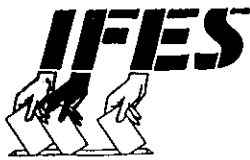


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**Central European Electoral Systems Symposium
Report**

Budapest, Hungary

July 30 - August 2, 1991

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I Statement by Mr. Clifton White, Chairman of IRES
- II Elections in Hungary and Slovakia
- ✓ The National Election Committee of Hungary, by Paul Kara, Secretary, National Election Committee;
 - ✓ The Experience of Elections in the Slovak Republic, by Peter Bercik, Secretary of the Slovak Election Commission.
- III Building a Grass Roots Civic Association
- Bulgarian Association of Fair Elections and Civil Rights, by Miroslav Sevlievski, Secretary General;
 - Citizen Education : Its Importance in Latin America and Central Europe, by Monica Jiminez de Barros, Executive Director, PARTICIPA.
- IV Electoral and Representative Systems of Nominating and Voting
- Controversies of Polish Electoral Law, by Senator Jerzy Stepien, Chairman of Local Elections' Bureau;
 - Commentary on Proportional Representation by Means of the Transferable Vote, by Louise McDonough, Chairman, Association of Parliamentary Returning Officers.
- V Political Parties
- The Role of Political Parties, by Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, Senior Lecturer in Government, Brunel University;
 - The Role of Political Parties : Prospect for Partisan Democratic Strengthening in Latin America, by Gabriel Murillo-Castana, Chairman, Department of Political Science, University of the Andes.
- VI Election Day Activities
- Election Day Activities in Canada, by Jean-Pierre Kingsley, Chief Electoral Officer;
 - Election Day Activities in Hungary, by Dr. Zoltan Toth, Head of National Election Office.

VII

Regional Election Organizations

- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, by Ambassador Luchino Cortese, Office for Free Elections;
- Perspectives on Regional Integration, The Central American Experience, by Mariano Fiallos, President of the Supreme Electoral Council;
- Perspectives of Regional Integration of Election Administrators - the UK Experience, by Charles Lasham, Chairman, Association of Electoral Administrators.

APPENDIX

Results of Hungarian Plebiscites and Elections

Remarks
by
Mr. Clifton White

There are no firm blue prints for how to make democracy and an election system function and work. It depends upon the culture, the history, the background, and the economic condition of the community that you are trying to establish an electoral system for. Therefore, the purpose of IFES is to provide symposiums of this type and to work on those basic matters that are essential to an election system. It is a brief period of time to try to put together an electoral system when you consider that at least for the last couple thousands of years people have been trying to do so, and to this day have not gotten it right. I am not sure we will, but we are trying.

I would like to touch on two things. First, one area that is a relevant factor to the election administration process is the question of polling surveys. It is relevant to those people who plan to be election administrators because it does become part of the election process. It becomes part of the election process in two ways. First of all, tremendous pressure is put upon you for the rapid announcement of winners. There is tremendous pressure where everybody would like to know who is going to win. When polls are used preelection, then the big question is who is right and who is wrong. Did the official vote come out right or were all those great pollsters not so scientific? Unfortunately for the pollsters, I have lived long enough to remember when they were wrong. The pressure comes on you as election administrators. you must take into consideration the release of polling data when developing your programs and rules.

Directly related to this is what has been referred to as exit polls. The exit polls again are a relatively new phenomena but certainly in the United States they are becoming a very popular device. What they do is merely ask the

people as they leave the polling place who they voted for. Then, on the basis of this magic formula that these people keep telling us they have, they develop a proper sample, make the projection, and tell us who won that election before the polls are closed. I think exit polling is a very difficult part of the election process. I would urge you if possible not to get into it. However, you probably cannot avoid it. It is dangerous because that again, increases the tremendous pressure upon the official election machinery to give results in those instances where the official results disagree with the exit polling. It can therefore become a political challenge to the integrity of the official election system itself. Exit polling is an area I worry about. I would not feel the symposium would be complete unless I mentioned it to you as an area of concern, and one that you should keep your eyes on as you develop your own election procedures down the road.

The second area which has not been discussed is the question of political consultants. Political consultants have become a rather overwhelming phenomena in The United States of America, and they are now trying to become an overwhelming phenomena in the world. Why are they a concern for those of us who deal with the election process? They are a concern primarily because of the relationship they have with the development and the responsibility of political parties. In my opinion the development of political consultants along with television has done as much to weaken political parties in The United States of America, as any other factor I can think of. In reducing the responsibility and strength of the political parties, you reduce the institutional responsibility for politics.

In The United States of America today, it is possible for an individual to get elected to the Congress, the Senate, the governor's chair, and possibly become President; by going out, getting a pot full of money, and hiring a big

name consultant. The big name consultant (big name meaning a man who has gotten his publicity in the paper) then gets that man elected to the legislature or to the governor's chair. At that point that individual who is elected is responsible to no one, not even his political consultant who is only a hired gun. You can hire him back, you can fire him, or you can hire another one.

In terms of the continuing responsibility which I think is critical for the whole governmental and political process; I think the question of political consultants is again something you should keep your eye on. I say this with considerable amount of authority because I was the founding President of the American Association of Political Consultants, I served as President of the International Association of Political Consultants, and I think I was the first person they ever put into the Political Consultant hall of Fame. Therefore, I know a great deal about the Political consultants; and I view it as a serious problem, literally in terms of the development of the political parties and the responsibility of those parties.

Having made these two points, I would like to conclude with the following: Democracy is a dynamic. It always grows. It essentially deals with the human condition and the human condition is unpredictable, changeable, always changing, and always looking to improve itself. If we are trying to improve ourselves and if democracy is predicated upon the concept of self-government, then we have to recognize that what we are trying to do is something that we should always try to make perfect but never will. Therefore, we look at it in the manner for seeing how it serves the constituency for which we are trying to design it. Do not try to design the perfect model. Design the one that fits, and if it fits it means it works, and if it works it means it is good. If it works in providing people with self-government, with freedom, with secret ballot, with the opportunity to choose the people who are going to make the rules under which they

are going to live; then it is good and you have achieved your objective. Do not look for that achievement to come from a perfect model anywhere. It does not exist.

THE NATIONAL ELECTION COMMITTEE OF HUNGARY

By

Paul Kara

Deputy State Secretary

Ministry of Interior

and

Secretary, Hungarian National Election Committee

In Hungary the electoral organizations are sovereign bodies of the citizenry, subordinated only to the law. Their primary tasks are guaranteeing the purity of the elections, the oversight of their legality, and -- if necessary -- re-establishing the legal bases of conducting elections.

The term "electoral organs" refers to various different organizations: to the committees that count the ballots cast, and to the territorial committees that conduct the elections themselves. There are 11,000 electoral districts in Hungary and in each there is a committee that is charged with counting the ballots. The territorial committees operate in every one of the electoral districts where individual candidates vie for a single seat, as well as in those where national lists are put forth. There are 186 individual electoral districts; in addition, territorial/national districts exist in every one of the 19 counties of Hungary and in the capital. Finally, the term "electoral organ" also refers to the National Election Committee, the primary topic of this paper. Parenthetically, we must note that there exist no hierarchical order among the various electoral organs.

1. The National Election Committee: The National Election Committee (NEC)

is the best known electoral organ. Its tasks are delineated largely in the law governing the election of parliamentary representatives to the National Assembly (Law No. XXXIV/1989), hence its principle task is to render necessary assistance in the election of the national deputies. Its primary activities and derived authority are:

1.1 the NEC is charged with securing the legal framework for the work of all election committees;

1.2 issues the call for nomination of candidates;

1.3 registers the candidates for the national lists; it rejects those who do not meet the legal requirements for candidacy as delineated in the law on elections;

1.4 promulgates the nominees for the national lists;

1.5 based on a lottery, the NEC assigns numbers for each list;

1.6 determines the winning candidates when such candidates win on the bases of portions of votes cast;

1.7 releases the letters of mandates to representatives who won on the national list;

1.8 promulgates the preliminary and the final list of victors;

1.9 sets the date for the second round of elections;

1.10 reviews the appeals against its verdicts;

1.11 reports the results of the parliamentary elections to Parliament.

2. In addition to its fundamental task of coordinating the technical aspects of elections to parliament, the NEC also provides assistance in the election of

local deputies and the mayors. The relevant law defines the tasks of the NEC in this regard as follows:

- 2.1 the NEC provides the legal framework of the local election organs;
- 2.2 delineates the Principles for the realization of a unified legal bases of election practices;
- 2.3 If an infraction of the law comes to the NEC's attention, the NEC notifies the relevant, legally responsible body in order to remedy the situation;
- 2.4 The NEC promulgates the preliminary and final list of candidates for local election, as well as the final national results;
- 2.5 sets the date for the second round of the election; and
- 2.6 tabulates and reports the results of the local elections to the Parliament.

A special mention must be made regarding the right of the NEC to issue guiding Principles that unify the hitherto divergent legal conditions governing the process of local election. During the first, free Parliamentary elections of 1990 the NEC had no such provision, since the Law on Local Elections was created a year later. In fact, the devolution of such authority by the Parliament to the NEC was necessary as a result of the experiences of the country gathered during the first year of the operation of our new democracy. More about this later.

3. A third area of competence of the NEC is connected to the problems of referenda. As you may know, this is a brand new practice in Hungarian democracy. Accordingly, the NEC is charged with the supervision of the referenda through the local organs of election. The NEC -- through these organs - is charged with checking the validity of the required signatures as well as counting the valid - - 10,000, 50,000 or 100,000 -- signatures. Inter alia, this also means checking on the right of each citizen signatory whether he/she possesses the right to vote, has a legal residence, etc.

In order for the NEC to check on the validity of the signatures, the President of Parliament must provide the former with the list of the signatories. Following this act, the NEC must respond to the President of Parliament within 30 days of such receipt.

4. The NEC is made up of at least 9 members. Of these 9 Parliament elects 4 members and 1 secretary; the recommendation for these five posts is made by the Minister of Interior, and he/she generally pays particular attention of the wishes of the various parliamentary parties. Each party that receives enough votes to appear on national list also provides one additional NEC member. Should the number of such lists be less than four, than the Parliament, or its relevant committee elects/nominates enough additional members so that the total number of the NEC will be at a minimum nine. As soon as the required number of members are reached, sitting together the members elect a President from among the members. At present there are 12 members of the NEC. The members of the NEC must be sworn in by the President of Parliament before beginning their duties. Neither the President nor the secretary of the NEC may be a member of a political party.

The legal importance of the NEC is underlined by the fact that the official Register of the country /Magyar Koziony, similar to the US Federal Register/ publishes the list of the names and addresses of all NEC members. The responsibilities of all members of the NEC extend to the date of promulgating the day of the next parliamentary election. Membership in the NEC may be terminated by death, resignation, recall, or by the termination of the legal conditions of appointment.

5. During its existence the NEC is an official body, its members are Official Persons with heightened responsibilities, but also enjoying special protection. The fact that the NEC is an official body also means that it requires a legal quorum for decision making; the quorum in this case means 50% of all elected members. Each member has one vote and in case of a tie the vote of the President of the NEC breaks the tie. Minutes of its meetings must be kept and in case of a vote, the minority position must also be clearly indicated. Generally the President of the NEC, or in his absence the secretary, represents the committee.

In case the President of the NEC is absent during an NEC meeting, the secretary becomes his/her official replacement.

6. In Hungary members of electoral committees receive no remuneration for participation in such of organ. The law, however, provides payment for a working group of administrative, technical personnel to assist the NEC with its work. The members of the group are recruited from among the members of the National Electoral Office. They provide the bureaucratic framework, answer letters, arrange meetings, etc; in short they provide the systemic background that enables the NEC to meet its duties.

A brief comment on the financial conditions is warranted at this state. The infrastructure necessary for the work of NEC naturally has a price tag attached to it. Leased office space, telephone, printing, telefax, etc., all cost money, as do soft drinks, coffee or meals provided if the meetings last for inordinately long periods of time. How minimal these costs are can be gleaned from the fact that during the last parliamentary elections the total funds available for the NEC for such purposes was 50,000 forinths, e.g. around \$700! This amount comes from the state budget; financial controls over spending it rests with the National Accounting Office of the Parliament.

7. Authority, Role and Function of the NEC in the Formulation of Election Laws. The NEC has no power, only a devolved authority necessary to insure the fulfillment of its tasks. it should be reiterated that the NEC only acts in order to fulfill a specifically delineated and ceded task. For instance, if during the period when campaigning must come to an end, a certain party were to engage in campaigning in contravention of the law, the NEC provides an official notice of its recognition of that fact. This, however, is not a mandatory act of state; the NEC can simply inform the media and the public that the law has been broken by party X. Thus, the NEC has no power, and it should have no power to influence the outcome of an election, save the safeguarding of the cleanliness of the process.

In regards to our role in the formulation of election laws, let me become an historian for a minute. The present NEC came into being in October, 1989, when

Parliament elected five members of the NEC. The first official acts of the NEC, however, occurred well before the two national elections in 1990 spring and fall; its activities already guided the process of the national referendum during the end of October 1989. At the inception of the NEC however, no one envisaged any role to be ceded to the NEC in the preparation of laws. It is a fact, however, that immediately after the completion of the referendum we already noted the contradictions between the laws regarding referenda and national elections; unfortunately, but not surprisingly, no one really paid attention to our report on this subject at that time.

The first time we actually engaged in such a role was during the national parliamentary elections of 1990. There were real concerns expressed at that time regarding the fact that the NEC was restricted in its activities according to the letter of the law, i.e., it could simply place notices of infraction in the media. Even if they were placed in the national media, the effectiveness of such acts can at best be questioned. In short, the NEC had no real legal possibilities to enhance the development of unified legal electoral practices. The law on local elections remedied this situation. This law already allowed the NEC to provide unified legal Principles for the conduct of election; yet, even with this proviso, we have to simply note that the NEC does not take part in lawmaking even today.

It is, of course, a different question whether the NEC has any influence in regards to electoral lawmaking. This is an important question in a young democracy; there are no relevant experiences with democracy here and the application of the laws can also be regarded as problematic. Thus, our task has remained principally to notify the lawmakers of such legal hiatuses or lack of clarity that we ourselves notice. One may argue whether this is a significant or an insignificant role. In my view this is adequate for the fulfillment of our tasks, since it would be a mistake to give to such a quasi-parliamentary committee less power; to give them more, however, would be a crime. Our task, consequently, is to notice legal inadequacies, or inadequacies in the application of the laws, and to summarize our findings, however, rests with the legal legislative body.

8. A brief note must be made of the right of appeal ceded to the NEC as well. In Hungary, appeals against the decision of an electoral committee can be made by an complainant; such complaints must be decided by the NEC within three days. The NEC's decision can be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Summary. In short, in Hungary the members of the NEC, on the one hand, are elected by Parliament, on the other hand, are delegated by the parliamentary parties. The members of the NEC are unpaid volunteers who hold their meetings according to the needs perceived by them. According to our experiences -- during the previous parliamentary elections, during the local elections, and during the referenda, each time twice in a row! -- we think we have done the job as well as we could; we think we met the challenges posed to us in an adequate manner. We had to engage in very few appeals and in the instances when our decisions were appealed, in each case the Supreme Court concurred in our decisions. It is also a fact that we provided a large number of notices during these elections, and later -- when we were already empowered to do so -- offered some Principles to unify legal practice; these activities had to be noted, analyzed and recognized by the legislators in Parliament. We are certain that Parliament will deal with our recommendations and suggestions as they prepare to modify electoral laws and practices during the necessary work of refining parliamentary legislation concerning voting practices. In this sense, the NEC is as much of a pillar of our young democracy as are the other electoral institutions of democratic hungary.

The Experience Gained in Application of the New Election
System Applied for the '1990 Elections in
Slovak Republic

by

Peter Bercik
Secretary of Slovak Election Commission

The path of democratization process, which Czecho-Slovakia had taken in November 1989, affected fully the political system, and resulted in the free and democratic elections to the legislative bodies of the Federal Assembly, Czech National Council and Slovak National Council, which have been hold on June 8th and 9th, 1990. The elections were preceded by the adoption of the new election acts in March 1990, based upon the system of proportional representation. This election system has been implemented in order to reflect the division of the political power within the country in the new legislative bodies and to offer certain opportunities for the smaller political parties as well, to allow them to be represented in the parliament. The elections have been hold based ont he general, equal and direct election right, using secret voting procedure.

The proportional representation election system used has been characterized by large election precincts, in which a number of deputies shall be elected. Slovak Republic, with the total number of voters on the day of elections amounting 3,622,650, registered in the lists of voters, has been divided into 4 large election areas. The parties participating in the elections, nominated a larger number of candidates for deputies than the number of offices available. The mandates shall then be divided among the individual political parties according to the number of votes they obtained.

The law enables the political parties and the political movements to create coalitions and to come to an agreement concerning a joint candidate list. In such cases the conditions stipulated in the law for the individual political parties should be applied in such a way, as if only one political party or political movement submitted the list of candidates.

Eight political parties submitted their lists of candidates for the elections into the Slovak National Council individually and other 29 political parties created 8 coalition groups. On the election day 51 political parties have been registered in Slovak Republic.

1092 candidates had run for 150 deputy seats in Slovak National Council.

The age limit has been set at 21 years of age on the day of elections.

In order to have the right to submit a list of candidates for elections a political party and a political movement had to enclose an undertaking, stating that they have at least 10 thousand individual members. In cases where a party does not have such a membership they should enclose a petition undersigned by a number of voters, which shall substitute the number of members missing, i.e., 10 thousand. When signing such a petition the citizen has to state his first

and last name, the citizen's identification code and the place of residence. The Area Election Commissions were authorized to inspect the truthfulness of the data specified. The main objective of this regulation was to prevent such political parties and movements from participating in the elections, which do not enjoy the support of a sufficient number of citizens.

The body in charge of administration of the elections for the Slovak National Council has been the Slovak Election Commission, which consisted of 19 members, the elections in the individual areas were administered by the area election commissions, which established in the centres of the individual districts their subcommissions. The voting in the individual election precincts, total number of which is 5,665, were administered by the precinct's election commissions. The election commissions comprised equal number of representatives of those political parties and political movements, which submitted their separate candidate lists. The candidates for deputies were not allowed to become the members of the commissions. The members of the commissions took an oath of allegiance to the hands of a representative of the state authority, which convened the commission for its first meeting and which also appointed the registrar of the commission providing for the necessary organization and administrative tasks.

The main objective set for the election commissions has been primarily to oversee observation of the law during the preparations and in the course of elections. They were in charge of passing judgments on complaints, among which prevailed the problems caused by breaching the principles of the election campaign propaganda. Finalization of the election results from the district up to the republican level carried out the specialized units of the Slovak Statistical Agency, using computer technology and working under supervision of the members of the commission. The first results have been published 28 hours after the polling stations were closed. The application of the computer technology proved successful.

Organization and technology support of the elections, including the financing from the state budget, has been provided by the government through the mediation of the employees of the Ministry of Interior and the national committees.

The deadline for publicizing the electors' lists by the national committees has been set to thirty days before the election day, compiled based on the principle of the permanent place of residence. The citizens had the right to lodge their objections concerning the lists, which should be settled by the national committee in a 3 day's term, and the appeals were settled by the district court of law. The soldiers and the imprisoned persons have the right to vote as well. The citizens dwelling abroad had the right to vote in the territory of the CSFR.

Citizens, which on the election day could not vote at their place of residence were allowed to collect the elector's identity card beforehand and were given the right to vote at an other place over the whole republic upon producing the said elector's identity card. In communities with more than 5,000 inhabitants the national committees delivered to the electors by them at home the election ballots and the identity card 3 days prior to the election day.

The law grants every political party and movement identical approach to the state information media. The election campaign propaganda had to be finished two days before the election day. The law does not enable any propaganda at the polling station.

The Act of Slovak National Council stipulates the procedure of the elections as follows. After entering the polling station the elector shall produce the elector's identity card, and after making an entry in the list of electors he/she will obtain from the election commission an empty opaque envelope. Before the elector proceeds to the voting the election commission shall check by asking a question whether the voter has got all the appropriate ballots. Then the voter enters the special space, where he/she puts into the envelope one ballot of the political party or movement, for which he/she is voting. In the ballot, which he/she puts into the envelope, he/she may mark serial numbers next to up to than four candidates which he/she favors. Other modifications of the ballot are not allowed. Other ballots shall be put into a special case in the separated room. The voting itself is carried out by the elector by putting the envelope via-a-vis the election commission into the poll after leaving the room, intended for the modifications of the ballots. Elector, which refuses to come into the room for modification of the ballot must not be allowed to the voting. The precinct election commissions shall create conditions allowing the elector free and secret expression of his/hers opinion, for which political party or movement he is voting.

The law had taken into account such cases, where the elector is not able to modify the ballot due to a physical handicap, or for being unable to read or write. Such an elector has the right to enter the room intended for the modification of the ballot with an other elector which shall modify the ballot for him/her according to his/her instruction and put it into the envelope and then into the poll. Could the elector not come to the polling place (e.g. due to medical reasons) he/she has the right to ask the precinct election commission to perform the voting using a portable poll.

The elections were hold on two days, on Friday from 14:00 to 22:00 and on Saturday from 7.00 to 14.00.

The precinct election commission after finishing the voting drew up an official record on the course of elections and on the voting and sent it immediately to the district subcommission.

After counting the total number of votes given in favor of the individual political parties and movements, divided depending on the election areas the political parties were given the first scrutiny mandates in the areas, taking into account the order of the candidates in the candidate list in the area, modified based upon the results of preference voting.

A political party, which has not been given at least 3% of the total number of votes given in the whole republic, could not obtain a mandate.

In the second scrutiny the remaining mandates were given to the parties and movements, in accordance with the total of the remaining votes in favor of the individual political parties in the areas according to a new candidate list, which the political parties shall submit, this time jointly for the whole republic.

The results of elections and the division of
mandates for the Slovak National Council

Political party - political movement	Number of votes	Percen- tage	Number of mandates
Public Against Violence	991 285	29.34	48
Christian-Democratic Movement	648 782	19.20	31
Slovak National Party	470 984	13.94	22
Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia	450 855	13.34	22
Co-existentia, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement	292 636	8.66	14
Democratic Party	148 567	4.39	7
Green Party	117 871	3.48	6

150

Characteristic feature of the first democratic elections has been very high, 95.39% participation in the elections and a good organizational preparation of the whole election process. This fact has been an additional confirmation of a correct preparation and the results of elections in the opinion of Czecho-Slovak and international public.

Ing. Peter B E R C I K

Secretary of Slovak election commission

BULGARIAN ASSOCIATION FOR FAIR ELECTIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS

MIROSLAV SEVLIEVSKI - SECRETARY - GENERAL

The Bulgarian Association For Fair Elections was born within the student circles at the time when after 45 years of totalitarian government, Bulgaria was preparing for the first free multi-party elections. Despite the declarations of the ruling Socialist (former Communist) Party and the main opposition forces that a stable democratic government could be established only as a result of open, free and fair election, many Bulgarians expressed uneasiness and doubt that the election would indeed be fair. Concerned existed because of the unsavory political and psychological heritage of the dictatorship in the conditions of still intact totalitarian party-state structures and sharp political opposition. This is the reason why the idea of an independent, non-partisan, objective observation of the elections was accepted with enthusiasm by various circles of the society. The Association turned into a guarantee against the fear and distrust accumulated during the years of totalitarian rule. The Association's activities and carefully planned parallel vote count had to ensure peaceful and legitimate elections. Another task of the Association was to convince the Bulgarian voters and international community of fairness of the election whatever the results.

The Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections was set up in March 1990 with the help of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. The name and activity of KEVORK KEVORKYAN, the most prominent and respected broadcast journalist, who became the president of BAFE, contributed to the Association's popularity. Although the ruling party openly expressed suspicion of the Association activities, BAFE was morally and materially supported not only by the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) but also by the Bulgarian Agrarian national Union (BANU) and a number of private firms and non-state organizations. Famous personalities, representatives of different political forces and non-partisan citizens formed the Association Advisory Council. BAFE was officially registered by the legal authorities and was politically recognized at the round-table talks - a specific form of negotiations between the ruling circles and the opposition during the pre-election period, exercising great influence over the executive power and the legislature.

At that time, we (BAFE) had five main priorities:

1. recruiting volunteers and building up national structures thus setting up clubs throughout the country;
2. training volunteers who would know what their responsibilities were during election day, teaching and educating potential electorate through election education programs;
3. monitoring the election processes by BAFE volunteers by their very presence at each and every polling site;
4. carrying out an elaborate parallel vote count; and,
5. gaining public recognition.

Following this, BAFE tried to encourage the electorate to vote freely and without fear, popularizing the concept that it is the responsibility of every citizen of Bulgaria to exercise the right to vote. We published and distributed leaflets explaining the election law and penalty code. We helped organize visits of international observer groups and three NDI fact-finding missions.

On the eve of the elections for Grand National Assembly, the members of the Association numbered more than 10,000. We had offices in all major towns, and groups of activists worked in about 250 settlements, evenly distributed on the territory of the whole country.

In the pre-election period, our activists reported different cases of violation straight to the BAFE central headquarters in Sofia. The information then reached the public and the Central Election Commission (CEC). Aware of their rights and obligations, familiarity with the election law and procedures, our volunteers were able to expertly register and document the whole election process.

According to the Central Election Commission's instructions, our activists had the statute of "guests" (observers), which gave them the right to be present at the polling sites. We also had the right to observe the specific voting procedures, watch the vote count and to receive a signed copy of protocols (tally sheets).

On June 10, 1990, during the first round of the elections for Grand National Assembly, we covered almost all polling sites throughout the country. Our very presence helped to convince the electorate of the secrecy of the vote and that no one would tamper with results. However, our observers registered and reported to the Central Election Commission (CEC) some hundreds of incidents and complaints of violations of electoral procedures.

But the most significant achievement of our Association was the parallel vote count based on the results of about 10 per cent of the polling sites, rapidly and accurately reported to the Association headquarters in Sofia. Thanks to the professionalism and enthusiasm of our volunteers, BAFE was the first to announce on the Bulgarian television by 11:14 p.m. on the election night results of the elections. The final official results released by the CEC several days later differed by less than half percent from our results from the sample. Our announcement had an important social effect because it helped ease the tension built up in the country caused by people's distrust in the election results in favor of ruling Socialist Party.

In the post-election period once again we had the chance to exercise our peace-making functions in July when the country was seized by the student's strike demanding Socialist President Mladenov's resignation, as a result of remark he made at a rally back in December 14, 1989 in which he suggested the use of force against the demonstrators. Our Association organized a press conference which turned into the most significant public discussion on the student's strike problem.

At a meeting of representatives of all BAFE clubs, we decided that the experience accumulated during the elections for the Grand National Assembly /GNA/, the thousands of volunteers and the created structures should be further used for assisting the country's democratization. So the organization continued and expanded its activities, now as BULGARIAN ASSOCIATION FOR FAIR ELECTIONS AND CIVIL RIGHTS. The Association announced that we will carry out civic education programs aimed at introducing and expanding people's legal understanding and their awareness of basic civil rights thus strengthening the democratic values in society.

One of the first steps in this direction were the free legal clinics held in the offices of the Association in Sofia and the major towns beginning in November 1990. Lawyers throughout the country responded to this initiative by giving free legal advice to people on privatization processes, reclamation of once-nationalized private properties and protection of new Bulgarian private enterprises. At the same time, the lawyers put together the accumulated information and handed it to MPs to be used in their legislative work.

In the meantime, one of BAFE's main objectives was to organize seminars for parliamentarians jointly with NDI on "Parliamentary Procedures," Local Government, and Civil Rights. MPs and experts from USA, Denmark, Hungary, Portugal, France, Great Britain, Poland and Greece shared their experience and responded to many questions asked by Bulgarian MPs, experts, lawyers and politicians. Many of the problems discussed at the seminars found their place in the Grand National Assembly agenda during the following weeks and months. We published the shorthand reports from the seminars as brochures.

Since the last two issues, Local Government and Civil Rights, were of great interest for BAFE activists as well, we organized parallel seminars in the capital and other major Bulgarian towns. In addition to that, we did much work for forthcoming municipal and parliamentary elections in September 1991. We have already published a number of educational materials in the mass media clarifying the basic election rights of citizens. We had discussed the international standards in this field, the different election systems contributing to the democratic process, and the Penal Code. At the same time, we handed to the legislative commission of GNA specific suggestions and comments on election system, constituencies, election administration and commissions, voter registration lists, ballot and tally sheet.

