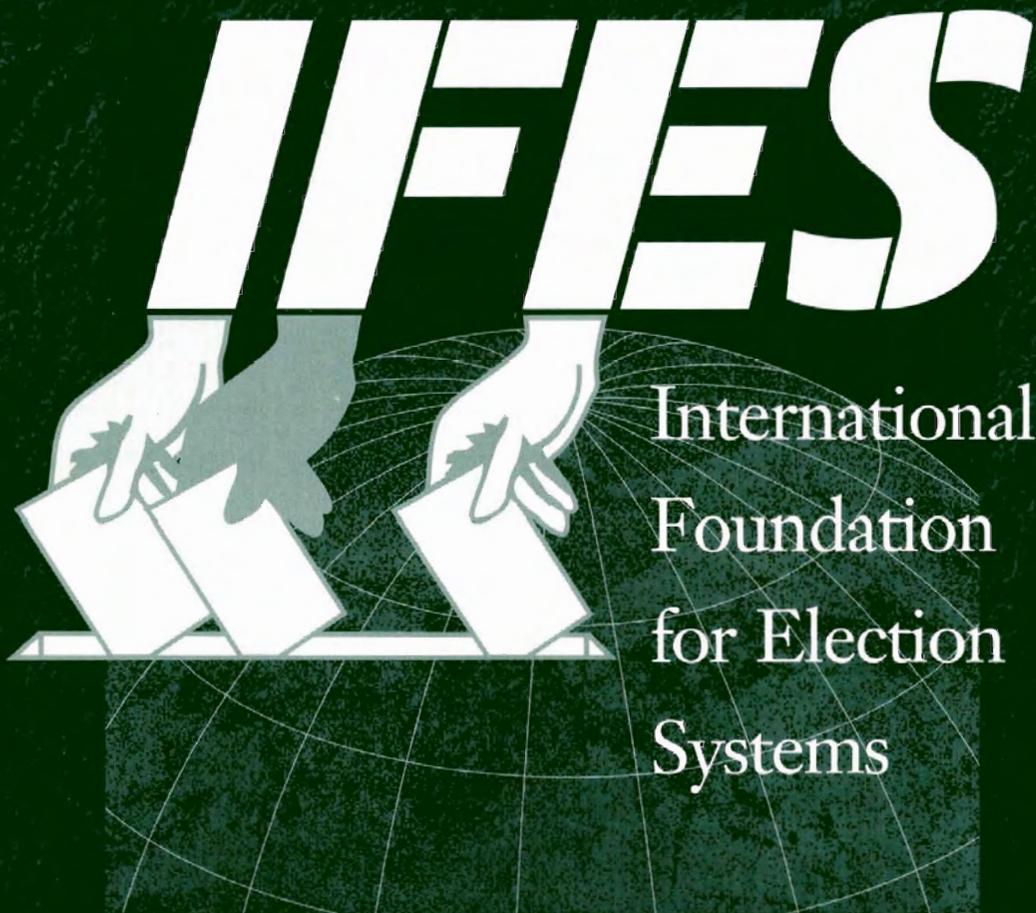


**Report on the Impact of IFES Activities  
in Nigeria**

**November 1998 to April 1999**



International  
Foundation  
for Election  
Systems

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in Nigeria**

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Valeria Scott, Program Assistant for Nigeria, IFES

*This project has been made possible through funding from the United States Agency for International Development. Any person or organization is welcome to quote information from this report if it is attributed.*

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## **Section 1. Executive Summary**

From November 15, 1998 to April 5, 1999, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) undertook a technical assessment of the electoral process that would lead to Nigeria's historic transition to civilian rule. IFES long-term monitors assessed the transitional electoral process and IFES, in collaboration with the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA), conducted three joint observer missions. IFES also provided technical assistance on voter education programming to Johns Hopkins University (JHU) and the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA).

Through its presence in Nigeria, IFES contributed to Nigerian and international understanding about the electoral process. With that knowledge, citizens and national and international observers were better equipped to judge the openness and transparency of the elections and to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the process. IFES distributed a *Pre-Election Report* immediately preceding the December 5, 1998 local government elections; post-election statements on the December elections and the February 20 National Assembly and 27 presidential elections; and two in-depth reports on the transitional elections to Nigerian nongovernmental organizations, political parties, election officials, donors, and others interested in Nigeria. IFES long-term monitors held numerous meetings with representatives of NGOs and political parties throughout Nigeria to share information on the electoral process. IFES also developed materials on the election system and designed observation checklists with suggestions for their use. These materials were distributed to local and international observer groups. Interviews of IFES monitors and Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) Executive Secretary, Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, with Nigerian and international news outlets enabled IFES to reach a wider audience outside of state capital cities and the Federal Capital Territory.

