supplied with the 'dead list' today.

REGISTRATION OFFICERS AVAILABLE DAILY TO PROCESS CLAIMS, OBJECTIONS

REGISTRATION officers continue to be available daily at offices across the country to process claims and objections in relation to the preliminary voters' lists.

Commissioner of Registration Ronald 'Andy' Jacobs, briefing the Press yesterday, was not in a position to say which political parties have so far made formal objections to the registers or how many claims were entered by individual citizens.

He said, however, seven political parties have so far requested and uplifted copies of the preliminary lists for scrutiny. The parties will also today be provided with a list of more than 5 000 deceased persons, compiled by the General Register Office, to assist in the process of removing names of dead persons incorrectly included in the lists.

The lists now posted at hundreds of locations country-wide are preliminary lists extracted by the Commissioner of Registration on the instruction of the Chairman of the Elections Commission. The lists are expected to include all persons who would be 18 years and over on November 30, 1990, (i.e. eligible to vote).

Since the publication of the preliminary lists, eligible voters have been invited to check the posted lists to ensure their names

are included, correctly. Other interested parties have also been invited to scrutinise and make objections, as they see fit, to names appearing on the lists.

According to Commissioner Jacobs, claims may be in relation to omissions, either because the eligible person was not registered, or through error, and (turn to centre pages)

VOTERS' LISTS ARE UP. CHECK FOR YOUR NAMES

PNC—an indestructible working class party

THE People's National Congress was on Saturday last described as an indestructible

working class party because it was built on unity and cohesion between the party and the masses of this country.

This was said at a joint seminar of the Study Groups of the Juche Idea of Cole Kim Il Sung in Guyana. The Seminar was held at the Korean Embassy and attracted a number of persons.

At the time, the seminar was dealing with the unity and cohesion between the Workers' Party of Korea and the popular masses of this country.

Registration officers available

(From page 1)

In relation to incorrect listing, including cases of misspelling, incorrect I.D. number, and incorrect address.

Objections relate to the inclusion of names which the applicant feels should not be on the list.

Both claims and objections must be made on the relevant form, available from the offices of the registrars in the various areas. (Lists of the offices appeared in the Chronicle last Saturday.)

While the Registration Chief could not indicate the level of response made formally to the lists, a few opposition parties have pointed out omissions from the list, in the form of incomplete addresses.

The deadline for submission of claims is October 15, and for objections, October 19.

Following the completion of the corrected, or 'certified list', expected by November 1, the Commissioner will have another 21 days in which to make any further deletions or corrections to arrive at a final list.

Kwayana dominates Press briefing

A Press briefing yesterday by Commissioner of Registration Ronald 'Andy' Jacobs was dominated by repeated questions from Working People's Alliance (WPA) Member of Parliament Estel Kwayana.

Kwayana, who did not say which news organization he represented, was cautioned initially by Chairman of the briefing, GPCA's Kai Naimcuro not to turn the exercise into a 'political debate'.

Kwayana proceeded however to pose a series of questions, including queries about the legal status of actions of the Commission, comparisons of the lists now and in 1985, and why the computers used to extract the

lists made errors. The briefing was held to support the public information exercise required to secure public co-operation in facilitating the correction of the lists, as provided for by law.

PNC takes campaign fund to Region Two

LEADER of the People's National Congress, President Desmond Hoyte will spearhead the Region Two launching of his party's election campaign fund, Friday.

This programme will take place at the Azma Regina Boardroom from 10.30 a.m.

The Party Leader will be on hand to receive contributions and pledges from members, supporters and well-wishers.

The PNC launched its elections campaign fund at Congress Place, Sophia, on September 29, aiming for an initial target of \$15 million. The party received more than \$4 million on the first day. Over \$3 million was collected during the first hour. Since then there have been a number of other substantial contributions including a million-dollar pledge from Mr Mafood.

Stabroek news

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★ Voters list must be dumped

by Anand Persaud

THE opposition alliance, the PCD, the civic reform group, GUARD, and the United Republican Party (URP) have joined forces to pressure government into dumping the preliminary voters' list, and are warning that a general strike may be called if their demands are not satisfied.

At a joint press conference yesterday, the group disclosed that the Federation of Independent Trades Union Grouping (FITUG) has also been invited to participate in the joint activities, and a union source says that the matter will be discussed with the composite unions, PCD, GUARD and the URP are planning a mass rally pending police permission on Saturday at Parade Ground from 12.30p.m. which will be kicked off by a protest demonstration outside Parliament Buildings against the list from 10a.m. to 12 noon.

The preliminary voters' list has been unanimously condemned by all opposition forces because, they claim, it is riddled with ineligible names, and about 90 per cent of the voters listed do not have specific addresses. Yesterday's press conference ridiculed the list as a "sinister concoction spawned by the PNC" and Working People's Alliance (WPA) co-leader Rupert Roopnaraine, who chaired the meeting, said it seems that most of the voters had been "rendered homeless" by the list.

Dr. Roopnaraine says the critical reason behind the united action is to force the government to adopt a position of reasonableness by discarding the preliminary list and resorting to house-to-house enumeration to compile the voters' list. What if government does not acquiesce to these

demands? Dr. Roopnaraine says in that scenario the combined forces will have to decide what course of action to take. URP's Dr. Ramsamy says the possibility of a general strike being called will not be precluded, "it is certainly an option and a very strong possibility." The call for a general strike to bend the government into instituting electoral reforms was first sounded by Democratic Labour Movement (DLM) Leader Paul Tennessee several weeks ago.

The presence of leading GUARD luminaries, Chairman Sam Hinds and Co-ordinator N.K. Gopaul, at the meeting raised questions about progress on the issue of the consensus presidential candidate, but Dr. Roopnaraine said at the moment only joint action on the preliminary list was being contemplated. He said there were no immediate plans to address other issues but the fact that unity

could be attained on electoral matters suggested it could also feature in other areas.

When asked how many persons the Saturday rally would be expected to attract, Dr. Roopnaraine did not oblige, but responded "we have no plans for a bubble", an allusion to the PNC rally which was followed by a full scale bubble session into the wee hours of the morning. Dr. Roopnaraine contended that there is ample time between now and the period by which elections are constitutionally due for government to undertake a "lawful" house-to-house enumeration.

A press statement read at the meeting said the voters' list is "totally unsatisfactory" and below the standard of lists published for recent town elections. It claimed that the names of persons who were dead for more than 10 years were still on the list and the compilation may have been engineered

to facilitate the "widest impersonation and fraud." The statement also said that lists have still not gone up in many areas and persons wishing to make objections to deceased names are being advised by the relevant authorities that they must produce death certificates.

Dr. Roopnaraine revealed that the PCD, GUARD and the URP will meld forces to make objections to the list and get eligible voters on it so that it could achieve a "reasonable" state of accuracy. However, he said, given the present condition of the list, he was not hopeful. The PCD, he said, will also reserve the right to boycott the elections but will continue to act in the run up to the poll as if it had every intention to participate by doing all the work that is required of political parties.

The PCD he added will not speculate on an election date but, he said, given the amount of work that has to be done by the Elections Commission, it is hardly likely that a poll can be called before December. The Saturday rally is expected to feature leading speakers from all PCD parties, GUARD and the URP.



THE unprecedented gathering at yesterday's press conference on the preliminary voters' list. From left, GUARD Chairman Sam Hinds, GUARD Co-ordinator N.K. Gopaul, PCD Secretary Gull Teekera, WPA co-leader Dr. Rupert Roopnaraine, PPP Central Executive Member, Harvisaran Nolska and URP Leader Dr. Lestie Ramsamy.

Hoyte not satisfied with list

★ PRESIDENT Desmond Hoyte will address the nation tomorrow at 8.00 p.m. on radio and television on the publication of the preliminary voters' list.

A GPCA release states the President is "extremely perturbed" over the extensive deficiencies that have been clearly identified in the list recently published under the authority of the Elections

Commission. "The President in the circumstances," the release says, "considers that the list, in its present form, does not constitute a proper basis for the holding of elections."

GPCA has also announced that Mr. Godfrey Proctor, the General Manager of National Data Management Authority (NDMA), will hold a press briefing at GPCA at 5.00 p.m. today. NDMA has

been engaged by the Commissioner of Registration to assist in the computerised preparation of the list. In view of widespread complaints about the list, Mr. Proctor wishes to provide an explanation.

The Chairman of the Election, Mr. Harold Bollers, GPCA says, has also decided to convene a meeting of the Commission to discuss the irregularities in the list.

Advising on elections ★



The two technicians from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), retained by the US State Department to examine the state of the electoral machinery here, will today continue their assessment. Based on their findings, the US Congress and the State Department will determine if, and how, US\$693 000 in US electoral aid will be used to advance the cause of democracy and free and fair elections here, sources say.

The consultants, Randall Teague and Ronald

Goold, are meeting with members of the Elections Commission but government has forbidden them to meet with political parties or any other organisation or group. A government statement says this is outside the mandate of the IFES team and if the two men meet with others, it "would have to consider aborting the mission."

Analysis have suggested the funds could be partly used for photographs for ID cards. A large number of persons has been issued cards with no photographs.

In this Ken Moore photo, Gould, left and Teague, right, with Secretary to the Elections Commission, Lance Ferreira.

Rohee "disgusted" at attitude of ★ Election Commission

PEOPLE'S Progressive Party (PPP) member of the Elections Commission, Clement Rohee will hold a press conference today to expose what he says is the "subversion of the electoral process."

Rohee says this move follows the refusal of the Commission by a split vote not to consider memoranda from the PPP, the Guyana Human Rights Association and the Working People's Alliance (WPA) on electoral reform. Rohee says this decision was taken at recent meetings of the Commission and is completely unacceptable.

He says he is "disgusted" at the response of the Commission on these important matters as it is not meant to be any "secret society or masonic lodge." Though the Commission is now assigned under the Constitution with powers to exercise general direction and supervision over the electoral process, Rohee says the WPA memorandum was re-directed to the Chief Elections Officer and the Commissioner of National Registration, Ronald Jacobs in clear violation of the Commission's responsibilities.

Rohee says so far he has not been invited to attend any meeting with experts here from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and fears that he will be excluded from consulting with the team. He charges that the Chairman Sir Harold Bollers cannot speak to the IFES consultants on behalf of the entire Commission. If this occurs, he warns, Bollers will be speaking to the team in his personal capacity since a meeting of the full Commission would not have been constituted. Rohee says that he would like to draw to the attention of IFES, the two "frauds" that are currently sitting on the Commission.

Stabroek news

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1990



CLOSE watch - GPCA Head, Kit Nascimbeno, left, and Chief Elections Officer, Ronald Jacobs, before journalists Tuesday. (Was Davis photo.)

Jacobs at a loss to explain scandal of voters list

by Sharief Khan

CHIEF Elections Officer, Ronald Jacobs, is at a loss to explain serious shortcomings in the preliminary voters lists and is blaming much of these on "the computer".

Jacobs, guided by GPCA Chief, Kit Nascimbeno, met reporters at GPCA headquarters Tuesday to field questions on the apparent duarray characterising the lists. Despite Nascimbeno's valiant efforts at guiding the answers, Jacobs failed miserably.

At the end of a rather comical affair, one reporter openly wondered at Jacobs' nationality and the need for Nascimbeno to act as his interpreter throughout the press conference.

Jacobs could not satisfactorily explain why the complete addresses of many people are not on the lists. The "computer centre", he explained, was not directed to leave those lot numbers out. He added, "the lists however, have been prepared with some lot numbers in, and some lot numbers not in".

Pressed on the incomplete addresses, Jacobs said, "I am unable to explain that accurately. What I know is that the information given on the application forms is what would be transferred. I am not a technician and I am not too sure what happened there."

Asked how, of 2000 people on the list for a ward in the city, only 97 had full addresses, Jacobs, with Nascimbeno explaining the question, said, "if the addresses are inadequate, I am not too sure what can be done."

Jacobs admitted the addresses of people are on the National Register, from which the electoral roll is culled, and are essential for inclusion on the lists. He said the addresses are usually given before, at the time of registration, but that some people give lot numbers, while others do not.

With the addresses, other vital information are the names and dates of birth, Jacobs conceded.

Asked why the preliminary lists are below the standard of the lists for the 1985 elections, which had residential addresses, Jacobs was not very forthcoming.

He also blamed computer problems for the appearance of the names of more than 5000 people who have died, on the lists, and promised that political parties would have received lists of these by yesterday. Some of the seven parties which had updated preliminary lists.

up to yesterday afternoon said they had not received the lists of the dead.