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design, the complaint procedure, access to the state media, observers, access to information, voting abroad, penal measures for violations of the electoral code and suggestions in interpreting and applying the law.

As a conclusion to this one period of BAFE's hard work, I would like to say that the real challenge is to set up, maintain, promote and make the Association work on a non-partisan level in a society like ours, where partisan passions run high. It's a real hard task. After we founded the Association, the Socialist Party suspected us of being entirely on the side of the Opposition and contributing to their cause. At the election night last year, however, we announced the results in which the communists won election with majority. Supporters of Opposition started eyeing us as carriers of bad tidings or even, yes even, as

possible collaborators with the Communist Party.

Until this very day, the same political forces are still trying to guess which side or party we support and very few people understand that we promote and support each and every citizen, his right to vote and to participate in the new democratic society.

So, al this and BAFE's authority as a non-partisan organization based on the last elections and one year's hard work at the grass-roots level are conditions necessary for our voice to be heard by all and not ignored!

**Citizen Education: Its Importance in Latin America
and Central Europe**

by

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1. INTRODUCTION

All too frequently, we pay too much attention to the differences in processes and overlook their similarities. Despite their the differences in their pasts, Central Europe and Latin America are moving, step by step, toward democracy.

Their histories, as well as their electoral systems, may be different, but undoubtedly the men and women of the countries of Central Europe and Latin America need to be taught how to live democratic life-styles within a democratic system.

Both groups of countries lived for years under autocratic regimes, some authoritarian, others totalitarian, but as a result their citizens now need to learn how to live in democracy, to take responsibility for society, and exercise their rights and responsibilities.

The experience we will be discussing here dates back to March of 1987, when the "Committee for Free Elections" was formed in Chile. Later, in 1988, a campaign was organized to register all of Chile's citizens, men and women, over age 18, to vote in a plebiscite to be held in October of that year. This campaign was called the "Crusade for Citizen Participation."

Once the plebiscite had been won, the road was opened for free, clean and competitive elections for president and congress. A new campaign was organized with the slogan: PARTICIPATE "Democracy is Everyone's Responsibility."

In December of 1989, President Aylwin and the Congress were democratically elected. The democratic process began in March of 1990, and PARTICIPA agreed to follow the transition process by becoming a formal, legalized entity.

Today PARTICIPA is a private, non-profit, pluralistic and nonpartisan corporation dedicated to education for democracy.

What we will be discussing here is a reflection of our institution's first two years of life, during which time we organized to provide education prior to a plebiscite and before presidential and congressional balloting. This presentation will focus on what we call "civic education campaigns" and will be divided into three parts: first we shall examine the type of civic education that we believe Eastern Europe and Latin America need at this time; next we shall clarify some concepts; and, lastly, we shall reflect on our experience.

2. TYPES OF CIVIC EDUCATION REQUIRED IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

2.1 Universal Civic Education

We Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans do not require an academic type of civic education, as intellectual groups or political elites would have us believe. We need a single type of training that suits the needs of both the illiterate and university students, of your people and adults, of men and women; in short, civic education that is valid for every individual, just as democracy is a valid institution for every citizen.

2.2 Civic Education Based on Moral Values

For civic education to have a universal application, it must be based on those same universal human values that are the foundation of democracy and are masterfully summarized in article one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights..."

Therefore, liberty and the equality of human dignity, as well as the equality of the rights of every human being, form the ethical foundation of civic education and must be communicated to, and adopted by, every citizen.

2.3 Civic Education in Support of Democracy

The purpose for this civic education is two-fold. Firstly, it is designed to promote democracy as a political system, as a democratic form of government, and secondly, to develop democracy as a way of life that permeates the everyday activities of each and every member of society.

2.3.1. Civic Education focussed on Human Rights on help create democratic political regimes

Civic education must be a tool in the service of democracy. For it to be real and effective, its contents must reflect the principles of so-called "Human Rights", understood to mean a series of civic and political, as well as economic, social and cultural rights. As political science develops, it is becoming more and more clear that a correlation exists between "Human Rights" and Democracy. Democracy is the political system that offers mankind the greatest protection of his "Human Rights", because it promotes, regulates and guarantees the rights of each and every citizen.

In the Latin American and Eastern European contexts, it is obvious that the struggle for democracy has primarily emphasized those civil and political rights that are fundamental to the establishment of a democratic regime. The degree to which such a democratic system is then secured and enhanced depends on the progress achieved in developing and consolidating economic, social, and cultural rights.

2.3.2. Civic Education that Promotes the Democratic Way of Life

The type of civic education we are discussing is one that highlights and stresses the adoption of democracy not only as a political system or form of government, but also as a way of life that has a continuous influence on our everyday behavior. Democracy has to reach the point where its effects are felt at every level of social activity. This can be achieved if civic education pays particular attention to developing a familiarity with and an understanding of so-called "Human Rights", and notes that these concepts imply a series of obligations that guide and regulate the conduct of every citizen in his relations with others and with the State itself. Put more simply, the exercise of the rights of each member of society must include respect for the rights of others.

A minimum basic knowledge of democracy in this context, where every individual becomes familiar with Human Rights through a civic education process, takes on an even deeper and more transcendental significance if the concept that the entire organization of society, ranging from the family, sports clubs, and trade unions, etc., to the State itself, must take its inspiration from democratic principles and Human Rights is accepted.

As a way of life, democracy requires individuals to develop values that enrich the quality of their social and political coexistence, that is, the development of values such as peace, tolerance and solidarity. These, in turn, instil not only leaders, but also ordinary members of society, with political and social ethics. If they live by them, every individual will become a natural buffer for society against the phenomenon that today threaten democratic social coexistence such as terrorism, corruption, drug-trafficking, etc.

Any type of civic education that seeks to foster the democratic way of life will necessarily encourage dialogue and negotiation as the valid and legitimate instruments for reaching agreement on social and political issues. Finally, it is worth pointing out that a democratic way of life must obviously be geared toward the integration of segregated or excluded minorities, such as rural dwellers, women and especially ethnic minorities, into the social and political life of every nation.

2.4 Civic Education to promote voter participation in elections

Civic education cannot overlook training to enable voters to participate responsibly in local, regional or national elections. While it is true that elections are an integral part of every democratic political system, their particular technical and procedural content requires an explicit, specific program in each case.

Therefore, every voter must be provided with a knowledge of the electoral process, that is, the populace must be duly informed of both electoral procedures and mechanisms, as well as the issues at stake in the electoral contest itself.

There is also a need to educate and train the individuals who are called upon to perform specific tasks during the elections, such as official poll-workers, representatives of candidates participating in the process, etc.

All in all, a considerable educational effort is required to enable voters to participate in the elections, which, in turn, is absolutely essential if democratic political systems are to function correctly.

3. BASIC DEFINITIONS

3.1 Civic Education and the Learning Process

Civic education forms part of a learning process that trains the individual to perform an important social, that is, civic-social function. In other words, civic education is an integral and necessary part of the learning process.

3.2 Formal and Informal Education

Education, defined as an activity that perfects and develops the individual, is a continuous process in which human beings participate throughout their lives. Man possesses an inherent ability to be constantly learning until the day he dies.

On the one hand there is formal or academic education which means the primary, secondary and higher education organized a given socio-political community. On the other, informal education consists of the learning acquired through social vehicles such as the mass media and the groups that provide normal social interaction: trade unions, church groups, sporting centers or clubs, professional associations, etc.

Formal and informal education are mutually complementary and are the two great vehicles through which society presents and promotes the knowledge and skills it considers necessary and appropriate to enable its members to perform the growing number of functions that the modern world demands of them.

3.3 Ongoing Civic Education

Civic education must be inserted into, and developed within, the broad scope of these two processes of formal and informal education.

Civic education or training is intended to insert the individual into a democratic society as a creative and dynamic component. Its objective is to help people become active members of society in a creative way that will enable them to develop as individuals. As human beings, we do, after all, perfect ourselves through our relationships with others, in a continuous process of interaction. On the other hand, the society in which any given individual participates is organized in a specific way. Society, however, is not fixed and unchanging. It can and must undergo modification in a continuous attempt to discover a type of organization that will make it possible to offer every one of its members a better quality of life. Such change in society can only be achieved if each member participates and expresses himself creatively. A personal contribution of this kind, when combined with that of others, becomes the catalyst for perfecting society, reinforcing belief in the idea that society's political organization can also be perfected. This principle is inseparably linked to the idea of democracy.

it is clear from all the above that civic education or training is an ongoing process. Democracy, society as a whole, and, ultimately, the individual himself, require that it be so.

3.4 Civic Campaigns

Without denying the need for a permanent process of civic education in both the fields of formal and informal education, at certain key moments in the development of society specific campaigns may be called for.

A campaign is an educational technique that significantly intensifies or emphasizes specific aspects of politico-social or cultural activity. For example, a campaign may be mounted to promote voter registration, to strive for elections to be held peaceably, to create awareness of environmental issues, etc. Campaigns are planned for a definite and pre-determined period, normally a short one.

For a campaign to be successful it must reach out to its audience through various channels of communication with a clear and simple message. It must be capable of influencing its audience intellectually and emotionally through the values and ideas it presents.

4. SYSTEMATIZATION OF EXPERIENCES

4.1 Characteristics of Civic-Political Education Campaigns

Civic Education Campaigns on electoral matters are usually mounted in the months prior to an election in a given political community. They are, therefore, intensive and carried out on a massive scale. Intensive, because their purpose is to disseminate various messages and types of information which members of the general public need to assimilate in order to be able to perform their civic duties effectively. The information may range from technical aspects of the electoral process, to political points or issues that are to be resolved through the ballot box, to efforts to encourage all voters to participate, or information to help them monitor the process.

Campaigns are conducted on a massive scale since the objective is to reach out to every member of the electorate with information through a variety of messages: that is, to men and women, young and old, the illiterate and the literate, etc.

A non-partisan orientation is an important element of every civic education campaign, e.g., the campaign should not support any particular candidate. In fact it should serve the cause of every candidate, in the sense that the information disseminated should enable voters to fulfill their electoral duties in a free and informed manner and thus support every candidacy.

The non-partisan nature of these campaigns is not, nor should be considered, a rejection of political parties or the party system. These are obviously necessary in any democratic system or regime. A civic education campaign is non-partisan because it offers the only means of providing every political party, or the candidates they support, with guarantees. Otherwise, civic education would become an electoral proselytizing campaign, thereby

distorting the very concept of education.

Another characteristic of civic education campaigns deals with the objectivity of the information disseminated. The messages produced must be carefully prepared to avoid unintentional errors in technical-electoral matters or political content. The electorate expects the campaign to be objective and will have faith in it to the degree that it perceives the information to be objectively valid. Therefore, it can be said that the scope and quality of the coverage of a civic education campaign is directly proportional to the objectivity of the information provided.

Another important guiding principle of every civic education campaign, and one that has already been mentioned, is its universality. This means that a campaign must reflect a high regard for every voter, since they are the depository of the sovereignty of the people. This is especially important in Latin American and Central European countries where, historically, large sectors of society have been excluded from political activity. The ballot - cast in free, secret and informed elections - offers every citizen the means of expressing his opinion. A civic education campaign must transmit the message, and awaken members of society to the fact, that by casting a vote they are deciding the political future of their community.

Another characteristic of civic education campaigns should be the incorporation of a sizeable contingent of volunteers who participate as educators in the work undertaken as part of the campaign's different activities. A volunteer participating in a civic education campaign sets a valuable example of public service for the rest of the electorate. Such volunteers must be carefully chosen and given sufficient training to enable them to act without political bias. They must transmit attitudes that reflects values, including dialogue, tolerance and respect for the opinions of others. The effectiveness of a civic education campaign depends to a large extent on the availability of a significant number of volunteers who have been carefully selected and trained.

Volunteer training is a key element in the success of any campaign. Therefore it must emphasize both the assimilation of knowledge and methodological aspects of personal or group learning experiences. It is not enough for

volunteers to memorize certain information; learning should also take place through methods that require the student to participate actively in the process. The experience provides a model that can be repeated later and thus permits voters to acquire the knowledge and skills that will be shared with them in similar group activities. In short, in training volunteers to educate their own communities, the methods used to impart the content of the training are just as important as the content itself.

For volunteer selection and training, a profile of the ideal volunteer must be developed. This should include the following characteristics.

- **Commitment**, that is, the volunteer should be a committed supporter of democracy and of the process of educating the public in support of the development of democracy.
- **A strong sense of public service.**
- **Tolerance and a belief in dialogue**, possessing respect for every individual and able to assimilate ideas that conflict with his or her own and dialogue with people who hold different opinions.
- **A conviction that problems and conflicts can be resolved peacefully**, with an understanding of the need for dialogue and negotiation in order to reach democratic compromises.
- **Aware of the community's socio-economic conditions**, possessing the ability to foster an educational process that will lead people to change, and a great capacity to empathize with all kinds of individuals.

4.2 Objectives of a Civic-Political Education Campaign

The objectives of a civic education campaign can vary greatly and will obviously depend on the socio-political needs that are established as priorities.

Such objectives may, for example, include:

- Sensitizing the public to the importance of actively participating in elections

Depending on the particular circumstances and needs of a given country, this objective may be geared to expanding the registration of specific groups of voters: indians, rural inhabitants, young people, women, etc., pursuant to the laws of each country.

- Providing the public with accurate information on voting procedures

This objective is particularly relevant when changes in electoral legislation have been enacted, or in situations where the electorate has not been permitted to exercise the right to elect their leaders for a considerable period of time.

- Providing the electorate with information that enables every voter to make a conscientious decision

This could involve information on the political decisions that are at stake in a plebiscite, referendum or elections for government leaders.

-- Creating an environment in which elections can be held peacefully

This can involve messages and calls to the general public emphasizing that calm that should prevail during an election, so that all members of the electorate can state their views without fear of reprisal. In a civic education campaign of this nature, the objective is to ensure that the ballot count truly reflect the people's preference. This objective is particularly important in the case of certain Latin American countries where guerilla or terrorist activities threatens even the minimum level of social calm required to hold a legitimate electoral process.

-- Training members of the public to perform specialized technical tasks during elections, such as:

Training for official poll workers who will perform specific tasks on election day, or for candidates' representatives, can be an appropriate objective for a civic education campaign, especially when new electoral systems are being introduced that the electorate is not acquainted with.

Such efforts can make an important contribution by to facilitating smooth and rapid voting and fostering the development of objective criteria by which the voting and vote counting processes can be conducted. Proper training for such individuals inspires confidence in the legitimacy of the voting process.

Training in rapid (or total) counting methods. This is another possible focus for civic education campaigns. It offers the electorate a way to exercise their right to monitor the election process. Such rapid counting methods make use of representative samples and usually operate parallel to the official count. They make it possible to identify trends in the voting fairly early on and also provide a means of monitoring the official operation. Rapid counting methods are especially useful in socio-political situations when, for different reasons, the electorate fears that tampering with official figures may occur. Rapid counting methods also help to maintain a calmer and more peaceful electoral atmosphere since the public knows that it is very difficult to commit electoral fraud under such conditions.

Training for members of the public to permit them to monitor the electoral process.

Electoral activities can and should be monitored by the electorate itself, thereby ensuring that the results will be accepted as legitimate since the veracity of the procedures followed is clear to everyone. Electoral legislation usually includes provisions for the various candidates, or both camps in the case of a plebiscite or referendum, to appoint representatives at polling stations to monitor the electoral process.

Such representatives must be trained in the various procedural mechanisms and given a knowledge of the rights and responsibilities granted to them by law, etc.

All training of this kind is, therefore, an important objective that can be achieved through a civic education campaign.

4.3 Strategies Utilized in Civic Education Campaigns

1) Creation of a professional team of leaders

One of the first steps that must be taken in organizing a civic education campaign is the creation of a team of technical-professional leaders to take responsibility for the following:

- Direction, orientation and coordination of the campaign.
- Training and oversight of volunteers.
- Division of volunteers by area and responsibility.
- Preparation of educational and training materials.
- Public relations and communications.
- Administration of financial and material resources, etc.

The team of leaders implements direct or indirect actions. This will depend on the methods employed to reach the electorate.

2) Organization of a team of volunteers

Recruitment and selection of volunteers:

The team leaders decide upon a plan of action for the campaign, establishing its dimensions and functions, and then proceed to recruit and select the team of volunteers.

Before selection takes place, an ideal volunteer profile is defined. This establishes certain characteristics that are considered desirable and necessary for volunteers, such as: tolerance, self-assurance, a commitment to working without bias, a belief in democracy as the best means of social and political organization, etc.

Selection may be carried out through interviews and references from other persons who know the individual in question.

There is a very real need for a such a selection process since not every individual who wishes to participate will be suited to civic work, which requires a great deal of social interaction. Selection is also necessary as a safety mechanism: it prevents possible deliberate infiltration by individuals wishing to use such campaigns to conduct covert proselytizing activities in support of specific ideologies.

Training of volunteers:

Certain strategic decisions must be taken in order to train volunteers. These will vary according to the qualitative and quantitative objectives set for the civic education campaign by the team of leaders. The strategies adopted will also depend largely on the conditions and socio-political setting of the particular country involved.

The following is a description of the pyramidal model of "trainer of trainers" and the role that small groups can play in training methodology.

Pyramidal model of "Trainer of Trainers":

The key objective of this model is to contact the greatest possible number of members of the electorate in a short time. Basically it involves training a very select group of volunteers first who are then given the task of reproducing the training they have received with a second group of volunteers. The second group, in turn, is given the task of training a third group of volunteers.

For example, if 100 volunteers are trained as part of the first group, they can be expected to train 1,500 additional volunteers, who will subsequently train 22,500 more people. This pyramidal model requires optimum selection and training of the first group of volunteers to ensure the effectiveness of the "trickle down" effect to the other levels that depend upon it.

Small groups of volunteers to continue training and public service actions:

The pyramidal model is basically used to recruit secondary and tertiary volunteers and to initiate their training through a short seminar (two days) which is insufficient in itself and must be followed up. Thus, small, regional groups are organized to hold periodic meetings and receive written materials (leaflets, etc.) to complement their training. Such groups permit personal development and increasing interaction, creating a sense of belonging and a mutually supportive environment.

The purpose of these groups is not only to provide the individuals concerned with civics training. It is very important that they organize activities of their own, such as information booths, door-to-door visits, mock balloting, etc. Such activities are designed to disseminate and promote democratic behavior by the electorate. At the same time they oblige each group to take a more serious and more responsible attitude toward their own training. Feedback is obtained through the concerns and problems expressed by members of the general public. Finally, and perhaps most importantly from a learning standpoint, by participating in such projects each group is itself obliged to develop democratic attitudes such as tolerance, impartiality, objectivity, etc.

A good deal of the process of transmitting the values, ideas, and attitudes

that the volunteers are required to assimilate occurs at the seminars and group meetings where one group of volunteers learns from the behavior and attitudes of the others. The methodologies and interpersonal skills required are, therefore, as important as the actual content of the information provided to volunteers. The mystique, the championing of values, attitudes of tolerance, respect for others, dialogue, etc., are transmitted and largely assimilated through contact with "models" who have acquired and reflect these same qualities in their everyday social interaction.

Oversight and follow-up of volunteers:

The great variety of the tasks volunteers are called upon to carry out make it necessary for the team of leaders to oversee their activities. This oversight involves coordination, guidance, support and monitoring the work of the core groups. If the civic education campaign is to be successful, a small team of centrally located supervisors is required. They must be trained specifically for this job and assigned to set areas. In view of the heavy responsibility that rests upon their shoulders, every supervisor must possess special qualities of leadership, organizational ability and problem-solving skills. They must also, of course, embody democratic values, especially demonstrating tolerance and the use of collective decision-making methods.

3) Production of teaching materials used in training

The production of educational materials is an important element in training volunteers to carry out their public service duties. The training program's overall effectiveness will depend on the quality and content of these materials, while the success of the core-group training specifically hinges on their being supplied with correctly designed and presented materials. Special care must be taken to ensure an objective content that is acceptable to all the political groupings participating in the elections.

Some of the work carried out by the volunteer force will also require the use of printed materials (fliers, leaflets, etc.) that are distributed to members of the electorate.

All such materials should be prepared by a team of specialists in order to guarantee the accuracy, objectivity and learning methodology utilized.

4) **Direct actions executed in a civic-electoral education campaign**

Direct actions implemented during a campaign will, in some way, involve personal contact between volunteers and members of the public.

In their role as community servants, the volunteer force may undertake any one of a wide range of activities. These might include:

- *Door-to-door visits.* This kind of activity serves to sensitize members of the public on their right to vote or how they can register with the electoral authorities. Alternatively, it can be used to disseminate information on the different decisions at issue in an election or plebiscite.

This type of activity calls for proper planning so volunteers know how to react correctly in the different situations that may arise. Other important aspects to be considered are: types of printed matter required, keeping of records of the homes visited, etc.

- *Information Booths.* Tables or stands are located at strategic points to attract passersby (squares, entrances to churches, shopping malls, etc.). A team of volunteers provides written or oral information on the issues to be decided in an election or referendum, or distributes facsimiles of actual ballot papers to familiarize the electorate with the voting tools to be used.

- *Distribution of fliers.* This involves putting large numbers of volunteers onto the streets to personally distribute fliers that provide technical or political information on an election. This activity has a great impact on the populace as it is conducted on a massive scale. It is vital that the fliers contain a short, easily understandable message.

- *Forums.* This activity permits candidates for public office to discuss, before a live audience, issues and problems of concern to the voters.

These actions must be carefully planned and supervised to avoid possible abuses by certain members of the public. Ground rules must be established to ensure an atmosphere of mutual respect. Care must be taken to ensure that each participant or speaker is allotted the same amount of time. There must also be rigorous checks at the door to prevent any instruments used to commit acts of aggression from being introduced into the auditorium.

- *One Day Seminars.* This type of activity can be organized by volunteers in response to requests from groups seeking objective information about an election (Trades Unions, Social Organizations, etc.). At such events it is best for volunteers to concentrate on specific topics: election procedures, the functions of parliaments or local governments, procedures leading to constitutional reform, etc. These one-day activities can include talks, workshops, seminars, etc.

- *Cultural Activities.* The civic education campaign invites members of the general public to attend a cultural activity (for example, a concert for young people) and takes advantage of the opportunity to distribute printed matter (fliers, leaflets) among the audience.

- *Symbolic Events.* These are mass rallies that call upon the electorate to demonstrate its support for values such as peace or liberty. One example of an action of this kind was the organization of a "human peace chain" that circled the city of Santiago, Chile, on the eve of the plebiscite through which the people would pronounce themselves in favor of ending the military dictatorship. At 12 midday over 100,000 individuals held hands and formed a human chain over 70 kilometers long. They sang the "Hymn for Peace" and called for the plebiscite to be held "in peace and for peace".

These symbolic acts are given wide coverage in the mass media and have a big impact on public opinion. Even more importantly, they generate a climate of calm for the holding of elections.

There are many possible kinds of symbolic acts including: mass distribution of a flower symbolizing peace (handed out by volunteers to the public and members of the government, etc.); an invitation to dignitaries from

different faiths and representatives of political parties to attend a public ceremony where they are seen wearing sashes with the colors of the national flag, thereby demonstrating to the public that, despite their differences, they are united in a desire to serve their country. In short, the importance of these symbolic acts is that they express values that unite the electorate, rising above party political differences.

- *Exhibits.* These are expositions of visual materials with a specific message that needs to be publicized on a massive scale. For example, the entire voting process can be illustrated with pictures and a briefly worded messages.

Displays of this kind can be mounted in public places, high-schools, libraries, museums, squares, sporting facilities, etc. An itinerary can also be drawn up to transport the exhibit to different towns and regions.

5) Indirect actions of a civic-electoral education campaign

The main indirect actions that can be implemented in a civic education campaign involve the use of the mass media: television and radio stations, newspapers and magazines.

The civic education campaign must draw up an agile and detailed communications policy and strategy for the different media to transform each one into a powerful and effective ally.

This communications policy obviously must include the design of a public relations plan to enhance the outreach of a given civic education campaign. Possible actions that might be considered for a public relations activity of this nature include: the creation of an identifying logo or institutional emblem for the campaign or the production of a regular newsletter to maintain contact with other social organizations or institutions.

A wide variety of actions can be considered for a communications strategy. These might include, for example:

- *Diagnostic Studies:* to select the most appropriate media for each

campaign.

- **Events to sensitize social communicators:** to inform the press of the projects being implemented under a particular civic education campaign and invite those individuals to support and encourage the development of democratic conduct among the electorate in the course of their normal professional activities.
- **Advertising campaigns:** effective when journalists and members of the general public are already familiar with the campaign.
- **Production of TV and Radio Slots:** for radio, phone-in programs are one possibility. For television, mock balloting demonstrations to show the public how to cast their ballot are more appropriate.
- **Electoral Training Seminars for Journalists:** provide journalists assigned to cover elections with training that enables them to do a more professional job and the public then receive quality information.

it is worth noting that practically any effort to sensitize and involve the mass media in the task of civic education is useful and to be recommended. The media play a tremendous role in specific civic tasks such as informing the public of the technical aspects of an election, and in helping to create a climate of peace and calm which is absolutely vital in demonstrating the legitimacy and honesty of any electoral process.

4.4 Funding of a Civic Education Campaign

-- External financial resources

Funding of a civic education campaign calls for specific external or international financing, which is normally obtained by submitting project proposals to international agencies or institutions that are known to be aware of the many difficulties to be overcome in a political process of democratic transition and are therefore prepared to support or cooperate with the country

involved.

In addition to achieving the specific objectives of each project, international aid serves to encourage or stimulate national or domestic resources. In generating activities financed with international funding, the campaign also stimulates and produces contributions in domestic resources. While these are not normally of an economic nature, they are perfectly quantifiable from an economic standpoint.

Another important aspect of international funding is the advisability of obtaining financial aid for specific projects from several different international agencies or organizations. This allays any suspicions that could be aroused within the country should external funding stem from only one source.

International agencies or organizations normally provide technical assistance as well as financial aid. They offer advice and technical recommendations based on their own accumulated experience, which makes a particularly valuable contribution to the efficient technical development of a civic education campaign.

-- Domestic resources

it is extremely difficult to obtain domestic or national resources directly in the form of hard cash. However, there is a greater chance of obtaining resources in the form of man hours (volunteers) and infrastructure such as meeting halls, vehicles, etc. Free advertising on television and radio and in the press are particularly important. This is normally made available once the civic education campaign achieves a certain level of recognition. All such contributions are perfectly quantifiable in economic terms and represent an important element in the funding of any civic education campaign.

4.5 Administration of a civic education campaign

The first point to be considered as far as administration is concerned is the design of an accounting system that guarantees the efficient and honest management of all financial resources.

A second absolutely essential step is to develop a system of financial and organizational checks to ensure that the expenses incurred by each campaign activity can be clearly demonstrated. This provides guarantees for donor institutions and allows them to monitor the progress and implementation of the campaign at any time.

Similarly, the civic education campaign should prepare periodic reports of its activities and expenditure. The possibility of obtaining the services of a firm of external auditors ought to be considered. This should be a firm of proven professional integrity specializing in the field.

Regular monitoring by one of the organizations providing technical assistance is also useful and necessary. Their observations offer valuable feedback on the campaign's programming and actions.

Finally, the creation of an internal unit with responsibility for recording and evaluating activities is highly advisable. Such a unit will permit ongoing evaluation of the implementation and quality of the project's actions.

The establishment of these financial and administrative mechanisms will make it possible to monitor the organization's efficiency and demonstrate that financial resources are being invested wisely.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In closing, it is worth pointing out two lessons that were learned as a result of two years of civic-electoral educational campaigns in Chile, as well as the experiences of other countries that have gone, or are going, through a process of democratic transition.

5.1 Civic education as a continual process

It is clear that civic education has to be seen as a permanent, continual process. By their very nature, "campaigns" are intended to respond to specific short-term needs and cannot be expected to bring about stable and consolidated democracies by themselves. In order for every member of society to get involved in the development of their democracy, they have to be made aware that active

citizenship includes many aspects of social and political activity. Individuals must be permitted access to study materials and training, and have the opportunity to develop new forms of conduct.