IFES had a significant impact on the increased confidence of the Nigerian people and the international community about the electoral process through the implementation by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) of several recommendations presented by IFES monitors and IFES/AAEA observers. Following the December 1998 local government elections, the INEC clarified and added to the election procedures in response to comments made by the IFES/AAEA missions and other observers. For example, IFES/AAEA observers noted the lack of indelible ink to mark voters to safeguard against multiple voting during the December 1998 local government and the January 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections. This shortcoming was emphasized after both elections by IFES monitors in meetings with the INEC and resulted in widespread and proper use of indelible ink in the February 20 and February 27 elections. Following the February 20 National Assembly elections, IFES monitors expressed concern to the INEC on the seemingly inflated accreditation figures in those elections. This resulted in the distribution of additional forms to record the number of accredited voters at the close of

accreditation (a procedure designed to thwart additional accreditation and ballot box stuffing). IFES comments also prompted the INEC to develop messages for Nigerian voters on the timing of the accreditation and voting processes and on the importance of protecting the voter's right to mark his or her ballot in secret.

IFES also identified the lack of training of poll officials as a significant shortcoming in the electoral process. With the financial assistance of the Department of International Development in the UK and the Canadian International Development Agency, IFES developed a step-by-step poll worker manual for the January elections and revised it for the February elections. A training module to accompany the manuals was also developed for the INEC.

IFES activities demonstrated the interest and support of the international community in the electoral and democratic processes in Nigeria. Through its technical assistance to the JHU and CEDPA voter education project, IFES ensured that the voter education materials were technically accurate and properly reflected the election guidelines. IFES also provided advice on key electoral messages that needed to be communicated to the Nigerian people. In addition, IFES kept the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) fully informed about the content of the voter education materials and the means through which the messages were communicated.

The activities undertaken in Nigeria enabled IFES to successfully meet the objectives and achieved the results stated in the IFES project proposal. This report describes IFES' activities in Nigeria and the impact of this program.

IFES is grateful to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) for program funding.

## Section 2. IFES in Nigeria

In support of Nigeria's transition to a civilian government, the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) conducted several activities in Nigeria from November 15, 1998 to April 5, 1999 including:

- long-term monitoring of the transitional election process;
- a pre-election assessment mission preceding the December local government elections;
- joint observer missions with the AAEA for the December 5 local government elections and the February 20 National Assembly and February 27 presidential elections; and
- technical assistance to JHU and CEDPA on voter education programming.

Through these activities, IFES successfully met its stated objectives in Nigeria. This section provides an overview of the IFES program.

IFES established a field presence in Nigeria in mid-November in response to the invitation issued by Head of State General Abdulsalami Abubakar on July 20, 1998 asking the international community to observe the election process intended to lead to the transition to an elected civilian government in May 1999. The IFES office in Nigeria served to assist in monitoring election preparations, to support the IFES/AAEA observer delegations and to provide technical assistance to JHU and CEDPA in designing voter education materials.

Simon Clarke, an election advisor who served as an election administrator in the United Kingdom and on various international missions, led the IFES monitoring team. Mr. Clarke remained in Nigeria as a long-term monitor through the duration of the IFES project. The monitoring team also included Trefor Owen, an election administrator from Australia who served with the United Nations in Cambodia. Mr. Owen was in Nigeria from mid-November to early January. John Acree, who has observed elections in Guatemala and Liberia, served as logistics coordinator for IFES/Nigeria for the monitoring and December observer mission from mid-November to mid-December. Kendall Dwyer, an election analyst, joined the IFES monitoring mission in mid-January, replacing John Acree as logistics coordinator for the monitoring and observer missions, and served as technical advisor to JHU and CEDPA on the voter education project. Susan Palmer, IFES Program Officer for Nigeria, also served as a long-term monitor from November 1998 to March 1999.