Jacobs said the names of those who have died after December 31, 1985 should not have been on these lists but could not deny some of those who have been dead for seven years, are still included. He said he could not be sure if these were still on. He was also uncertain how people who had died and were in the lists in April this year, were still on this month. "I am not sure what went wrong at the computer centre," he said.

The National Data Management Centre has been contracted to do the computer work for Jacobs' division, Nascimbeno said.

The Chief Elections Officer, asked about the number of people who have migrated and removed from the lists, said "some modifications" have been done based on "accurate information" the centre has.

Told that about 70 000 people who were registered at the last updating of the National Register had still not received ID cards, and that these are needed to be allowed to vote, Jacobs promised this will be corrected. He says the Centre expects films "pretty shortly" and officers will then be able to take photographs of registrants

and issue the ID cards.

He admitted the Centre might have been "side-stepping the law" by issuing registrants and others without ID cards, with the document if they provided two passport size photographs. "We have been trying to facilitate people who need ID cards," Jacobs offered when it was pointed out that the laws stipulated photographs for the documents can only be taken by the Centre's official photographers.

Jacobs says the final certified list for the elections will contain more than 350 000 names and this will be ready by November 1. He says he has 21 days under the law after then to remove and add names based on representations.

He also denied that people who have never been registered are on the preliminary lists and says voters without ID cards, will be allowed to use other documents with photographs for identification at polling stations. Asked by journalists, who produced press passes, if these would be sufficient identification, Jacobs said the documents would be.

He claimed omission of complete addresses on the preliminary lists was "to answer very simply, I would say that is a computer error."

PPP releases letters by Congressmen, Senators to Baker

The People's Progressive Party (PPP) has released copies of letters written by members of the US Senate and House of Representatives to Secretary of State James Baker which the PPP claims prompted the halt in financial assistance to Guyana.

A letter written by eight House members to Baker said they were concerned that the upcoming elections would not be free and to continue US financial assistance would be to "perpetuate and entrench an undemocratic government." The House members, then urged that all

monies allocated for fiscal 1990 be withheld until electoral reforms necessary for free and fair elections are introduced.

The letter further pointed out that only the Commonwealth team has been invited to observe the elections and that government had refused to invite other reputable groups. (This letter was written before the Carter Center was invited.) The House members suggested that the Carter Center with its previous experience would be invaluable in reviewing the situation here and said that the involving of credible and independent observers would be the "single most important step" the Guyana government could take to ensure free and fair elections.

The House members also recommended a new voter registration list and an impartial Elections Commission. A letter by six US Senators to Baker stated that a number of steps had to be put in place by the government here to guarantee free and fair elections. A similar list of demands was put forward

including a call for measures to prevent ballot tampering and fraudulent counting. The Senators advised that the Carter Center or the Organisation of American States should be invited to monitor the elections and called for the linking of aid with "progress" in the mentioned areas.

Talks continue on non-violent electoral pact

The People's Progressive Party (PPP) on Monday conferred with a number of political parties, religious groups and civic organisations on the drafting of the so-called electoral peace accord.

A PPP spokesman says that the Democratic Labour Movement and the United Republican Party attended the meeting but the Working People's Alliance (WPA) did not. The WPA had written the PPP requesting clarification on a government statement pertaining to the meeting between President Desmond Hoyte and PPL leader Dr. Cheddi Jagan when it was decided to set about drawing up an electoral accord. The PPP says it responded to the WPA request but there was no further reply from that party.

The PPP says a number of business, religious and civic organisations were present at the meeting but the spokesman declined to name them, saying they may not want publicity on their involvement in the electoral accord. The PPP says its draft electoral accord prepared before the meeting will now be amended to include the ideas and points raised by the groups participating at the meeting and restructured.

The focus of the accord says the PPP will be the conduct of the elections campaign to ensure that it is peaceful and free from racial acrimony. It says the accord may also extend to the period immediately following the elections and the intention is really to "gel" all of the ideas raised by the groups into an acceptable document.

The meeting on Monday studied similar accords reached in Jamaica and other countries and the PPP says there was general agreement that the electoral pact was a good idea. The PPP is now in contact with the PNC and is awaiting its draft electoral document.

British Labour Party observer mission?

THE Working People's Alliance (WPA) says its International Secretary Wazir Mohammed held talks with the British Labour Party on the possibility of a joint Parliamentary observer mission being dispatched to the Guyana elections.

Labour Party executives reportedly told Mohammed that a resolution had been passed within the party on the situation in Guyana and that an audience was being sought with the British Foreign Office on the mounting of an observer mission.

Meanwhile, the text of a resolution passed on the upcoming elections here by Socialist International (SI) has been made available by the WPA. The resolution calls on the government here to open im-

mediate negotiations with the opposition on electoral reform and respect the wishes of the majority of Guyanese by having international observers present for the elections, the number of whom must be agreed on between the government and the opposition.

The resolution also calls on government to study the feasibility of SI sending a team of monitors for the elections and expresses solidarity "with all the people of Guyana fighting for democracy."

The US based National Freedom Institute (NFI), which is concerned with the promotion of democracy worldwide, has also applied to the government here for visas for an observer team it intends to send to the Guyana elections.

Carter due tomorrow

Former US President Jimmy Carter is now due here tomorrow evening for a fleeting visit following President Desmond Hoyte's invitation for his elections centre to send an observer mission for the coming elections.

Sources say final arrangements for the Carter one-day visit were not made until late Tuesday afternoon, when it was decided the trip was definitely on.

Carter and his team are due to hold meetings with political leaders and others Friday night and Saturday. He is scheduled to hold a press conference just before he leaves Saturday afternoon. Government here says Carter will "familiarise himself with the electoral process and procedures" during the flying visit.

Bollers ignores GHRA memo on electoral reform

THE Elections Commission has refused to consider a memorandum on electoral demands from the Elections Monitoring Committee (EMC) of the human rights body GHRA, pending another meeting.

A press release from GHRA expressed its disappointment that the Elections Commission in a split vote did not consider the memorandum. The GHRA says that it is of "grave concern" that the

Chairman of the Elections Commission Sir Harold Bollers, did not feel it appropriate to address the matters raised in the memorandum. The issues raised by the GHRA monitoring committee surrounded the preparation of the voters' list and voting and counting procedures.

The GHRA says that members of its EMC visited two centres where the preliminary voters' list is are exhibited and found

inadequate mechanisms for making claims and objections. Coupled with this, the EMC says that increasing evidence of "grave irregularities" on the list are being brought to its attention. The EMC says it is forced to conclude that the process used to compile the preliminary voters' list is not reflective of recognised electoral practices in a democratic society and is therefore unacceptable.

The EMC asserts that recent legislation in Parliament validating the method by which the voters' list is extracted is "sinister." The EMC is exhorting the Chairman of the Elections Commission to use his offices to ensure that an unimpeachable voters' list is drawn up through house-to-house enumeration, under the supervision of the Commission and with the participation of party scrutineers.

In its submission to the Elections Commission, the EMC had advised that sufficient publicity should accompany the preliminary voters' list. On voting procedures, the EMC had recommended that the Commission should issue some ID card signed by the Chairman by which polling agents of political parties could be recognised and identified. The EMC restated its call for metal ballot boxes to be employed with the transport of these after the close of poll, to be contracted out to private hirers. The names of these hirers would be published beforehand.

The EMC further suggested that procedures for the accompaniment of ballot boxes by party agents should be explicitly spelled out and advertised in all sections of the media. The EMC advanced that the polling agent escorting the ballot box must be together with it in the same vehicle until

it is transferred to the counting agent. The EMC proposed to the Commission that since it was now charged with exercising general direction and supervision over the elections, it should recommend to the government that preliminary counting of ballots at the place of poll should be allowed.

Sources close to the Commission say that the decision not to consider the EMC memorandum was merely a method of filibustering or stalling discussion of the key elements of the proposition. Sources say from the inception of the initial meeting with the EMC, there were several postponements for this purpose.

GUARD rally



GUARD Secretary, Ursuline Sister Doreen Rowie, among those injured in a thug attack last month in Alibouystown, reappeared on the platform Tuesday afternoon at another rally in Independence Park. The theme for this new phase of the rallies by the civic reform movement is on economic and current issues, according to GUARD Co-ordinator, NK Gopaul. There was a small crowd of about 400 people. In photo, Rowie on the platform.

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Editorial Voters' lists

THE preliminary voters' list displayed by the Elections Commission for public scrutiny shortly after new powers were assigned to it is a scandal and does not provide a basis on which a free and fair election can be held. As the opposition parties have pointed out the majority of voters have inadequate addresses so it is not possible to check on their authenticity. Moreover, preliminary surveys show the lists are full of the names of people who are dead or have emigrated.

The method of extracting a voters' list from a registration list not prepared under the supervision of an Elections Commission is fundamentally unsound and unacceptable. Older heads will recall that in 1967 the then Minister of Home Affairs had assured Sir Donald Jackson, then Chairman of the Elections Commission, that the lists being prepared under the National Registration Act introduced in that year would not be used for voting purposes. In flagrant and open breach of that undertaking the lists were used the next year as the basis for the first rigged election.

The lists, therefore, have a sordid origin and the situation has not improved with periodic optional registration and periodic updating by officers selected in a clandestine manner. This reduces elections to a game in which one participant is flagrantly transgressing the rules.

It is clear that a new list is needed. There should be no reason why a list could not be prepared by properly selected officers by house to house enumeration within a period of two months, leaving adequate time for elections to be held. It is hardly likely that reputable observers will be prepared to accept elections held on the basis of this list or indeed even to "condone" such elections by observing them. The Elections Commission has never shown any intention to take opposition objections seriously and it is surely up to the government to decide whether it can afford to proceed with the present list without creating a situation in which the elections are, so to speak, condemned in advance.

YESU PERSAUD

Yesu Persaud left a lucrative job and a bright future in England to return to his homeland to assist in the growth and development of this country with his many talents, abilities and qualifications.

Yesu Persaud worked assiduously and spared no effort to bring about greater growth and progress and a better life for our Guyanese people.

Like many Guyanese, he saw things which were hindering growth and progress, and the root of these ills traced to the PNC Government. So, he spoke out from GUARD platform.

Yesu was exercising his right as a Guyanese to speak out, since freedom of speech is provided for in the Constitution. Because he dared to speak out against the malpractices of the government, especially their failure to have free and fair elections, he has gotten the axe.

He is being victimized and hounded by a government that will not tolerate dissent. The PNC Government used him as an example for others to instil fear in others to abstain from speaking against

Guynesess have been upheld of the following rights since 1968:

- 1) The right to elect a government of their choice
- 2) Freedom of speech
- 3) Freedom of the press
- 4) Freedom of assembly

Nothing against the government is allowed on GBC or in the Chronicle.

J. BALAJUR

to the police to want to cross disorder.

Or, if they did attempt for help, why did it not come? For that matter, why did they not come from the streets?

These are the questions which the new Commissioner of Police should be addressing his mind to, and making a public statement on.

The fact that it was supposed the very evening that the police charged that residents said that they were provoked was enough clear evidence of consciousness of the act and should have been followed by arrests.

Can you imagine how all had would have broken home and how many dozens of people would have been picked up by the police if it was the PNC, during their rally who had been so viciously attacked?

NEILSON SKRIBTS

PNC RALLY

The People's National Congress, holding strongly prior to its recent Sunday rally using meetings with some government organization representatives and public sector workers to stress that President Desmond Hoyte is a "good" man whose economic policy is "correct" and showing positive results already.

Officers were strongly urged to attend Sunday's PNC rally in large numbers behind banners proclaiming their support for Mr. Hoyte.

One source close to the committee for the re-election of President Hoyte said that organizations were asked to submit the names and addresses of their members to the committee "as a matter of urgency".

Teachers were also reportedly told that one of the benefits of their attending the rally would be their being video-taped. Other public sector workers were told their employers looked forward to seeing them at the rally.

The National Assembly, in which the PNC holds a two-thirds majority, recently revealed a measure which prohibited the use of bonds at party meetings, just in time to allow the PNC to hire several bands to entertain rally participants.

The PNC rally took place against the backdrop of an unprecedented rise in living costs, with the Guyana dollar now known as "monopolymoney", floating at \$89.50 to US\$1.00, and the country's economic outlook no brighter than it had been in 1989 and most of the 1980s. The large turnout requires careful analysis and may bear a relationship to likely developments.

ANALYST

FAILURES

May I suggest an interesting series of articles for your new paper entitled "Anatomy of a Failure? Source material for this series could be obtained from an analysis of most, if not all of the projects which were undertaken by the PNC Government over the past 25 years, e.g. the hydro-electric scheme, the glass factory, the bicycle factory, etc., etc.