5.2 Civic education is synonymous with education for greater involvement in civic affairs

Participation in civic affairs does not begin and end with participation in an election. For this reason the type of civic education that concerns us is not merely a process of providing information on electoral mechanisms. This is a necessary, even essential function, but civic education that incorporates the concept of democratic coexistence into all forms of human activity: political, economic, cultural and social is also equally important. And if civic education is to lead to the incorporation of democracy into our way of life, it will have to address the many different facets of Human Rights. These in turn will have to be inserted into the curricula of future generations, all the way from elementary school through to university.

Controversies About Polish Electoral Law

by

Jerzy Stepień
Senator RP

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The most important political result of the "Round Table Talks" held in Warsaw in the Spring of 1989, when examined from today's perspective, was the decision to divide the seats in the new Parliament according to the following proportion: 65% for candidates representing the Communist Party (Polish United Workers Party - PUWP) and its allied or satellite political groups; and 35% for non-party members.

An analogy to such an electoral system might be found in the Galician system for electing its Curia. The fact that a candidate was elected to the Curia in a district by an absolute majority did not mean that the elections were democratic. It is possible to say, half seriously, that the elections for those 35% of seats for non-party candidates also could not be considered free elections because, we see, rather, that any one who belonged to any party could not be a candidate.

The democratically elected Senate was to provide the guarantee for an appropriate legislative process. (The Senate was elected by a "majority system" in two sequences. If a majority was not achieved in the main election, a run-off election was held between the two highest vote getters. There were two-mandate districts geographically defined by voivoidships, but with different population bases.)

In practice, however, the inconsistent relationship between the Senate and the Sejm seldom led to genuine corrections of legislative problems, even with regard to the most important matters.

2. WHO WON THE ELECTIONS?

In the elections to the Senate, 65% of the total votes cast were for

candidates representing "Solidarity" Citizens' Committees. The majority-rule electoral system allowed those who represented "solidarity" to take as much as 99% of the seats in the Senate.

Speculations on these results are interesting when one poses the question: What would have happened if the general elections had been held according to a proportional electoral system?

It seems that the following would have been very likely to happen:

It is reasonable to expect, first of all, that the electoral votes cast for candidates to the Sejm and Senate would be the same (at least, there is no reason to assume that the voters would behave irrationally);

If so, then secondly, "Solidarity" candidates would also have 65% of the votes.

The conclusion is, that if democratic election results to the Polish Parliament were based on a democratic proportional election law, "Solidarity" candidates would have won as much as 65% of all seats on June 4, 1989.

In this situation, the history of this part of Europe would have been different, because the election results would have established a government based only on this huge parliamentary majority.

The Solidarity-controlled government would at once be faced with extraordinarily difficult problems. The lack of experience would challenge the government with the alternative: either to sink or to learn how to swim. Today, I think, the latter would be more probable, but because history does not always happen according to the dictates of supporters of clear legislative solutions, particularly in the field of electoral law, we must return to our subject.

It is obvious that the voters, by giving Solidarity as much as 65% of the votes, voted not only against the Communists (who let the economic efficiency of the country drop to zero), but also voted to remove from the Communists the responsibility for the future of the country, placing it instead in the hands of this new force which so bravely entered the world political scene in August

1980.

The composition of the first non-communist government in Poland reflects, however, not the results of the voting, but rather the results of the election. It was as if the June election results were falsified because of the undemocratic electoral law. (In the Cabinet headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, there were as many as four Communist Party members serving as ministers.)

Such abstract conjecture is easy to come by today, but in 1989, everyone agreed (including the undersigned), that forming a government based only on Solidarity would threaten unprofitable consequences difficult to predict. One has to remember, for example, that the police and the Army were at that time . . . and later . . . later . . . controlled solely by the Communists.

3. WHAT DO THE VOTERS WANT? WHAT DO THE POLITICIANS WANT?

In August and November 1990, the Institute of Political Science of Warsaw University conducted two opinion polls. The following table (Table 1) shows the distribution of responses for the question: For whom one should vote in the Parliamentary election, i.e., how should the ballot be structured?

Table 1. Results of Opinion Polls.

	August	November
1. For individual candidates	44.8%	55.0%
2. Only for political parties/groupings	8.1%	7.1%
3. For both (simultaneously) individual candidates and political parties	31.6%	23.6%
4. Difficult to say	14.1%	13.6%*

* Stanisław Gebethner "Sens i przedmiot sporu o ordynacje", Rzeczpospolita: July 1, 1991.

The conclusion one might draw from these opinion polls would be that Polish society opts for majority-rule electoral law and within the smallest possible

districts.

Considering the fact that as many as 31.6% (23.6%) of respondents supported a mixed system (both majority and proportional,) it seems that the proposed electoral law submitted in September 1990 by the Citizens Parliamentary Club ("Solidarity" representation in the Parliament) met the common expectations. The project proposed the election of 230 deputies in single-mandate districts and 230 deputies in a proportional system in twenty or so districts. The results would be calculated according to the d'Hondt method, without any preferences to any list of candidates. The reality was, however, different.

The "Round Table" Sejm adopted a proportional electoral law providing that 85% of the seats out of the total 460 will be elected on October 27, 1991, in districts of a dozen or so mandates, with the voter required to choose not only the party he/she votes for, but also a specific candidate on the list.

The distribution of mandates (seats) between the districts will be in accordance with the hare-Niemeyer method. Hare-Niemeyer provides that, within a district, the number of valid votes for a list is multiplied by the number of seats up for election. The result is then divided by the number of all valid votes for all of the lists. The position of a candidate within a list will be determined finally from the relative number of votes for all the candidates on the list.

The remaining 15% of seats will be subject to a second recounting between national lists - linked with local lists - if the party list had obtained at least 5% of all votes in the country or candidates from this list were elected in at least five districts. The positions on a national list result from the sequence in which the names are listed by the parties. The distribution of seats will be determined according to the Sainte-Lague method (valid votes for each party are divided by the following sequence: 1, 4, 3, 5, 7, etc.)

The approval of such an electoral system is a sign for a better future, because it will not be possible to create an equally difficult electoral law for future elections. Any other system will definitely be easier to follow.

It seems that there is an internal contradiction within the current electoral system. If a proportional system is accepted, it means, first of all, that political parties implementing their programs are to be represented in the Parliament. A proportional system, therefore, trusts political parties as such. On the other hand, an electoral system that requires a voter to choose a particular candidate means a distrust of a political party. The final result of voting depends not on the sequence of candidates on a list (as determined by the party), but on the number of votes for candidates on a list.

Within a proportional system, political parties take full responsibility for their programs. They cannot be responsible for the people who will implement the program because it is difficult to say that all candidates from one list know the program and will execute it equally well. The sequence of candidates on a list is made in the belief that this is the best guarantee for implementation of the party's program.

There is no doubt that requiring a choice of individual candidates makes the creation of electoral coalitions very difficult. The final shape of a coalition list will be as a result of voting, rather than as a result of political agreement between the parties. In some cases this may lead to a party dropping out of a coalition. It is very likely, therefore, that political parties will enter the elections unaligned, but it does not exclude the possibility of post-election coalitions. And we are witnessing such a phenomenon right now in Poland. There is more discussion about the possibility of blocking particular lists of candidates than about establishing coalitions.

It is not difficult to predict that the approved electoral law will not lead to creating strong and homogeneous coalitions in the future Parliament. One has to remember that on the current political scene in Poland there is no single party able to win 25% of the seats in Parliament. Of the approximately 60 registered political parties, only a dozen have chances in the elections. And only six or seven claim they will win more than 10% of mandates.

In such a situation, where the Parliament is facing a significant segmentation, the issue of minimum percentage thresholds becomes important. Minimum thresholds are included in the electoral law only for the national lists,

which are subject to a repeated recounting of votes. As noted above, the threshold is equal to 5% of total votes cast or winning seats in at least five regional districts. This threshold mechanism tends to eliminate from the elections small political groupings which would "fight" for 15% of mandates in the future Parliament. In practice, this would mean sharing these mandates between six to eight of the strongest parties.

The electoral law does not include any formal threshold for regional lists. There are 37 such regions and 85% of the seats will be distributed among them. The regional districts are not, however, equal in size, population base, and number of mandates. They range from 7-mandate regional districts (there are five such districts) to 17-mandate districts (two districts.) The threshold in these districts will result purely from "voting arithmetic." The pre-election predictions indicate that according to the Hare-Niemeyer method a "natural" threshold for 7 to 13-mandate districts would be 8 to 9% of the votes. such districts cover about 85% of the entire electorate. In larger districts, with 14 to 17 mandates, the threshold will occur automatically at the 5 to 6% level.

This prediction allows one to draw a conclusion that if, within the same circumstances, the d'Hondt or the Sainte-Lague system were used, the stronger political parties would be even more preferred. It is therefore not surprising that the members of today's undemocratic Parliament, in large proportion being members of parties having many difficulties remaining on the political scene, voted for a system diminishing natural thresholds.

4. IN SEARCH OF AN OPTIMAL SYSTEM.

It must be underscored, once again, that for the current political situation in Poland, the most appropriate electoral system would be a mixture of elements of both majority and proportional models. This would give a voter the right to have two votes: in single-mandate districts for a specific candidate and in larger multi-mandate districts for a political party. The ideal would also be to have half of the mandates elected in a majority system, and the other half in a proportional one. Such an electoral law would build up community confidence and trust in individual candidates, political parties, their programs, and the leadership of the parties. Unfortunately, it happened as it happened.

Dura lex sed lex.

The practice and experiences of young Polish democracy do not allow one to reach a conclusion about the consequences of one or another electoral systems. It is not possible currently to compare both advantages and disadvantages of single or multi-mandate districts. The example of the Polish Senate, elected in a majority system, is not a good basis for such comparison, because these elections are not typical. They run in two-mandate districts equal to voivodships, with a different population base. The two exceptions are the voivodships of Warsaw (3 million inhabitants) and Katowice (4 million inhabitants), which are three-mandate districts.

It seems that in two or three years time it would be possible to compare the two electoral systems. Such a comparison would be based on experiences gained in the local government elections held on May 27, 1990, according to a majority system in single-mandate districts in small municipalities, and a proportional system in multi-mandate districts (5 to 10 mandates) in municipalities of at least 40,000 inhabitants. The proportional system allowed "Solidarity" Citizens' Committees to gain overwhelming victories. "Solidarity" won 70% of the mandates in urban local councils. The "Solidarity" victory in single-mandate districts in rural areas, (only 38%) was not as overwhelming. One has to remember, however, that "solidarity" is much more influential in cities than in towns and rural areas. One also has to wait to sum up these experiences.

The unusual differentiation of electoral systems in Poland, depending upon the institution the elections are for, is a result of searching for solutions that would, on the one hand, respond to modern standards, and, on the other hand, safeguard the interest of political parties.

Everything is happening in the atmosphere of early political life and with an awareness of being able to opt for diverse solutions as citizens of an independent and sovereign country which for half a century was deprived of its independence. While searching for the proper solution, we have already made,

and undoubtedly will make, mistakes. Getting out of foreign control and experiencing the joy of liberation, we simultaneously are reaching for something that is much more difficult than liberation itself and this, necessarily, limits our joy.

We are reaching for freedom . . . for unlimited freedom which is a necessity to take autonomous decisions that we are . . . and will be . . . responsible for ourselves.

What is freedom if not the ability to choose between different options, knowing that the consequences of this decision will be borne by us?

Commentary on Proportional Representation by Means of the Single
Transferable Vote

by

Louise McDonough

GENERAL

I represent the Republic of Ireland where our electoral system is Proportional Representation by means of the Single Transferable Vote, or S.T.V., unique in Europe to the Republic of Ireland and Malta. It is referred to, invariably, simple as P.R. as if there were no other forms of Proportional Representation when, in fact, as we have heard in the Plenary Sessions yesterday and to-day, there are many.

We use the Single Transferable Vote to elect

- (1) Our President - who, I am pleased to say, is our first lady President, elected last November.
- (2) 166 members of the Lower House (or Dail) elected in 41 multi-member constituencies.
- (3) 60 members of the Upper House (or Seanad) elected by a number of Panels, also on the S.T.V. system.

As Returning Officer for two three-seater constituencies, Kerry North and Kerry South, I deal with all parliamentary, European and Presidential Elections, and Referendums in my County. I do not deal with the Seanad or Local Authority Elections.

All citizens who have attained the age of 18, and certain other residents of the Republic are entitled to vote, provided they are registered on the Register of Electors.

REGISTER

This Register of Electors is produced every year by the Local Authority, or County Council, and is up-dated each year. The Local Authority employ enumerators to check on all houses in the constituencies and to ascertain the names of any new electors who may have arrived in the area or who may have attained the age of 18, and also to delete the names of those who have died or moved away.

Any doubtful claims for registration - claims which require further

investigation or clarification - are referred to a series of Revision Courts held throughout the constituencies each year. This is a separate process to the actual updating of the Register; is held in public, and the claims are adjudicated by me.

Having heard the case for and against such claims, I then decide on those to be allowed onto the Register and those which are rejected.

Great care is taken, to ensure that the Register is as accurate as is humanly possible to achieve.

The conduct of these elections in each of the 41 constituencies is in the SOMETHING SEEMS TO BE MISSING HERE. of his (or her) official capacity as Sheriff.

RETURNING
OFFICER

Therefore, as I am the County Sheriff for the County of Kerry, I am also automatically appointed as Returning Officer for elections, for the two constituencies in my County.

The Returning Officer accepts nominations, arranges Polling Places, election machinery and Personnel, presides over the Poll and conducts the Count. In the densely-populated areas i.e. Dublin, the County Sheriff is Returning Officer for several constituencies, and in such event, a Deputy Returning Officer is appointed to conduct the Count in each constituency.

Candidates may nominate themselves - and frequently do - or they may be nominated by any registered voter resident in the constituency.

PRE-VOTING

Voters cast their votes in the polling stations nearest to their homes - often national school-houses - and are previously notified by post, of the location of their polling station, and their identifying number on the Register.

A polling card (now, fortunately, computerized) is sent to each registered elector in the constituency, and, until recently, these cards had to be addressed by hand - 92,000 of them, in my area.

This used to be quite an arduous task, particularly in general elections, as we usually have only 21 days from the calling of a general election to Polling Day.

Postal Voting is permitted only for the Police and Defence Forces and the

Diplomatic Corps.

Recent legislation has made elaborate provision to enable the handicapped home-bound voter to cast his (or her) vote. A special Register has been drawn up, of such voters, and is up-dated each year by the Local Authority. At election time, election officials known as "Special Presiding Officers" travel to the homes of these registered handicapped voters, and in conditions of strict security, provide the facilities to enable them to vote.

FORMAT

The Ballot Paper format lists the names of the candidates in alphabetical order, with the candidates' addresses, occupations and party affiliations printed alongside. An independent candidate may have the words "NON-PARTY" printed alongside, if he so wishes.

VOTING

To vote, the elector presents himself or herself at the polling station, and requests the issue of a ballot paper. He may have to produce identification, if the person in charge of the Polling Station who is known as the Presiding Officer so requests, or indeed, if any doubt should PLEASE CHECK -- NO TEXT.

and each candidate is entitled to have agents known as "Personation Agents" present in the Polling Station.

When the voter is satisfactorily identified his or her name is deleted from the Register held by the Presiding Officer, and a ballot paper is issued. The voter then votes by placing the figure (1) opposite the name of the candidate he or she most desires to see elected. The voter may wish to stop at this, OR, may continue to vote 2, 3, 4 for the candidates next preferred, and may continue, seriatim, right through all candidates listed on the ballot paper, if he or she wishes to provide against that vote being ineffective - either because the chosen candidate has too few votes to have any chance of being elected OR because the chosen candidate has received surplus votes which he does not need.

This, then, is the basic S.T.V. system in operation, and, as you can see, even though it has been described as complicated, it is, in fact very simple, from the elector's point of view.

It only gets complicated at the election Count state, when the counting might run to 4 or 5, or even 10 or 12 Counts - this is quite common - and it is then complicated only for the Returning Officer and the Count Staff.

S.T.V.

The essential features of the Single Transferable Vote system are:

- (1) That each constituency returns at least 3 members.
- (2) That the elector has only one vote.
- (3) That the vote is transferable from one candidate to another, seriatim, without restriction, according to a series of preferences indicated by the voter, so that, if his vote proves ineffective for his chosen candidate, it, may become effective for the next preferred candidate, and so on.
- (4) That every candidate is elected who obtains a number of votes, known as the Quota.

(The Quota is, essentially, the smallest number of votes necessary to elect the required number of candidates, while being just big enough, to prevent too many candidates from being elected.)

The system was introduced into Ireland for a Municipal Corporation election in 1918, and has achieved widespread public acceptance - indeed the largest political party in Ireland has attempted on two occasions to change the system to the English Simple Majority, First Past the Post, system, and on both occasions, the proposal was rejected by the electorate.k

The argument used by the proposers of the change on each occasion was that the Single Transferable Vote leads to instability of Government, and indeed, it is very difficult to obtain an overall majority with STV and even more difficult to achieve a runaway victory.

On occasions - as at the present time - no party has obtained an overall majority, and then, we either have a Coalition Government OR the balance of power is held by a small number of independent, non-party, members. This is not necessarily a disadvantage.

It forces the elected member to "nurse" his constituency, and he is less likely to lapse into complacency, and forget the grass-roots voters who voted him in.

COUNT

Now, the actual procedure at the Count, is that all votes cast are sorted in accordance with the No. 1 vote recorded on the Ballot paper, and counted by hand. The ballot papers are not machine-readable, at the present-time, although advances in technology may provide for this in the foreseeable future.

All papers are scrutinized by the election count staff and any doubtful or outright invalid papers are isolated.

INVALID NOTES

These "doubtful" papers are then adjudicated on, by the Returning Officer; decisions made as to their admissability, and they are either included in the Count or rejected. Votes are found to be invalid for a variety of reasons such as - no clear No. 1 voted indicated; writing on the ballot paper which may identify the voter; no official stamp on the ballot paper etc.

After the rejection of the invalid votes, the remaining ballot papers are counted, and this establishes the Total Valid Poll.

The Ballot papers are sorted into parcels for each candidate, who is then credited with the number of No. 1 votes in his parcel of ballot papers.

QUOTA

The Quota is determined by dividing the Total Valid Poll by the number of seats to be filled + 1, and, disregarding any fraction, adding 1 to the result. Thus, in a three-seater constituency, where the Total Valid Poll might be 32,000 the Quota is determined as follows:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \text{Total Valid Poll} & & 32,000 \\
 & = & \\
 \text{No. of seats + 1} & & 3 + 1 (4) \\
 & & = 8000 + 1 = 8001
 \end{array}$$

Thus the Quota is 8001. ONLY THREE candidates can get this number of votes. The addition of + 1 to the result is very important, as, theoretically, if the 1 was not added, four persons could attain the Quota - highly improbable, but, statistically, just possible.

This system is known as the Droop Quota, after the man who devised it. With this system, as with all PR systems, the larger the constituency, the A PAGE SEEM TO BE MISSING RIGHT HERE.

SURPLUS

"Once a candidate is elected, any excess votes for that candidate, over and above the Quota are redistributed in accordance with the next available preference. This is done by physically removing the proportionate number of excess ballot papers from the elected candidate's parcel of votes, and, because they are not needed to elect this candidate, placing them with the other candidates' parcels of votes.

The returning officer sorts all ballot papers cast for the first candidate according to their next available preference. Each candidate receives a proportion of the surplus votes equal to that candidate's proportion of all next preference ballots marked for the elected candidate.

If for example, one candidate received 10,001 votes with a quota of 8,001 needed to be elected, all 10,001 ballot papers would be examined to determine the proportion of second choice votes each other candidate received. These candidates would then receive the surplus transferrable votes in proportion to that percentage.

Example: Anne Murphy received 10,001 votes. 8,001 quota.

	<u>1st Choice</u>	<u>2nd Choice</u>	<u>Transfer</u>
*Anne Murphy	10,001		- 2000
		Farrell	4,000 800
		Conway	3,000 600
		O'Hara	2,000 400
		Curry	1,001 200

* = elected

Murphy, needing only 8,001 to be elected, retains 8,001 votes. The 2,000 available surplus votes are distributed according to the percentage each of the other candidates received from the total 10,001.

The actual number to be transferred is determined by a fraction: i.e.

$$\frac{\text{Surplus}}{\text{Total number of actual transfers}} \times \frac{\text{Number of Candidate's transferrable papers}}{\text{Total number of actual transfers}}$$

Applied to Candidate Farrell the formula would be as follows:

$$\frac{4,000}{10,001} \times 2,000 = 800 \text{ votes transferred to Farrell}$$

Thus the elected candidate has her quota left to her, and her surplus has been divided, proportionately, among the other candidates. Any ballot papers not indicating a further effective preference, are deemed "non-transferrable" and are placed in a separate parcel.

The actual transfer of votes is accomplished by physically distributing two of every five Murphy first choice ballot papers, with Farrell as the second preference, to Farrell.

When the surplus ballots from the elected candidate are redistributed to a second choice candidate, and added with first choice votes for that candidate, two possibilities arise:

(1) the combined votes for the next available preference do not equal or exceed the quota.

In that situation, all next available preference votes for that candidate are transferred into that candidate.

If, in the example above Farrell had 5,000 first place votes, he would receive 800 transferrable votes for a combined total of 5,800 votes.

(2) the combined first and second choice votes for the second candidate equals or exceeds the quota required to elect that candidate.

If Farrell had 7,601 votes, he would receive only the number of votes necessary to achieve the quota. In this situation, only 400 transferrable ballot papers may be transferred to Farrell.

Farrell $7,60 + 400 = 8,001$ (elected). The other 400 votes are surplus and must be redistributed according to next available preferences. (Note: The "next available" preference may be a third choice, but may be a fourth or fifth if higher choices have already achieved their quotas.

To determine which candidates receive the surplus votes on all transfers following the first choice distributions, only those votes in the parcel to be transferred are examined. In this example, all 800 of

the papers in the transfer parcel with Murphy the first preference and Farrell the second preference would be examined for the next available preference. The 400 Farrell surplus votes would be allocated to the those choices in proportion to their numbers in the entire 800 ballot parcel.

This sounds complicated but in practice it merely requires great care while supervising the actual physical transfer of papers.

Voting machines are not used, an indeed it is difficult to see how they could be devised to deal with this system.

Thus, the elected candidate has his Quota left to him, and his surplus has been divided, proportionately, among the other candidates. Any ballot papers not indicating a further effective preference, are deemed "Non-transferable" and placed in a separate parcel.

ELIMINATION . This procedure will continue until all available surpluses have been distributed, and then if there are still seats remaining to be filled, the Returning Officer proceeds to eliminate the candidate with the lowest number of votes, and to re-distribute those votes in accordance with the next recorded effective preference, and so on, until all the seats are filled. It is not essential for all candidates to reach the Quota, in order to be elected. Where the number of continuing candidates is equal to the number of seats remaining to be filled, the candidates so remaining may be "deemed elected without reaching the Quota".

This system maximizes the voter's freedom of choice in that the voter is given a wider range of opinions and it gives a minority party a chance of obtaining representation - this is not the case with the First Past the Post System.

When the system was introduced into Ireland in 1918, its operation was monitored by those interested in this new electoral process. At that time, the following comments were made by the local newspaper:

"The system has justified its adoption; we saw it work; we saw its simplicity; we saw its unerring honesty to the voter all through; we saw the result in the final count and we join in the general

expression of those who followed it with an intelligent interest -
it is as easy as the old way; it is a big improvement and it is
absolutely fair.

The people of the Republic of Ireland appear to agree - we have had the
system since 1918; we have resisted two attempts to change it, and it seems
unlikely that there will be another. It appears to be there to stay.

COMMENTARY ON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

As I speak only from an Irish viewpoint, I am unable to comment on all 10 of the Key Issues set out in the Terms of Reference for this Plenary Session, as many of them have no relevance to our system of elections. For instance, there are no regional or ethnic parties in Southern Ireland; minimum thresholds do not apply and I have only recently become acquainted with the d'hondt List system of voting!

However, before it appears that I know nothing about anything, I will comment briefly on some of the other Key Issues, already dealt with so admirably by Senator Stepien, and I will then describe very briefly the operation of our own system.

Firstly, on the issue of the advantages and disadvantages of proportional representation - of course there are both, as there are in every system, but I am satisfied that the advantages far out-weigh the disadvantages. In particular our own system of proportional representation - the Single Transferable Vote or STV system, is fair and maximizes the voter's freedom of choice. He may vote for only one candidate, or for a number, or all of the candidates. He may vote for one party only, or cross-vote. Thus he has a wider choice of candidates, than in the Simple Majority, one-seat constituency. The system also gives representation to a greater range of opinions.

In the United States the primary election was introduced to allow voters a say in the choice of their party candidates - the STV system in one sense combines the primary election with the actual election.

One so-called disadvantage is known colloquially as "clientism" in Ireland. Essentially, this means that when there are several elected members for the one constituency, they are so busy competing with each other that they may tend to forget that they should be legislating for all. However, even this "disadvantage" is, in itself, an advantage in some practical ways, as it means that a member has to "nurse" his constituents and is less likely to forget the grass-roots who voted him in.

On the issue of the handicapped voter - this has been given very special consideration in Ireland - recent legislation has made elaborate provision for the handicapped, home-bound voter. A special register is kept and updated each year, and at election time, election officials known as "Special Presiding Officers" travel out to the homes of the home-bound handicapped electors several

days before Polling Day, and, in conditions of strict security, provide facilities for the handicapped voter to cast his or her vote.

Postal voting is restricted to the police and Defence Forces.

Our system of proportional representation is known simply as PR as if there were no other systems of proportional representation, when, in fact there are many. In particular, there are several varieties of the List system, including the aforementioned d'Hondt variety, or the "largest average". Other systems are the "Second Ballot" and the "Alternative Vote" - also known as the "Preferential Vote" in Australia. However, Ireland's particular brand of PR is the Single Transferable Vote or STV which was first introduced into Ireland in 1918 for a Municipal Corporation Election,, and it proved so acceptable that we have had it ever since. On two occasions, the largest political party in Ireland has put a proposal to the Irish electorate to change to the Simple Majority system, but on each occasion this proposal has been rejected by the electorate, so it is safe to assert that the system enjoys widespread public acceptance. On each occasion, the argument put forward by the party proposing the change was that the Single Transferable Vote leads to instability of Government. It is indeed difficult to obtain an overall majority with STV and even more difficult to achieve a runaway victory. A number of our general elections have been inconclusive and have been closely followed by other elections, before a single party got an overall majority, and on several occasions - as at the present time - no party has succeeded in obtaining an overall majority, and we have had several coalition governments. Sometimes, the balance of power may be held by a small number of independent members - but this is no bad thing, and keeps the Government party "on their toes" and less likely to lapse into complacency.

The operation of the STV system is that all candidates are listed in alphabetical order on the ballot paper, with their party affiliations, if any, printed alongside their names. The elector votes 1, 2, 3 and so on for as many candidates as he wishes. He may opt to complete his voting by voting for only one candidate should he so wish, but with the STV he can provide against his vote being wasted either because his chosen candidate has too few votes to have any chance of being elected, or because he has received surplus votes which he does not need - if he so chooses, he may place the figure 2 opposite the name of the candidate next preferred and so on. This is the basic STV system in operation, and even though, it is often described as a "complicated" system, you can see that it is, in fact, a very simple system, in so far as the voter is concerned.

It is only at the Election Count that it becomes complicated, when counting has reached the third or fourth, or maybe the tenth count - and then, it is complicated only for the unfortunate Returning Officer and Count Staff.

For General Elections in Ireland, the country is divided into 41 constituencies with 3, 4 and 5-members elected for each constituency, depending on the number of the electorate - averaging 1 member per 20,000 of electorate. The Returning Officer who controls the election is appointed by virtue of his (or her) official capacity as Sheriff. Therefore, as I am the County Sheriff for the County of Kerry, I am automatically appointed as Returning Officer for the two constituencies within the County.

To sum up, the essential features of the Single Transferable Vote are:

1. That the constituencies return at least 3 members.
2. That the elector has only one vote;
3. That the vote is transferable from one candidate to another, _____, without restriction, according to a series of preferences indicated by the voter, so that, if his vote proves ineffective for his chosen candidate, it may become effective for the next preferred candidate and so on.
4. That every candidate is elected who obtains a number of votes known as the Quota.

The Quota is, essentially, the smallest number of votes necessary to elect the required number of candidates, while being just big enough, to prevent too many candidates from being elected.