The long-term monitoring team conducted a pre-election assessment with Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana and Executive Secretary of the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA), from November 16-21, 1998. Members of the team held meetings in Abuja, Jos, Kaduna and Lagos with a variety of stakeholders in Nigeria's transition. On

November 30, 1998, the assessment team issued a *Pre-Election Report*<sup>1</sup> which identified several key areas for further attention of the INEC prior to the December 5, 1998 elections. This report was distributed to senior officials at the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), political party representatives, local and international nongovernmental organizations, donors, domestic and international media outlets and other interested individuals.

IFES organized and managed three observer missions conducted in collaboration with the AAEA. The joint international missions observed the December 5, 1998 local government elections, the February 20, 1999 National Assembly elections and the February 27, 1999 presidential elections. Composed of election officials and administrators from throughout sub-Saharan Africa as well as IFES staff, the IFES/AAEA delegates provided concrete recommendations on the technical aspects of the electoral process in Nigeria based on their personal expertise in election administration. This expertise also enabled AAEA/IFES delegates to constructively interact with their INEC counterparts at the national, state and local levels.

IFES established an IFES/AAEA Secretariat to support the two February observer missions and invited staff members from two AAEA member institutions to work in the Secretariat. Lino Musana, Head of the Administration Department at the Electoral Commission of Uganda, and Angela Neequaye, Public Information Officer at the Electoral Commission of Ghana, assisted IFES staff in the logistical and administrative preparations for the observer missions and served as observers for both elections.

In the period preceding the National Assembly and presidential elections, IFES monitor Kendall Dwyer provided technical assistance on the elections for a voter education project conducted by Johns Hopkins University (JHU) and the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA). Several coordinating meetings were held beginning at the end of January to discuss messages for voter education materials. IFES provided up-to-date information to JHU and CEDPA on election procedures and acted as liaison with the INEC on the voter education campaign. As such, IFES ensured that members of the INEC were aware of the messages being conveyed in the voter education materials and the means through which the messages were communicated. In these meetings, INEC officials verified the validity of information presented in radio spots and newspaper inserts on election day procedures and on electoral guidelines.

Throughout the long-term monitoring mission, IFES monitors held extensive meetings with officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), representatives of political parties, members of Nigerian NGOs and other important actors in Nigeria. IFES long-term monitors observed and evaluated preparations for and the conduct of the local government run-off and bye-

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<sup>1</sup> The *Pre-Election Report* can be found in Appendix II of the attached *Report of the AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission: Local Government Elections in Nigeria: December 5, 1998*.

elections on December 12, 1998; the January 9, 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections; and the delayed Bayelsa elections on January 30, 1999.

### Section 3. Project Activities and Impact

IFES activities in Nigeria were designed to support a credible electoral process and provide information on the process to the Nigerian people and the international community. The objectives of the long-term monitoring, pre-election assessment and election observation were:

1. to contribute to the knowledge of the Nigerian people and the international community about the elections so they are better able to judge the freedom and fairness of the elections and to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process; and
2. to exhibit by the presence of IFES and the IFES/AAEA missions the interest and support of the international community in the electoral and democratic processes in Nigeria.

The objectives of the voter education technical assistance were:

1. to ensure that voter education materials are technically accurate and a reflection of the election guidelines;
2. to provide advice on key electoral messages to be communicated through the voter education program; and
3. to inform the INEC about the voter education project.

In meeting these objectives, IFES activities in Nigeria resulted in:

- increased knowledge on the part of the Nigerian people and the international community about the electoral process; and
- increased confidence on the part of the Nigerian people and the international community about the electoral process as a result of the presence of international monitors and observers.

#### A. Long-Term Monitoring and Election Observation

**RESULT 1: Increased knowledge on the part of the Nigerian people and the international community about the electoral process.**

***Indicator 1: Timely dissemination of the pre- and post-election reports to major political parties and Nigerian NGOs, main Nigerian and international media outlets, diplomatic missions in Nigeria, relevant international intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, and stakeholders in the U.S.***

This result was achieved through coordination and sharing of IFES-produced reports and documentation with domestic observer groups, Nigerian NGOs, and members of the Nigerian and international press. IFES also provided these reports and documents to international observer groups, donors, members of Congress, and others interested in the Nigerian transition to civilian rule. Press coverage on the IFES/AAEA observer missions and interviews with IFES monitors and AAEA delegates in Nigeria and internationally also contributed to the dissemination of information to audiences in Nigeria and throughout the world.