P. BLAIR

GBC

On Sunday 16th I was present at the Parade Ground when Senator Downer Rowley arrived all bloodied, in a damaged car.

Throughout the Rally I was in the company of a GBC staff member who pointed out many GBC supporters present there. So it was amazing to hear Desmond Allen on the 7:00 am news on Monday 17th, saying that a gang of youths attacked the GUARD marchers and injured some whose names were given as Rowley. Men carrying weapons on the 7:00 am news on Tuesday 18th that the police were investigating an incident at DeHoop, Mahaica, of political violence by opposition elements.

The GBC gave full details of the incident with names. When the news was repeated, the announcer said that the incident took place in Berbice. Inconceivable for provocation!

The question to be asked is, how could all those GBC reporters present at the rally not file a more detailed account of the violence committed on Suter Rowley?

Were these reporters at Mahaica or Berbice? or is the GBC part of the government campaign?

SUGAR WORKERS

We quote a part of the speech by Mr. Hoyte at the National Cultural Centre when he addressed the CREEPS, "the PNC is firmly against racism and discrimination which are anti-Guyanese". So then, why is there no arrangement with the sugar workers to sell them consumer goods at reduced prices, while there is such an agreement with the bauxite workers?

The PNC argues that the consumer goods come through the earnings of GUYMINE, so why then can't the sugar workers have these goods through the earnings of GUYSSUCO which earns more foreign exchange than GUYMINE, thus qualifying it for this arrangement?

PEACE PACT

Quite often, people are at odds to understand the election plan of Dr. Jagan. Recently I am more than disturbed. Why should he sign a peace accord with the PNC? He should have seen this as a wider conflict and involve all the political parties and civic groups.

Jagan operated like he is a distant cousin of the ruling clique. His objection for leadership has clouded his political judgement.

So, we are back to the 60s, when the race seems to be between Blacks and Indians. This is a grave mistake.

The next thing I look at is the PNC circus in the park. Afro-Guyanese should reject this.

Is this how this President sees us? You could serve us for twenty-five years, but this

Sugar workers must not forget, that while in Government, he refused to give transport to house lot owners. He said they must have leases. It was the same story in Black Bush. If Jagan loves his country he could gracefully retire so that this nation could see the end of the Burnham-Jagan saga.

THOMAS DUKE

doesn't see anything, once we could have a few free hours and a bubble session? This is an affront to the intelligence of the masses.

Can anyone guess how much it costs to fire one head? For the PNC burns them all. All the 7% that was not paid out to public sector employees could have been paid.

BURNHAM JAGAN

Why does Guyana have to suffer as much as it does? When I see the antics of the PNC, I lose all hope for the future. Our politicians have always been more interested in themselves and power accumulation serving the people.

Both Jagan and Burnham have failed the people. Burnham has gone, and it is time Jagan goes into retirement. Burnham was a clever, selfish dictator and Jagan is a stupid, talkative, dreamy politician who started the degeneration of Guyana.

No country in the world is really independent. Even the USA must refrain from doing what affects other nations.

In 1953, Jagan and Burnham decided to set up a Communist State in Guyana. Did these mucksters not realize that the US and Britain would never allow it? After winning the 1961 election, Jagan thought he would have another try at setting up a Marxist State. In 1962, he introduced a Kaldor Budget that would have starved the workers. The people rebelled but he refused to listen. He tried again in 1963 to control the workers with the Labour Relations Bill which he introduced in Parliament without discussions with the TUC. Again, the people rebelled with a General Strike.

He blames the CIA, but this man sets the stage for interventions by his ignorance. Did the CIA bring the Bill or did Jagan? Well, the flag of people and capital started. Next, in 1964, he goes to London for Constitutional talks and signs a paper giving the unelectable power to decide a Constitution. Did the CIA sign this paper or did Jagan? Is this man a nationalist or a traitor to the Guyanese nation? Well, PR came and he lost. Again, in 1964, after the elections he was urged to accept the UF so that he could govern. He refused because he said that he could not join with a capitalist group. Burnham, the clever one, used the UF and then devoted it.

Jagan in opposition has been confused, sometimes supporting the PNC and at other times opposing them, not in the interest of Guyana but according to the dictates of his Master, the Soviet Union.

Jagan's history has been one of a series of mistakes. He has been everybody but himself. Now he wants again to lead (or mislead) Guyana. This nation has had enough of his bonafide.

Sugar workers must not forget, that while in Government, he refused to give transport to house lot owners. He said they must have leases. It was the same story in Black Bush. If Jagan loves his country he could gracefully retire so that this nation could see the end of the Burnham-Jagan saga.

THOMAS DUKE

Guyana CHRONICLE

\$6

No. 4336 THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1990
THERE ARE 82 DAYS LEFT IN THE YEAR

OPINION COMMENT CRITICISMS OF VOTERS' LIST JUSTIFIED

The preliminary list of voters recently published by the Elections Commission is indeed a source of concern and every political party is justified in its complaints.

President Desmond Hoyte, who is also Leader of the People's National Congress, has said that the list cannot be defended. And Chairman of the Elections Commission Sir Harold Bollers has expressed deep concern. Such is Sir Harold's concern that he has contracted the National Data Management Authority (NDMA) to prepare a new preliminary list of voters. Having regard to the nature of the deficiencies in the list we readily support the publication of a new list.

One needs to recognise, quite early, that the Government cannot be held responsible for the quality of the list since with the recent passage of the Elections Laws (Amendment) Act 1990, which has effectively transferred power previously held by the Minister of Home Affairs regarding the holding of elections, to the Chairman of the Elections Commission.

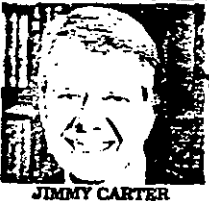
Every aspect of the elections is being undertaken by the agencies responsible and these are doing their job in accordance with the law. The Home Affairs Minister is no longer responsible for the voters' list.

The Opposition may wish to reconsider whether the commission should have executive power.

Meanwhile, we cannot help but note that the Opposition is making a great issue of the present preliminary voters' list which was merely intended to give people and the political parties an opportunity to correct that list.

The voter and the political party needed to scrutinise the list and use the necessary forums to record their corrections and their objections.

It is common knowledge that the preliminary list must be corrected before it could become the basis of an electoral roll upon which elections could be held.



JIMMY CARTER

Jimmy Carter to meet political leaders

Jimmy Carter, former United States President arrives tomorrow for a two-day visit aimed at familiarising himself with the electoral process and procedures.

His visit is in response to an invitation by President Desmond Hoyte for the Carter Centre of Emory University, popularly known as the Jimmy Carter Centre, to send a mission to

observe forthcoming general elections. He is expected to meet with the leaders of political parties contesting the elections.

The decision to invite the Carter Centre was triggered in the main by a request by the People's Progressive Party General Secretary Dr Cheddi Jagan during a meeting with President Desmond Hoyte.

Carter comes from a sys-

tem that is not altogether perfect. In 1962 he was thought to have lost an election for the post of Senator of Georgia.

A long legal battle against his opponent in the wake of blatant ballot box stuffing brought him victory in the primary and general elections.

The accusations of ballot-box stuffing were levelled against his opponent.

US AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE SAYS —

Observer invitations do credit to Guyana Govt

UNITED States Committee Ambassador to Guyana, George Flemming Jones, appeared at a US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearing on October 2, 1990.

Also appearing before the Committee was G. Phillips

Hughes, nominee Ambassador to Barbados, and John P. Leonard, nominee Ambassador to Senegal.

Jones told the Committee in his statement: "We have a particular interest in Guyana be-

cause of the national elections which are scheduled to be held sometime before next April — the Government of Guyana has recently taken important steps in that direction, first by inviting the Commonwealth to send official election observers and then last week, by extending a formal invitation to Jimmy Carter and the Council for Free Elections Heads of Government

to officially observe the elections". Jones said that "these decisions by the Government of Guyana do it great credit."

The United States Ambassador-designate to Guyana also told the Senate Committee that "the United States has no major strategic or security interest in Guyana", but "we do have a substantial humanitarian interest". (GPCA)

NDMA to prepare new Preliminary Voters' List

The National Data Management Authority, (NDMA) has been engaged by the Commissioner of Registration to assist in the computerised preparation

of a new Preliminary Voters' List.

General Manager Godfrey Proctor will hold a Press briefing today to explain the reasons

for several deficiencies in the list.

Proctor requested the scheduling of the briefing, in the wake of the identification of short-

comings in the list, among them inadequate addresses and the inclusion of names of the dead.

The briefing begins at 5.00 pm at the GPCA, Brickdam.

Elections Commission to hold emergency meeting

The Elections Commission will hold an emergency meeting today to discuss the issue of the preliminary voters' list, which has evoked concern by political parties, including the People's National Congress, (PNC).

A statement issued by the Chairman of the Commission, Sir Harold Bollers, yesterday also said officers of the National Data Management Authority (NDMA) which had been contracted to print out the list, have been invited to today's meeting.

The Chairman's statement follows:

Pursuant to the directions of the Elections Commission the preliminary list of voters was affixed at the security guard hut at the National Registration Centre, High and Cowan Streets, Georgetown and the Ministry of Home Affairs, Brickdam, Georgetown.

Relevant parts of the preliminary list were affixed in the Registration Divisions also.

I have noticed that the preliminary list contains several errors of a serious nature and I am very concerned about these errors. Leaders of some of the political parties, including President Hugh Desmond Hoyte, have expressed dissatisfaction with the preliminary list.

I have noticed that the preliminary list contains several errors of a serious nature and I am very concerned about these errors. Leaders of some of the political parties, including President Hugh Desmond Hoyte, have expressed dissatisfaction with the preliminary list.

I am convening an emergency meeting of the Elections Commission today to discuss the issue.

The work of printing out the preliminary list had been contracted out to the National Data Management Authority. I am inviting the responsible officers of the National Data Management Authority and the Commissioner of Registration to attend the meeting of the Elections Commission so that they can explain to the commission how the errors occurred.

PNC PROTESTS VOTERS' LIST

— identifies serious errors

The People's National Congress (PNC) yesterday wrote the Chairman of the Elections Commission, expressing concern at "serious errors" identified in the preliminary lists of voters and inquiring what measures are in train to correct the situation.

PNC Chief Executive Officer, Malcolm Parris, in a letter to Sir Harold Bollers, said the party believes "that unless these errors and other deficiencies can be corrected, the list can hardly serve its purpose as an electoral roll".

The PNC said the situation is inhibiting its activists in their field work.

The preliminary lists, posted country-wide last week, were prepared on the directive of the Chairman of the Elections Commission, issued to the Commissioner of Registration, as required under the law.

The Commissioner of Registration, in response to observations about the accuracy and composition of the list this week attributed a number of shortcomings to computer problems.

A copy of yesterday's PNC letter, released in a Press state-

ment from Congress Place, the PNC headquarters, identifies six areas of deficiencies in the preliminary list.

The PNC said the "serious errors" include:

- lists have been printed without geographic descriptions, thus leading to confusion as to whether registrants are properly listed;
 - names which appear on the 1985 lists are now wrongly omitted;
 - the apparent repetition of names with different identification numbers in the same division;
 - the lists seem not to reflect the claims for entry filed during preparations for the recent Municipal Elections in the respective towns;
 - some lists seem incomplete given the population density of the area; and
 - the lists carry incomplete addresses of the registrants.
- Cole Parris explained to the Chairman that the situation concerning the lists has "adversely affected the work of (PNC) political activists on the ground".

President to broadcast on Voters' List tomorrow night

President Desmond Hoyte will address the nation tomorrow at 8 pm simultaneously on radio and television.

The President is extremely perturbed over the extensive deficiencies that have been clearly identified in the Preliminary Voters' List published under the authority of the Elections Commission.

In the circumstances, he considers that the list, in its present form, does not constitute a proper basis for the holding of elections and as a consequence has decided to speak to the nation on this matter.

VOTERS' LISTS ARE UP. CHECK FOR YOUR NAMES.

Opposition parties may boycott elections*

OPPOSITION political parties have not ruled out the possibility of boycotting the forthcoming general elections. The parties and the so-called civic reform movement — GUARD have also reiterated that they may call a general strike to force the Government to succumb to their demands.

These statements were made at a Press Conference co-hosted by the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD), the United

Republican Party, and GUARD at the headquarters of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), Freedom House yesterday.

With specific reference to the preliminary Voters' List which was posted countrywide on October 4, the grouping said that it has been found to be totally unsatisfactory with over 90 per cent of all addresses omitted.

They are also claiming that the names of persons who died more than a decade ago or have

emigrated have been retained on the list.