The Quota used for the STV system is called the Droop Quota after the man who invented it, but this is not the time to go into the method by which the Quota is determined.

Once the Quota has been reached by a candidate, he is deemed to be elected. If he then has any excess votes over and above the Quota, these votes are redistributed to the other candidates according to the preferences recorded on their ballot papers. Thus, no votes are "wasted".

Local and Presidential Elections are also conducted on the same system. I commenced by telling you that the system was first introduced for a Municipal Corporation Election in 1918, and I will conclude by quoting from the local newspaper - the Sligo Champion - immediately thereafter, which sums up the situation admirably:

The system has justified its adoption; we saw it work;

we saw its simplicity; we saw its unerring honesty to the voter all through; we saw the result in the final count and we join in the general expression of those who followed it with an intelligent interest - it is as easy as the old way; it is a big improvement; and it is absolutely fair."

The Role of Political Parties

by

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky

"I believe that without party Parliamentary government is impossible." These were the words of a speech in 1872 by Benjamin Disraeli. During the Nineteenth Century the gradual creation of organized, relatively cohesive political parties in Britain and the battle between William Ewart Gladstone's Liberal party and the Conservative party of Disraeli and of Lord Salisbury proved to be essential features of the country's political system as it emerged into its modern shape.[1]

In the United States, too, and on the Continent of Europe, the extension of the franchise during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries went hand in hand with the development of political parties. Despite all the differences between the party organizations and the party systems of different countries, their roles may be summed up simply: to make representative government work.

This chapter therefore will start by summarizing the functions of political parties and by setting out the arguments for Disraeli's view of them. However, there is also an opposite interpretation, namely that the importance and even the desirability of parties may easily be exaggerated. This view also will be considered.[2]

THE CASE FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

(1) Democracy and political parties: the historical dimension

The development of universal suffrage - the right of all adult citizens to vote - was a gradual process in the Western democracies. Frequently, it was controversial and painful. In the United States, voting rights were extended to white males during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. It took far longer for women and for blacks to win the same entitlement. It was only in 1869 that a state in the USA - Wyoming - first granted the franchise to women. It was in 1920 - 131 years after the United States Constitution had come into being - that the Nineteenth Amendment made it unconstitutional to deny any citizen the right to vote on account of sex. The Fifteenth Amendment of 1870, which supposedly guaranteed the voting rights of blacks, was regularly circumvented in the Southern states until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Cummings and Wise 1989, 379)

In many other countries, it was also a long time before restrictions on the franchise were removed. As Ivor Crewe has written,

in Australia aborigines were not fully enfranchised until 1967. Women were not granted the vote on equal terms with men until 1944 in France, 1946 in Italy, Japan and Venezuela, 1948 in Belgium, and, most notorious of all, 1971 in Switzerland. (Crewe 1981, 219)

The most significant point for our purposes is that the historical experience of many countries indicates that the introduction of mass suffrage

generally led to the mobilization of citizens in distinctive political parties. (Coser 1966, 101) the link between the extension of the franchise and the growth of parties is made in R.T. McKenzie's classic study of British Political Parties (McKenzie, 1963) and, on an international scale, in the research of the Norwegian political scientist, Stein Rokkan (1961). Leon Epstein draws a similar conclusion in his standard study of Political Parties in Western Democracies:

There is every reason to believe that modern political parties emerged with the extension of the vote to a fairly large proportion of the populace. (Epstein 1967, 19)

Another American political scientist, A. Lawrence Lowell had already stressed the same point in 1908. he wrote that the development of parties at the time was "almost universal in modern governments that contain a popular element." (Lowell 1908, I. 435)

In the pre-democratic age, when only limited numbers of citizens enjoyed voting rights, political parties were rudimentary. Candidates for parliamentary seats and their personal agents could arrange to approach each elector (sometimes to offer bribes in return for individual promises of votes). (Pinto-Duschinsky 1981, 15) Such a system often relied on the prestige and the wealth of notable citizens who either stood as candidates themselves or who acted as candidates' patrons. [3] In Nineteenth Century Britain, for example, landowners frequently put pressure on tenant farmers to vote for a particular candidate. In exchange for securing a candidate's election, the local landowners and notables could then rely on him to represent their interests once he had been elected to the House of Commons.

The extension of the right to vote made this traditional method of campaigning impractical. Once a parliamentary candidate needed to gain the support of thousands or tens of thousands of voters, individual contracts and bribery became not only prohibitively expensive but also impractical. Moreover, the introduction of secret ballots made it impossible to check whether electors actually voted for the candidates from whom they had received bribes.

The loosening of ties between electors and individual candidates also meant that electors became more likely to vote on the basis of a candidate's party affiliation. The adoption of party colors and of party symbols was part of the same process. (Block 1964, 74 - 81)

The extension of the franchise led to the development of organized parties for other reasons. While large sections of the population had been excluded from the electorate, they were unable to participate in the political process (except to organize demonstrations to press for voting rights or to participate in lobbies or trade unions). After they had gained the right to vote, the more active and committed members of the newly-enfranchised classes started to become politically active. This usually involved participation in party organizations. Such organizations became increasingly important in running election campaigns. (McKibbin 1974)

The historical evidence suggests that it was not a matter of chance that the growth of electorates and of parties coincided. It indicates that party organizations were needed to fulfil essential functions in mass democracies.

These will now be considered. In Lowell's words,

Experience has, indeed shown that democracy in a great country, where the number of voters is necessarily large, involves the permanent existence of political parties; and it would not be hard to demonstrate that this must in the nature of things be the case. (Lowell 1908, I. 439)

(2) The functions of parties

The functions of political parties in representative democracies have been conveniently listed by academic writers such as Sigmund Neumann (1956) and Anthony King (1969). In what is admittedly a simplification of the political science literature, King identified six functions of parties:

1. structuring the vote;
2. the integration and mobilization of the mass public;
3. the recruitment of political leaders;
4. the organization of government;
5. the formation of public policy;
6. the aggregation of interests.

Using these headings, I will set out the case for viewing parties as the engines of democracy.

1. Structuring the vote. Electors may cast their votes according to their preference for a particular candidate or leader. Such a preference may be based on electors' assessments of a candidate's personal qualities and appearance of competence, on the candidate's experience or record, or on one or more of his policies. Alternatively, electors may base their voting decisions not on a judgement of individual candidates but on a choice of party. Attachment to party may be strong and long-lasting. Once they have formed a party loyalty, electors are likely to support whatever policies and whichever candidates their party puts forward.

Scholarly studies of voting behavior, especially the works of the Michigan School of electoral studies, [4] have examined psychological allegiances to parties by voters in the United States and in other countries. It has been a subject of continued academic interest and controversy how far electors are influenced by long-term attachments to a party on the one hand and how far, on the other hand, they vote on the basis of judgements of issues and personalities that vary from one election to the next.

It is beyond doubt that party organizations have been effective to a considerable extent in creating feelings of loyalty among many voters. For instance, about two-thirds of adult Americans identify themselves (to varying degrees) with either the Democratic or the Republican party. (Crewe 1984) In the past, such identifications with a party have frequently been linked with voters' social class, religion or ethnic group. (Campbell (1960), Butler and Stokes (1969), Inglehart (1983).)

2. The integration and mobilization of the mass public. Political parties involve ordinary citizens in active participation in political life. These provide the main channel of popular involvement in the process of government. Electors need only to pay a small subscription in order to become party members. They may participate in party activities - for example, by helping the local party organization during election campaigns, or by joining in discussions on party policy within the local organization or by taking part in regional or national party conferences.

Party members and supporters are also crucial in helping to ensure the efficiency and the integrity of the electoral process itself. Though the main responsibility for drawing up an complete and accurate list of electors is, in most countries, the responsibility of public authorities, party organizations also play a part in the registration process by checking the register for names that may have been left off by accident, by encouraging and helping citizens to register their names, and by making appeals against the inclusion of incorrect or false names. Party members and local organizations frequently help their supporters with formalities relating to absent voting. On election day, local party workers man election stations and may be present when the ballots boxes are opened and the votes are counted. This both deters electoral fraud and helps to reveal it when it occurs.

The fact that many citizens participate in political parties is, arguably, important for a country's political life for a number of reasons. Parties which are well organized and which enjoy the active support of a large number of members are likely to benefit during elections. The hard work of the members in the campaign period helps to gain votes. In Britain, for instance, it is the job of party supporters to hand out much of the parliamentary candidate's election literature and posters and, on election day, to knock on the doors of electors who are thought to be party supporters to remind them to vote and even to offer to drive them to the polling station.

It is also claimed that, apart from its influence on election results, the work of party organizations has a deeper effect. If citizens join political parties and take part in their activities, they are likely to feel that they have a useful role in the political system. Actively supported parties thus strengthen political stability. Political scientists who were particularly concerned about the creation of democratic loyalties in West Germany after the Second World War, such as Otto Kirchheimer, stressed that the political parties functioned "as channels for integrating individuals and groups into the existing political order." (Kirchheimer 1968, 188-89) A vigorous but peaceful contest between democratic parties was a healthy replacement for the violent confrontation between the far left and the Nazi right that had destroyed the Weimar Republic.

Another example of the integrative function of parties is to be seen in the work of the 'bosses' of the Nineteenth Century and Twentieth Century political machines (i.e. party organizations) in American cities. In order to obtain the votes and party loyalties of immigrants, the party bosses made particular efforts to aid them and to draw them into the orbit of party activity. The political machines thus provided channels for integrating ethnic groups into the mainstream of American life.

3. The recruitment of political leaders. Through the rules and practices of parties vary greatly from country to country, parties often have a decisive role in nominating candidates for public office and in dismissing members of Parliament and party leaders.

The selection of candidates by party organizations arguably has at least three positive effects.

First, parties may serve to give opportunities for citizens to run for public office who would not otherwise do so. An ordinary citizen who starts by becoming involved in party activities and on party committees may hope to be nominated as a candidate for an elective position in local or national government.

Second, the fact that a candidate for senior office has been nominated by a political party is likely to assure him (or her) of the party's backing following his election. For instance, the authority of the British prime minister in the Cabinet and in the House of commons is boosted by the fact that he is the chosen nominee of the party. By contrast, a president who has been elected on the basis of personal appeal may find it difficult to govern if he lacks a legislative base.

Third, the party - which normally acts as a support for the leader's authority - may also act to dismiss the leader. A dramatic example of the exercise of this function was the British Conservative party's dismissal of Margaret Thatcher in November 1990. Procedures for ousting leaders vary from party to party. In general, the knowledge that they may be dismissed by the party, may act as a healthy restraint on political leaders.

4. The organization of government. When a political party wins office, the support of the party will assist it to govern effectively. The incoming government, either on its own or as part of a coalition, will appoint party supporters to major ministerial positions and, in some countries, to positions as ministerial advisers.

The role of party in securing the adoption of government measures is seen at the legislative as well as the ministerial level. Members of Parliament are likely to vote along party lines. A government is thus likely to receive the backing of its party members in the legislature. Party support therefore promotes stable and effective government.

A government which is 'above party' will probably be unable to rely on passing its major measures through the legislature will be obliged to make a succession of compromises and deals with ever shifting coalitions of legislators.

5. The formation of public policy. Commentators such as Richard Rose have suggested that there is an unfortunate tendency for governments to accept the policy advice of bureaucrats. It is more desirable, in Rose's view, for governments to base their policies on research carried out within their party organizations and on resolutions at party conferences. (Rose 1976)

irrespective of debates over what ought to happen, it may be argued that

parties often do have a significant role in policy formation, for better or worse. The manifestoes presented by parties before elections are important documents that vitally affect the subsequent actions of governments. This is shown by checking the promises of political parties before elections against their policies in government when they have won elections. Such comparisons for both the United States and for Britain are reported by Anthony King (1981, 309-10).

6. The aggregation of interests. There is no shortage of interest groups, which put forward their - often inconsistent - demands. Governments face pressure to please the electors by reducing taxes and, at the same time, to curry favor by increasing spending on health services, education, defence and so forth. There are groups which campaign for the interests of the young and of the old, of town and country. There are calls to put money into roads and into railways, as well as contradictory pressure from foreign policy lobbies.

Parties cannot afford - according to one argument - to accept every pressure group demand. They must seek to formulate policies that they can present to the electorate as a whole. Gabriel Almond explains the point as follows:

Every political system has some way of aggregating the interests, claims, and demands which have been articulated by the interest groups of the polity. Aggregation may be accomplished by means of the formulation of general policies in which interests are combined, accommodated or otherwise taken account of... (Almond and Coleman 1960, 39)

According to Almond and Gabriel Powell (1966, 29) the "political party may be considered the specialized aggregation structure of modern societies". In other words, it is within political parties that compromises are made between the claims of conflicting groups. This is because parties - unlike many interest groups - need to appeal to as many electors as possible if they are to be successful at the polls.

If political parties fulfil this variety of functions, Disraeli's statement about their essential role is no exaggeration. Many Western scholars have expressed strong doubts, however, about the place of parties in contemporary political systems. These reservations will be summarized in the next section.

THE LIMITATIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

(1) The risk of generalization

A catalogue of functions of parties is open to objection, first of all, because it is based on the faulty premise that different parties have similar roles. A conclusion that emerges from a comparative study is that party systems, party organizations and party roles all vary so greatly that attempts to make widely applicable propositions about the functions of parties are doomed to failure.

There are obvious differences between the position of parties in two party systems (which tend to correspond with first-past-the-post electoral systems) and in multi-party systems (which are often found in countries where elections

are by proportional representation). There are differences between parties in countries with a parliamentary democracy and parties in countries which elect presidential governments. There are further contrasts between forms of party organization and participation.

Consider the question of party membership. In countries such as Austria, political parties have large, well-defined memberships. Citizens find themselves under strong pressure to subscribe to one of the main parties. The party organizations frequently allocate subsidized public housing and other forms of patronage on the basis of party membership. In Germany, party membership is also highly developed, especially in the Social Democratic party. Here, too, the patronage available to the parties reportedly influences recruitment. As an official of a party foundation caricatured the situation, "it is not possible to become a headmaster in Germany without a party card". In 1989 the parties represented in the West German Bundestag collected no less than 236 million DM in subscriptions from 1,873,000 members. (Drucksache 11/8130)

In the United States, party 'membership' is an alien concept. Candidates and party organizations vigorously collect money from political supporters. But donors do not receive membership cards. In many states of the USA, citizens gain the entitlement to participate in primary elections - the device for selecting many party candidates - by registering themselves on the electoral roll either as Democrats or as Republicans. This status of 'registered Democrat' or 'registered Republican' is peculiar to the United States. In Britain, the concepts of membership not only vary between the two major parties but are also different from both the American and the German (or Austrian) parties.

It will be apparent that these variations make it hard to compare the extent to which parties carry out the second function in King's list - the integration and mobilization of the mass public. When we examine the other functions in the list, similar variations emerge.

For instance, as far as function 4 - the organization of government - is concerned, the influence of party differs greatly between Western democracies. In Britain, the bureaucracy consists almost entirely of non-political professionals. Apart from ministers - who are senior members of the ruling party with seats in Parliament - the government includes only a handful (not more than fifty) party appointees. In Washington, the President includes several thousand political appointees in his administration.

There is a further contrast between London and Washington. Within the House of Commons, members of the governing party almost invariably vote according to the instructions of the party whips. This means that the government's measures are virtually guaranteed to secure the approval of Parliament. Within Congress, representatives and senators vote against the party line, on average, in about one vote in three.

Thus, King's fourth function - 'party-in-government' - means something quite different in Britain and in the United States. For the purpose of brevity, the other functions will not be examined. Suffice it to say that an investigation of the influence of party on voting behavior (function 1) and on candidate selection (function 3) and the other functions in the list would

reveal a similar confusion.

In summary, parties do not all carry out the functions that have been listed or, at least, do not carry them out in the same way and to the same extent. A list of the roles of parties is merely a crude approximation.

(2) The decline of parties

If the points made in the previous section are accepted, it follows that it is not only generalizations about party functions that need to be treated with reserve but also generalizations about trends in the level of party activity and support. However, it is worth noting that analyses of parties published by Western academics since the 1980s have tended to stress the theme of party decline, a development which some writers note with regret. Angelo Panebianco's recent study of party organization concludes with a section on 'party crisis' (1988, 267-69). Similarly, Samuel E. Finer wrote in 1984 (2 and 6) that

everywhere in Western Europe and America ... we can discern today a marginalization of party ... (A)t different paces - with the United States perhaps at one end of the scale and France at the other - what we are witnessing is the slow, uneven, but ineluctable erosion of the once central and dominant position assigned to the political parties.

King also presented what he termed as "skeptical reflections" about whether parties played as large a role in Western democracies as was usually assumed. (1969, 234)

The literature on American parties includes such titles as The Party's Over, American Parties in Decline, Dismantling the Parties, Parties in Crisis and The Decline of American Political Parties. [5]

Several reasons are commonly put forward for this apparent international trend. First, it is argued that there have been basic shifts in the nature of West societies. These social changes have led to a decline in blind allegiances to parties. Electors have become prone to cast their votes on the basis of issues, government records and on the individual popularity of political leaders. The period since the Second World War has witnessed a rapid expansion in education. Electors who have completed their schooling and, even more, those who have attended universities are much more likely to change their votes from one party to another. They are in a better position to judge the issues for themselves and to be immune to party propaganda. (See Nie 1979.)

Apart from the growth of educational opportunity, occupational structures have radically altered. Until the last twenty years, most electors could identify themselves either as working class or middle class. This relatively distinct class structure meant that electors tended to identify themselves with the party which represented their class interests. The decline of manufacturing industry as a source of employment, the growth of service sectors and of employment in local government and other public services have combined to lead to a far more complex occupational structure. Individuals do not fit into neat class categories and, therefore, are no longer likely to retain the party attachments which went hand in hand with the old class patterns of employment. (Inglehart 1983)

Second, it is frequently argued that technological developments have made old-style party organizations almost redundant in election campaigns. Traditional campaigning involved visits by party supporters to each household to deliver literature and to speak to electors on behalf of the party. Besides doorstep campaigning, local party organizations arranged public meetings and other events for candidates. The local organization acted as an essential intermediary between candidate and elector.

Television has produced a sea-change.[6] Electors no longer need party literature or doorstep explanations from local party members. They receive their political messages from the candidates nightly on their television screens. Under the new conditions, professional experts on advertising and opinion polling have become fundamentally important while the role of party members has become far less significant. As a leading British party official once put it, "elections are no longer won by little men walking up and down streets." Apart from election campaigns, longer term political attitudes are also being increasingly molded by television. According to Panebianco, "(p)olitical socialization no longer depends upon party organization but rather upon mass media".(1988, 273)

Third, the growing scope of governmental activity is seen as a cause of party decline. Irrespective of ideology, Western governments have greatly increased their expenditures and their activities during the Twentieth Century. Even countries that stress the role of the private sector have participated in this trend. health care, education, social security and other services are provided by the state to a far greater extent than in the past. This has led to the burgeoning of interest groups created to lobby government ministries of behalf of trade unionists, businessmen, nurses, students, veterans, the disabled, environmental groups and one thousand and one others.

Under modern conditions, citizens are more likely to seek protection through interest groups (which deal directly with the relevant government ministry or bureau or which organize public demonstrations) than by participating in party activities. Finer comments that "the public, or publics, increasingly by-pass the party as such; they tend to deal directly with the government of the day".(Finer 1984, 2)

Writers of the 'decline of party' school often suggest or assume that there was a golden age of party government which coincided with the decades following the extension of the franchise. This period has been replaced by a 'post-industrial society' and by post-party politics.

(3) The possible dangers of parties

Though most Western writers have based their works on the presumption that parties are desirable [7] and have, for this reason, regretted what they have seen as their decline, some have pointed to their alleged drawbacks and dangers.

1. Parties and adversary politics. Some British academics, such as Finer (1980), and politicians have criticized the country's two major parties - Conservative and Labor - for their failure to reach compromises with each other on matters of policy. The critics view these divisions as an undesirable product of a two-party system resulting from a first-past-the-post, single member constituency form of elections.

According to this interpretation, party policy is too greatly influenced by the views of party activists, who tend to hold untypically strong ('adversarial') opinions: Labor activists are more socialist than average labor voters; Conservative activists are correspondingly more right wing than Conservative voters. Consequently, changes of government often lead to abrupt and counterproductive shifts in policy as the new regime reverses the measures of the old one. The history of the British steel industry is given as an example: nationalized by the Labor government of 1945-51, the industry was denationalized by the Conservatives in the 1950s, renationalized when Labor was back in power in the 1960s and privatized once more by a Conservative government in the 1980s. (Finer 1980, 18 ff.)

2. Oligarchy and corruption. Though parties may have mass memberships and though ordinary members may appear to participate in the party organization, power will inevitably gravitate towards a small circle of political leaders and party bureaucrats. This argument was forcefully expressed by Robert Michels in an influential book on Political Parties first published in 1911 and it continues to be reflected in some contemporary analyses of party organizations. Michels claimed ambitiously that his interpretation was an 'iron law' of political sociology. Power in all large political organizations is bound to fall into the hands of an oligarchy irrespective of the rights assigned formally to the members. The top group of leaders and full-time party bureaucrats will always have sufficient ambition, resources and the technical skills to outwit the ordinary members. Even if members of the party oligarchy are from humble origins, they are likely to become unrepresentative of their followers as they begin to pursue their personal self-interests as professional politicians.

Control over the party machinery by the 'oligarchy' not only excludes the members from policymaking, it may have other consequences. Michels' approach may be allied to the recruitment of candidates. Decisions about the selection of parliamentary candidates are often decided by small party committees. Whether for this or for other reasons, the result, as far as the British Conservative party is concerned is that the social backgrounds of those chosen to represent the party in the House of Commons has, at least until the 1980s, been wholly untypical of the social background of ordinary Conservative voters. Whereas the party has normally drawn half of its voters from the working class, virtually no working class Conservatives have been selected as candidates for winnable seats. Similarly, party organizations in different countries have been accused of preventing women and members of minority groups from rising to senior political positions. (Butler and Pinto-Duschinsky 1980)

The domination of party organizations by groups of leaders may have another harmful result: corruption. The link between urban party politics and corruption has been a constant theme of American literature ever since the exposure in the 1860s of Boss Tweed and his henchmen in the Tammany Hall, the Democratic party organization of New York City.

3. Anti-democratic parties. So far, I have been dealing with arguments about the role of political parties in Western democracies. The study of such parties is based on the reasonable assumption that parties are almost always committed to the system of representative government.

But not all parties are assets to democracy. The term 'party' has been used, especially in countries with weak democratic traditions, by organizations with little interest in participating in competitive elections. In the past, anti-democratic parties have ranged from Nazi parties to Communist parties and have included organizations committed to terror, often in furtherance of nationalist aims.

A parliamentary system may be able to withstand the presence of anti-democratic parties, as the experience of postwar Italy shows. But such parties are obviously a danger, especially if their activities on the political plane are accompanied by force or by the threat of force. Even Britain has not been immune from the problems caused by clashes reflecting conflicting nationalist ambitions. In Northern Ireland, prolonged sectarian violence has led to the suspension of Stormont, the provincial assembly. In societies divided by deep-seated hatreds, political parties may serve to express and to deepen them.

For a health competition between parties to be possible, a number of prior conditions must be met.

First, the nation must exist with a reasonable degree of military security and within boundaries that are accepted both within the country and by its neighbors. Territorial claims against a country are particularly dangerous to its survival as a democracy if they are backed by serious external threats of force and if sections of a country's population owe an allegiance to the foreign state which is making the claims.

Second, even if there is not external threat to a country's territory, representative government may become impossible if an important section within the country wishes to secede and uses either a political party or the threat of violence (or both) to work towards this objective.

Third, the existence of a party which is committed, on ideological grounds, to ending the system of representative government obviously presents a danger to it if the party has a serious prospect of winning power.

Fourth, there must be confidence that the army, the police, the bureaucracy (and, where relevant, the secret service) will respect the instructions of the democratically elected government.

Fifth, there must exist the rule of law. There must be a confidence that elections have been fairly held and that candidates and their supporters have been free from intimidation by the police or by other authorities and that they are free from unjust treatment in the courts.

Sixth, candidates and parties must have reasonable opportunities to present their views to the electors. If radio and television are unfairly controlled and if there is a lack of independent newspapers, this condition cannot be met.

CONCLUSIONS

It will have become clear that, even if the study of parties is restricted to the Western democracies, the subject is complex and controversial. The discussion would need to be more detailed if parties in other countries were taken into account.

In virtually every Western nation, the workings of parties have been criticized. American professors have long expressed worries about the undisciplined nature of parties in the United States and they have usually cited British parties as models of 'responsible' parties (i.e. bodies that present clearly defined policy platforms to the electors).[8] In Britain, however, there has been a recent tendency for scholars to suggest that the grass is greener in the multi-party systems in countries with proportional representation, particularly those on the Continent of Europe. But within some countries with proportional representation there are also discontents (Israel is an example). Here the output of academics propounds the virtues of the party system produced in first-past-the-post regimes.

Political parties are a subject of continued discussions and reforms. There is no single form of party organization that can be presented as the ideal.

Moreover, the tons of books and articles on parties have produced no clear-cut conclusions about trends. This is partly because of gaps in research and partly because the experiences of parties vary from country to country. (Mair 1983) For instance, party membership has fallen in some countries but not in all of them. Also there are differences in interpretation. Observers faced with the same 'facts' may disagree about influences on party policy and on a party's internal distribution of power.

with these provisos, I feel that plain conclusions nevertheless emerge. Though the 'decline of party' arguments need to be taken seriously and though the character of election campaigns has been transformed since the 1950s (at least at the national level) by television, parties remain major political institutions. Academic studies have understandably highlighted changes. But there has been a tendency to exaggerate them.

Consider international trends in voting behavior. The extent and rapidity of party dealignment is a matter of controversy. Raymond Wolfinger and others have deployed sophisticated statistics to show that the decline of party loyalties in the American electorate has been considerably less severe than suggested by the 'decline of party' school. Moreover, even if the most alarming statistics about decline are accepted, a clear majority of electors in the United States and an even higher proportion in Britain retain a party identification (i.e. they report to survey researchers that they consider themselves as 'Democrats', 'Republicans' etc.) (Crewe 1984) Moreover, it is virtually unknown either in the United States or in Britain (both countries frequently cited in the 'decline of party' literature) for a candidate to win a seat in the national legislature unless he campaigns under the label of one of the main parties.

The same argument applies to other dimensions of alleged decline. Even if there are vital non-party influences on policymaking, the role of party is

considerable. Election manifestoes and the decisions of party congresses frequently do matter. Even though British members of Parliament have become a little more willing to rebel against the party whips during the past two decades, such defiance remains a rarity.

Not only do political parties remain significant, it is desirable that they should remain so. For all their shortcomings, the alternatives are usually less palatable. This applies to most of the criticisms of party that have been outlined. Admittedly, party politicians have sometimes used their positions to feather their own nests. But corruption is not limited to political parties, as the evidence of socialist countries and of Third World dictatorships makes plain.

Concerning political recruitment, women and members of minority groups may frequently have found it difficult to win party nominations (though a number of party organizations have made particular efforts to overcome this problem). But members of these groups find it at least as hard to win electoral office where nominations and campaigns are organized independently of party. In these conditions, the costs of electioneering are especially high and candidates need to be wealthy or to have rich backers.

Coming to the charge of 'oligarchy', it is open to question whether party bosses ignore or control their followers to the extent suggested by Michels. In a competitive party system, party leaders need not only to heed the views of their members but the views of the party's voters and potential voters. Indeed, the pressures from active members may conflict with those of electors. party leaders will have to use their skills to satisfy them both.

Party leaders must take account of public opinion if they are to gain votes. Though they benefit from electors' party attachments, they cannot risk straining their loyalties too far and, also, they need to attract undecided electors. As far as party members and activists are concerned, they cannot totally be ignored or manipulated. Discontented members will either leave the party or - worse - will organize into factions that will divide the party and challenge the leader. This, in turn, will worsen the party's electoral prospects.

Arthur Balfour, Britain's Conservative prime minister from 1900 and Harold Wilson, the Labor prime minister from 1964, both claimed the right to disregard resolutions passed by their party conferences (the annual conferences of representatives of local party organizations). Balfour went so far as to remark that he would sooner take advice from his valet as from the Conservative party conference. Ultimately, neither of these men proved able to withstand party pressures. Balfour presided over such bitter party divisions that the Conservatives lost three general elections in a row and he was then obliged to resign his position as leader.