IFES posted several documents related to the Nigerian elections on the IFES website. CNN developed a Nigeria website which linked to the IFES/Nigeria information as well as to CNN's Election Watch, a site with up-to-date information on elections around the world, developed and updated by IFES for CNN. CNN also engaged Michael Boda, Deputy Director of the F. Clifton White Resource Center at IFES, to write an article for its Nigeria site.

### **Reports**

IFES produced and distributed several reports on its Nigerian experience to domestic NGOs, political parties, domestic and international media outlets, international observer groups, bilateral and multilateral donors and others interested individuals. These reports included:

- *Pre-Election Report* preceding Nigeria's December 1998 local government elections;
- Post-election statements issued immediately after the December 5 local government elections, the February 20 National Assembly elections and the February 27 presidential election;<sup>2</sup>
- In-depth observation report on the December 1998 local government elections;<sup>3</sup> and
- In-depth report on the transitional election process from December 1998 to February 1999.<sup>4</sup>

The *Pre-Election Report* released on November 30, 1998, examined the election framework, voter registration, election day procedures, voter education, and the role and accreditation of domestic and international observers, offering a series of recommendations. The *Report of the AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission: Local Government Elections in Nigeria, December 5, 1998* included an in-depth look at the preparations for the first election in the transition process.

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<sup>2</sup> The post-election statements from December 1998 and two February 1999 elections can be found in Appendix II of the attached *Report of the AAEA/IFES Observation of the Transitional Elections in Nigeria: December 1998-February 1999*.

<sup>3</sup> See attached *Report of the AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission: Local Government Elections in Nigeria: December 5, 1998*.

<sup>4</sup> See attached *Report of the AAEA/IFES Observation of the Transitional Elections in Nigeria: December 1998-February 1999*.

The pre-election environment observed for the *Pre-Election Report* was compared to the actual election day events, with particular attention paid to polling station set-up, voter accreditation, and voting, counting, and collation procedures. This report also discussed shortcomings in polling station staffing, the irregular distribution of election materials, the location and set-up of polling stations, voter awareness, the lack of training of poll officials and incorrect and irregular use of indelible ink. The disenfranchisement of voters and the lack of secrecy in several polling stations were also highlighted.

On March 29, the final *Report on the AAEA/IFES Observation of the Transitional Elections in Nigeria: December 1998-February 1999* was released. This report presents IFES' observations and offers recommendations to enhance the credibility of the electoral process.

Specifically, IFES recommended a review of the electoral law; the computerization of the voters register; the enhancement of the organizational capacity of the INEC; the review of election procedures; and the conduct of widespread civic and voter education campaigns.

Prior to the public release of each statement and report, IFES long-term monitors personally delivered a copy of the statement to the Chairman and Secretary of INEC as well as to the heads of each of the directorates. This personal contact enabled IFES monitors to review the strengths and weaknesses of each election with INEC staff to affect changes in policy and procedure. In fact, the INEC incorporated several of the recommendations provided by IFES into election day procedures. For example, based on recommendations made by IFES and other international observers following the December 1998 local government elections and January 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections, the INEC obtained indelible ink from India and provided clearer rules for the application and use of indelible ink.

The INEC issued specific instructions to voters on how to mark votes for the APP/AD candidate on the ballots for the presidential election based on concerns expressed by IFES that the ballots did not correspond to the parties represented by the presidential candidates. IFES recommendations also led the INEC to introduce a new procedure to limit inflated accreditation and voting figures.

The INEC accepted IFES' recommendation to revise the poll official manual provided for the December 5, 1998 local government elections and worked with IFES to develop and produce new manuals for the January 9, 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections and the two February elections. Funding from the British Department for International Development and the Canadian International Development Agency was used to develop the poll official manuals.

IFES generated periodic situation reports on all aspects of the preparations leading up to each election, including logistic and administrative obstacles,

electoral tribunal proceedings, voter education, campaign finance, and media coverage. Due to the nature of some of the information included in those reports, distribution was limited to USAID, the State Department, and IFES partner organizations (IRI, NDI and the Carter Center).

### **Briefings**

The long-term presence of IFES monitors in Nigeria and close observation of the preparations for the elections enabled the IFES team to develop expertise on the situation on the ground that proved useful to local groups as well as visitors to Nigeria and others outside of Nigeria. IFES held numerous meetings and informal briefings with domestic organizations around the country.