Joseph Bacchus, leader of the little-known National Democratic Front (NDF) — one of the affiliates of the PCD — said that up to yesterday morning his party was not in receipt of a Voters' List and his hometown Linden, has no evidence that lists were posted up.

Harripersaud Nokta of the PPP said that preliminary checks on the lists of interior communities have revealed an unusually high number of voters in relation to the population of the areas as revealed by a recent census conducted by the Amerindian Research Unit of the University of Guyana.

To re-inforce their demand the parties are planning to hold a joint protest outside Public Buildings and a rally at Independence Park on Saturday.

Elections Commission * requests vehicles, stationery

The Chronicle understands that the Elections Commission has requested help in the form of four-wheel drive vehicles, river transport, office furniture and stationery from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

The request came in the wake of meetings with the team comprising Mr. Randal Teage, Counsel, IFES; and Mr. Ronald Gould, Deputy Director Elections, Canada. The two-man team arrived in Guyana, Monday, and began work Tuesday.

The team was contracted by the United States Government to advise on providing assistance to the Elections Commission in the discharge of its functions in supervising the upcoming elections.

Its presence in Guyana resulted from an agreement between the governments of Guyana and the United States to discuss and examine areas of assistance especially those of administrative and logistical capacities.

The two-man team is scheduled to leave tomorrow.

GUARD attracts less and less

LUTHERAN Minister James Gajadhar, told a GUARD rally at Independence Park Tuesday, "This is victory year."

Gajadhar, describing himself as "a humble country pastor", from Corentyne, told the crowd that those in power must know they will not be able to "walk through" the electoral process.

The gathering of between 600 and 700 persons, clustered under the platform and dotted along the perimeter of the ground, heard short speeches from, among others, N.K. Gopaul, and Basil Butcher, Roman Catholic nun Doreen Rowtie chaired the proceedings.

Gajadhar attacked the current preliminary voters' list and commented adversely on the state of education in the country, blaming the Administration.

The "jumbie list" will have to come down, he declared, referring to the names of dead persons to be removed from the

preliminary voters' list.

Less fiery, and more brief, former West Indian cricketer Basil Butcher made a call for national unity. Guyanese should "practise unity" until it becomes a "reality".

Trade union leader N.K. Gopaul dealt at length with development projects and programmes initiated by the Government, highlighting various problems encountered. On the question of wages, Gopaul advised workers not to allow their wages to be eroded by higher transportation fares.

"It is better to stay home and starve than to work and starve," Gopaul said.

Gopaul suggested that the turnout at the Tuesday rally was affected by memories of the stoning incident, a month ago, when the last scheduled GUARD rally at the same venue was marred by the attack on a contingent of marchers passing through Albouystown.

CHRONICLE

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No. 4357 FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1990

14 trade unions pledge support to Hoyte, PNC

A delegation of the leaders of 14 trade unions, led by Cde Frank Andrews, President-General (ag.) of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union (ATSWU) and current President of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) met with President Desmond Hoyte at the Presidential Secretariat yesterday and declared their support for him and the People's National Congress (PNC) at the forthcoming general elections.

In the course of his remarks, Cde Andrews stated that the President and the PNC must be given the opportunity to continue the implementation of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).



President, Minority Leader in more elections talks

PRESIDENT Desmond Hoyte met again yesterday with Minority Leader, Dr Cheddi Jagan, as agreed at their previous meeting of September 24, 1990. The two Leaders had further discussions on the Electoral

Minority Leader Dr Cheddi Jagan, accompanied by PPP Parliamentarian Harvirparam Neki, with President Hoyte at yesterday's meeting. Also in picture is Head of the Presidential Secretariat Cedric Joseph.

The unions represented at the meeting and pledging support were: the Sawmill and Forest Workers' Union, the Guyana Labour Union, the Amalgamated Transport & General Workers' Union, the Guyana Public Service Union, the Guyana Teachers' Union, the Association of Masters & Mistresses, the Guyana Local Government Officers Union, the Guyana Postal and Telecommunications Workers' Union, the National Union of Public Service Employees, the Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers, the Printing Industry and Allied Workers' Union, the Government Employees Union, the Public Employees Union and the Man Power Citizens' Association.

The President thanked the trade unionists for their expression of support and expressed confidence that the people of this country will make a resounding success of the ERP. (See pic in tomorrow's issue).

THERE ARE 81 DAYS LEFT IN THE YEAR

NDMA CAN CORRECT PRELIMINARY LIST IN 24 HOURS

The National Data Management Authority (NDMA) yesterday listed three technical problems which led to errors in the computer printout of the preliminary voters' lists and has corrected the problems. General Manager Godfrey Proctor said yesterday.

NDMA is now in a position to supply an amended list within 24 hours, the NDMA head told a Press briefing called amidst multi-party concern over the errors and omissions in the list published a week ago.

The NDMA was contacted

by the National Registration Centre to extract the voters' list from the general register, which is maintained on computer master file by the Authority. He said that extracting the voters' list from the general register is an automatic exercise.

The technical problems, Proctor told media representatives, were manifested in the inclusion of deceased persons in the list; incomplete listing of addresses; and omission of names of some eligible persons.

The non-inclusion of deceased persons was the result of "a technical processing error"; National LD numbers on the general register were until recently, all six-digit numbers.

With the recent climb into seven digit LD numbers, the "computer field" had to be expanded to facilitate seven-digit numbers. In the case of old six digit numbers, this meant the LD number on the computer was now preceded by a space.

However, when the list of dead persons was forwarded to the NDMA for deletion from the



GODFREY PROCTOR

Government spokesman reacts to Carter Centre release

A Government spokesman has responded to a Press release from the Carter Centre issued on October 9, 1990, announcing former US President Jimmy Carter's visit to Guyana. The visit is a result of an invitation from President Hoyte to the Carter Centre to observe the forthcoming elections.

The Government spokesman said that the invitation to the Carter Centre has been issued in good faith and in the conviction that Mr Carter will bring to bear the very highest standards of objectivity to the task which he has been asked to perform. That the Carter Centre has attributed language to Mr Carter in its release with respect to the fairness of the electoral process in Guyana leaves the unfortunate impression that Mr Carter is beginning his visit with preconceived ideas about Guyana, the spokesman said. This is viewed with some disappointment and concern.

The spokesman expressed the hope that this interpretation, of the attitude reflected in the statement attributed to Mr Carter, is incorrect and that former President Carter is coming to Guyana with an open mind.

The Government spokesman said: "We look forward to receiving Mr Carter in our country with the warm welcome and courtesy which is traditional to Guyana. (GPCA).

CORRECT VOTERS' LIST

(from page one)

general register, the six-digit ID numbers of this "dead list" were preceded by a zero. The discrepancy between the "space" on the master and the "zero" in the instructions to delete resulted in the non-deletion of the names of deceased by the computer, Proctor explained.

The NDMA has since inserted zeros before all six-digit LD numbers on the master file, thus correcting the problem.

The listing of incomplete addresses on the preliminary list was a "programming error", Proctor said. The error effected only old names on the general register file, and is manifested in the first few characters being "topped off" from the beginning of addresses. In these cases, a similar number of characters, which should not be printed, appear at the end of the address. This problem has also been addressed and eliminated, the NDMA head said.

The problem of omissions of old names from the list arose from "a slight error in processing to exclude and include," which has been traced and fixed, he said.

"We have already corrected the list", the NDMA head stated. A computer printout of the corrected list could be released within 24 hours, if requested, he said.

WHAT GUARD BOYCOTT?

GUARD apparently does not know what it is about. After consistently calling for a boycott of the Guyana Chronicle as recently as Tuesday, an advertisement for a GUARD, PCD, URP rally

was yesterday sent to this paper. Well, we have no problem with GUARD's ambivalence.

See the advertisement on page 3.

What our readers say

GUARD threatens shareholders

DEAR Sir,

I sat from my home on Tuesday last, whilst the GUARD meeting was in progress and I could not believe my ears when Sister Doreen who was Chairman of the meeting, declared that GUARD was calling for a boycott of Banks DIH Products, Daily Chronicle and Goddess Grant.

Is this woman really serious? She has touched my corns, as she is playing with my dividends from the greatest shareholding concern in the Caribbean.

People need to know of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Not boycott of Banks DIH. Try something else, Sister! Yours Sincerely, V. Des Saetan 75 A Waterloo Street Georgetown.

JAMAICAN GOVERNMENT MINISTER COMING ON CARTER TEAM TODAY

ATLANTA, Georgia: (CANAL) — Former United States President, Jimmy Carter, on Thursday, prepared for a trip to Guyana where the Government invited him to observe the next general election.

Carter, in a statement issued here, said that the purpose of the visit is to meet with President Desmond Hoyte, the Elections Commission, Leaders of the Opposition, and others, and to learn about the election laws and procedures.

The visit starts today. "We expect to be able to accept the invitation to observe the elections, but first we need to learn more about the process and be assured that the election will be free, open and honest," Carter said.

"Also, we hope that the election date in Haiti will not conflict with the one in Haiti so that we might be able to observe both."

Guyana's elections are constitutionally due by March, 1991.

The invitation to observe the poll, dated late September, was addressed to Carter as Chairman of the Council of Freely-elected Heads of Government, a group of eighteen current and former Leaders from throughout the hemisphere who have observed elections in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

The Council is based at the Carter Centre of Emory University.

Accompanying Carter will be his wife, Rosalyn, Benjamin Clare, Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, who is Council member Prime Minister Michael Manley's personal representative and Dr Robert Pastob, Professor of Political Science at Emory University.

The delegation will be stopping briefly in Port-au-Prince, Haiti to observe the registration process, which began on October 5.

(see centre pages)

House to meet Monday

The 12nd sittings of the National Assembly will be held on Monday. Three Bills are slated for presentation and first reading including the Local Democratic Organs (Functions and Finances) Bill 1990 to be presented by Regional Development Minister, Jeffrey Thomas.

Deputy Prime Minister, Planning and Development, Haslyn Parris, will present two other Bills. These are the Telecommunications Bill 1990, providing for the regulation of certain telecommunication services; and the Public Utilities Commission Bill paving the way for the establishment of a Public Utilities Commission and providing for its functions and procedures.

Pres. Hoyte in Region Six

President Desmond Hoyte will be in Region Six today. The President's programme will include meetings with the Regional Chairman Suranjit Singh, and Mayor of New Amsterdam Errol Alphonsus.

Also listed on his agenda are visits to the rehabilitation works on the New Amsterdam Ferry Sailing Road, Black Bush Polder and a tour of the Glasgow' Resettlement Scheme.

JIMMY CARTER TO MEET PRESS

Former US President Jimmy Carter will be arriving in Guyana at 5.50 pm. He will be introduced to the Press on the tarmac at Timehri International Airport by the Executive Chairman of the GPCA, Kit Nandimbo and he will make an arrival statement to explain the purpose of his visit.

Mr Carter will hold a Press Conference prior to his departure on Saturday, at 3.45 pm in the Credentials Room in the Office of the President.

The Press Conference will be chaired by Kit Nandimbo of the GPCA, a release from the agency said yesterday.

Pres. Hoyte to address the nation tonight--8.00pm

Carter's remarks worry Guyana

GEORGETOWN, (CANA) — Guyana government officials yesterday appeared worried about comments former US President Jimmy Carter made as he prepared to fly here in connection with a proposal to monitor the coming general election.

"We expect to be able to accept the invitation to observe the elections, but first we need to learn more about the process and be assured that the election will be free, open and honest," Carter had said.

The official Guyana Public Communications Agency (GPCA) quoted an unnamed government spokesman as saying the statement leaves the unfortunate impression that Carter is beginning his visit here — at the invitation of the government — with preconceived ideas about Guyana.

"This is viewed with some disappointment and concern," the spokesman said.



Carter was due in Guyana yesterday amidst preparation for a poll that must be called by the end of next March.

His visit comes against the back-drop of complaints by government and opposition politicians about a preliminary voters list said to contain the names of more than 5,000 dead persons.

Opposition People's Progressive Party

member of the Guyana elections commission, Clement Rohee, has called for the scrapping of the controversial preliminary voters' lists published here last week.

Rohee also repeated PPP calls for the resignation of commission chairman, Sir Harold Hollers.

He told journalists at a press conference that even though the commission "ostensibly, now has powers" as a result of the recent passing of the election laws (Amendment) Bill 1990 in the National Assembly, the commission "nevertheless, remains powerless and impotent."

"How could it be otherwise when the composition of the commission remains loaded in favour of the ruling party?" he asked in a prepared statement.

The three-member commission includes a chairman appointed by the President and one member each nominated by the ruling People's National Congress (PNC) and the PPP — the only two parties with more than five seats in the National Assembly.