Not only are party leaders generally weaker than suggested by Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy', but also political parties tend to operate more democratically than interest groups, which are the main alternative to parties. Those in charge of interest groups are usually far more remote from their members. A decline of party and the growth of interest group power would therefore serve to promote the oligarchical tendencies regretted by Michels.

So far, my advocacy of parties has been based on negative arguments - that the alternatives are worse. There is also a positive case for them. Parties are in a good position to help to resolve what is perhaps the central problem of governance - namely, how to make governments sufficiently strong to permit them to be stable and effective without, at the same time, risking that they become overbearing and authoritarian.

Provided that there is a competitive party system, the governmental party will be likely to carry out the dual role of sustaining and limiting the executive. Under normal conditions, the party will sustain its leaders, particularly by supporting their proposals in the legislature. But the party organization within the legislature and outside the legislature is also in a position to influence and even to restrain the leader, especially if he is driving along a road to electoral failure. By contrast, the populist or charismatic leader, who bases his authority on a direct appeal to the populace will veer between excessive strength and weakness.

Therefore, I support the conclusion made in a recent summary by Epstein of the scholarly writing on American political parties:

I am myself impressed with the theoretical argument that parties are essential intermediaries for effective representation of a large and diverse electorate. Like other political scientists, I see no examples of a democratic political system, now or in the past, working without parties, or with much weaker, more porous parties than we now have. (Epstein 1983, 148)

SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

This final section will address some specific questions about aspects of political parties.

(1) Are competitive parties essential to a democratic election process?

Democracy requires at least two political parties. In a one-party system, there is no alternative to the governing party can be presented to the electors.

Though competition between parties is a necessary condition of democratic government is not a sufficient condition. The existence of more than one party may fail to produce a democratic competition in two circumstances. First, party competition will become destructive of democracy if the divisions between the parties are so deep that they cannot trust each other to respect the laws and conventions of representative government. The battles between parties in the last days of the Weimar Republic provide an example of destructive conflict.

Second, the existence of two or more parties may, in some circumstances, not lead to competition between them. For instance, in countries in which party affiliations are set along ethnic or racial lines, parties will represent fixed blocks of voters. The party representing the majority ethnic group is guaranteed a permanent majority. Elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly produced such a situation for decades.

It is a matter of argument how much competition and how much cooperation is desirable between democratic parties. In a two party system, there is likely

to be a direct ('adversarial') contest between the government and opposition parties. Poor electoral performance will lead to the immediate ouster of the governing party. Contrary to the criticisms of writers such as Finer, this competition may be a positive advantage.

In multi-party systems, different parties may put forward candidates in elections while hardly engaging in any competition with each other. In these systems, the number of votes and seats gained by a party in an election may matter less in the formation and dismissal of the government than its agreements with other parties to enter into a coalition. Supporters of coalition systems can claim as a virtue the fact that competition between parties is restricted by the pressures on them to reach accommodations with each other. On the other hand coalition-making is open to the criticism because it means that a party's electoral failure need not lead to its dismissal from power.

It is not only when forming coalitions that parties make deals with each other. They are likely to agree on measures relating to the organization of the legislature and of elections. Critics point to the danger that established parties will draw up rules that are to their mutual benefit and to the disadvantage of new parties as well as to the disadvantage of candidates wishing to challenge incumbent legislators. Examples of such 'mutual benefit' arrangements are found in certain schemes the public funding of parties and of party institutes.

Some schemes for paying for facilities and staff for sitting members of Parliament have also been condemned on the ground that they provide resources which may be used for purposes of electioneering, thus providing unfair advantages to incumbents. The adoption of these schemes reflect the fact that the common self-interest of sitting members from different parties has become a predominant consideration.

2. What constitutes a party both legally and in practical terms?

Democratic parties are organizations whose purpose is to put forward candidates in elections. Countries vary in the extent to which questions relating to parties are embodied in law. In Britain, parties are considered as private, voluntary bodies. Broadly speaking, their internal affairs are not more regulated by law than the internal affairs of other organizations such as sports clubs.

In the United States, complex and ever-changing laws regulate the parties. Matters are complicated because many of the laws are enacted by state governments and the regulations vary from state to state. An example of legal regulation of parties is the set of laws relating to the nomination of candidates. some states require each party to select its candidates in state-run primary elections. The rules governing such elections differ widely between states. Historically, the object of such rules was to prevent state-level party organizations from being dominated by a group of party bosses, though it is open to debate whether the laws have always had this effect. The regulatory framework for parties has had another consequence. It has made it difficult for candidates to put themselves forward independently of party and it has hampered fringe parties.

Several countries have included provisions relating to political parties

in their constitutions. Examples are the West German Basic Law of 1949 and the constitutions of Italy (1947), Denmark (1953), France (1958), Turkey (1961) and Greece (1975). Typically, the constitutions recognize the rights of citizens to organize themselves into parties. (Tsatsos and Morlok, 1982, appendix)

(3) What is the organization and structure of a political party?

Since parties exist to put forward candidates at elections, their structure in each country will reflect that of elections. In the United States, one of the most important functions of each party's machinery is to nominate its candidate for election as president. The complicated nominating procedure culminates in the party convention, which is held during the summer before each presidential election. In Britain, there is no counterpart to the American nominating convention for the simple reason that there is no presidency and no presidential elections.

In broad terms the structure of party organization can usually be divided into the following three parts: (1) the organization or organizations of each party's legislators. This is called the 'parliamentary party', 'caucus' or 'fraction'; (2) the national extra-parliamentary headquarters; (3) territorial party organizations and committees. For example, in the United States, state parties, and party organizations at the city, county and ward level. In Britain, the main unit of organization below the national level is the constituency association - the party's organization for an area coinciding with the boundary of a House of Commons constituency.

In some parties there are also organizations for particular groups of members - for example, party organizations of women, students and young electors. These organizations, too, may have national and local units.

Party rules normally include provisions for occasional congresses or conferences of representatives of local party committees.

Participants in political parties can conveniently be divided into three categories: (1) those holding elective offices in national or local government and candidates for such offices; (2) paid officials of national and local party organizations; (3) party members and representatives of members on local and national party committees. Party organization vary greatly in the number of paid officials they employ and in the level of activity of party committees. As a general rule, a high level of membership and a thorough national and local organization is desirable.

(4) What are some different systems of handling the financing of parties and elections?

Political finance poses basic problems for democracy. [9] If some parties and candidates are able to spend disproportionately large sums of money on political organization and on election campaigns this may lead to the distortion of the democratic process. If candidates for the legislature are expected to provide large sums of money from their own pockets, this will prevent many talented men and women from putting themselves forward. If candidates and parties raise money from rich backers, they may be obliged to provide corrupt favors or to make promises about policy in return.

Critics of representative democracy on the Communist left and on the far right have often cited these problems to condemn the validity of the competitive electoral process. So-called democracies, according to these critics, are actually plutocracies, i.e., societies governed by the wealthy. More significant for our purposes, concern about political funding has also come from political moderates.

The source of funding that is arguably most desirable is small subscriptions by party members and modest donations by supporters. The advantage of raising small amounts of money from large numbers of donors is that candidates and parties will then be immune from the pressures that are liable to stem from a small number of large payments. Unfortunately, parties have often been unable to meet their needs from membership subscriptions. Other common sources of money are payments by corporations and trade unions, kickbacks by legislators from their salaries, profits from fundraising dinners and other social events, profits from party enterprises and, as described below, various forms of public subsidy.

Governments have attempted to regulate and to subsidize political funding in a variety of ways:

- (1) Limits on expenditures. For example, ceilings on campaign spending by parliamentary candidates or by national party organizations.
- (2) Limits on the amounts each individual is permitted to donate.
- (3) Mandatory disclosure of the names of donors to campaigns and parties and disclosure of expenditures.
- (4) Bans on political payments by companies, trade unions, or foreign citizens.
- (5) Tax reliefs, tax credits and other forms of tax remission on political donations.
- (6) Subsidies-in-kind: the provision of free facilities for parties and candidates - free postage for election literature, free radio and television time for political broadcasts.
- (7) Public subsidies.

Critics of public funding (the last item in the list) suggest that it may not solve the problems arising from private donations and is likely to create fresh problems of its own. The provision of state aid will not necessarily reduce candidates' and parties' dependence upon private funding since it may merely lead to a higher level of political expenditure. Moreover, reliance on public funding arguably reduces the independence of parties and the formulae for allocating money between parties will be subject to political manipulation.

The different forms of regulation (the first four items in the list) may all lead to evasion and to other difficulties. A reflection of the complexity of the problems relating to the regulation of political funding is that since 1988 countries ranging from the United States, Canada, Britain, France and Germany have all either introduced new laws relating to aspects of political

funding, have debated proposed reforms their legislatures or have established governmental committees or commissions of inquiry.

(5) What is the relationship between parties and social bases?

According to an interpretation that was popular from the 1950s, the social bases of parties were a reflection of basic social and economic forces. In 'pre-industrial' societies, party competition often reflected divisions over questions of religion. As populations moved from their traditional rural communities into towns, a process of secularization took place. Gradually the politics of religion was replaced by competition between parties based on questions of class. (See, for example, Almond (1956), Lipset (1963) and Butler and Stokes (1969).)

More recently, it has been argued that Western democracies have moved into a stage of 'post-industrial society'. This has apparently led to a breakdown of the old class politics. (Inglehart 1983) As outlined earlier, in the section on party decline, the lessening of class barriers and the growth of new social groups which have no place in the old middle class-working class divide has led to changes in voting behavior. Voting decisions, it is argued, have tended to become less securely moored to party loyalties by class identities. Hence voting has become more volatile. Also new parties and new issues have arisen which are a better expression of the feelings of new social groups. The growth of 'green' politics and parties is seen as an expression of these social changes. Green issues are likely to appeal to 'post-industrial' groups, typically well educated public employees such as teachers, social workers and other such public employees.

Several questions arise from this analysis: is it desirable for a political party to operate from a social base? is class more desirable as a basis of political cleavage than other social divisions, such as religious or ethnic divisions? Irrespective of what might be desirable, what has actually happened in the past and what is happening now? Have divisions between parties been determined by class or by other social factors?

It is open to debate whether it is beneficial to democracy to have a party system built on social decisions. One view is that it is healthier for voters to base their decisions upon independent, educated assessments of the issues and personalities presented to them at each election. Such voting decisions are more responsible than those based upon class, religious or racial prejudices. Another view is that socially-based voting decisions provide solid moorings for party support and thus create political stability. Moreover, the class politics that had reportedly emerged in developed, Western societies in the postwar years was moderate and was free of deep ideological conflicts. Seymour Lipset welcomed the fact that political conflict in the postwar world revolved around "whether the metal workers should get a nickel more an hour, the price of milk should be raised, or old-age pensions extended". He claimed that such mundane divisions of class interest were "the very stuff of the internal struggle within stable democracies". (Lipset 1963, 442)

I do not wish to adjudicate between these opposing interpretations. However, if politics is to reflect social bases rather than individual preferences, it is better that class should be the main factor rather than religion or race. it is possible for individuals to change occupations and to

improve their class standing (though it may be hard to achieve in practice). By contrast religious affiliations are usually and ethnic and racial origins are always fixed. The politics of race, national group or of religion tends to be more bitter and less amenable to compromise than political debates over bread and butter issues relating to class interests.

These discussions over the type of competition that is the most desirable are removed from the realities of political life. In practice, the influences on voting behavior are extremely complicated. Though survey research has identified countries in which class has been a relatively important factor in voting choices, there has been no country - not even Britain - in which it has been or in which it is the predominant factor.

(6) Is it important for political parties to develop and maintain international affiliation with like-minded parties in other countries?

International party organizations are not new. The Socialist International dates back to the Nineteenth Century. The Communist International (Comintern) was set up after the Russian Revolution and the nazis create rival international organizations. Since the Second World War, the main international associations of democratic parties have been the Socialist International (Braunthal 1980), the Christian Democrat International (which has operated under a succession of different names), the Liberal International and the International Democrat Union (an international body of conservative parties). There are also international organizations of trade unionists.

The party Internationals maintain small secretariats (the SI, LI and IDU have their headquarters in London) but their importance extends beyond the size of their staffs. The Internationals hold periodical meetings attended by the leaders of the member parties. Since these leaders include heads of government, the summit meetings are events of considerable diplomatic importance, especially since their informal nature makes it possible to forge close personal contacts. The Internationals also provide forums for meetings between youth leaders.

As endorsement or acceptance for membership in one of the Internationals has proved an important asset for new parties or factions in countries emerging from authoritarian rule. where politicians belonging to a member party or an associate party are threatened with imprisonment or by some other hostile action by a dictatorial government, appeals by the leaders of other members parties of the same International have often been effective. (Pinto-Duschinsky 1991)

Though the Internationals themselves have very limited funds, they coordinate and stimulate projects funded through their member parties. They have frequently arranged for refuge and help for exiled political leaders. When an undemocratic country's prospects of returning to democracy become brighter, they assist the process of transition to democratic government. Typically, they arrange meetings and conferences with politicians of their partner parties in the emerging democracies. They also give technical advice and training for party activists on election campaigning and party organization. Other forms of help are direct financial assistance and observer missions at elections.

The significance of international help, much of it arranged in conjunction with the Internationals, is seen in the example of Chile. The Chilean Christian Democrats, in particular, were sustained during the period of rule by Pinochet

by help from fellow parties in the Christian Democrat International, while the Radicals and a section of Salvador Allende's Socialists received aid through the Socialist International network. The assistance went through different phases between Allende's ouster in 1973 and the defeat of the Pinochet Junta when Patricio Aylwin was elected president in 1989.

There is widespread agreement, both among politicians in countries which have received such help and in countries providing it that such assistance is valuable and legitimate. Inevitably, help to exiled politicians and meetings that take place during some sensitive phases of a democratic transition have been kept private. But there has been a large measure of openness about the Internationals' activities. Moreover, the fact that groups of donor parties from different countries are involved in providing the aid, combined with the fact that assistance has often been given through the different Internationals to a spectrum of parties in a recipient country has meant that the process of political aid has not been seen as an interference in the recipient country's affairs by a particular foreign country.

Despite this favorable review of the Internationals, a number of cautionary remarks are also necessary. First, the historical record shows that not all party Internationals have pursued unselfish, democratic objectives. Party internationals and a range of other international bodies were used in the period before the Second World War by both Nazis and Communists as instruments of subversion. Covert German support and manipulation of Konrad Henlein's Sudeten German party was a significant, tragically effective, part of Adolf Hitler's plan to destroy Czechoslovakia.

There is a world of difference between the help given by member parties of the democratic internationals today and the practices of international organs of totalitarian regimes in the 1930s. In view of history, special care should be taken to avoid political aid that could have the effect of encouraging ethnic divisions in Central Europe.

Second, the search for outside financial assistance may cause divisions and conflicts in parties in emerging democracies. During the fluid period when political activity is being re-established following years when free expression has been impossible, it may be hard for a party international to decide which group to aid. In country X, which of several factions is the appropriate partner for the Socialist International, for the Liberal International, etc.? The prospect of foreign money may all too easily distort negotiations among the leading members of the various rudimentary political organizations in country X.

Third, the search for foreign aid may not only cause political quarrels, it may also lead to an undesirable reliance on foreign sources of funding and a failure to recruit members or build solid party organizations in country X.

These problems can be lessened or avoided. For example, financial aid may be given in a form that specifically helps the recipient party to construct its organization and membership, thereby helping it to develop its own sources of funding for the future.

ENDNOTES

1. At the time he made the speech from which the quotation has been taken, Disraeli was the leader of the conservatives who were the Opposition party. The Liberal prime minister, Gladstone, was in power. In 1874, the Conservatives defeated the Liberals and Disraeli remained prime minister until he was defeated in 1880 and the Liberals returned to office under Gladstone. It was during the second half of the Nineteenth Century that (a) the franchise was extended under the terms of Acts passed in 1867 and 1884, (b) that extra-parliamentary party organizations were developed at national and constituency level and (c) members of parliament largely abandoned their independent traditions and voted increasingly along party lines in votes in the House of Commons. (Lowell 1908, II. Chapter XXXV)
2. The literature on parties is huge. The following works contain useful bibliographies: Beyme (1985), Daalder and Mair (1983) and, on American parties, Epstein (1983)
3. See, for example, the description of 'cadre parties' in Duverger (1963).
4. The study of voting behavior is one of the most trodden areas of political science research, both within the United States and elsewhere. The landmark study of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, originally published in 1960, is Campbell, et. al. A contrasting interpretation is given in Nie et. al. 1979. There are useful bibliographical surveys of the literature on voting behavior in Finifter (1983), Chapters 12 -14.
5. Broder (1972), Crotty and Jacobson (1984), Kirkpatrick (1978), Scott and Hrebemar (1979), Wattenberg (1984). However, some have argued that the decline of American parties of the 1970s has slowed or has even been replaced by a period of party recovery. See, for instance, Kayden and Mahe (1985).
6. See Ranney (1983), Sabato (1982) and panebianco (1988).
7. See, for example, Price (1984)
8. The considerable literature putting forward this view is listed in Epstein (1983), section III and Kirkpatrick (1978, 4).
9. For a useful survey of issues and regulations relating to political finance, see Paltiel (1981). A useful recent collection of essays is Alexander (1989). See also Pinto-Duschinsky (1981).

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**The Role of Political Parties: Prospect for Partisan Democratic
Strengthening in Latin American**

by

Gabriel Murillo-Castana

Professor Michael Pinto-Duschinsky's presentation on The Role of Political Parties in a superb analytical study that emphasizes the cases of the United States and Britain. For this reason, most of its remarks reflect the vision of western democracies.

It is undeniable that both central European and Latin American countries could and should learn a lot from the successes and failures of these cases. But it is also very important to underline that the role of political parties in the democratic strengthening and consolidation in the two regions is crucial. Thus, the complexities of a new reality demand awareness and willingness to implement a new approach to ensure the proper actions required to achieve this goal. Under different circumstances, these two parts of the world are facing similar and comparable challenges regarding political parties. In both of them, economic and structural problems confront and limit a thorough strategy to build sound and strong political institutions. The need to understand that more than ever, free, modern, and democratic partisan organizations must perform as the bridge between the state and civil society, can not be postponed any longer. The possibility of running free elections must be complemented with persistent and rational institutional, ideological, and programmatic alternatives. The constitutional framework in every country must provide parties with legal resources to serve as instruments of general citizen participation to consolidate this new way of democratic, general involvement in political matters, breaking with dictatorial or oligarchic forms of domination.

The case of Latin America's immediate political future enables me to offer some general brief comments that may be useful for this audience.

It is said that the eighties ended within a highly contradictory and paradoxical situation.

On the one hand, all of Latin America suffered from the so-called "lost decade". Economic growth in most countries decreased and even reached negative numbers. Foreign debt imposed on them the absurdity of become net capital exporters. Absolute poverty rose to unprecedented figures. On the other hand, authoritarian governments eroded almost completely. Their decline and return to democracy allowed many observers to register their entry into that has been called the "democratic revolution" along with the central european cases. 1989 and 1990 were years of intense electoral activity in most nations.

Nevertheless, this paradoxical situation and new regional political panorama imply a clear and urgent message for political parties throughout Latin America. The mere existence of free and open elections is by no means sufficient to ensure democratic stability anywhere. Parties are challenged to respond to the historic responsibility of serving as the effective channels to articulate civil society to the state. They must serve to reduce the intensity and magnitude of interest fragmentation in order to enable access to "agreement on fundamentals".

They must serve as leaders to prepare nations to enter the twenty first century. I may list four central lines of actions in which parties must perform to help democratic governance in Latin America to face its most pressing challenges.

1. Parties should lead the debates about the best ways to achieve standards of political reform necessary to recuperate institutional legitimacy and credibility. This is particularly urgent in those countries in which the weakness of the state apparatus is so marked, that there is a big need to recuperate its ability to impose legal authority and sobereignty on all citizens. This is specially pertinent for countries such as Haiti, Peru, Nicaragua and Panama.
2. Parties should promote citizen awareness about the importance and true meanings of political, administrative and fiscal decentralization. This must be done in those nations in which centralization and presidentialism are dominant and dangerously mixed with the vices of clientelism and patrimonialism. The Andean nations of Latin America in general are good representatives of this worrisome political spectrum. Only Colombia is showing progress along these lines.
3. In those cases in which political violence in harming democracy, partisan organizations should present creative and efficient proposals to reach peace and harmony. In countries like Colombia, Peru, El Salvador and Guatemala where guerrillas are active and disruptive, parties should serve as space for reflexion and analysis of realistic ways to negotiate peace agreements, offering alternatives to integrate the anti-system forces into legal and civic political competition.
4. With regard to the pretentions that most Latin American nations have in terms of opening their economics in order to enter into the new and more demanding world market, political parties also have to be leading actors. Central Europe and latin America must find rapid and effective ways to compete with appropriate products that will serve to generate the comparative advantages required to implement social policy programs to reduce poverty and unrest. natural resources are crucial in this respect.

At present, Latin America expresses a highly heterogenous partisan dynamic. It is rather difficult to make general observations about matters such as ideal competition. Nevertheless, since there is agreement among political scientists and analysts on the fact that parties are in crisis, then it is feasible to state that no matter how many parties or political movements there are in each nation, their competition must evolve from the traditional bureaucratic and clientelistic manners into a truly democratic commitment. Such a goal demands several changes in political party organization and action.

1. Pluralism must be sound as a purpose. The leftist groups and movements have to change their dogmatic radical and underground tactics into more open and competitive ones. On the other hand, traditional parties had to move away from their monopolistic practices to allow competition with new forces that for years and decades were excluded and denied their right to enter open partisan competition.
2. Electoral behavior in terms of participation - voting - must be just the initial state of citizen political involvement. This obviously generates

a challenge both to the individual citizen and to this partisan frame of reference.

3. Political representation has to include the religious and ethnic minorities and also the urban and rural peripheries where the absence of the state has been evident. It also has to replace the emphasis on personal benefits and prerogatives with the search for solutions to close the persistent socio-economic gap. Parties must be permanent observers of this political process with constructive, competitive and creative inputs that their representatives in the legislative branch can present on behalf of their respect electors.
4. Civic education in order to enable citizenship to be aware of the content and meaning of democratic realities and potentials, is another task that parties should carry out. This is particularly true in contexts in which civic and political culture are poor and in where the access to mass media is limited to a privileged segment of society. This is also important in situations in which political information is provided by low standards of professional journalism.
5. Finally, political parties have an obligation to democratize and to modernize their own internal institutional structures, if they want to be participant in the strengthening of parallel processes at the state level.

It is extremely urgent that political parties in Latin America exercise their role as institutions. They must blend their ideological and programmatic resources in order to stay away from practices that have enabled scholars and practitioners to agree in the existence of a generalized crisis and extended party decline in Latin America. These political organizations must move from being electoral enterprises to recuperate their truly institutional status.

Only when this is achieved, as Michael Pinto-Duschinsky states will parties be "... in a good position to help to resolve what is perhaps the central problem of governance. How to make governments sufficiently strong to permit them to be stable and effective without risking that they become overbearing and authoritarian".

Perhaps many of these broad and general observations are pertinent to a set of young democracies what must struggle for the achievement of these principles since their initial years. Success in their attainment will allow for better understanding and brotherhood between central European and Latin American democracies.

Election Day Activities in Canada

by

Jean-Pierre Kingsley

IT IS AN HONOR AND A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS IMPORTANT SYMPOSIUM ON CENTRAL EUROPEAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS. I MUST AT THE OUTSET THANK THE INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS FOR GIVING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPEAR BEFORE SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF ELECTION OFFICIALS, PRACTITIONERS AND EXPERTS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE AND AROUND THE WORLD!

I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY VOICE TO THAT OF THE OTHER SPEAKERS WHO HAVE CONGRATULATED IFES, ITS CHAIRMAN MR. CLIFTON WHITE, ITS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, MR. RICHARD SOUDRIETTE, AND THEIR VERY CAPABLE STAFF FOR AN EXCELLENTLY ORGANIZED SYMPOSIUM. I SHOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY DEEPEST APPRECIATION TO DR. KALA AND TO MR. TOTH, OUR HUNGARIAN HOSTS, FOR THEIR VERY WARM HOSPITALITY.

I HAVE FOUND THE OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW ACQUAINTANCES, SOME UNEXPECTEDLY, TO MAKE NEW ONES AND TO EXCHANGE ON SUCH IMPORTANT TOPICS TO BE THE MOST REWARDING.

THE TOPIC FOR DISCUSSION TODAY IS "ELECTION DAY ACTIVITIES". ALTHOUGH I WILL DEAL SPECIFICALLY WITH POLLING DAY ACTIVITIES IN MY PRESENTATION, I ALSO INTEND TO PROVIDE YOU WITH RELATED AND CONTEXTUAL INFORMATION ON ACTIVITIES WHICH TAKE PLACE BEFORE AND AFTER POLLING DAY. FOLLOWING INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS ON THE CANADIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND MY OFFICE, I INTEND TO PRESENT A DETAILED OVERVIEW OF OUR SYSTEM OF VOTING, THE APPOINTMENT AND TRAINING OF ELECTION OFFICIALS, THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, THE TYPES OF SECURITY MEASURES TAKEN DURING AND AFTER AN ELECTION TO GUARD AGAINST RESULTS, THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN OUR SYSTEM AND OUR INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ELECTORAL AFFAIRS.

IN KEEPING WITH THE VIEW THAT THERE IS NO MAGIC FORMULA FOR ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRACIES, I AM NOT ADVOCATING WHOLESALE ADOPTION OF THE CANADIAN SYSTEM. LET ME STEP OUT OF NATIONAL CHARACTER SOMEWHAT TO STATE TO YOU THAT CANADIANS GENERALLY ARE PROUD OF THEIR ELECTORAL SYSTEM, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN IT FITS THEIR NEEDS.

THE CANADIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND ELECTIONS CANADA

ELECTIONS CANADA IS AN INDEPENDENT AGENCY OF THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT WHICH IS COMPOSED OF THE QUEEN, REPRESENTED IN CANADA BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, A SENATE AND A HOUSE OF COMMONS. ONLY THE LATTER IS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE AT GENERAL ELECTIONS HELD APPROXIMATELY EVERY FOUR AND A HALF YEARS, OR SOONER IF PARLIAMENT IS DISSOLVED. OUR SYSTEM IS SIMILAR TO THE BRITISH SYSTEM AS EXPLAINED BY PROFESSOR PINTO-DUSCHINSKY.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS IS SUCH A WELL-ESTABLISHED FREEDOM IN CANADA, MOST OF US TAKE IT FOR GRANTED. SOMEWHAT LIKE BREATHING. YET, IT WASN'T LONG AGO IN OUR HISTORY THAT THE INALIENABILITY OF THIS RIGHT, AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION, WERE NEITHER AS CAREFULLY PROTECTED NOR AS GEOGRAPHICALLY THOROUGH AS THEY ARE TODAY. IN FACT, CANADA IS UNIQUE IN POSSESSING A CENTRAL, INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATION WHICH ENSURES IN ALL PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, A CONSISTENT INTERPRETATION OF OUR FEDERAL ELECTORAL LAW.

THE POSITION OF CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER OF CANADA HAS EXISTED AS WE KNOW IT SINCE 1920. PARLIAMENT'S GOAL AT THAT TIME WAS TO CREATE A SIMPLE, EFFICIENT MECHANISM FOR ADMINISTERING ELECTIONS. THE DOMINION ELECTIONS ACT WAS PASSED AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WHICH IS IN PLACE TODAY. THE ACT FIXED CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND WHO COULD BE A CANDIDATE. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE ACT CREATED A NEW POSITION TO OVERSEE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. THE FACT THAT THE FIRST CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER WAS NAMED IN THE 1920 STATUTE INDICATES THE IMPORTANCE PARLIAMENT ATTACHED TO THE POST. INDEED, ONLY FIVE PEOPLE HAVE SERVED IN IT, INCLUDING ME.

SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE POST OF CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER HAS BEEN COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND FREE OF ANY INTERFERENCE FROM ORGANIZED POLITICAL PARTIES. THE INCUMBENT IS APPOINTED BY RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS SO THAT ALL PARTIES REPRESENTED THERE MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE SELECTION PROCESS. ALL SUCH APPOINTMENTS HAVE BEEN BY UNANIMOUS RESOLUTION. IT IS THE ONLY SUCH POSITION IN CANADA AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. ONCE IN OFFICE, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER IS AN ABSOLUTELY IMPARTIAL PUBLIC SERVANT ACCOUNTABLE DIRECTLY TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ADMINISTRATIVELY, HE/SHE HAS THE RANK AND POWER OF A DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE AGENCY AND HIS SALARY IS DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF THE SALARY OF A JUDGE OF THE FEDERAL COURT WHICH IN TURN IS SET BY STATUTE. HE CAN BE REMOVED ONLY FOR CAUSE BY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL FOLLOWING A JOINT ADDRESS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT BY MAJORITY VOTE.

SINCE 1982, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF ALL CANADIANS HAVE BEEN ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS WHICH FORMS PART OF THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION. ONE INDIVIDUAL, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER OF CANADA, IS ENTRUSTED TO GUARD THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL OF THOSE RIGHTS - THE RIGHT TO VOTE. HE OR SHE ADMINISTERS THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AS DEFINED BY THE CANADA ELECTIONS ACT AND THUS ENSURES THE RIGHT OF EVERY CANADIAN CITIZEN FIRST, TO CHOOSE FREELY AND PRIVATELY (SECRETLY) WHO WILL REPRESENT HIM OR HER IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND, SECONDLY, TO RUN AS A CANDIDATE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

AS LEGISLATION GOVERNING THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF CANADIANS HAS EVOLVED, SO THE DUTIES OF THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DIVERSE AND COMPLEX. AT THE TIME OF THE 1921 GENERAL ELECTION, THERE WERE LESS THAN 4.5 MILLION ELECTORS IN CANADA; TODAY THERE ARE OVER 17 MILLION.

THE LOGISTICS OF ORGANIZING A FEDERAL ELECTION IN CANADA ARE DAUNTING. COMMUNICATION WITH THE ELECTORATE IS QUITE A CHALLENGE IN A COUNTRY WITH A HARSH AND OFTEN UNPREDICTABLE CLIMATE, SIX TIME ZONES, AND A LAND MASS THE SIZE OF A CONTINENT. IN SPITE OF THESE OBSTACLES, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER MUST KEEP IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH EVERY ELECTORAL DISTRICT IN THE COUNTRY AND, AT ELECTION TIME, PROVIDE DIRECTION, DISPATCH MATERIALS AND PUBLISH RESULTS WITH THE UTMOST SPEED.

TO ASSIST THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER IN HIS DEMANDING TASK, THE CANADA ELECTIONS ACT PROVIDES FOR AN ASSISTANT CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER WHO IS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL (CABINET). THE OFFICE HAS A PERMANENT STAFF OF FIFTY-FIVE EMPLOYEES. UNDER THE PRESSURE OF AN ELECTION, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER CAN ADD AS MUCH TEMPORARY HELP AS IS REQUIRED TO PERFORM HIS DUTIES EFFECTIVELY. THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER IS LOCATED IN OTTAWA, CANADA'S CAPITAL.

OUR ELECTORAL SYSTEM SEEKS TO SECURE AND STRENGTHEN THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF CANADIAN ELECTORS; TO ENCOURAGE EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION WITHIN PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT; TO STRENGTHEN THE ABILITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES AS PRIMARY POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS; TO ESTABLISH FAIRNESS AMONG PARTIES AND CANDIDATES IN ELECTORAL COMPETITION; AND TO MAINTAIN AND ENHANCE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION SETS THE MAXIMUM DURATION OF A FEDERAL PARLIAMENT AT FIVE YEARS. HOWEVER, THE MAXIMUM LIMIT MAY BE EXTENDED IN TIME OF WAR OR APPREHENDED INSURRECTION. MOST PARLIAMENTS DO NOT LAST THE FULL FIVE YEAR TERM. FEDERAL ELECTIONS ARE USUALLY CALLED AT INTERVALS OF FOUR TO FOUR AND HALF YEARS. THEY MAY TAKE PLACE AT CLOSER INTERVALS ESPECIALLY WHEN THE GOVERNMENT IS IN A MINORITY SITUATION. THE AVERAGE DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS SINCE 1867 (CONFEDERATION) HAS BEEN ABOUT FORTY MONTHS.

CANADA'S ELECTORAL SYSTEM HAS EVOLVED OVER THE YEARS IN SPITE OF - OR PERHAPS BECAUSE OF - MAJOR OBSTACLES. THESE INCLUDE A DISPERSED POPULATION COVERING AN IMMENSE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA, THE SECOND LARGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. SOME ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ARE HUGE AND SPARSELY POPULATED, SUCH AS THE RIDING OF NUNATSIQA IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, WHICH SPRAWLS OVER 2,232,000 SQUARE KILOMETERS AND HAS A POPULATION OF ONLY 21,000. THIS COMPARES WITH 93,030 SQ. KM FOR THE WHOLE OF HUNGARY WHICH HAS A POPULATION OF 10,569,000. BY COMPARISON, OUR SMALLEST ELECTORAL DISTRICT (ROSEMONT IN QUEBEC) OCCUPIES ONLY 8 SQUARE KILOMETERS BUT HOLDS ABOUT 90,000 PEOPLE. OUR VAST COUNTRY IS DIVIDED BY SIX DIFFERENT TIME ZONES. IN SPITE OF ALL THIS, HOWEVER, OUR FEDERAL ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN ONE DAY.

SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ARE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE PROVINCES ACCORDING TO POPULATION AND THE NUMBER OF SEATS FOR EACH PROVINCE IS READJUSTED EVERY 10 YEARS BASED ON THE RESULTS OF THE GENERAL CENSUS HELD AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH DECADE. UNDER A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ENACTED IN 1986, NO PROVINCE MAY HAVE FEWER SEATS FOLLOWING A REDISTRIBUTION THAN IT HAD IN 1986. FURTHER, THE NUMBER OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE FOR A PROVINCE MAY NOT BE LESS THAN THE NUMBER OF APPOINTED SENATORS REPRESENTING SUCH PROVINCE. THOSE TWO RULES QUALIFY TO SOME EXTENT THE PROPORTIONATE REPRESENTATION OF PROVINCES.

IN MOST CASES THE DATES OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN CANADA ARE DETERMINED BY THE PRIME MINISTER WHO REQUESTS THE GOVERNOR GENERAL (THE QUEEN'S REPRESENTATIVE) TO DIRECT THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER TO ISSUE WRITS OF ELECTION TO THE INDIVIDUAL RETURNING OFFICERS IN OUR 295 ELECTORAL DISTRICTS. THE LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTUALLY CALLING AN ELECTION AND DISSOLVING PARLIAMENT RESTS WITH THE GOVERNOR GENERAL. A WRIT OF ELECTION IS A LEGAL DOCUMENT ORDERING A RETURNING OFFICER TO HOLD AN ELECTION IN HIS OR HER RIDING. THE WRIT SPECIFIES THE DURATION OF THE ELECTORAL PERIOD WHICH MUST BE AT LEAST FIFTY DAYS, WITH

POLLING DAY ON A MONDAY UNLESS IT IS A NATIONAL OR PROVINCIAL HOLIDAY, IN WHICH CASE POLLING DAY IS HELD ON TUESDAY.

THE SYSTEM OF VOTING

CANADIANS VOTE FOR ONE INDIVIDUAL ONLY, USING A SINGLE BALLOT WHICH HAS A NUMBERED STUB AND REMOVABLE NUMBERED COUNTERFOIL. THE BALLOTS ARE PRINTED LOCALLY BY EACH RETURNING OFFICER ON PAPER FURNISHED BY THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER AND ACCORDING TO STRICT STATUTORY SPECIFICATIONS. THAT PAPER MUST BE OF A CERTAIN MASS AND OPACITY TO ENSURE SECRECY. THE NAMES OF ALL CANDIDATES IN EACH RIDING ARE ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY. A SAMPLE BALLOT USED FOR TRAINING PURPOSES IS ATTACHED TO THIS DOCUMENT (APPENDIX I). WHERE A CANDIDATE IS SPONSORED BY A REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTY, THE NAME OF THE PARTY APPEARS BELOW THE CANDIDATE'S NAME; OTHERWISE THE SPACE IS LEFT BLANK OR THE INSCRIPTION "INDEPENDENT" IS ENTERED AT THE DISCRETION OF THE CANDIDATE. THE BALLOTS FOR FEDERAL ELECTIONS CONTAIN ONLY THE NAMES OF THE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR A GIVEN ELECTORAL DISTRICT. THE BALLOT IS PRINTED IN REVERSE COLORS TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE ELECTOR TO CONFINE HIS OR HER MARK TO THE APPROPRIATE CIRCLE. ANY MARK IS ACCEPTABLE, ALTHOUGH IT MUST BE LOCATED WITHIN THE CIRCLE ADJACENT TO THE CANDIDATE'S NAME FOR WHOM THE ELECTOR WISHES TO VOTE.

CANDIDATES MAY CORRECT THEIR NAME ON NOMINATION DOCUMENTS UP TO ONE HOUR AFTER THE CLOSE OF NOMINATIONS (THE 28TH DAY BEFORE POLLING DAY). POLLING STATIONS MUST BE LOCATED IN PREMISES OF CONVENIENT AND LEVEL ACCESS TO FACILITATE VOTING BY THE ELDERLY AND THE HANDICAPPED. SEVERAL POLLS MAY BE REGROUPED INTO A CENTRAL POLLING PLACE. POLLING STATIONS ARE OPEN FROM 9 A.M. UNTIL 8 P.M., AT WHICH TIME THE VOTES ARE COUNTED ON SITE IN THE PRESENCE OF ELECTION OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CANDIDATES. FOLLOWING THE COUNT, ALL ELECTORAL MATERIAL IS INSERTED INTO THE BALLOT BOX. THE BALLOT BOX, WHICH IS MADE OF REINFORCED CORRUGATED CARDBOARD IS THEN RESEALED WITH NUMBERED ALUMINUM TAPE SEALS ALL AROUND AND THE NUMBERS REGISTERED BY THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER. IT WAS SEALED INITIALLY JUST BEFORE THE START OF POLLING IN THE SAME MANNER. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CANDIDATES WHO ARE PRESENT OBTAIN A WRITTEN STATEMENT OF THE RESULTS. ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE UNOFFICIAL RESULTS ARE MADE BY CANDIDATES, PARTIES, AND THE MEDIA ON POLLING NIGHT BUT NOT BY THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER. I WILL DEAL WITH THIS IN MORE DETAIL LATER. IN THE DAYS THAT FOLLOW POLLING DAY, THE SEALED BALLOT BOXES ARE RETURNED TO THE OFFICE OF THE RETURNING OFFICER TO AWAIT THE OFFICIAL ADDITION OF THE VOTES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A JUDICIAL RECOUNT. THE OFFICIAL RESULTS ARE NOT DETERMINED UNTIL ALL OF THESE ACTIONS ARE COMPLETED - USUALLY WITHIN A WEEK OF POLLING DAY AND POSSIBLY LONGER IF THERE IS A JUDICIAL RECOUNT OR CONTESTATION.

KEY ELECTION OFFICERS AND THEIR TRAINING

IN EACH ELECTORAL DISTRICT, THE KEY ELECTION OFFICIAL IS THE RETURNING OFFICER. THESE PERSONS ARE PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL (THE CABINET) USUALLY BEFORE THE ELECTION IS CALLED. THEIR BACKGROUND IS VARIED AND MANY CARRY ON WITH THEIR BUSINESSES OR PROFESSIONS BETWEEN ELECTIONS. RETURNING OFFICERS ARE TRAINED AT ELECTIONS CANADA IN OTTAWA OVER TWO SESSIONS COVERING EIGHT DAYS. DURING THESE SESSIONS, THEY ARE TAUGHT THE ESSENTIALS OF THEIR DUTIES BY EXPERIENCED PERMANENT ELECTIONS CANADA

EMPLOYEES. THE AGENDA FOR THOSE MEETINGS INCLUDES SESSIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLLING DIVISION BOUNDARIES, CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE RETURNING OFFICER'S OFFICE, THE PREPARATION OF VOTERS' LISTS AND THEIR REVISION, THE PROCEDURES FOR THE NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES, VOTING IN THE OFFICE OF THE RETURNING OFFICER, ADVANCE POLLS, THE USE OF TRAINING AIDS, COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, THE OFFICIAL ADDITION, JUDICIAL RECOUNTS, ELECTION RETURNS AND COMPLIANCE AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE LEGISLATION. A RETURNING OFFICER'S MANUAL SUMMARIZING THE PROVISIONS OF THE CANADA ELECTIONS ACT AS WELL AS THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES TO BE FOLLOWED IS PREPARED AND UPDATED BY ELECTIONS CANADA.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ARE SUBDIVIDED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER INTO POLLING DIVISIONS USUALLY CONTAINING APPROXIMATELY 350 ELECTORS. FOR EACH POLLING DIVISION, ONE POLLING STATION IS ESTABLISHED FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING THE VOTE (THERE MAY BE MORE THAN ONE POLLING STATION PER POLLING DIVISION IF THE NUMBER OF ELECTORS ON THE LIST EXCEEDS 350). ALSO SEVERAL POLLING STATIONS MAY BE REGROUPED INTO A CENTRAL POLLING PLACE. POLLING STATIONS ARE OPERATED BY TWO OFFICIALS, KNOWN AS THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER AND POLL CLERK, THESE OFFICIALS ARE PRIVATE CITIZENS WHO MUST RESIDE IN THE ELECTORAL DISTRICT IN WHICH THEY WILL WORK. THEY ARE TRAINED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER AT SESSIONS LASTING APPROXIMATELY 1 1/2 HOURS DURING THE WEEK PRECEDING POLLING DAY. ADVANCE POLL OFFICIALS ARE TRAINED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER IN THE WEEK PRECEDING THE FIRST DAY FOR ADVANCE POLLS. FINALLY, THE ENUMERATORS, WHO COMPILER THE VOTERS' LISTS, ARE TRAINED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER DURING THE WEEK PRECEDING ENUMERATION. ELECTIONS CANADA PREPARES AND UPDATES HANDBOOKS AND AIDE-MEMOIRES FOR ENUMERATORS, DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS, POLL CLERKS, REVISING OFFICERS AND REVISING AGENTS. THESE DOCUMENTS LIST AND EXPLAIN THE DUTIES WHICH MUST BE PERFORMED BY THEM AND ARE USED DURING TRAINING SESSIONS.

THE SELECTION OF CERTAIN ELECTION OFFICERS

UNDER THE CANADA ELECTIONS ACT, DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS ARE APPOINTED BY RETURNING OFFICERS WHO IN TURN APPOINT POLL CLERKS. IN CERTAIN AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, TRADITION DICTATES THAT THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS BE NOMINATED BY THE CANDIDATE REPRESENTING THE PARTY IN POWER WHILE THE POLL CLERKS ARE NOMINATED BY THE CANDIDATE OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION. ENUMERATORS IN URBAN DIVISIONS ARE USUALLY NOMINATED BY FORMER CANDIDATES WITH DIFFERENT POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS. THIS STATUTORY REQUIREMENT WAS MEANT TO ENSURE THE INTEGRITY OF THE ENUMERATION PROCESS IN DENSELY POPULATED AREAS. THESE ELECTION OFFICIALS MUST ALL QUALIFY AS ELECTORS (18 YEARS OF AGE AND A CANADIAN CITIZEN), IN THE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS IN WHICH THEY WILL ACT. HOWEVER, THE RETURNING OFFICER MUST BE AT LEAST TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

ENUMERATION AND REVISION

A NEW LIST OF ELECTORS IS PREPARED FOR EACH ELECTION DURING A ONE-WEEK ENUMERATION PERIOD UNDERTAKEN AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ELECTION PERIOD. ENUMERATORS VISIT EVERY URBAN HOUSEHOLD TO COLLECT THE NAMES OF QUALIFIED ELECTORS. IN RURAL AREAS, ENUMERATORS NEED NOT GO DOOR-TO-DOOR TO COLLECT THE NAMES OF ELECTORS. FOLLOWING ENUMERATION, A NOTICE OF ENUMERATION CARD IS MAILED TO THE HOMES OF ALL VOTERS NAMED ON THE PRELIMINARY VOTERS' LISTS CONFIRMING THEY ARE REGISTERED AND GIVING THE LOCATION OF THEIR POLLING STATION

AND THE HOURS OF VOTING. THIS STATUTORY REQUIREMENT OBTVIATES THE NEED TO POST UP THE LISTS OF ELECTORS IN PUBLIC PLACES. THE LISTS ARE HOWEVER GIVEN TO ALL OFFICIALLY NOMINATED CANDIDATES, TO ALL REGISTERED PARTIES AND ARE AVAILABLE FOR VIEWING BY ELECTORS IN THE OFFICES OF THE RETURNING OFFICERS AND IN OTHER PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN RURAL AREAS.

ALSO FOLLOWING ENUMERATION, A REVISION PERIOD IS HELD DURING WHICH NAMES MAY BE ADDED OR REMOVED FROM THE LISTS AND OTHER CORRECTIONS MADE. ASDS ARE PLACED IN THE MEDIA BY MY OFFICE TO INFORM AND ALERT CANADIANS WHO HAVE NOT RECEIVED THEIR CARD.

ADVANCE VOTING AND POLLING STATIONS

THE RETURNING OFFICER MUST ARRANGE FOR ADVANCE POLLS WHICH ARE HELD ON THREE SPECIFIED DAYS TO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EARLY VOTING. AS WELL, ELECTORS WHO WILL BE AWAY OR OTHERWISE UNABLE TO VOTE ON ELECTION DAY OR AT THE ADVANCE POLLS, MAY CAST THEIR BALLOT IN THE CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE RETURNING OFFICER. THE RETURNING OFFICER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR RENTING SPACE AND FURNITURE FOR POLLING STATIONS (MORE THAN 55,000 ACROSS CANADA OR AN AVERAGE OF 187 PER ELECTORAL DISTRICT). EACH POLLING STATION IS RENTED BY THE STATE AND IS SUPPLIED WITH REINFORCED CORRUGATED CARDBOARD VOTING COMPARTMENTS BEHIND WHICH THE ELECTOR MAY MARK HIS OR HER BALLOT PRIVATELY. THESE VOTING COMPARTMENTS ARE FAIRLY INEXPENSIVE AND ARE EASILY SHIPPED TO THEIR LOCATIONS.

POLL WATCHERS

POLL WATCHERS ARE KNOWN IN CANADA AS CANDIDATES' AGENTS AT THE POLL, OR SCRUTINEERS. EACH CANDIDATE MAY APPOINT IN WRITING AS MANY AGENTS AS THE CANDIDATE DEEMS NECESSARY FOR A POLLING STATION EXCEPT THAT ONLY TWO AGENTS MAY BE PRESENT IN THE POLLING STATION AT ANY TIME. THE PRESENCE OF SCRUTINEERS IN POLLING STATIONS IS AN IMPORTANT SAFEGUARD FOR THE INTEGRITY OF OUR ELECTIONS.

IN CONTRAST WITH DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS AND POLL CLERKS, AGENTS DO NOT RECEIVE A FEE FROM THE STATE, THOUGH THEY MAY BE RENUMERATED BY THE CANDIDATES THEY WORK FOR. AN AGENT OF A CANDIDATE MAY, DURING THE HOURS OF POLLING, EXAMINE THE POLL BOOK IN WHICH THE NAMES OF VOTERS ARE RECORDED, AND TAKE INFORMATION FROM IT. THE INFORMATION MAY THEN BE TRANSMITTED TO ANY OTHER AGENT OF THE CANDIDATE OUTSIDE THE POLLING STATION. THIS INFORMATION IS THEN USED BY THE VARIOUS CAMPAIGNS TO ENSURE THAT AS MANY OF THEIR CANDIDATE'S SUPPORTERS AS POSSIBLE COME OUT TO VOTE. OTHER THAN ELECTION OFFICIALS, THE CANDIDATES' AGENTS AND ELECTORS, NO PERSON IS LEGALLY ENTITLED TO BE PRESENT INSIDE A POLLING STATION DURING THE TIME IT IS OPEN. CANDIDATES AND THEIR TEAMS MAY HOWEVER CAMPAIGN ON POLLING DAY OUTSIDE THE POLLING STATION. SUCH THINGS AS MOBILE SOUND SYSTEMS ARE PROHIBITED.

COUNTING THE VOTES AND SAFEKEEPING OF ELECTION MATERIALS

THE SPECIAL VOTING RULES PROVIDE FOR THE CREATION OF SPECIAL VOTING TERRITORIES FOR THE TAKING OF THE VOTES OF CANADIAN FORCES ELECTORS AND FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE ELECTORS, OUTSIDE CANADA, THEIR SPOUSES AND DEPENDENTS, AS WELL AS ELECTORS WHO WERE VETERANS OF WARS IN WHICH CANADA FOUGHT. VOTES CAST UNDER

THE SPECIAL VOTING RULES ARE COUNTED WITHIN EACH VOTING TERRITORY UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF SPECIAL RETURNING OFFICERS, IN THE PRESENCE OF SCRUTINEERS WORKING IN PAIRS, EACH PAIR CONSISTING OF PERSONS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT AND OPPOSED POLITICAL INTERESTS. FOR EACH VOTING TERRITORY, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER MUST APPOINT AT LEAST SIX SCRUTINEERS: THREE ON THE NOMINATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER, TWO ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION AND ONE ON THE NOMINATION OF THE LEADER OF THE POLITICAL GROUP HAVING THE THIRD LARGEST MEMBERSHIP IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: THIS ENSURES THAT AT LEAST THREE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE REPRESENTED IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF EACH SPECIAL RETURNING OFFICER.

AT ORDINARY POLLING STATIONS VOTES ARE COUNTED BY THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER AND THE POLL CLERK UNDER THE WATCHFUL EYE OF THE CANDIDATES' SCRUTINEERS WHO MAY OBJECT TO ANY BALLOT FOUND IN THE BOX. THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER DECIDES EVERY QUESTION ARISING OUT OF THE OBJECTION AND KEEPS A WRITTEN RECORD OF EVERY OBJECTION MADE. AFTER THE VOTES HAVE BEEN COUNTED, THE POLL BOOK, THE ENVELOPES CONTAINING THE UNUSED, REJECTED OR SPOILED BALLOTS AND THOSE COUNTED FOR EACH CANDIDATE, THE LIST OF ELECTORS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS USED AT THE POLL MUST BE PLACED INTO LARGE ENVELOPES TO BE SEALED AND PLACED IN THE BALLOT BOX TOGETHER WITH AN ENVELOPE CONTAINING THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE POLL. THE BALLOT BOXES FROM EACH POLLING STATION MUST THEN BE RESEALED AND TRANSMITTED OR DELIVERED TO THE RETURNING OFFICER AT THE CENTRAL OFFICE FOR THAT ELECTORAL DISTRICT.

A RETURNING OFFICER MUST, ON RECEIPT OF EACH BALLOT BOX, TAKE EVERY PRECAUTION FOR ITS SAFE-KEEPING AND FOR PREVENTING ANY UNAUTHORIZED PERSON FROM HAVING ACCESS TO THE BOXES. NO SOONER THAN 2 DAYS AFTER POLLING DAY AT A GENERAL ELECTION, BOXES WILL BE OPENED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER IN THE PRESENCE OF CANDIDATES OR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES AND THE STATEMENTS OF THE POLL INCLUDED IN EACH BOX WILL BE USED FOR THE OFFICIAL ADDITION OF VOTES FOR THE ELECTORAL DISTRICT. THE OFFICIAL ADDITION IS A SIMPLE PROCESS OF VERIFYING THE TALLY OF ALL THE STATEMENT OF VOTES FROM EACH POLLING STATION AND IS NOT A RECOUNT OF THE BALLOTS. THE ENVELOPES CONTAINING THE BALLOTS AND ELECTION DOCUMENTS WILL NOT BE OPENED AT THIS STAGE. THESE ENVELOPES ARE OPENED AND THE BALLOTS COUNTED AGAIN ONLY IF A JUDICIAL RECOUNT TAKES PLACE. JUDICIAL RECOUNTS ARE CONDUCTED BY JUDGES AND USUALLY TAKE TWO TO FOUR DAYS. A JUDICIAL RECOUNT WILL AUTOMATICALLY TAKE PLACE IF THE NUMBER OF VOTES SEPARATING THE WINNER AND ANY OTHER CANDIDATE IS LESS THAN 25. IN SUCH CASES THE RETURNING OFFICER MUST APPLY TO THE APPROPRIATE JUDGE FOR A RECOUNT. IN ALL OTHER CASES A RECOUNT MAY TAKE PLACE IF IT IS MADE TO APPEAR TO A JUDGE, ON THE AFFIDAVIT OF A CREDIBLE WITNESS, THAT VOTES WERE IMPROPERLY COUNTED OR REJECTED, THAT A DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER HAS MADE AN INCORRECT STATEMENT OF THE VOTES CAST OR THAT THE RETURNING OFFICER HAS MADE AN INCORRECT OFFICIAL ADDITION.

ELECTION DOCUMENTS WILL THEREAFTER BE TRANSFERRED BY THE RETURNING OFFICER TO ELECTIONS CANADA'S OFFICE IN OTTAWA. THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER MUST RETAIN THOSE DOCUMENTS FOR AT LEAST ONE YEAR, IF THE ELECTION IS NOT CONTESTED DURING THAT TIME, AND IF THE ELECTION IS SO CONTESTED, FOR ONE YEAR AFTER THE TERMINATION OF THE CONTESTATION. DURING THE PERIOD OF THEIR RETENTION, ELECTION DOCUMENTS MAY NOT BE INSPECTED OR PRODUCED EXCEPT UNDER A RULE OR ORDER OF A JUDGE OF A SUPERIOR COURT, WHICH, IF MADE, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER MUST OBEY. HOWEVER, THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER, A MEMBER OF HIS STAFF OR THE COMMISSIONER OF CANADA ELECTIONS MAY EXAMINE THE ELECTION DOCUMENTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF AN INQUIRY OR OF A PROSECUTION FOR AN OFFENCE

AGAINST THE ACT.

AFTER THE EXPIRATION OF THE STATUTORY PERIOD OF RETENTION, ELECTION DOCUMENTS ARE DESTROYED.

CONTROLS AGAINST FRAUD

A MULTITUDE OF PRECAUTIONS ARE TO BE TAKEN TO GUARD AGAINST FRAUD AND, INDEED, QUOTING THEM ALL WOULD REQUIRE REPRODUCING A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE CANADA ELECTIONS ACT. ONLY THE MOST IMPORTANT WILL BE NOTED HERE.

AS MENTIONED EARLIER, IN URBAN AREAS, THE ENUMERATION OF VOTERS IS MADE BY TWO ENUMERATORS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT AND OPPOSED POLITICAL INTERESTS. SIMILARLY, REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL CANDIDATES MAY OBSERVE OPERATIONS IN POLLING STATIONS AND THE ADDITION OF THE VOTES BY THE RETURNING OFFICER.

ANOTHER PRECAUTION CONCERNS THE BALLOT PAPER GIVEN TO EACH VOTER. IT INCLUDES A REMOVABLE NUMBERED COUNTERFOIL SO AS TO ENSURE THAT THE BALLOT MARKED BY THE VOTER AND RETURNED TO THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER TO BE DEPOSITED IN THE BOX IS THE SAME BALLOT THAT WAS GIVEN TO THE VOTER BY THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER. THIS PREVENTS AN OLD PRACTICE KNOWN AS "TELEGRAPHING", WHERE VOTERS, IN EXCHANGE FOR A BRIBE, SUBSTITUTED A BALLOT PAPER ALREADY MARKED FOR ONE OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE UNMARKED BALLOT PAPER TENDERED TO THEM BY THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER. THE UNMARKED BALLOT PAPER WOULD THEN BE BROUGHT BACK TO THE BRIBER AS EVIDENCE THEY HAD RESPECTED THEIR DEAL. THE FRAUDULENT SCHEME COULD THEN BE REPEATED. THE USE OF A COUNTERFOIL WHICH IS REMOVED FROM THE BALLOT PAPER AND DESTROYED BEFORE THE BALLOT PAPER IS INSERTED IN THE BOX HELPS PREVENT THIS KIND OF FRAUD.