Formal briefings were provided for members of Congress, international observer groups, the diplomatic community, and donors. In particular, the report produced by IFES monitors Simon Clarke, Trefor Owen and Susan Palmer following the January 9, 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections, provided strong insight into some of the larger problems of fraud and manipulation of the polls.

The briefings conducted by IFES included:

- Briefing for Congressmen Payne and Campbell in Abuja by IFES monitors Simon Clarke and Trefor Owen, Susan Palmer, IFES Program Officer for Nigeria and Keith Klein, IFES Director of Programs in Africa, at the end of November, 1998;
- Presentation to meeting chaired by United Nations-Electoral Assistance Division (UN-EAD) in New York to UN member countries on the observations of the long-term IFES monitors by Valeria Scott, IFES Program Assistant for Africa and the Near East, on December 2, 1998;
- Briefing of President Carter by long-term monitor Simon Clarke in Abuja in January 1999;
- Briefing for the United Nations Zonal Coordinators by Simon Clarke, Kendall Dwyer, and Susan Palmer in Abuja on February 10, 1999;
- Briefing for Ambassador Jeter and other organizers of the Congressional Delegation to Nigeria by Tom Bayer, IFES Director of Programs for Africa and the Near East, and Valeria Scott at the State Department in Washington, DC on February 11, 1999;
- Two-day briefing on the Nigerian election system for 100 European Union observers by Kendall Dwyer in Lagos on February 14-15, 1999;
- Briefing on the Nigerian election system for Commonwealth observer delegation by Simon Clarke and Susan Palmer in Lagos on February 15, 1999;
- Briefing by Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana and Executive Secretary of AAEA and Tom Bayer, Director of Programs for Africa and the Near East, on the IFES/AAEA observations of the Nigerian elections for the Washington community on March 12, 1999;

- Briefing of US Ambassador Twadell by Simon Clarke in Lagos on March 18, 1999; and
- Periodic briefings for the diplomatic community in Nigeria, including the US Embassy, the British High Commission and the Canadian High Commission by the IFES long-term monitors.

### **Coordination**

IFES developed and distributed background documents and informational material to the various domestic and international observer groups, domestic NGOs, members of the press and other interested members of the international community. Many of these materials were distributed at coordination meetings in Nigeria and in Washington.

IFES provided the following materials for the February 20 National Assembly and February 27 presidential elections to the European Union observation mission coordinated by the United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat (EU/UN-EAS), IRI, Carter Center/NDI and Commonwealth Observer missions, together with local observer groups:

- Election Day Checklists (*prepared by IFES in consultation with UN-EAS*)
- *Suggestions for Use of the Checklists*
- *Scope of Observation*
- *Election Day Procedures*
- *Election System*
- IFES/INEC-produced Poll Official Manual

The EU/UN-EAS, Carter Center/NDI and IRI delegations, as well as some observers from the diplomatic missions, used the IFES-developed checklists to assist with their observations on election day.<sup>5</sup>

IFES worked with the INEC to ensure that sufficient poll official manuals were printed for all INEC officials as well as all accredited observers and the media to assist these actors in their understanding of the election day procedures. INEC distributed a total of 5,507 manuals to observers and media. Local observer groups received 4,624 manuals, international observer groups received 664, local press outlets received 200, and international news agencies received 19 manuals.

In addition, IFES provided a full set of briefing materials to the Congressional Delegation, prior to their departure from Washington, and to the CNN correspondent in Nigeria and CNN researchers in Atlanta. Also, the EU/UN-EAS briefing packets contained background information on the Nigerian electoral system drawn from IFES reports.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix I

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix II

IFES long-term monitors participated in various coordinating meetings including CEPPS coordinating meetings in Abuja and Lagos; a UN coordinating meeting in Nigeria, February 11; and periodic consultations with CEPPS partners, USAID and State Department in Washington, DC.