Rohee alleged that of the 10 registrars and 57 deputy registrars appointed recently to fulfill functions in respect of the preliminary voters' lists, nine registrars and 26 deputy registrars are "known activists of the ruling party."

These persons, he said, were "associated with questionable electoral practices" in previous elections; were neither interviewed nor employed by the Elections Commission; and, were therefore, not accountable to the commission.

Govt prepared to amend regulations to facilitate new voters' list

THE Guyana Government, with utmost expedition, will amend existing regulations or promulgate new ones to facilitate any necessary corrective measures to compiling a new preliminary voters' list.

President Desmond Hoyte told the nation last evening. This will be done once the

advice has been tendered by the Elections Commission.

The preliminary voters' list, compiled by the competent authority, the Elections Commission and computerised by the National Data Management Agency, (NDMA) has many serious defects and errors.

Government has no jurisdiction over the Elections Commission, and has no right to intrude in its affairs or proffer advice. But the President has given the assurance that if there is need to amend existing regulations or promulgate new ones to facilitate any necessary corrective measures, the Minister of

Home Affairs will act "with utmost expedition once the advice has been tendered by the Elections Commission."

It is absolutely important that no reasonable citizen should be able to take exception to the list, President Hoyte said.

"It is undeniable that the list suffers from serious deficiencies. Consequently, it cannot be a satisfactory basis for compiling the electoral roll unless it is corrected in a thorough and completely satisfactory manner. I do not know what needs to be done. It is not a task for the Government," he added.

In his address to the nation, President Hoyte noted that up to 1985, the responsibility for giving

directions for, and ensuring the preparation of the preliminary list, rested with the Minister of Home Affairs.

But the opposition objected, and urged that the responsibility should rest with the Elections Commission. Accordingly, the responsibility was transferred to the Elections Commission by the Elections Laws (Amendment) Act 1990.

The Guyanese leader reiterated that the preliminary list was compiled as a result of directions issued by the Commission, "that the Government has no legal responsibility in the compilation of the preliminary voters' list, did not play any role in its compilation, and has no re-

sponsibility for it. It is a matter for the Elections Commission and its clients at the National Registration, and of course the Agency contracted to computerise the List—the NDMA, the President said.

Among the startling errors shown are that the names of many citizens, now deceased, have appeared on the List; many citizens whose names were on the Lists as of April 1990, have found that their names have been deleted; many citizens who, as late as 1989 at the time of Municipal Elections, had their names added to the List, found that their names did not reappear; the lot numbers of the residences of many voters were omitted; the names of all or most persons born in the month of December were expunged from the List.

Guyana

CHRONICLE

\$6

No. 4358 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1990

THERE ARE 80 DAYS LEFT IN THE YEAR

President Hoyte has worked consistently to ensure irreproachable elections

PRESIDENT Desmond Hoyte has declared that since his assumption to the office of President of Guyana, he has worked consistently to ensure that the electoral processes are irreproachable.

Addressing the nation last evening on the preliminary voters' list, the controversy it has engendered and matters related thereto, the President alluded to the abolition of the overseas and postal votes; the severe restrictions of the proxy votes; and the invitations to the

Commonwealth Secretary-General and the Carter Centre of Emory University USA to mount observer missions to observe and pronounce on the fairness and due regularity of the elections.

"I personally am satisfied that we have in place in this country, laws, procedures and mechanisms that will permit free and fair elections to be held in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the constitutional and other legal provisions governing the conduct of our elections.

But in the final analysis,

however, it is people who make systems work. Some people undermine those systems or abdicate their responsibility to make them work, then the systems will appear to be inefficient and such persons who have made them so cannot be heard to complain.

"In every aspect of the electoral process, the human factor is always present. One has to conclude that the human factor played a major role in the problems to which I have referred in the preliminary voters' list," the President said.

NO ELECTION DATE UNLESS VOTERS' LIST IS SATISFACTORY

—Pres. Hoyte

PRESIDENT Desmond Hoyte will not announce a date for elections until a satisfactory preliminary voters' list has been compiled.

Addressing the nation on the 'preliminary list, the controversy it has engendered, and matters related thereto' last evening, the Guyanese leader said that the errors on the list are too many, too serious and too pervasive.

"I do not think that in the time limited for making claims and objections, these can be satisfactorily dealt with. The Elections Commission therefore will have to consider, as a matter of urgency, what measures it can take and what additional legal powers, if any, it will require to produce a preliminary list that will command the confidence of all reasonable citizens.

"In all the circumstances therefore, I wish to announce that I will not proceed to announce a date for elections until a satisfactory preliminary list has been compiled," President Hoyte said.

Elections in Guyana are constitutionally due by March 1991.



President Desmond Hoyte welcomes former President Jimmy Carter as Mr. Carter arrives for discussions with the Guyanese leader at The Residence last evening. (Pic by Chronicle's Chief Photographer Wilfred Lee.)

Two observers at each polling station are unnecessary

FORMER US President Jimmy Carter, told newsmen yesterday evening that there is no need for two people at every polling place. This has never been done before, Carter said.

Accompanied by a two-member team representing the Carter Centre of Emory University, Carter is today completing consultations with local political leaders and top election officials, preparatory to the Centre observing upcoming elections.

Mr. Carter met President Desmond Hoyte in a closed executive jet at Timehri, that he was here to assess conditions which would help deter-

mine if the Carter Centre will monitor upcoming elections, following expressions of interest by local opposition parties and a formal invitation by President Hoyte.

The former US leader said in response to questions, that he has not come with any preconceived notions to Guyana. Rather, his presence here is a reflection of a presumption that the elections are going to be open, free and fair.

Carter was not specific on the size of the mission he would bring. He said he would bring a team of about 10 people, including a former Prime Minister of Jamaica, take the exercise, the Carter Centre would "co-operate" with the Commonwealth mission

—Jimmy Carter

Political Science Professor of Emory University.

Carter explained that he was making his 24-hour visit to Guyana in the capacity of Chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, a grouping of 13 past and current leaders from the Western Hemisphere, based at the Carter Centre.

Prime Minister of Jamaica, take the exercise, the Carter Centre would "co-operate" with the Commonwealth mission

earlier requested by President Hoyte.

The Carter group observed elections in Panama last year, in the Dominican Republic and Nicaragua this year, and is committed to observing elections in Haiti, scheduled for December 16.

Carter came to Guyana from Haiti, where voter registration for the elections is in process.

The former President is scheduled to leave Guyana this evening, after hosting a Press conference.

Police grants permission for PCD midday rally, no marching

COMMISSIONER of Police advised that the Police cannot allow a march to be conducted in the city, according to the Police Chief. He added that the Police had received reports that plans are being made to break the law.

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He added that the Police had received reports that plans are being made to break the law.

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, OCT 15, CANA - TECHNICAL ERRORS MADE AT THE NATIONAL DATA MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY CONTRIBUTED TO THE NUMEROUS FLAWS WHICH APPEARED ON THE RECENTLY-PUBLISHED PRELIMINARY VOTERS LIST HERE, SAID A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES).

FROM WHAT I SAW AT THE DATA CENTRE AND FROM TALKING TO THE PERSONNEL (THERE), I AM ABSOLUTELY CONVINCED THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL ERRORS AND DIFFICULTIES WITH THE LIST: THE DEAD NOT BEING REMOVED, PEOPLE BORN IN DECEMBER NOT BEING INCLUDED AND ADDRESSES NOT BEING RUN - WERE PURELY A PROBLEM OF SOFTWARE PROGRAMMING, RONALD A. GOULD, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF ELECTIONS CANADA, TOLD CANA.

THE IFES HAS BEEN CONTRACTED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO ADVISE IT ON HOW BEST TO ASSIST THE GUYANA ELECTIONS COMMISSION TO DISCHARGE ITS FUNCTIONS IN SUPERVISING FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. THE US CONGRESS HAS ALREADY VOTED SOME US\$693,000 DOLLARS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

THE PRELIMINARY VOTERS LIST WAS ROUNDLY CRITICISED BY ALL POLITICAL PARTIES. PRESIDENT DESMOND HOYIE HAS PROMISED A COMPLETE REVISION OF THE LIST BEFORE THE ELECTION IS CALLED.

SHORTLY BEFORE LEAVING HERE AT THE WEEKEND, GOULD SAID HE AND A COLLEAGUE, RANDAL C. TEEBE, COUNSEL, IFES, WERE ABLE TO OBTAIN ALL THE COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION THEY WERE LOOKING FOR WITH RESPECT TO THE ELECTORAL NEEDS AS IDENTIFIED BY THE ELECTIONS COMMISSION.

WE WERE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH OUR MISSION WITHIN OUR TERMS OF REFERENCE AND WE WERE ABLE TO GET A COMPREHENSIVE PICTURE...WITH RESPECT TO THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS AND OF COURSE, THE REGISTRATION PROCESS, GOULD TOLD CANA.

HE SAID THAT HAVING LOOKED AT THE COUNTRY'S CONSTITUTION AND ELECTION LAWS IN A GENERAL WAY, HE AND HIS COLLEAGUE HAD CONCLUDED THAT BOTH WERE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY CAN LEAD TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

GOULD ADDED: THE PROCESS WHICH IS NOW IN PLACE IS THE PROCESS WHICH CAN LEAD TO FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS WITH PERHAPS A FEW CHECKS AND BALANCES AND MODIFICATION. BUT IT BOILS DOWN TO THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

IF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ELECTIONS - THOSE PARTICIPATING IN THE ELECTIONS AS VOTERS OR AS POLL OFFICIALS...DO NOT HAVE THE WILL TO ENSURE AND MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK, THE SYSTEM WILL NOT WORK.

HE SAID THAT VIEW HELD TRUE FOR ANY COUNTRY, WHETHER GUYANA, CANADA OR THE UNITED STATES FOR IT IS THE PEOPLE THAT MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK, NOT THE SUPPLIES AND NOT THE LAW (FOR) THE LAW IS MERELY THE BASE TO WORK FROM.

HE SAID HIS TEAM'S SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD DEAL WITH SUPPLIES AND MATERIALS, SOME OF WHICH MAY BE LEASED, PURCHASED OR MANUFACTURED LOCALLY.

THE IFES TEAM WILL BE SUBMITTING A LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTING THE PRIORITY RATINGS.

GOULD NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN DECEMBER, THERE WOULD BE SOME THINGS THAT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUPPLY EVEN THOUGH THEY WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE.

THE DATE OF THE ELECTIONS WILL PLAY AN INCREDIBLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN TERMS OF WHICH OF OUR RECOMMENDATIONS ARE (IMPLEMENTED), GOULD SAID.

THE ELECTIONS, ACCORDING TO THE GUYANA CONSTITUTION, ARE DUE BY NEXT MARCH AT THE LATEST.

CANA CG/RE/90

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, OCT 15, CANA - LAUDING STEPS BY THE HOYTE ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS REFORMING GUYANA'S CONTROVERSIAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM; FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER SAYS HE WILL PUSH FOR INCREASED AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID FOR GUYANA.

CARTER MADE THE COMMENT TO REPORTERS HERE ON SATURDAY AT THE END OF A TWO-DAY VISIT, MADE TO ASSESS STEPS BEING TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT FORTHCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS WILL BE FREE AND FAIR. THE VISIT WAS AT THE GOVERNMENT'S INVITATION.

AID ALLEGATIONS OF ELECTORAL FRAUD HERE IN THE PAST, A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE RECENTLY VOTED TO SUSPEND US600,000 DOLLARS IN AID TO GUYANA, PENDING MAJOR ELECTORAL REFORMS TO ENSURE THE FORTHCOMING BALLOT WOULD BE FREE AND FAIR.

HE WILL BE ASSURING THE CONGRESS - THE KEY MEMBERS THAT HAVE BEEN SO CRITICAL OF GUYANA AND WITHHELD AID AND REDUCED AID EVERY YEAR - AND ALSO PRESIDENT BUSH THAT HE CAN CERTIFY THAT THE ALLEGATIONS OF THE PAST SHOULD BE FORGOTTEN, CARTER TOLD REPORTERS.

THE FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT, WHO WILL OBSERVE THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION, SAID THESE ASSURANCES WERE BASED ON PLEDGES FROM PRESIDENT BERNARD HOYTE, THE RULING PEOPLES NATIONAL CONGRESS (PNC) AND OPPOSITION PARTIES THAT THE (FORTHCOMING) ELECTION WILL ... BE OF SUCH A CHARACTER THAT IT CAN BE CERTIFIED TO BE HONEST AND OPEN.

CARTER SAID THERE WERE MANY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE MAJORITY DEMOCRATS, WHO LISTEN TO HIM WITH AT LEAST SOME INTEREST.