THE BOUNDARIES OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS WITHIN EACH PROVINCE AND WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES (THE YUKON HAS A SINGLE DISTRICT) ARE READJUSTED EVERY 10 YEARS BY NON-PARTISAN BOUNDARY COMMISSIONS FOLLOWING PUBLIC MEETINGS. EACH PROVINCIAL COMMISSION IS COMPOSED OF A JUDGE APPOINTED BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE PROVINCE AND TWO MEMBERS APPOINTED BY THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. THEIR WORK IS CONDUCTED PURSUANT TO THE RULES CONTAINED IN THE ELECTORAL BOUNDARIES READJUSTMENT ACT. THESE COMMISSIONS HAVE THE FINAL SAY IN DETERMINING THE BOUNDARIES OF FEDERAL ELECTORAL DISTRICTS. GERRYMANDERING OR THE UNFAIR MANIPULATION OF BOUNDARIES TO SECURE AN ADVANTAGE AT ELECTIONS FOR A PARTICULAR PARTY IS THEREBY ELIMINATED.

DESPITE ALL THESE MEASURES, THE CANADIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM IS ESSENTIALLY BASED ON TRUST. IN CANADA, ELECTORS DO NOT DIP A FINGER INTO INDELIBLE INK, NOR DO THEY HAVE TO PRODUCE ANY IDENTIFICATION EXCEPT IF CHALLENGED. IN RURAL AREAS ELECTORS MAY VOTE WITHOUT HAVING THEIR NAME ON THE LIST, ON THE CONDITION THAT ANOTHER ELECTOR ON THE LIST FOR THE SAME POLLING DIVISION VOUCHES FOR THEM. BOTH ELECTORS MUST IN ADDITION TAKE AN OATH. CANADIAN ELECTORS WILL NORMALLY SHOW UP AT THE POLLING STATION WITH THE "NOTICE OF ENUMERATION" CARD SENT TO THEM BY THE RETURNING OFFICER FOLLOWING ENUMERATION ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT SPECIFICALLY REQUIRED BY THE ACT.

ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN HELD ON THE CANADIAN TERRITORY SINCE 1758. CANADA'S EARLY ELECTIONS WERE QUITE DIFFERENT FROM TODAY'S. ALTHOUGH INTIMIDATION AND CORRUPTION WERE COMMON IN OUR ELECTORAL PROCESS SOME 100 YEARS

AGO, CONDITIONS AND VALUES HAVE GRADUALLY CHANGED SINCE THEN. THE ROLE OF POLICE FORCES IS THEREFORE MODEST, AS ELECTIONS IN CANADA ARE NO LONGER ROWDY. CONSTABLES, WHO ARE NOT POLICE OFFICERS, MAY BE APPOINTED BY RETURNING OFFICERS IN CENTRAL POLLING PLACES AND BY DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS IN OTHER POLLING STATIONS WHERE THEIR SERVICES ARE DEEMED TO BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH AN ACTUAL OR THREATENED DISORDER OR WHEN IT IS LIKELY THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF ELECTORS WILL SEEK TO VOTE AT THE SAME TIME. CONSTABLES OFTEN SERVE AS GUIDES FOR ELECTORS LOOKING FOR THEIR POLLING STATION IN CENTRAL POLLING PLACES RATHER THAN AS SECURITY OFFICERS.

NO ARMED PERSON MAY APPROACH WITHIN ONE KILOMETER OF A POLLING STATION ON POLLING DAY, UNLESS CALLED ON TO DO SO BY LAWFUL AUTHORITY.

FINALLY, IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE UNDUE INFLUENCE ON THE ELECTORATE, ELECTION RESULTS CANNOT BE PUBLISHED IN ANY ELECTORAL DISTRICTS WHERE THE POLLS ARE STILL OPEN. THESE PROVISIONS ARE REQUIRED BECAUSE OF THE NUMEROUS TIME ZONES WHICH DIVIDE OUR COUNTRY. MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE INTEGRITY OF CANADIAN ELECTIONS IS ASSURED BY THE OPENNESS OF EVERY PHASE OF THE PROCESS AND BY THE COMPLETE AND TOTAL PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES IN MOST ELECTORAL OPERATIONS.

THE COMMUNICATION OF ELECTORAL RESULTS

THERE ARE TWO CHANNELS FOR COMMUNICATING THE RESULTS OF AN ELECTION. THE FORMAL ONE IS FROM THE DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICER IN EACH POLLING STATION TO THE RETURNING OFFICER OF THE ELECTORAL DISTRICT AND THENCE TO THE CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER IN OTTAWA. THIS IS A SLOW PROCESS BUT IT IS THE ONLY ONE WHICH HAS LEGAL CONSEQUENCES. THE OFFICIAL RESULTS OF THE ELECTION ARE DETERMINED ONLY AFTER THE RETURNING OFFICER HAS COMPLETED THE OFFICIAL ADDITION - USUALLY TWO TO FOUR DAYS FOLLOWING POLLING DAY. THE INFORMAL CHANNEL IS HOWEVER MOST IMPORTANT, AS IT RELATES TO THE PUBLIC, AND IT REMAINS UNREGULATED. FOLLOWING THE COUNTING OF VOTES IN THEIR RESPECTIVE POLLING STATIONS, DEPUTY RETURNING OFFICERS IMMEDIATELY CALL THE OFFICE OF THE RETURNING OFFICER TO COMMUNICATE THE RESULTS. RETURNING OFFICERS TOTAL THE RESULTS FROM POLLING STATIONS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ON A CONTINUOUS BASIS UNTIL ALL RESULTS HAVE BEEN ENTERED. MAJOR MEDIA NETWORKS NORMALLY APPOINT ONE REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE OFFICE OF EACH RETURNING OFFICER. ON ELECTION NIGHT, THIS REPRESENTATIVE WILL CALL THE CENTRAL OFFICE OF THE NETWORK IN ORDER TO COMMUNICATE THE LATEST RESULTS. THE RESULTS TRANSMITTED TO EACH NETWORK ARE FED INTO COMPUTERS WHICH CAN QUICKLY TOTAL RESULTS FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND ANALYZE ELECTION TRENDS, THUS ALLOWING ANALYSTS TO PROJECT THE FINAL DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

IT MUST BE ADDED THAT THE CANADIAN TELEPHONE SYSTEM ALLOWS FOR QUICK AND RELIABLE COMMUNICATIONS. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE CANADIAN TERRITORY EXPANDS THROUGH SIX TIME ZONES, RESIDENTS OF CENTRAL CANADA MAY KNOW WITHIN LESS THAN TWO HOURS FOLLOWING THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS, (UNLESS THE RESULTS ARE VERY CLOSE), HOW MANY SEATS EACH PARTY IS LIKELY TO GET AND WHICH ONE WILL FORM THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL RESULTS ARE COMMUNICATED TO ELECTIONS CANADA BY RETURNING OFFICERS USING THE TELEPHONE, TELEX AND FACSIMILE MACHINES. WE ARE NOW CONTEMPLATING THE POSSIBILITY OF LINKING ALL 295 RETURNING OFFICERS WITH OUR OFFICE THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PAN-CANADA COMPUTER NETWORK. THIS NETWORK WOULD PRIMARILY FACILITATE THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION BETWEEN

ELECTIONS CANADA AND THE 295 RETURNING OFFICERS AND PERMIT A MORE STREAMLINED KEEPING OF ACCOUNTS.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

THE MEDIA PLAYS AN ESSENTIAL ROLE THROUGHOUT THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. BOTH THE PRINT AND BROADCAST MEDIA PROVIDE EXTENSIVE COVERAGE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, ANALYZING THE LEADERS' AND CANDIDATES' STATEMENTS AND DEBATES, OFFERING EDITORIAL COMMENTS AND REPORTING POLL RESULTS AND TRENDS. IN CANADA, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NEWSPAPERS, RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS ARE PRIVATELY OWNED. ON ELECTION DAY, THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IS LIMITED DURING THE HOURS THE POLLS ARE OPEN. THE MEDIA MAY REPORT ON POLLING TAKING PLACE. CLIPS OF PARTY LEADERS GOING TO VOTE ARE OFTEN SHOWN ON TELEVISION AND IN NEWSPAPERS. AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE POLLS, HOWEVER, THE PUBLIC ATTENTION SHIFTS TO "ELECTION NIGHT" ON MAJOR TELEVISION NETWORKS, WHERE RESULTS ARE COMMUNICATED, ANALYZED AND COMMENTED ON. THE VICTORY OR DEFEAT SPEECHES OF IMPORTANT CANDIDATES SUCH AS THE LEADERS OF WINNING AND LOSING PARTIES ARE OFTEN BROADCAST LIVE. IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING POLLING DAY, DETAILED UNOFFICIAL RESULTS ARE PUBLISHED IN THE PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA. CANADIANS KNOW THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION BEFORE GOING TO BED ON POLLING DAY.

ELECTION OBSERVING

IN THE AREA OF ELECTION OBSERVING, CANADA IS AN EXPORTER RATHER THAN AN IMPORTER. ALTHOUGH OUR ELECTORAL PROCESS IS OPEN, NO ONE IS INVITED TO CANADA FOR THE OFFICIAL PURPOSE OF MONITORING ELECTION DAY ACTIVITIES. AT THE SAME TIME, ANYONE WHO IS INTERESTED IN CANADA'S ELECTORAL PROCESS IS WELCOME TO VISIT OUR OFFICES DURING OR IN-BETWEEN ELECTIONS. MANY FOREIGN OBSERVERS, INCLUDING JOURNALISTS, ACADEMICS AND ELECTION SPECIALISTS HAVE IN THE PAST COME TO CANADA TO OBSERVE AND REPORT ON OUR ELECTIONS. SUCH ACTIVITY, WHICH OFFERS TESTIMONY TO THE OPENNESS OF OUR SYSTEM, IS ALSO WELCOME.

IN RECENT YEARS, CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTION-RELATED ACTIVITIES HAS INCREASED DRAMATICALLY, AND CORRESPONDINGLY ELECTIONS CANADA'S EXPERTISE HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY SOUGHT IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE WORLD - - CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA, AFRICA, EASTERN EUROPE AND ASIA. ACTIVITIES HAVE RANGED FROM OBSERVING AND SUPERVISING ELECTIONS, CONDUCTING PRE-ELECTORAL EVALUATIONS, PROVIDING TECHNICAL ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE AND ENSURING THE PROVISION OF ELECTION MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES, TO TRAINING ELECTION OFFICIALS AND BRIEFING VISITING FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ON THE CANADIAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

IN EACH CASE, ELECTIONS CANADA HAS ACTED IN RESPONSE TO REQUESTS RECEIVED FROM SOURCES WHICH INCLUDE THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT, THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OR THE CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (CIDA)) AND, THROUGH THE AUSPICES OF THE FORMER, THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS), PLUS MANY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS THE U.S. BASED INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES) AND THE COSTA RICA BASED LATIN-AMERICAN CENTRE FOR ELECTORAL PROMOTION AND ASSISTANCE (CAPEL). TRAVEL AND ACCOMMODATION EXPENSES ARE PAID BY THE ORGANIZATION MAKING THE REQUEST OR THROUGH WHICH THE REQUEST IS CHANNELLED.

WITHIN THE LAST YEAR, AN INCREASING NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE OR ELECTORAL OBSERVATION HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WITH WHICH ELECTIONS CANADA HAS BEEN DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THESE COUNTRIES INCLUDED ALBANIA, BENIN, BULGARIA, BURKINA-FASO, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, GUYANA, HAITI, HONDURAS, HONG KONG, NEPAL, ROMANIA AND ZAIRE. AS WELL OFFICIALS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS FROM AUSTRALIA, BOTSWANA, GABON, HUNGARY, JAPAN, POLAND AND RWANDA ATTENDED AT OUR OFFICES IN ORDER TO DISCUSS ELECTORAL MATTERS AND/OR OBTAIN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. FINALLY, WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGENCY WHOSE MANDATE WOULD BE TO PROVIDE QUALIFIED ASSISTANCE TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES MOVING INTO MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY. OUR COLLEAGUE SENIOR CORTESE HEADS THIS NEW AGENCY WHICH IS HEADQUARTERED IN WARSAW.

EXPERIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES HAS SHOWN US THAT OBSERVER MISSION AND ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE OFTEN BEST ORGANIZED ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS AND PREFERABLY UNDER THE AEGIS OF AN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS OR THE CSCE. IN THIS WAY, FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AS WELL AS HUMAN RESOURCES CAN BE BETTER USED, COORDINATED AND DEPLOYED.

IN ORDER FOR DEMOCRACY TO WORK, THE CONSTITUTION AND ELECTORAL LAWS IN WHICH ITS PRINCIPLES ARE ENSHRINED MUST REPRESENT THE WILL AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE. THE PRESENCE OF AN ELECTORAL COMMISSION, INDEPENDENT OF GOVERNMENT, TO SUPERVISE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IS ALSO OF PRIME IMPORTANCE TO ENSURE THAT IT IS NOT SUBVERTED BY ANYONE.

FINALLY, EMERGING DEMOCRACIES SHOULD BE AWARE OF THE CONTRIBUTION THAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAMS CAN BRING TO THEIR ELECTORAL PROCESS, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER POLLING DAY. INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS CANNOT BY THEMSELVES ENSURE ADEQUATE ELECTORAL OBSERVATION UNLESS PRESENT IN MASSIVE NUMBERS. IT IS MUCH MORE PREFERABLE, AND MANY TIMES ESSENTIAL, THAT NON-POLITICAL NATIONAL OBSERVERS, FAMILIAR WITH THE COUNTRY AND ITS CUSTOMS, ALSO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES AND PARTICIPATE OFFICIALLY IN THE OBSERVATION PROCESS. SUCH NATIONAL OBSERVERS CAN BE RECRUITED FROM HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ACADEMIA. THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR BULGARIAN COLLEAGUES, AS RELATED TO US BY MIROSLAV SEVLIEVSKI IS MOST TELLING; I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO VIEW IT FIRSTHAND IN SOFIA IN JUNE OF 1990. ALL OBSERVERS MUST BE GIVEN TIMELY ACCESS TO RELEVANT LEGISLATION AND MUST BE FREE TO TRAVEL IN AN UNRESTRICTED MANNER WHENEVER POLLING OCCURS AND OF COURSE HAVE COMPLETE ACCESS TO ALL POLLS ON POLLING DAY UP TO AND INCLUDING THE COUNT. INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL OBSERVERS SHOULD REPORT THEIR FINDINGS TO THE ORGANIZATION THAT SELECTED THEM FOR THEIR MISSION. ALTHOUGH THESE GROUPS WORK INDEPENDENTLY OF EACH OTHER AND OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION, THERE MUST AT ALL TIMES BE CLOSE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE ENTITIES. IN THIS WAY THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION CAN FEEL SUPPORTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. SUCH A TRIPOLAR SUPPORT SYSTEM CAN ONLY BE OF BENEFIT TO THE ELECTORATE AND TO THE OFFICIALS TO BE ELECTED. I AM INCLUDING AN APPENDIX TO THIS PRESENTATION A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF OUR ELECTORAL INVOLVEMENT IN OR WITH DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OVER THE LAST YEAR (APPENDIX II).

ONCE AGAIN ALLOW ME TO THANK YOU FOR GIVING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS GATHERING. I WISH US ALL WELL IN OUR DEMOCRATIC ENDEAVORS.

Lecture by Dr. Toth

"Citizens! For forty years we waited for the moment that not others but we shall be able to determine our own destiny. The central government cannot interfere anymore in our lives. At the municipal elections we have to elect people whom we trust. September 30th is the decisive final day of the change of the system of government."

- Commercial of the National Election
Committee of Hungary

Honored Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am indeed very happy to be able to speak at this distinguished conference. I consider it to be a privilege. I feel this conference has already contributed a lot to us in style, content, and professional experience. We have to thank our guests from abroad, and also our Hungarian colleagues who participated in the events in an active way.

The Minister of Interior, Mr. Boros has already indicated that the Hungarian legislation of the election process is a very complicated one. Therefore, I shall try to summarize them very briefly, so that the text of the legislation will be easier understood. Mrs. Dobriansky has also said that the day of the election is the result of a long process. On this day and the following night one of the most essential aspects of democracy is condensed.

The Hungarian parliament functions in the "single chamber" system. The elections are held in two rounds. The results of the first round are valid if more than half of the voters participated in the election. If this does not happen, twenty-five percent participation will be sufficient in the second round. If the twenty-five percent is not reached in the second round, then an interim election will be scheduled at a later date.

The voters receive two ballots for the parliamentary election. The first ballot is used to vote for the candidates in the individual election districts. The country is divided into 176 individual parliamentary districts.

With the second ballot, citizens vote for the county party lists. In Hungary, there are 20 territorial electoral districts. With the second ballot, we must choose political parties. Thus, it is an electoral system of party lists.

Ninety members of the parliament are elected on the basis of fragmented votes. Fragmented votes are the votes won by those parties which have failed to receive the necessary majority votes in county elections. These votes are then divided on the principle of proportions with the help of the Dent method.

Another element of our electoral system is that parties will not be represented in the parliament unless they receive at least 4% of the votes casted. Twelve political parties participated in the national election. Six parties succeeded to have more than 4% of the vote. The parties which did not reach the 4%, received 16% of the total vote. Detailed results of the national election are available in English at the registration booths.

The municipal elections took place in the fall of 1990. It was a definite change compared to the previous system used. The real change was that three-thousand towns in the country could elect its municipal self-governing bodies. In the previous "council system" the smaller towns combined with the neighboring small towns, resulting in 1,500 local councils. In our system we had 3,000, which means that the number of self-governing bodies was doubled.

This election also has two rounds, but the requirements for validity are different from the parliamentary elections. The first round of election is valid if 40% of the eligible voters participated in the election. In the second round, there is no ceiling and the candidates receiving the highest number of votes are elected. In theory, it is possible for one person's vote to be decisive.

Our municipal election system is adjusted proportionately to the size of

the communities. Much thought has been given to designing an electoral system which best guarantees representation of a given local community. For this reason, we have used three different electoral systems in the municipal election.

We have differentiated the towns with populations under 10,000, the towns having populations more than 10,000 and the capital. Two million people live in the capital, and the number of voters is 1,500,000. It is reasonable to assume that a capital with a population of 2,000,000 needs another type of self-governing municipal system and administrative structure, than that of a small town.

It took us a very long time to make it understandable to the experts and the representatives of the political parties why we have to make this election system so complicated. However, for the citizen voting, this electoral system is very simple. He lives in a given community and must vote in one way. It is our job, as experts and politicians to see the entire electoral system as a whole with all of its complexities. It does not however, have to put any special burden on to the citizen who is voting.

In small towns with populations under 10,000, people have voted in accordance with the so-called "small list" system. This means that citizen can vote on his ballot for as many of candidates as he so chooses, so long as it does not surpass the number of representatives to be elected. Therefore, a citizen may vote for ten candidates on a ballot containing 25 candidates, in a community where ten representatives are to be elected. The candidates then receiving the highest number of votes are elected. I find this system beneficial in that it enables voters to understand and tolerate other people's convictions and/or religious opinions. It is apparent that any ten representatives elected, will not belong to the same political party. People

will be directly involved in electing representatives from different political persuasions whom they believe will best represent their interests. The citizens will also elect their mayors directly through the use of another ballot. Thus, everyone will use two ballots when voting.

In the larger towns with populations over 10,000, citizens will also receive two ballots. With one ballot they are able to vote for the candidates in the individual electoral districts. With the second ballot; citizens vote for political parties, social organizations, or "lists of independents".

The innovation of this particular electoral system takes into consideration the representation of ethnic minorities. The legislation guarantees the right of the ethnic minorities to have their own independent lists. In Hungary, eight ethnic minorities have participated in the election. The law has granted them special favorable treatment. If the leading minority candidate does not reach the necessary number of votes for a seat in accordance with the law, a minority candidate can be elected with two-thirds of the otherwise required number of votes. In such a case, the number of representatives on the self-governing body will be increased by one or two. If they can not reach two-thirds of the necessary vote, the minority candidate receiving the highest number of votes in balloting will receive the so-called "spokesperson" mandate. This means that he or she has no voting rights; but must be invited to every session, and must have the right to speak anytime without limitations. We are very proud to have been able to make this system work. Some, however, may say it makes our electoral system even more complicated. I feel, however, that complicated social problems can be solved only by many sided approaches.

Another important procedure prior to the day of election is the nominating process. All candidates must collect recommendation slips. To become a

candidate in parliamentary elections it is necessary to collect a minimum of 750 recommendation slips. To become a candidate at the municipal election, the person needs the recommendation slips of at least 1% of the number of registered voters in a given town. These figures are low but we feel it fits the European standards. Screening should not be done during the nominating process. The voters should be able to choose from many candidates on the day of election.

The next item which I would like to discuss is the referendum. In Hungary, during the last forty years, the Constitution guaranteed the right of holding referendums. There was not, however, one referendum during this period. There was not even a special legislation for referendums. Just before the change of the system of government, a law of the referendum was drafted and enacted. In accordance with this law, the first referendum was held in November 1989. The regulations for a referendum are as follows: For every single issue it is possible to collect signatures for a referendum; however, the legislation clearly defines those issues for which you cannot collect signatures (for instance, the measure of taxation). It is forbidden to collect signatures in certain areas as defined by this law. It is not permitted to collect signatures in the working place, hospitals, and in mass-transportation. The voter who supports the demand for a referendum is obliged to attest to it by his own signature. The national Election Committee checks the identity of the individual signing the petition through the available data of the National Bureau of Vital Statistics. No harassment is permitted by the authorities towards those who have signed the petition. The Committee merely checks the names, addresses, and eligibility of the voters. If a political party, social organization, or an independent group is able to collect 100,000 signatures, the parliament is bound to schedule a nation-wide referendum. If there are less signatures, then the parliament will decide whether to schedule a referendum or

put the issue on its own parliamentary agenda. The matter will then be dealt within the parliament.

There are strict regulations for validating the results of a referendum. This holds true even more so in the case of parliamentary elections. The results of a referendum are only valid if more than 50% of registered voters cast their ballots. The ballot for a referendum may have one or more questions. There have been many debates as to the exact formulation of the questions on the ballot. In this matter the final authority is with the Constitutional Committee of the parliament. Elections and referendum cannot be held on the same day. There must be at least six months between the two.

The finalization of voting registration is different from other enumerating systems. It is the task of the state, and within the contexts of the national Bureau of Vital Statistics it is done by the proper state authorities. We have found this to be the most cost efficient way. We have worked out the details with the necessary legal guarantees and it will be presented to parliament through September 30. The National Bureau of Vital Statistics can be a very effective instrument, yet we do agree that protection of personal rights has to be guaranteed under all circumstances.

After the list of voters is completed, every citizen receives a "knocking slip". This means that the electoral system knocks at his door, and summons the citizen to vote. The list of voters are made public and displayed. The list of those who do not have voting rights, however, is kept secret. If a citizen is left out of the voting registration lists, he may appeal to the courts.

What are the guarantees in the Hungarian legislation for the purity and the legality of the voting Procedure? The day prior to the election, the proper election authorities supervise and check the safety of the voting documentation - meaning the ballots, the minutebooks, the seals, and the pens to be used in

the balloting by the voter. This duty of control belongs to the highest level of the National Election Committee. It is the duty of the local election committees to check the availability and secure protection of the necessary equipment. The polling stations are securely closed the night prior to the election so that no unauthorized person may penetrate the premises. The police is also prepared with a special program for the election. Their task is to protect public safety and law and order. Some may say that an election is not truly democratic if policemen are in the street. We have a different opinion and believe it is the job of the police to insure public safety. Naturally the police cannot carry out any sort of political activity, and they are not permitted to interfere with the election procedures.

The Hungarian Army has no function whatsoever in the elections. With the exception of skeleton crews and emergency units, the national commander furloughs most of the soldiers for the day of the election so that they may return home and cast their votes.

An additional guarantee of a clean election is the composition of the election committees. There are several such committees. I wish to tell you the underlying principle of the election committees. The members of the National Election Committee are elected by Parliament and their number is defined by law. The local election committees are elected by the local self-governing bodies and they elect independent people. In addition to it, every political party has the right to delegate one person to become a full-fledged member of the election committee. A person who is unaffiliated (not belonging to any political party or social organization) also has the right to become a member of the committee. The composition of the election committees, and the manner in which it is structured is a legal guarantee for the purity of the elections, as the members of the committee check and control one another. In Hungary we have 11,000

polling stations, and on the day of the elections 100,000 people participate as volunteers in the work of the election committees.

Another guarantee deals with how the ballot boxes are sealed and opened. It has to be done with the proper seals, and the sealed box must be noted in the minutes. A special aspect of our voting process is the so-called "control-slip". When the first voter arrives at the polling station on the day of election, he signs a separate slip, the members of the election committee sign it, and then the control-slip is placed first into the ballot-box. In the evening the ballot-boxes are opened. If the control-slip cannot be found, the results of the ballot-box have to be annulled.

When arriving in the polling station, the voter must identify himself/herself with his identity card or any other legal identification. The fact of his voting will then be put on record in the registration list. Naturally, the vote is secret.

Many people remember the notorious Hungarian election of 1947, when the so-called "blue slip" purporting to be absentee-ballots were used. "Blue slip" authorized the voters to vote away from their home districts. By violating the law, such blue-slips were given to hundreds or maybe thousands of people when they voted several times and in several places. Based on this historical bad experience, the method for absentee voting is very limited by law. Only in exceptional cases, and under very controlled circumstances is it permitted to happen.

The time of the voting is between 6:00 A.M. and 6:00 P.M. No votes can be accepted before or after this time period. The Election Committee has the right to open the voting an hour or two earlier; and if necessary, to extend the voting by an hour or two.

After the polling station is closed, the counting of the ballots begins.

The counting is done by the Election Committee. Members of the press are permitted to be present; however, no one else may disturb the work of the committee.

There are detailed regulations on how to fill out the minutes. Every candidate for whom votes were cast in the ballot box is entitled to receive one copy of the minutes.

When the ballots have been counted and bundled, and the minutes have been signed; the summarization of the minutes follows. In parliamentary elections this is accomplished through a computerized system. In the past, when this has been used in second round elections, the system has functioned faultlessly. It is our aim, that this computerized system of totaling votes will be further developed and enhanced. At the same time, we also do not find it necessary for a citizen to vote with a voting machine in the polling station. However, for the totaling of the votes, the future lies with a fast and good computerized system.

Another important guarantee is the right of legal redress. If there is a violation of the law, the first appeal can be made to the election committee. Beyond that, the courts will decide the disputed cases. The number of appeals which have been made, can be considered relatively small. There has been only one court conviction because of election fraud. There has been more instances where the National Election Committee or the local court annulled the partial election results because of carelessness or ignorance, but not intentional violations of the law have taken place.

The press may function freely during the election day. Its presence is in no way limited. We are happy if they are present and support the activity of the press. However, partial election results cannot be published until the very last polling-station in the country is closed.

We welcome the international observers with joy and consider them as friendly observers. In our country, there is a lawful democratic system. Therefore, we do not have to have official international monitors. We welcome everyone as friendly observers and we invite them to come. I trust that within the context of the soon to be formed Electoral Association, many dear colleagues will be with us at future elections.

The date of the recently held interim elections indicate that the number of voters is decreasing at the elections. I feel that this conference is very beneficial for us; and I find that those topics, dealing with ways to increase voter's participation through voter's education, to be of great important.

Once again I wish to thank you for allowing me to share my thought before this international forum, and I thank you also in behalf of my Hungarian colleagues for honoring us with your presence.

"On September 30th, all of us have to decide who will be the representatives in our towns, and which party, candidate we sympathize with and whom we support. Here every candidate appears on ballot and we can elect as many representatives as the membership of the self-governing legislative body. The representatives will be the candidates who receive the highest number of votes, but only then if he or she received at least one-fourth of the total votes cast. In the larger communities and in the capital we vote for the individual district representatives. The representatives will be those candidates who received the highest number of votes, but only then if he or she received at least one-fourth of the total vote. With the other ballot, you may vote for the parties or social organizations of your choice...September 30th is the final, decisive day of the change of the system of government."