### ***Press Contact and Coverage***

IFES/AAEA press statements and reports were distributed to over 60 Nigerian and international print, radio, television and internet news outlets and were featured in numerous articles and news stories.<sup>7</sup> Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, as head of the IFES/AAEA delegation, gave numerous interviews to Nigerian newspapers, including the Guardian, the Punch, This Day, National Concord, New Nigerian. Dr. Afari-Gyan was also interviewed by the Washington Times and was quoted in the Washington Post, Reuters, and the USIS Washington File. The IFES/AAEA *Statement on the February 27, 1999 Presidential Elections in Nigeria* also appeared in a Liberian newspaper (The News). Dr. Afari-Gyan appeared on Nigerian radio and television, including DAR Communications TV, DAR Communications Radio, MITV, and Channels Television. An Agence France Presse photograph of Dr. K. Afari-Gyan and Valeria Scott was sent worldwide and appeared in the East African Standard in Kenya.

In addition, the IFES/AAEA post-election statements from the December and two February elections appeared on the CNN website, and several internet listserves including Africa News online, InterNews and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Integrated Regional Information Network for West Africa.

Tom Bayer, Director of Programs for Africa and the Near East appeared on WorldNet on February 11, 1999, a USIS sponsored radio program that is broadcast throughout the African continent. After his presentation, Mr. Bayer fielded questions from callers in several African countries. Long-term monitor Simon Clarke was interviewed in Nigeria by Voice of America and Pacifica.

### ***IFES Website***

In order to reach as wide an audience as possible, IFES developed an extensive website on the Nigerian transitional elections and included several INEC documents as well as documents produced by IFES. IFES posted the *INEC Timetable for Electoral Activities*, the *INEC Code of Conduct for Foreign Observers*, the *Guidelines for Election into the Office of President and the National Assembly*, and the *INEC Manual for Poll Officials for the National Assembly and Presidential Elections* on the IFES website.<sup>8</sup> IFES developed a background document on the Nigerian Independent National Electoral

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix IV.

Commission (INEC) and posted state-by-state and party-by-party election results for the December 5 local government, January 9 Governorship and State House of Assembly, February 20 National Assembly and February 27 presidential elections. IFES also included IFES/AAEA post-election statements and press releases as well as an overview of IFES' activities in Nigeria on the IFES website.

The IFES Nigeria website was linked to the CNN Interactive Election Watch which is developed and updated by IFES. Michael Boda, Deputy Director of Information Resources at IFES contributed an article on Nigeria's transitional elections to the CNN In-Depth Reports website.<sup>9</sup> Between February 20 and March 2, over 2,000 visits to this article were recorded. The CNN website also provided direct links to IFES/AAEA post election statements and press releases, the Poll Official Manual, the guidelines for the National Assembly and presidential elections, and the background document on the INEC developed by IFES.<sup>10</sup> The CNN website was also linked to the IFES home page and the home page of the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA).

In February the IFES Nigeria website was visited more than 300 times. The majority of hits in March and April were recorded on the election results section of the website.

**RESULT 2: Increased confidence on the part of the Nigerian people and the international community about the electoral process as a result of the presence of international monitors and observers.**

***Indicator 2.0: Prevalence of public statements by Nigerian stakeholders (in particular domestic NGOs and political parties) concerning the utility of the IFES/AAEA monitoring and observer presence.***

The most significant public statement made on the utility of the IFES/AAEA monitoring and observer presence, and of other observers, was made by Justice Akpata, Chairman of the INEC. In a March 4, 1999 article in the Nigerian newspaper, *The Punch*, Justice Ephraim Akpata "commended the role of the international observers in the . . . transition program." He indicated that "the comments, reports and advice of the observers assisted the INEC in the

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix V.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix VI.

correction of some lapses in previous elections [and] contributed immensely to the success of the elections".<sup>11</sup>

In addition, IFES long-term monitors and members of the AAEA delegation were actively sought for interviews with several Nigerian and international press agencies marking an interest on the part of the public to receive more information on the observations made by the IFES/AAEA delegations.

***Indicator 2.1: Degree to which assessments by monitors and observers are acknowledged and received by the election authorities.***

***Indicator 2.2: Increased knowledge on the part of the Nigerian citizens about the electoral process and about their rights and responsibilities as citizens in a democracy.***

IFES long-term monitors held extensive meetings with officials of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) throughout the IFES mission to Nigeria. The presence of the IFES office in Abuja allowed IFES monitors to meet almost daily with INEC Commissioners, Heads of Departments and the INEC Secretary. IFES monitors and members of the IFES/AAEA observer delegation also met with representatives of political parties, Nigerian NGOs and members of the media.