CALLING THE CURRENT EFFORTS AT ELECTORAL REFORM A HISTORIC STEP AND A VERY ADMIRABLE THING, CARTER SAID GUYANA SHOULD CERTAINLY BE REWARDED BY AN INCREASE IN ECONOMIC AID AND OTHER KINDS OF ASSISTANCE.

DURING HIS STAY, CARTER MANAGED TO GET THE GOVERNMENT TO AGREE THAT THERE WOULD BE A PRELIMINARY COUNT OF BALLOTS AT THE PLACE OF POLL - A LONGSTANDING OPPOSITION DEMAND.

THE GOVERNMENT ALSO PROMISED THERE WOULD BE A COMPLETE REVISION OF THE VOTERS LIST BEFORE THE ELECTION IS HELD. A PRELIMINARY VOTERS LIST PUBLISHED TWO WEEKS BY THE ELECTIONS COMMISSION, HAS BEEN ROUNDLY CRITICISED BY ALL PARTIES BECAUSE OF NUMEROUS FLAWS.

CARTER TOLD THE NEWS CONFERENCE WHICH HE SHARED WITH PRESIDENT HOYTE, THAT GUYANA HAD THE GREATEST UNTAPPED POTENTIAL OF ALL THE MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY (CARICOM).

HE SAID HE WAS FASCINATED AND VERY GRATIFIED WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS AT REFORM, INCLUDING MOVING BACK TOWARDS A FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM AND HAVING FORMER MAJOR (FOREIGN) INVESTORS COME BACK IN.

CANA CG/RE/90

APPENDIX H

Statement of President Hugh Desmond Hoyte,
Defining by Limitation the Scope of Interviews
by the Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team,
Georgetown, October 5, 1990

*Compliments
JJA*

STATEMENT MADE BY HIS EXCELLENCY HUGH DESMOND HOYTE, S.C.,
PRESIDENT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE REPUBLIC OF GUYANA
AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL SECRETARIAT

As you know, in July last the Government of Guyana invited the Commonwealth Secretary-General to mount a mission to observe, and pronounce on the fairness and due regularity of, the forthcoming elections.

Subsequently, after ^{discussions with the} representations by and discussions with the Minority Leader, I also issued an invitation to the Jimmy Carter Center of the United States of America, to send a mission for the same purpose. Officials of that organisation have since indicated that Mr Carter hopes to visit Guyana between 12th and 13th of this month to familiarise himself with the local scene.

As is to be expected at this time, many pronouncements will be made both in Guyana and overseas on the elections and on our various electoral processes. Some of the people making pronouncements will be knowledgeable, some will be ignorant; some will be objective, some will be partisan and biased. We can also expect attempts to interfere and meddle officiously in our domestic affairs.

Within recent days, some utterances on our forthcoming elections, purporting to emanate from Washington, D.C., have gained wide currency. These have been carried by the Caribbean News Agency (CANA), and have been published in the local and regional media. I would therefore like to address some issues raised by these remarks.

One statement has been attributed to a Mr Mark Murray, who has been described ^{both} as "a U.S. spokesman" (whatever that means) and a staff officer of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States of America. Mr Murray is reported as having said that the U.S. Congress "has temporarily withheld" about US\$600,000.00 of proposed economic assistance to Guyana. The objective of this action, it is alleged, is "to press the Desmond Hoyte Government in Georgetown to make substantial changes in the country's electoral systems". I am not sure what these rather vague statements mean, nor do I understand how the alleged action can achieve the stated objective. I am sure, however, that everybody in Guyana knows that I am incapable of being pressured. Fortune holds no hostages of me. I will faithfully and without fear continue to discharge the duties which devolve upon me as President of the Republic; in accordance with the laws of the

land.

The Government of Guyana, of course, has relations and deals with the United States Administration, that is, the Executive Branch of the United States Government. The United States Administration to date has not given any formal notification to the Government of Guyana of this alleged decision. However, that is quite unimportant.

What I wish to affirm is that Guyana is an independent country which jealously respects and guards its sovereignty. United States Congressmen have no authority over this country and would be acting in excess of their jurisdiction if they sought to dictate to the Guyanese people what their internal laws and administrative procedures should be. Consequently statements of the kind alleged to have been made by Mr Murray about putting pressure on the Guyana Government are not only unfortunate but obnoxious.

It is true that the United States Government has been rendering assistance to Guyana as the country undertakes the difficult task of structural adjustment and implements an economic recovery programme to restore economic balance and generate growth and development. Guyana is duly grateful for the assistance given, and I have publicly said so on many occasions. However, this assistance is not a purchase price for our sovereignty. Guyana does not regard it as such and I am sure that the United States Government does not intend it to be such. Our country is not for sale and, even if it were vendible, the sum of US\$600,000.00 could hardly be its purchase price.

Guyana is not a colony nor does it fall under the suzerainty of any country. Consequently, my Government cannot, consistently with its constitutional duties, allow itself to be dictated to by foreigners, including individual United States politicians who have their own domestic political interests to serve.

It is neither their privilege nor their right to dictate to other countries how to administer their internal affairs.

I would also like to touch on another point in the statement allegedly made by Mr Murray. He is reported as having said that two U.S. teams will be visiting Guyana "to offer suggestions for removing irritants which have contributed to wide-spread allegations of rigging in the past". These were identified as the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI). I wish to say that the Government of Guyana knows of no such teams, and has not agreed to any such teams coming to Guyana for any such purpose.

The Government, however, is aware of an impending visit by officials of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. The purpose of this visit, to which the Government has agreed, is very clear; it has nothing to do with our electoral processes or procedures. The U.S. Administration offered, through

the Government, to provide a sum of US\$693,000.00 to facilitate the Elections Commission in discharging its function of supervising elections. The Government agreed that the money could be used to purchase items that would help the Commission strengthen its administrative and logistical capability. Some of the items suggested, for example, were vehicles, office equipment and stationery. There is absolutely no question of any persons coming from overseas to manage our elections, mount training and motivational and other similar programmes, review our laws, or intermeddle in any way in our electoral process.

The U.S. Administration advised that it would employ the Foundation for Electoral Systems as consultants to undertake the required task. Within the context of the understanding between the parties, the consultants propose to do their work in two stages: first, to visit Guyana to hold

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discussions with the Chairman of the Elections Commission and other relevant functionaries to identify the Commission's needs and to make a report to the relevant U.S. Department; and, second, to implement the recommendations in the report, if they were accepted^{able}.

With respect to the National Democratic Institute, the facts are that two officials of that organisation sought visas from our Embassy in Washington to visit Guyana. They were advised to submit a letter from their organisation explaining the purpose of the visit. By letter dated August 31, 1990, the Vice President of the Institute, Mr Jean Dunn, informed our Embassy that the officials would be visiting "to explore possible project opportunities for NDI in Guyana". The visas requested were duly issued. Apart from that, the Government knows nothing about the NDI. What is certain is that its officials are not coming to Guyana for the purpose alleged by Mr Mark Murray.

I should mention that Mr Richard Soudriette, President of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, informed our Ambassador in Washington yesterday that his organisation had no communication with Mr Mark Murray and denied that his officials were coming to Guyana for the purpose alleged by Mr Murray. He considered Mr Murray's statement to be most unfortunate.

Mr Soudriette also denied that he had any discussions with NDI or that the IFES mission had anything to do with NDI.

I would like to make it very clear that our electoral procedures are governed both by the Constitution of Guyana and our municipal laws and these are not matters that could be the subject of revision by foreigners. This ought to be clear to everybody.

In the light of the misleading statements that are being bandied about, obviously with ulterior motive, I have instructed our Ambassador in Washington to seek clarification

from the U.S. Administration.

I would like to emphasize that the Government of Guyana enjoys the most cordial and constructive relations with the Government of the United States of America and places a high value on these relations. Nothing I have said in this statement is meant to imply, or ^{ought to} ~~must~~ be construed as implying, any criticism of the United States Government as such; but what I have said about the principles governing Guyana's relations with other countries remains valid.

Early in my Presidency, I called upon Guyanese to be always conscious of their dignity and self-respect as citizens of an independent country, to guard its integrity and defend its sovereignty. I have frequently repeated this exhortation and, in the present situation, feel it necessary to do so once again.

Office of the President
October 5, 1990.

APPENDIX I

Transcript of October 12, 1990 Georgetown, Guyana Arrival
Statement of President Carter, as Chairman of the Council of
Freely-Elected Heads of Government, and
Transcript of October 13, 1990 Concluding Press Conference
of President Carter and President Hoyte

APPENDIX I

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Guyana Arrival

ARRIVAL STATEMENT OF

HON. JIMMY CARTER

GEORGETOWN, GUYANA, OCTOBER 12, 1990

I am pleased to be in Georgetown to learn about the electoral situation in this country. I was invited in my capacity as Chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government by President Hugh Desmond Hoyte and by the leaders of the opposition parties to observe the electoral process. We hope to be able to accept the invitation, but first, we need to learn more about the process and be assured that the election will be free, open, and honest. I will also need to consult with other members of the Council, a group of eighteen current and former heads of government throughout the Americas.

Guyana is a proud and independent country, and we do not come here with any intention of interfering in your internal affairs. Nor are we partial to any party or candidate, but we are partial to democracy and human rights. We are here because we share with the people of Guyana a deep commitment to democracy. And we hope by our presence that we can be helpful toward this shared goal.

The other members of my delegation are my wife, Mr. Benjamin Clare, Minister of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, and a personal representative of Council Member Prime Minister Michael Manley; and Dr. Robert Pastor, Professor of Political Science at Emory University and Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program at Emory's Carter Center.

The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government is based at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. We have observed elections in Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and we are currently observing the electoral process in Haiti. Today, we just stopped in Haiti to observe the registration process, and I am pleased to report that the people are responding very positively by registering to participate in the elections.

In Guyana, we are looking forward to our meetings with President Hoyte, Foreign Minister Jackson, the Chairman and members of the Elections Commission, leaders of the opposition parties, including the Minority Leader Mr. Jagan, leaders from the Guyana Human Rights Association and the Guyana United Action for Reform and Democracy, leaders from the People's National Congress, and diplomatic representatives.

I would prefer to answer your questions after I have had these meetings. I welcome all of you to ask any questions you might have at a press conference before I depart tomorrow evening.

Guyana.pc

Hon. Jimmy Carter, Chairman

COUNCIL OF FREELY-ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

CONCLUDING PRESS CONFERENCE, GEORGETOWN, GUYANA

October 13, 1990

Mr. Christopher Nascimento, spokesman for President Hoyte: We are very pleased to honor and to have with us President Carter who has been invited to Guyana by President Hoyte, who is also with us today, in a joint press conference. I will also introduce the other members of President Carter's delegation: Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, Dr. Robert Pastor, who is Professor of Political Science at Emory University, and Jamaica's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Benjamin Clara. President Carter will make an opening statement and then you will be free to ask your questions of President Carter and President Hoyte.

Hon. Jimmy Carter: We were invited to come to Guyana both by the opposition parties and by President Hoyte, and we are very delighted to be in this beautiful country. This has been an exciting although all-to-brief visit. The purpose of our invitation is that we might serve as observers in the upcoming election, working side-by-side, and I hope in complete harmony, with representatives from the Commonwealth countries. We hope and expect this to be a very good relationship.

We met with President Hoyte when we first arrived. Later, we met with the members of the Election Commission. This morning we met with the opposition leaders, including the minority leader. We have, in addition, met with leaders of the People's National Congress, with Bishop George of the Guyana Human Rights Association and GUARD, both to assess the election processes and human rights. We met with the Committee to Re-elect President Hoyte, with some of the ambassadors who are here in Guyana whose countries are members of Commonwealth nations.

The purpose of these meetings was to try to learn as quickly as we could the circumstances that might lead to elections that would be above any criticism so that the international observers might certify to the people of Guyana, primarily, and secondly, to the rest of the world, that any allegations against the elections were indeed unfounded.

This put us in a potentially very difficult position because we are not here to criticize; we are not here to interfere; we have no authority and don't want any. We are here to serve, as requested, by President Hoyte and the opposition parties.

We have had a chance to learn a few things, not as much as I am sure the media know, but we were concerned first of all about the completeness and the accuracy of the voter list and the question of sharing the voter list with the opposition parties in a timely fashion before the elections are held so that any discrepancies, additions, or subtractions to the voter list might be corrected. This is a matter on which we have seen unanimous agreement that there should be indeed a complete revision of the voter list possibly with a house-to-house survey. Of course this is a time-consuming effort, maybe as much as two months. Coincidentally, shortly after we arrived here, last night, President Hoyte made an address, as you know, to the nation stating that he was deeply concerned about the accuracy of the existing registration list and that he would not announce the date of election until an accurate list was available. That was his statement, and I think that is a very good constructive thought which we found to be agreeable to the opposition leaders.