- Commercial of the National Election
Committee of Hungary

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Office For Free Elections

by

Ambassador Luchino Cortese

I arrived in Warsaw on April, 1991, to establish the office of Free Elections in that city and to begin its work. Along with the C.S.C.E. Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna, the Office for Free Elections is part of the institutionalization of the C.S.C.E. process. These new institutions were mandated in the Paris Charter of November, 1990, which was signed by the heads of state of 34 European and North American countries.

The function of the Office for Free Elections is to facilitate contacts and the exchange of information on elections among the participating C.S.C.E. states. Its aim is to further foster the implementation of the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference of the Human Dimension of the C.S.C.E. (see attached annex on free elections).

The Office will assist and advise those interested in the theory and practice of free elections. Toward this end, it will compile a library and database on elections in the region and serve as a clearinghouse for information on elections. It will organize meetings, seminars, and workshops on elections procedures and democratic institutions. It now plans to also publish a newsletter and journal on the theory and practice of free elections.

As currently envisioned, the Office will be staffed on a rotating basis by two diplomats from C.S.C.E. countries. The government of Italy nominated me to the Office of Free Elections and the United States of America named Jack Zetkusic, who serves as deputy, to the office. In addition, the office will have a small Polish staff. The office's budget derives from contributions from all the C.S.C.E. countries. The Government of the Republic of Poland provides the Office with its temporary quarters at ul. Krucza 36 in Warsaw. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now renovating a building in Warsaw's Old Town which will serve as the Office's permanent home.

At the C.S.C.E. Council of Ministers meeting in Berlin in June, United States Secretary of State James Baker proposed that the Office's mandate be transformed from the Office for Free Elections into an Office of Free Institutions. Other ministers present supported the expansion of the Office's mandate, including Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The Council will further discuss this expanded mandate prior to meetings to be held in Helsinki in March.

3. Each participating State will establish a point of contact which will be used to transmit suggestions for the work of the Committee to the Secretariat for collection and circulation and to facilitate communication between the Secretariat and each participating State.

4. Each meeting of the Committee will be chaired by a representative of the State whose Foreign Minister had been Chairman at the preceding Council meeting.

Meetings will be convened by the Chairman of the Committee after consultation with the participating States.

Meetings of the Committee will be held at the seat of the Secretariat and will not exceed two days, unless otherwise agreed. Meetings immediately preceding a meeting of the Council will be held at the venue of the Council meeting.

5. Due to practical considerations, the first meeting of the Committee will be held in Vienna from 28th to 29th January 1991. It will be chaired by the representative of Yugoslavia.

C. Emergency mechanism

The Council will discuss the possibility of establishing a mechanism for convening meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials in emergency situations.

D. Follow-up meetings

Follow-up meetings of the participating States will be held as a rule every two years. Their duration will not exceed three months, unless otherwise agreed.

E. The CSCE Secretariat

1. The Secretariat will:

provide administrative support to the meetings of the Council and of the Committee of Senior Officials;

maintain an archive of CSCE documentation and circulate documents as requested by the participating States;

provide information in the public domain regarding the CSCE to individuals, NGOs, international organizations and non-participating States;

provide support as appropriate to the Executive Secretaries of CSCE summit meetings, follow-up meetings and inter-sessional meetings.

2. The Secretariat will carry out other tasks assigned to it by the Council or the Committee of Senior Officials.

3. In order to carry out the tasks specified above, the Secretariat will consist of the following staff:

a Director responsible to the Council through the Committee of Senior Officials;

three Officers who will be in charge of organization of meetings (including protocol and security), documentation and information, financial and administrative matters. In addition to these functions, the Director may assign other duties within the framework of the tasks of the Secretariat:

administrative and technical personnel, recruited by the Director

F. The Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC)

1. The Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC) will assist the Council in reducing the risk of conflict. The Centre's functions and structure are described below.

2. During its initial stage of operations the Centre's role will consist in giving support to the implementation of CSBMs such as:

- mechanism for consultation and co-operation as regards unusual military activities:

- annual exchange of military information;

- communications network;

- annual implementation assessment meetings;

- co-operation as regards hazardous incidents of a military nature.

3. The Centre might assume other functions and the above tasks are without prejudice to any additional tasks concerning a procedure for the conciliation of disputes as well as broader tasks relating to dispute settlement, which may be assigned to it in the future by the Council of the Foreign Ministers.

Consultative Committee

4. The Consultative Committee, composed of representatives from all participating States, will be responsible to the Council. As a rule, these representatives will be the heads of Delegation to the CSBM negotiations until the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting. The Consultative Committee will:

- hold the meetings of the participating States which may be convened under the mechanism on unusual military activities;

- hold the annual implementation assessment meetings.

- prepare seminars on military doctrine and such other seminars as may be agreed by the participating States;

- supervise the Secretariat of the Centre;

provide the forum for discussion and clarification, as necessary, of information exchanged under agreed CSBMs.

have overall responsibility for the communications network within the mandate of the CPC.

5. The Consultative Committee will work according to CSCE procedures. It will determine its own work programme and may decide to hold additional meetings. Meetings of the participating States, convened at the request of one or more participating States according to the procedures concerning unusual military activities, will be organized by the Director of the CPC Secretariat.

Until the appointment of the Director this function will be carried out by the Executive Secretary of the CSBM negotiations.

Secretariat;

6. The Secretariat will carry out the tasks assigned to it by the Consultative Committee to which it will be responsible. In particular, it will establish and maintain a data bank, for the use of all participating States, compiled on the basis of exchanged military information under agreed CSBMs and will publish Yearbooks on that basis.

- The Secretariat will consist of the following staff

a Director:

two officers in charge of organization of meetings (including protocol and security), communication, documentation and information, financial and administrative matters;

administrative and technical personnel, recruited by the Director.

* * *

8. The first meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Conflict Prevention Centre will be convened on the 3rd of December 1990 and chaired by Yugoslavia.

G. The office for free elections

1. The function of the Office for Free Elections will be to facilitate contacts and the exchange of information on elections within participating States. The Office will thus foster the implementation of paragraphs 6. 7 and 8 of the Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (the relevant provisions are contained in Annex 1).

2. To this end, the Office will:

compile information, including information provided by the competent authorities of the participating States, on the dates, procedures and official results of scheduled national elections within participating States, as well as reports of election observations, and provide these on request to governments, parliaments and interested private organizations;

serve to facilitate contact among governments, parliaments or private organizations wishing to observe elections and competent authorities of the States in which elections are to take place;

organize and serve as the venue for seminars or other meetings related to election procedures and democratic institutions at the request of the participating States.

3. The Office will take into account the work of and co-operate with other institutions active in this field.

4. The Office will carry out other tasks assigned to it by the Council.

5. The Office's personnel will be composed of:

a Director, who will be responsible to the Council through the Committee of Senior Officials;

an Officer;

administrative and technical personnel, recruited by the Director of the Office.

H. Procedures and modalities concerning CSCE Institutions

Staffing arrangements

1. The director of each institution will be of senior rank, seconded by his/her government, and appointed by the Council to a three-year, non-renewable term, on a basis of rotation.

2. In the event that the director can no longer fulfil his functions, the Chairman of the Council will, after consultation with the participating States, appoint a temporary director until the next meeting of the Council.

3. The officers will be seconded by their governments. Their terms of office will normally last two years. An extension of one year may be agreed upon by the director and the participating State seconding the officer.

4. The appointment of officers will be based on a system of rotation which will follow the French alphabetical order. The beginning of the rotation will be determined by lot for each position in the institution. Vacant positions will be offered to the participating States following this order until the position is filled.

5. No participating State will have its nationals occupy more than one seconded position in the CSCE institutions, unless no other participating State is willing to second its national to a vacant position.

6. Each officer will be nominated by the participating State concerned after consultation with the director who will then make the appointment.

7. Administrative and technical personnel will be contracted by the director of the institution. Arrangements will be made, as required, for interpretation and translation services.

8. The director of each institution will determine its working arrangements.

9. Staff will be accredited by the seconding State to the host country where they will enjoy full diplomatic status.

Costs

10. The costs:

of seconded personnel will be borne by the seconding country;

of installation of the CSCE institutions will be shared according to CSCE procedures;

of operation, including cost of official travel of staff once appointed, will be shared according to CSCE procedures;

of the premises of the institution as well as the necessary security arrangements including those for meetings held at the seat of the institution, will be borne by the host country.

* * *

11. The host countries undertake to enable the institutions to function fully and enter into contractual and financial obligations and to accord them appropriate diplomatic status.

* * *

12. In order to function effectively, CSCE institutional structures created by the Summit will require agreed administrative, financial and personnel arrangements.

13. To this end a panel, chaired by the Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Committee and composed of the Executive Secretaries of the Paris Summit and of the new York Meeting of Foreign Ministers, as well as the representatives of the host countries of the new CSCE institutions, will submit a report and proposals to participating States by the end of December 1990. This report and these proposals will be considered by an *ad hoc* group of experts of the participating States who will meet in Vienna under the responsibility of the Committee of Senior Officials from 14 to 18 January 1991 and make final recommendations on the above. This meeting will be convened and chaired by the representative of the State chairing the Committee of Senior Officials.

14. The Committee of Senior Officials will consider these recommendations and take the necessary decisions at its first meeting.

The first director of each institution will be nominated by the first meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials and confirmed by the Council through a silence procedure within one week. The Executive Secretariat of the CSBM negotiations in Vienna will provide services for the first meeting of the Consultative Committee of the CPC and for the first meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials.

15. The CSCE Secretariat, the Conflict Prevention Centre and the Office for Free Elections are accountable to the Council which is empowered to determine their tasks and methods of operation. Arrangements relating to the procedures, modalities and the locations of these institutions may be reviewed at the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting.

I. Communications

The Council, acting upon recommendation of the Consultative Committee and of the Committee of Senior Officials, as appropriate, may decide that the communication network, established as part of the agreement on additional CSBMs,

be used for other CSCE-related purposes.

J. Application of CSCE rules of procedure

The rules of procedure, working methods, the scale of distribution of expenses and other modalities of the CSCE will be applied *mutatis mutandis*, unless otherwise decided.

Annex 1

"(6) The participating State declare that the will of the people, freely and fairly expressed through periodic and genuine elections, is the basis of the authority and legitimacy of all government. The participating States will accordingly respect the right of their citizens to take part in the governing of their country, either directly or through representatives freely chosen by them through fair electoral processes. They recognize their responsibility to defend and protect, in accordance with their laws, their international human rights obligations and their international commitments, the democratic order freely established through the will of the people against the activities of persons, groups or organizations that engage in or refuse to renounce terrorism or violence aimed at the overthrow of that order or of that of another participating State.

(7) To ensure that the will of the people serves at the basis of the authority of government, the participating States will:

(7.1) hold free elections at reasonable intervals, as established by law;

(7.2) permit all seats in at least one chamber of the national legislature to be freely contested in a popular vote.

(7.3) guarantee universal and equal suffrage to adult citizens;

(7.4) ensure that votes are cast by secret ballot or by equivalent free voting procedure, and that they are counted and reported honestly with the official results made public;

(7.5) respect the right of citizens to seek political or public office, individually or as representatives of political parties or organizations, without discrimination;

(7.6) respect the right of individuals and groups to establish, in full freedom, their own political parties or other political organizations and provide such political parties and organizations with the necessary legal guarantees to enable them to compete with each other on a basis of equal treatment before the law and by the authorities.

(7.7) ensure that law and public policy work to permit political campaigning to be conducted in a fair and free atmosphere in which neither administrative action, violence nor intimidation bars the parties and the candidates from freely presenting their views and qualifications, or prevents the voters from learning and discussing them or from casting their vote free of fear

of retribution.

- (7.8) provide that no legal or administrative obstacle stands in the way of unimpeded access to the media on a non-discriminatory basis for all political groupings and individuals wishing to participate in the electoral process.
- (7.9) ensure that candidates who obtain the necessary number of votes required by law are duly installed in office and are permitted to remain in office until their term expires or is otherwise brought to an end in a manner that is regulated by law in conformity with democratic parliamentary and constitutional procedures.
- (8) The participating State consider that the presence of observers, both foreign and domestic, can enhance the electoral process for States in which elections are taking place. They therefore invite observers from any other CSCE participating States and any appropriate private institutions and organizations who may wish to do so to observe the course of their national election proceedings, to the extent permitted by law. They will also endeavour to facilitate similar access for election proceedings held below the national level. Such observers will undertake not to interfere in the electoral proceedings."

CENTRAL EUROPEAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS SYMPOSIUM

PERSPECTIVES ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION:

The Central American Experience

Mariano Fiallos

... we, the representatives of the people...

From the Preamble to the Constitution of
the Federal Republic of Central America,
Guatemala, 1824.

I would like to take a moment before I begin my presentation to express my gratitude to the organizers and sponsors of the Central European Electoral Systems Symposium for the kind invitation to participate in this important event and for giving me the opportunity to address such a distinguished audience and to enjoy this beautiful city and this beautiful country.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Central America has certain unique characteristics that define it as a special case of regional integration. First of all, it has to be pointed out that it was once a political unit and, secondly, that for more than a century and a half, the five separate countries that belong to it have never ceased in their efforts to create some sort of political organization that would again unite their peoples, more than 25.000.000 at present, in a single national entity capable of leading them in their efforts to solve their social, economic, and political problems.

Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica together cover a territory of more than four hundred thousand square kilometers that become more than five hundred thousand if one includes Panama, again a special case of regional integration.

Before the Spaniards came to America, this territory was inhabited by many separate Indian kingdoms and tribes in different stages of social and political development.

During the sixteenth century, it became a part of the Spanish empire, with the name Kingdom of Guatemala. In 1821 the Kingdom of Guatemala declared its independence and later became the Federal Republic of Central America, whose constitution was enacted in 1824. After fourteen years of political strife and civil war it broke up into the five small states that still exist in the region.

Beginning in 1842, historians have counted twenty - five failed attempts to reconstruct the Union by force, by treaty, or by gradual integration. The ongoing Esquipulas process, begun in 1987, is only the most recent one. This July, the Central American Presidents held their tenth meeting in San Salvador.

There Panama, which had previously been an observer, applied for membership. It is now a full participant in the Esquipulas Process,

THE CASE OF PANAMA

Geographically speaking, Panama is an integral part of Central America but it has a separate political history because in 1550 the Spanish Crown, for its own reasons, left Panama out of the Kingdom of Guatemala. As a consequence, when it became independent, it was as a part of what now is Columbia, and was not established as a separate country until 1903 when the United States, in the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "took" Panama, in order to build the Inter-oceanic Canal.

In spite of its separate political history, Panama shares with the rest of Central America the socio - economical problems that characterize the region. Notwithstanding the Canal, it is a very poor country whose possibilities of development, like those of its sister countries, are hindered by deep and ingrained economic and social injustice, by a high degree of dependence on the industrialized world and especially on the United States, and by particularly fragile democratic institutions.

As pointed out above, Panama, reluctantly at first, now with greater determination, has been participating in the Central American integration process. Its participation includes, since 1986, efforts to develop a common approach to the organization of free, honest and efficient elections, a vital component of the future, integrated Central America.

ELECTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The importance of democratic institutions for Central America is not correctly appreciated either abroad, nor within the region. The political tenets of liberalism - representative government, separation of powers, civil rights, and elections as conceived in the early nineteenth century - had a decisive impact on the development of its political culture. When most of the countries of the world, including some of the now more advanced democratically organized nations, were absolute monarchies, in Central America the movement for independence began in the name of democratic ideals. The first elections held in Central America took place in 1810 to designate deputies to the Cortes de Cadiz, the representative body that decreed the Constitution of 1812, which, for the times, was very advanced.

The frustration of the democratic expectations that arose for the Cadiz Constitution was one of the decisive factors in the determination of the criollos of the Kingdom of Guatemala to declare its independence from Spain in what eventually became a political and social revolution that has been going, on and off, since 1821.

In the process, elections came to be the only consistently accepted way of deciding on the fundamental issues of government. Thus, the political history of Central America can be interpreted as an uninterrupted struggle to break away from tyranny, militarism and authoritarianism in order to set up stable democratic institutions.

It is true that elections, and the other democratic processes, too often have been misused and deformed to the point of making them unrecognizable, but it is an undisputable fact that even the more dictatorial tyrants of the region have, sooner or later, deemed it necessary to resort to them in search of the legitimacy they needed to survive.

Two constants then, are found in Central American politics: the resource to integration as a means to achieve eventual political union, and the search for democratic institutions, specifically free, honest, and efficient elections.

THE PROTOCOL OF TIKAL

These two political constraints were undoubtedly a factor behind the foundation of the region's electoral association. After several preparatory contacts and meetings, the last one in Panama in 1985, the representatives of ten electoral organizations created the Association of Electoral Bodies of Central America and the Caribbean. The founding agreement was signed in 1986 in the ancient Mayan city of Tikal in Guatemala, as a recognition of the great historical Indian past of the region and, thus, became known as the Protocol of Tikal.

THE NATURE OF THE ASSOCIATION

The electoral bodies of Antigua - Barbuda, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and St. Lucia were the signatories of the Tikal Protocol and they are its standing members.

The goals of Tikal are, as expressed in the founding agreement, "to further international cooperation; to promote representative democracy; free, secret, and universal suffrage, and pure efficient electoral systems in its member countries; to consult among signatories about all problems arising from electoral processes; to exchange information about them and about elections; to propitiate the participation of its members as observers in the electoral processes of each other, upon invitation of the host country; to organize the necessary facilities therefor; and to agree on recommendations of a general nature on such matters."

The governing organ of Tikal is the "Conference of Electoral Bodies", formed by the "representatives of the higher electoral bodies of the members of the Associations". Its decisions are not binding for the member countries and it regularly meets once a year. Its sixth conference was held in San Salvador for this past June 24th to 27th.

it has a Permanent Secretariat which, since the signing of the agreement, has been in the care of the Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion, usually referred to as CAPEL, which is a permanent program of the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights. Its seat is in San Jose, Costa Rica.

Observers may be invited, and have been invited, to the meetings of the Conference as well as to other important activities of the Association.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

The activities of the Association can be classified into five main categories:

- a, Since its foundation, Tikal has been present in regional elections in Central America, Panama and the Dominican Republic. This presence has been important in giving support to the electoral organizations of the host countries, since all of them, to varying degree, work in delicate conditions vis-a-vis their governments, the different political parties, the military, and national and international public opinion.
- b, It has propitiated and contributed to the organization of a flow of information, advice, and technical assistance among members in a bilateral as well as multilateral exchange, which has increased markedly in the last three years, particularly for the five countries of Central American and Panama. Their common language and similar political culture, and different sectorial levels of electoral development among them, have facilitated this process.
- c, It has promoted the reception of an important amount of external electoral technology, both in equipment and know-how.
- d, It has helped in the training of national personnel in the various aspects of electoral technique and procedures. The available training opportunities have been more extensively used by Panama and the Central American countries.
- e, It has collaborated with its members in their search for international financing.

It is generally recognized that all these activities would benefit from a more systematic approach. The member organizations as well as the Permanent Secretariat are conscious of this need. The sixth Conference gave considerable attention to this matter and included several resolutions on the subject in its final declaration.

TIKAL AND CAPEL

It has already been stated that the Permanent Secretariat of the Association was put in charge of CAPEL. The Center has undertaken this task with characteristic efficiency and commendable zeal, playing a decisive role in the activities of the Association. The happy circumstance that both CAPEL and the InterAmerican Institute of Human Rights are located in the region has facilitated the interrelation between both of them and Tikal.

The sixth Conference recognized CAPEL's contribution in resolution number nine expressing "its desire that the General Secretariat continues to be, as it has been up to the present, in charge of CAPEL."

TIKAL AND QUITO

In 1989 the electoral bodies of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Columbia, Chile,

Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela met to form the Association of Electoral Bodies of South America, usually called Quito, for the Capital of Ecuador where they signed the founding Protocol. It has nine full members and one observer, Brazil.

The new organization, whose objectives are similar to those of its Central American and Caribbean counterpart, expressed in its founding charter, the hope that together with the existing Tikal association it could establish the Association of Electoral Bodies of Latin America and the Caribbean or a Union of Electoral Associations.

Both Tikal and Quito have sent observers to each other's activities. A joint meeting is programmed for November 1991 in Caracas. The members of Tikal have already expressed their support for either a common association with regional sub - associations or a confederation of the existing ones. The English - Speaking countries hope to form their own sub - regional organization to be integrated into a future Latin American - Caribbean association or confederation.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The so - called "lost decade" of Latin America had at least one positive collateral effect: the democratic process was generally recognized in the region as a sine qua non of political, economic and social development. As a consequence, electoral bodies and their international organizations gained in importance.

Recent developments have reinforced that positive balance, both in Latin America and elsewhere. Witness this very important Central European Electoral Systems Symposium.

The recent reaccomodations of the world economic and political system make regional cooperation and integration a must for Third World countries and for those countries that, even if they have relatively advanced economies, are in the process of reorganizing their political institutions in a democratic way.

Regional organization has served at least two purposes in Central America. It has been useful in obtaining technical advancement and financial resources and it has provided, to a limited degree, it is true, protection against, the encroachment of more powerful political entities.

It seems certain that the need for external resources and for the protection from foreign interference will increase in the foreseeable future. As a consequence, it can be expected that Tikal will be called to play an important role within its particular sphere of activity.

DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Even if at present the future development of democratic institutions in Central America looks better, it is certainly not without great obstacles. They are indeed many.

The deep contrast between the rich and the poor; the satiated and the hungry; the existence of disease and ignorance; the prevailing of an utter disregard for human rights, individual as well as social; the presence of widespread poverty still characterize the region, and to compound the problem, the gap between its development and that of the industrialized world is growing wider. Without a just society, democratic institutions cannot endure. Therefore it should be remembered, particularly among electoral officers, that elections are a necessary condition for real democratic development, but they are not sufficient as a basis on which it can be sustained.

To face this challenge, the Central American countries, joined in the last years by Panama, have gone back, once again, to regional integration and eventually political union.

REGIONAL ELECTORAL INTEGRATION

Such recent developments present a new challenge for the six electoral bodies of the region if only because they will have to get ready for regional elections which will be a reality sooner rather than later.

The Central American Parliament, established by a treaty signed in 1987, is finally ready to be inaugurated on the 28th of October of this year. Already Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador have elected, separately, 20 deputies to the Parliament. Nicaragua must do so within a period of three years. Costa Rica is expected soon to ratify the Treaty and Panama will probably join in the near future.

If the Central American Parliament fulfills the high expectations for regional integration expressed in the preamble to its founding treaty, it will soon have to work on legislation for Central American elections. The responsibility for their implementation will then fall on the electoral bodies of the area. They will need much more advanced regional organization to prepare for those elections and to adjust to the impact that supra - national electoral processes will have on the internal ones of each country.

CLOSING REMARKS

I do not want to close without expressing the feeling that the celebration of this symposium, hosted by the National Election Office of Hungary, organized by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems with the participation of the United Nations, and attended by representatives of several countries, is a welcome sign for the future of international electoral cooperation.

Finally, let me say that the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights, the association of Electoral Bodies of Central America and the Caribbean, the Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion, CAPEL, and the Supreme Electoral Council of Nicaragua will be most happy to cooperate with all of you in the development of better electoral systems and democratic institutions.

Budapest, August 2, 1991.

Mariano Fiallos

PERSPECTIVES ON REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS

THE UNITED KINGDOM EXPERIENCE

CHARLES E. LASHAM, CHAIRMAN,
ASSOCIATION OF ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATORS,
UNITED KINGDOM

1. Election Legislation

The election law in the United Kingdom is determined by Parliament. Our bicameral system provides for the House of Commons to introduce and pass laws relating to elections after having gone through a consultation process with political parties, Returning Officers and in more recent years, election administrators. The House of Lords, an unelected Chamber is there to have a second look at the legislation, revise and tidy-up.

2. The Organization of Elections

{a} Central Control and the Role of the Civil Service

There is a Government Minister responsible for election and electoral registration legislation and within his Department a small team of six Civil Servants deal specifically with election and electoral matters.

The team interpret legislation, make Regulations and Rules relating to the day to day organization of the electoral process and initiate legislation on behalf of the Government of the day. They also give advice to electoral administrators.

There is no Central Elections Commission.

S{b} The Role of Local Authorities in Elections

In England, Scotland and Wales elections are conducted by staff who are employed on a full-time basis by local authorities. The staff report to the Returning Officer/Electoral Registration Officer and this person is usually, but not always, the Chief Executive.

In Northern Ireland there is only one Returning Officer and he has full-

time staff who specializes in all election and electoral registration matters. This is the nearest we come to having an Elections Commission.

3. THE FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ELECTORAL ADMINISTRATORS

{a} History

In 1987 a group of electoral administrators met and formed the A.E.A. There was some opposition to its formation by Chief Executives who were originally unsure about the motives of "middle managers" wanting an input in the U.K. election process. The Association was formed to make a contribution to the consultative process at the coal face level. Too often Chief Executives were being asked to comment on proposals which they knew little about as Returning Officers. Due to other pressures on their time, they rarely became involved in the complex day to day running of the election.

{b} Aims and Objectives

The aims of the AEA can briefly be described as follows: -

- [i] To encourage training and education of members;
- [ii] To promote knowledge by the exchange of views and experiences among members and others;
- [iii] To disseminate information and advice;
- [iv] To offer Parliament, government departments and others facilities to confer with and obtain the views of the members but not to promote the objects of any political party;
- [v] To promote or engage in any ancillary activities which may further the primary objects of the Association.

{c) Membership

There are currently 683 members of the AEA in the U.K. from staff employed in 85% of all local authorities. Membership is also drawn from academics, media, other related organizations and from abroad. Whilst this is not meant to be a recruitment drive overseas affiliate membership is open to all.

{d) Organization

The Association is organized into 12 Branches and, in addition to work Nationally, a great deal of activity takes place at the Branch level also.

{e) Activities

We consider the most important activity to be education and the Association has organized numerous training courses in the last 4 years.

In addition we have an annual Conference and earlier this year over 200 delegates attended our 4th get together. At Conference we have election experts, Members of Parliament and others addressing the Membership.

We also produce a Bulletin four times a year for our Members.

Perhaps the most rewarding aspect of our work has been to provide individuals for overseas election observers duties. We have attended elections in Namibia, Romania, Bulgaria and have given advice to the United Nations and others on best practice methods which, I am pleased to say, have been adopted in some of the developing democracies mentioned above.

RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS HELD IN HUNGARY IN THE LAST TWO YEARS

Plebiscite
26th November, 1989

1. The plebiscite was valid and successful in all the four issues.
2. 4.5 million (58, 03%) citizens took part in the balloting of the 7.8 million with suffrage (right to vote). The voter turnout: 58.03%
3. The first issue to vote on was:
"Should the election of the President of the Republic be held only after the Parliamentary Elections?"

The results were: YES - 50.7%
 NO - 49.3%

- 3.11% of the total number of ballots were invalid
- Number of valid votes: 4,297,751

Parliamentary Elections
25th March, 1990
08th April, 1990

1. 4.9 million people of the total number of 7.8 million with suffrage voted on one of the parties. Voter turnout was 62.8%.
2. Parties over the 4% limit:
 - Hungarian Democratic Forum 24.73%
 - League of Free Democrats 21.39%
 - Independent Smallholder s Party 11.73%
 - Hungarian Socialist Party 10.89%
 - Young Democrats 8.95%
 - Christian Democratic Peoples Party 4.46%

Parties under the 4% limit got the 15.9% of the total number of votes.

Plebiscite
29th July, 1990

1. The balloting was invalid, because less than 50% of the citizens with suffrage voted (regulated by the Electoral Act).

2. 1.09 million people of the total 7.8 million voted. Voter turnout was 13.91%.

3. The issue to vote on was:

"Do you want the President of the Republic to be elected directly by the citizens of Hungary and not by the Parliament?"

YES: 85.9%

NO: 14.1%

- 0.84% of the ballots were invalid
- Number of valid votes: 1,078,899.

Local Elections

30th September, 1990

14th October, 1990

1. In the first round 3.2 million out of the total number of 7.8 million people with suffrage voted. Voter turnout at national level was 40.16%. The voter turnout was lower (30%) in the towns and higher (50%) in the country.

2. In the second round 1.4 million people of the 4.9 million eligible to vote cast ballots in the 310 settlements. The voter turnout was: 28.94%.

In settlements with 10.000 inhabitants or less (2930 settl.), 82.9% of the directly elected mayors and 71.2% of the members of self-governments were independent candidates.