The second question is, how a campaign is going to be run that gives fair treatment to the contending parties, for the local, parliamentary, and presidential offices. We have been assured by President Hoyte ... that fair and equitable treatment will be given in permits for holding public rallies and access to the public news media. This would include the two radio stations and so forth. I think this would be very good. There have been problems with this in other countries. I don't anticipate any problem with that in Guyana.

Another important consideration, which is still not completely resolved, is the character of the elections commission. As you know now, it is a three person commission with the PNC choosing one person, the PPP choosing another person, and a third, a chairman, who is a former member of the supreme court and must be a distinguished jurist. There have been some allegations of inequity here. Our thoughts, a couple of suggestions, we are not trying to make any final decision about this, that there might be an expanded election commission that would give a broader opportunity for different elements in the country's political system to participate. There was a suggestion that a new chairman be chosen, but this is a constitutional provision that the chairman is appointed for life unless removed for cause, which would require a judicial action, and there has been no allegation at all against the chairman's distinction or integrity. That is a matter that can be satisfactorily worked out.

The most difficult and the most significant issue is how do you assure that the ballots once cast in approximately eight hundred polling places are indeed counted expeditiously and accurately in such a way that all the participating parties, those who win and those who lose, will be convinced of the integrity of that procedure? In the past, as you know, votes have been cast at individual polling sites and placed in boxes or containers that

were sealed and transported to central counting sites with some delay. In some cases in the past, justified or not, allegations were made that the boxes were taken and the opposition parties were not permitted to escort them. We are not here to judge what has happened in the past but regardless of what has happened in the past, the allegations have been damaging.

My own belief is that this procedure cannot be adequately certified to be accurate, nor can we as international observers certify an election to have been accurate ... unless the votes are counted at the polling places. This would be a preliminary count. After the preliminary count, the ballots would be sealed in the box in accordance with present law, hauled to a central place, and a final and official count would be made. I believe that this procedure when implemented would be adequate because if you have the presiding officer and observers from different political parties, the PNC and opposition parties, they would actually witness the count of the ballots, they would certify the tally, all of the persons at the voting site would sign copies of the tally sheet and then each person would go away from that sight with an identical certified tally. That would be a preliminary count. Then the ballots would be sealed up, taken to the central count and the final tabulation would be made later.

This recommendation has come from several sources. We discussed this with the opposition parties, with the PNC leaders, and with the leaders particularly of the Committee for the Re-election of the President. I might say that it was a fairly unanimous belief that this might be an improvement. President Hoyte has agreed to that process. There may be a need for some exceptions which I hope would be minimal, and I would personally prefer not to see. If there are a few voting places in very remote areas, a decision may be reached between the PNC and the opposition parties that those few identified polling places would not have that count done there. My hope and expectation is that all of the political parties can have at least one officially designated poll watcher at each polling site to witness the counting of the votes and to certify the accuracy of the count in complete agreement with others at the polling site.

I believe with these kinds of reforms, which President Hoyte has approved, will transform, not necessarily the integrity of the election, we are not making any allegations about that, but will transform the image among opposition parties who do not win, or even the PNC if it doesn't win, but the losing parties, that it was an honest election. Although we lost, it was fair.

It will also allow the international observers to certify to the world in case there is an altercation that this election was a fair election, the will of the Guyana people has been expressed accurately, and these are the legitimate leaders.

The only other point I would like to make is this. Everyone agrees that these new procedures are going to require some delay in the holding of the election. As you know, President Hoyte has the right, after consulting with his political party, to set the date of the election. We understand, I'm not exactly sure about this, that under the present constitutional provisions, the election might be held as late as the second day of May. We don't know how long it will take to do the house-to-house count and to make some small revisions in the law.

In closing, I want to say that I am extremely grateful to all those who have met with us, and particularly to President Hoyte for taking what I believe is a historic step in trying to bring an end to the very damaging allegations against his country. True or false, these reports to the Guyana people and to people around the world have been very damaging. I think this is a major step forward, an historic step in proving to the world that this is a nation whose elections have complete assurance of being open, fair, honest, and safe.

Having received these assurances from President Hoyte, my own recommendation to our Council [of Freely-Elected Heads of Government] is that we will come in and participate fully and do everything we can to be supportive. I think this will be a major contributing factor, now and in the future, for economic benefits, for social benefits, for political benefits for your wonderful country. I want to express my deep thanks to President Hoyte for helping to make this possible. I want to thank you very much.

Question: You have been reported as saying that before you agree to observe the election here, you would need to be assured that they would be free, open, and honest. Could you list those essential prerequisites that would give you that assurance and would you put them in some order of importance?

Jimmy Carter: I have mentioned them already, but I will put them in order of what I consider to be their importance.

- First of all, the counting of the votes at the polling places and the agreement among the contending parties that this count is indeed accurate, followed by the proper handling of ballots until the official count is made.

- The second thing would be an honest, complete and accurate voter list, shared with the contending parties, the incumbent leaders, and also the opposition parties so that they will be able to certify "we trust that this is a proper list of people who ought to vote in our country."

- The third thing is obviously very crucial, and that is to have a clear set of rules and regulations, laws, constitutional provisions where everyone would have the same set of directions as

they go into the election procedure and an equal opportunity to present the views of the contending candidates to the people of Guyana: "this is what I stand for, this is what I'll do if I'm elected, this is what my party believes."

This provides a basis on which I would be convinced that an election that is open, fair, free in Guyana is going to be conducted.

COURTNEY GIBSON: Would the counting of the votes at the place of voting be of the number of ballots or the individual parties?

Jimmy Carter: It would be the tabulation of how the voters have chosen the individual candidates for president, for parliament, and for the local elections.

COURTNEY GIBSON: Is there clear agreement by President Hoyte that the voters list would be compiled, not by extracting the names from the national register, but by house-by-house enumeration?

Jimmy Carter: President Hoyte could speak for himself, obviously, but the opposition party leaders, the PNC, the Committee for the Re-election of the President, all have agreed that a house-to-house canvas would be preferable that to just redo the computers what has already been proven to be a very disturbing list. I'm not trying to write the laws or trying to decide what procedures are carried out.

PRESIDENT HOYTE: Well, under the national registration act, there is a requirement for house-to-house registration from time to time. That is whenever you are going to propagate a new registrant as against an update. My ongoing discussions with the minority leader has been advocating a house-to-house census, as we had, I think in 1985. So we're not talking about any dichotomy between a voter's register and the registration list from which that register is extracted.

Question: President Carter, you have earned a lot of praise and a lot of blame for the work that yourself and the Jimmy Carter Center have done. I would like to know if whatever you have done is done in the interest of the United States, in the interest of the countries like Guyana, Nicaragua and the other countries, or is it in the interest of democracy as you see it, or for any other reason that you may have?

Jimmy Carter: I made plain in my arrival statement that I am not here on behalf of my country. I come representing The Carter Center, which is the focal point for the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government. These are eighteen leaders in this hemisphere, including four or five in CARICOM who have joined with us to try to promote democracy and freedom and human rights in this hemisphere. Much of our work is done in private, without any

publicity, but in the holding of a election, of course, we have to do it in a public fashion. So we have in the last sixteen months or so helped to observe or monitor the election in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and now at the present time in Haiti.

It is beneficial to my country to let people in this hemisphere know that we are not trying to intercede. We come only at the invitation of the people there; we try to leave behind us an election result that is above criticism. To convince the people that the leaders they want have actually been put into office, by them, not by us. So I hope it's beneficial to the countries that we visit. In addition to the political benefits, I think there is substantial economic benefits. In my opinion this would be particularly the case in Haiti and obviously even more in Guyana.

I believe of all the nations in CARICOM, there are thirteen of them, the country with the greatest potential that's not yet realized is Guyana. And I have been fascinated and very gratified to see the reforms that have been initiated in Guyana in the last few years. Moving back toward a free enterprise system, having former major investors come back in, seeing the kind of reforms that President Hoyte has approved today implemented. This has been a very gratifying thing to me, so sometimes we just like to ride the coattails of people who are doing good things for themselves and get credit for things we don't deserve.

Question: Would these changes continue if the government changes?

Jimmy Carter: I would presume that all these changes will be permanent in nature. Obviously changing with time, but some of them are imbedded in the constitution. Most of them, by the way, are already guaranteed in the law of the constitution of this country. We are not talking about anything except just minor changes in the laws. For instance, this will not in any way violate the election laws as far as the counting of votes. The boxes would still be sealed, and will be taken, and the final count will be conducted in central places. We're just adding on a preliminary step that is not at all in contradiction to the law. I think the laws and constitution would be minimally changed. It's very gratifying to us. We do things that we enjoy, my wife and I, and this is one of the great things. I have never been to Guyana before, I hate to admit. But it's not the last time I'll be here. We have been fascinated with what has been going on in your great country.

LIONEL SMITH: You have met the political opposition as well as the government of other parties. Are you in the position to say now if The Carter Center will be coming to monitor the election in Guyana?

Jimmy Carter: I am the chairman of the Council of Freely Elected

Heads of Government. My strong recommendation will be that we do participate in a full and effective way, working in harmony with the Commonwealth of Nations. We are the two groups that have been invited to come in. I think that there is no doubt that my recommendation would be fulfilled.

ADAM HIRST, The Guyana Chronicle: Mr. Carter, when you came here you met with the various political parties and you also met with a series of interest groups and various organizations. I don't know whether any of them told you that our communities' politics run very deep. I am also not aware that they would have discussed with you the possibility of victimization of those who probably voted against the norms of that particular community and the likelihood harm being done to those individuals.

Jimmy Carter: All the groups pointed out this danger and made it plain to me the custom in Guyana has been to have later vote counting in central places because of that concern. My response, which was partially convincing, was that we have seen nations, societies, much more divided than has ever existed in Guyana. As you know when we monitored the Nicaraguan election in February, the country was at war. People were being killed everyday, and there was a violent political animosity between the Sandinistas on the one hand and the opposition parties on the other. There were never any problems when the votes were counted at the polling places, as a matter of fact when there was intent distrust during the casting of the ballots, as soon as the votes were counted everybody said, "This was a fair result, this was an honest result."

We have been told that it's too complicated in Guyana. Well, in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, we had 4600 polling places. The entire east coast of Nicaragua is totally inaccessible by road, where the Miskito Indians live. But we didn't have problems with this. I think the main problem that we see as a generic issue, a broad based issue in many countries, is just to convince the people of the country itself that when my vote was cast, it was counted the way I wanted it to be. We're very careful. We don't come in and say that anything's been wrong in the past. I never have insinuated that. All I am saying, that in the future, there won't be any legitimate complaint to be made if these reforms are implemented, which I am sure they will be, and if we are able to observe the election without interference. But I can assure you based on my own experience in many countries that that a particular group of people in a community who vote in a certain way, if their vote is revealed in their hometown, they will not suffer from it.

There are other arguments that I could give you. If a hundred people vote and thirty people vote for PPP, and seventy people voted for the PNC, whose going to know who voted which way? There has never been an experience we've had even in sharply torn communities that this was a dangerous factor.

Question: President Carter, are you saying that The Carter Center is prepared to come alone. The other thing is would you be making any report to the Bush Administration and the U.S. Congress, with respect to the decisions taken and what decisions are arrived at with respect to your talks with President Hoyte and the opposition. Three, the presence of Mrs. Carter on the mission, does she have more than a wifely presence, because I know when you were in The White House she played a very important role?

Jimmy Carter: First of all, Rosalynn is a full partner with me and everything I do at The Carter Center. Rosalynn habitually sits in the sessions sometimes of the most sensitive nature. When I meet with Chairman Arafat, or when I meet with President Assad in Syria, or when I meet with the Eritrean revolutionaries, or when I meet with anyone else. Ordinarily I invite my wife to sit in with me to keep a record of what's done or to give me advice later on. Her advice is often quite strong. It's not my custom when I meet with foreign leaders to invite the American Ambassador in because if I do, it removes my status as a private citizen, a professor, that's my profession, and it substitutes the U.S. government for me. When the leader is making a statement to the ambassador sitting there, it obviously totally changes the conversation.

As far as our coming in alone, I understand that the Commonwealth countries have already agreed to come in. They don't have any caveat or doubts about coming in. We have not yet contacted them, but I will very quickly do so. The fact that we have a distinguished representative, a minister from Jamaica, indicates an interest from the CARICOM countries. We expect them to play a major role either working directly with us, four of their leaders are members of our group, or as representatives of the Commonwealth. I don't think there is any doubt that this will be a combined operation. We do not know as yet how we will share responsibilities.

In a very appropriate way, I will make an unofficial report to President Bush as a private citizen. The reason I'm doing so, I am not asking President Hoyte's permission, but as you may or may not know, in the United States Congress, there have been resolutions passed condemning this country for serious voter irregularities and election irregularities. We have not taken any cognizance of whether there were irregularities or not. That is not my role. My role is to make sure that in the future we will be able to certify either that the voting was totally honest and open and fair, or that any violations or proprieties were also in violation of the laws. We will be able to detect those.

So yes, I'll be assuring the Congress, the key members that have been so critical of Guyana, and have withheld aid and reduced aid every year, and also President Bush that I can certify that the allegations in the past should be forgotten and that we now have

assurances of the opposition parties, from the PNC, from President Hoyte, that the election will indeed be of such a character that it can be certified to be honest and open.

question: Would you prepare to support a continuation of the policy of linking aid to democracy and certified elections until these assurances have germinated in Guyana?

Jimmy Carter: I never have supported the withholding of aid to Guyana. I am not an official of our government at all and I never intend to run for office again. I am strictly a private citizen. But I think there are many members of the Congress, particularly democrats who share my party affiliation, who listen to my voice with at least some interest. The statements that I made to you today congratulating, particularly President Hoyte, and the leaders of the government and the opposition parties for making this historic step toward openness is a very admirable thing and I think should be rewarded by an increase in economic aid and other kinds of assistance.

There is another very important factor that is sometimes overlooked in a country like this. There are many corporations around the world, including the United States and the European Common Market, and Canada, and in Japan, who are looking for places to make investments, and there is a great deal of competition for that. Just a rumor or an allegation, or particularly public statements that that country does not have honest elections is enough to make that company go somewhere else. And I think that holding off an honest election here that can be certified by everybody, including the opposition, to have been fair will open up additional opportunities for investment. What Guyana has, is extraordinarily undeveloped natural resources and an extraordinarily vigorous work force. Guyana's history is of vigor, excitement, and so forth.

What I have seen just as a distant observer, I don't want to embarrass President Hoyte by talking about it in his presence, but I'll be a little bit courageous in saying so. A lot of your young people have been leaving Guyana. We see all the time in Canada and the United States superb medical doctors who have come from Guyana, who are moving out of the country because they are uncertain about the future. And all of this is a relatively minor point, but I think for them now to know that there won't be this constant dissension between the majority party and the opposition party and allegations of unfairness. I think that will be a very good factor in saying that Guyana is a good place for me to live. I hope so.

Question: I represent television, and television is an unregulated and fairly system here in Guyana. What recommendations will your center make in terms of television coverage of events, because as you may know, as past president, various politicians use television much more than they use the other media.

Jimmy Carter: Well, I hope the television in Guyana will be fairer than they were to me when I was President of the United States.

I am a very great admirer of CNN and the impact it has had on a worldwide basis. When I go to Syria, when I go to Ethiopia, I find the people watching CNN as a primary source of news and I'm very delighted to learn that CNN has some broadcast here during the day. I would hope that in the future the television transmissions here in Guyana would expand, not only to more international news but more local news. And my only hope is that as is the policy of CNN, that your coverage would be objective. If you gave a certain amount of coverage to a certain party, that you would an equal amount of coverage, or at least an equivalent amount, depending on what is fair. It does not have to be exactly equal. Also, that in the presentation of the news, that you would try to present an unedited comment, not just oriented toward one party or the other. I know in my country, the news medium that does this best is CNN. I find that in the major networks that they are more inclined to slant the news or to be bias toward a particular point of view or philosophy than CNN.

WILKINSON: You will be coming here again, any idea how many observers you will bring? Secondly, has the question of metal boxes and security ballot papers been discussed within any of the groups. If not do you support it?

Jimmy Carter: I questioned one group about what kind of box they had. They said they had wooden boxes that were secured if sealed, not disturbed. We did not discuss this in detail. I don't know how many observers we will have here. The primary responsibility for observing the integrity of the election is with the people of Guyana, not with us, and the opposition parties, who may identify either one or two, or three, or four candidates for president when they make a decision, stated that they would have an observer in all the polling places. That's where the primary responsibility is. We've never had enough observers in any country to cover all the polling places.

We try to learn before the election the location of the problem areas, where has there been intimidation, indication of violence, or where the polling officers demonstrated possible unfairness. So, we try to be at those places so if an incident does occur, we can go and question the people there and say this is something you should or should not have done. We don't interfere in the internal affairs of a country. We are very careful not to ever express a preference for any candidates, or any parties. This is not our role at all. What we try to do is to make sure ahead of time that the people have confidence in the process and that they can carry out their duties as voters, as citizens, as free people, to make a selection of their own leaders. That's all we do, so with a relatively small number of people

compared to the number of voting places, we can contribute at least that.

I don't know how many observers might be brought in by the commonwealth countries. And we don't know what kind of cooperation we'll have, but it's obvious that we will try not to duplicate where they are and to communicate with them, to share basic policies so we can be a team instead of working at cross purposes or in competition.

Question: Was the issue of election violence discussed with the political parties, and did you receive any assurances from the political parties about the political violence?

Jimmy Carter: My impression from the opposition parties and from others is that if these basic reforms could be implemented, that the dangers of violence would be greatly reduced. If people go to the polls believing that they could have confidence in the system, then they are not inclined to violence.

I would be violent if I went to the voting place in my hometown and cast my ballot, and I didn't believe it was going to be counted right. And it is not a matter of whether my ballot is counted right or not. It's whether I believe it's going to be counted right. That's what we try to do. We're not trying to change Guyana, but try to convince people that everybody is working toward an honest election. I think that these kinds of reforms which President Hoyte has endorsed will greatly reduce any potential violence that did exist in the past. Guyana is basically a peaceful country as you know, it's not war torn like some of the others that we have visited. I want to again express my thanks not only to President Hoyte, but to all of the people with whom we met.

PRESIDENT HOYTE: Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say how grateful I am to President Carter for having accepted my invitation to come, and for the excellent work which has been done by his team, by Mrs. Carter, Ben Clare, and Dr. Pastor, in, as it were, bridging differences between the government and the governing party on the one hand and the opposition parties on the other. I myself benefitted immensely from President Carter's great experience and wisdom. I'm sure that the opposition parties likewise benefitted from those attributes. And I am sure that as I discuss various possibilities with the Minority Leader and other interested parties, we will be able to move forward to the conduct of the election, which is so transparent that nobody could reasonably question its validity, and after all, that is what I have been working towards, and I believe that is what we are all working towards. So thank you very much President Carter.

APPENDIX J

Persons Interviewed

APPENDIX J
PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Scope of Interviews and other Information Gathering

As reflected in the scope of work set out for Phase I, the Assessment, the Team confined its meetings, interviews, inspections of election commodities and facilities, field travel, etc. to those elections commodities and their contexts.

Nonetheless, the Team, both prior to and during this assessment trip, was informed fully of the views of the Government, the Majority Party, Opposition parties, coalitions, civic reform organizations and others as to past elections' strengths and weaknesses, including both elaborate descriptions of patterns of and specific instances of alleged elections fraud and present concerns over repetition of such fraud and new patterns of fraud in the 1990 elections. The Team was provided with extensive written reports of Opposition parties, political coalitions and other groups which have been made a part of IFES's permanent records, and of in-country daily newspaper accounts (see Appendix F) and broadcast media reports of such allegations, some of which are central to the carrying out of free and fair elections. These accounts of allegations, as well as Government and Majority Party responses, were given in detail. Finally, the Team met with the full Elections Commission which comprises official representatives of the PNC and the PPP, and as a result, the Team was exposed firsthand to these parties' differing views and concerns.

APPENDIX J

Interviews

H.E. Sir Cedric Hilburn Grant Ambassador E & P of Guyana to the
United States

accompanied by:
John I. Murray

Counselor, Embassy of the Republic
of Guyana

Washington, October 4, 1990

[By Richard W. Soudriette, Director, International Foundation
for Electoral Systems and Teague]

Hon. George F. Jones

Ambassador E & P-Designate of the
United States to Guyana

Washington, October 5, 1990

[By Sarah Tinsley, Program Director, IFES and Teague]

Dennis K. Hays

Charge d'Affaires, Embassy of the
United States of America

accompanied at various
meetings by combinations
of:

Russell Hanks

Political Affairs Officer, Embassy
of the United States of America

Sarah Rosenbarry

Economics Officer, Embassy of the
United States of America

and

James D. Burns

Director, U.S. Information Service
and Public Affairs Officer

Georgetown, October 9-13, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

INTERVIEWS, cont.

Lionel P. ("Lance") Ferreira Secretary, Electoral Commission of Guyana; at the Elections Office

Georgetown, October 9-13, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

Sir Harold Bollers

Chairman, Electoral Commission of Guyana, accompanied by Mr. Ferreira; at the Elections Office

Georgetown, October 10 & 12, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

Ronald A. ("Andy") Jacobs

Commissioner of Registration and Chief Election Officer (combined positions since 1986), first accompanied by Sir Harold and Mr. Ferreira and thereafter by himself, including inspections of registration and election offices, records and commodities (ballot boxes, locks, screens, seals, inks, etc.); at the National Registration Centre and Elections Office

Georgetown, October 10 & 12, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

Derek D. Gaspar

Production Controller, Guyana National Printers Ltd, printers of election ballots, accompanied by Mr. Jacobs; at the printing facilities

Georgetown, October 11, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

INTERVIEWS, cont.

Aubrey M. G. Alexander

Director of Civil Aviation, Ministry
of Works and Communications; at the
Ministry

accompanied by:

Fred Green

Finance Controller, Aircraft
Operations

Leslie Jekir

Administration Officer, Aircraft
Operations

also accompanied by

Mr. Ferreira

Georgetown, October 11, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

Michael _____

General Manager, Guyana
Telecommunications Corporation,
accompanied by Mr. Ferreira

Georgetown, October 12, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

The Elections Commission (en banc and in camera)

- **Sir Harold Bollers**, Chairman
- Neville Bissenber, Sr.** (PNC Representative)
- Clement Rohee** (PPP Representative)

with Mr. Ferreira; at the Elections
Office

Georgetown, October 12, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

INTERVIEWS, cont.

The National Data Management Authority, University of Guyana

• **Godfrey Proctor** **General Manager**

Georgetown Suburb, October 12, 1990

[By Teague and Gould]

The Carter Center, Emory University

• **President Jimmy Carter**

and

• **Dr. Robert A. Pastor** **Professor and Director, Latin America
and Caribbean Program**

Georgetown, October 13, 1990

[By Gould]

APPENDIX K

Additional Electoral Documents Filed with IFES

- The 1980 Constitution of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana Act 1980, also known as Act No. 2 of 1980, assented February 20, 1980 and effective October 6, 1980
- The Laws of Guyana (Rev. Ed., 1973), Chapter 19:08, National Registration, also known as Act 24 of 1967
- The Laws of Guyana, Chapter 1:03, Representation of the People [Election Laws]
- The Laws of Guyana, Act No. 12 of 1980, also known as the Local Democratic Organs Act 1980, August 29, 1980
- Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1989, "Guyana", a report of the U.S. Department of State, 1990

APPENDIX L

Biographical Sketches of
Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team

APPENDIX L

Biographical Sketches of
Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team

RANDAL CORNELL TEAGUE, SR.

Mr. Teague is legal counsel to the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. A partner in the Washington office of the national law firm of Vorys, Sater, Seymour and Pease, he has been involved in international electoral assistance in Latin American and the Caribbean and in Eastern Europe, particularly the Soviet Union, and has been an election observer in the United Kingdom. He is also Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (ACVFA) of the U.S. Agency for International Development; Counsel to the Institute on Comparative Political and Economic Systems at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; and President of the International Exchange Council.

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RONALD A. GOULD

Mr. Gould is the Assistant Chief Electoral Officer in Elections Canada, responsible for the conduct and management of Federal Elections. He is also responsible for all matters involving Canadian international electoral assistance. He is Chairman-elect of the Council on Governmental Ethics Laws, an international body of government officials. Since 1984 he has been involved in Canadian electoral and/or observations in El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Haiti, Namibia, Romania and Czechoslovakia, and was a member of the IFES evaluation and subsequent observer teams in Bulgaria. Mr. Gould's participation in this past assignment, as in the case of the Guyana Pre-Election Technical Assessment Team, is as an independent, non-partisan consultant to IFES and not as an official representative of Elections Canada or the Canadian Government.

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The Team expresses its deepest gratitude to those persons in and out of Guyana who assisted it in this Assessment.