#### ***Meetings with INEC***

Providing advance copies of all IFES/AAEA statements and reports to the INEC, enabled IFES to create opportunities to discuss recommendations and findings with INEC officials. This open dialogue led to the implementation of several IFES/AAEA recommendations during the course of the election cycle.

Following the December 1998 local government elections, the INEC clarified and added to the election procedures in response to comments made by the IFES/AAEA missions and other observers. For example, IFES/AAEA observers noted the lack of indelible ink to mark voters to safeguard against multiple voting during the December 1998 local government elections and the January 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections. This shortcoming was emphasized after both elections by IFES monitors in meetings with the INEC and resulted in widespread and proper use of indelible ink in the February 20 and February 27 elections.

After the February 20 election, IFES provided recommendations on the importance of recording the number of accredited voters at the conclusion of accreditation to prevent against accreditation after 11:00am and to limit inflated accreditation and voting figures. On February 23, IFES monitor, Simon Clarke, met with INEC Secretary Alhaji Adamu Bawa Mu'azu and INEC Chairman

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix VII.

Justice Ephraim Akpata to express concern over the inflated accreditation figures observed by IFES/AAEA delegates. On the same day, as a direct result of this intervention, Secretary Mu'azu issued a statement instructing supervisory presiding officers to travel to each polling station to record the number of accredited voters at the conclusion of accreditation on a new form, Form AC at the polling station<sup>12</sup>. To verify the validity of the number of accredited voters, the presiding officer had to sign the form along with the party agents if they agreed with the accreditation figures. Data collected at the conclusion of accreditation was then to be compared with accreditation figures at the collation centers. The introduction of this form also enabled the INEC to track accreditation figures from the polling stations to the ward collation centers and finally at the local government consolidation centers, a statistic which the regular counting forms did not trace through the counting process.

Prompted by IFES recommendations, the INEC also developed messages for Nigerian voters on the timing of the accreditation and voting processes and on the importance of protecting the voter's right to mark his or her ballot in secret.

Another significant impact of the relationship that IFES developed with the INEC was the development of the poll official manual for the January 9, 1999 Governorship and State House of Assembly elections and its subsequent revision for the February 20 National Assembly and February 27 presidential elections. IFES/AAEA observers noted after the December 5, 1998 local government elections that poll officials were inadequately trained and lacked proper reference materials. Given the restriction on using USG money to directly assist the government of Nigeria, IFES was able to secure funding from the British and Canadian governments to bring a specialist from an AAEA member country to Nigeria to develop the poll official manual. USAID funding of the long-term monitoring mission and the IFES/AAEA observer missions enabled IFES to make the recommendation for a revised poll official manual and donor coordination in Nigeria permitted IFES to provide technical assistance to the INEC.

IFES/AAEA delegates met with state-level INEC officials and representatives of political parties to assess preparations for each election at their deployment sites. At each site, IFES/AAEA observers were able to interact with the state Resident Electoral Commissioner and various members of the state electoral commission staff. This interaction with stakeholders in the Nigerian transition process permitted an in-depth understanding and analysis of the election process and of election day preparations. AAEA delegates also brought election-related materials, such as electoral laws, constitutions, voter education pamphlets and posters, poll official training manuals, from their respective countries to share with the INEC in Abuja and at the state level.

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix VIII.

### ***Meetings with other stakeholders***

In addition to numerous meetings with INEC officials, IFES monitors met with representatives from several Nigerian NGOs both in Abuja and Lagos. In Lagos IFES met with most organizations in the Transitional Monitoring Group (TMG) coalition and in Abuja, several meetings were held with the Abuja Coalition, the Yakubu Gowon Centre and the National Council for Women's Societies, as well as with TMG member groups. IFES provided copies of all IFES/AAEA statements and reports as well as various briefing documents to these and other NGOs in Nigeria.

At each observation deployment site, IFES/AAEA delegates met with representatives from all political parties participating in the National Assembly and presidential elections. These meetings were useful in alerting the presence of IFES/AAEA observers in various sites around the country and in providing delegates with an understanding of the political climate in each region visited. Prior to the December 5, 1998 elections, IFES monitors met with several of the political parties who contested the local government elections.

## **B. Voter Education Technical Assistance Project**

### ***Indicator 3.0: Voter education material and messages that accurately explain election procedures.***

In the period preceding the National Assembly and presidential elections, IFES monitor Kendall Dwyer provided technical assistance to the voter education project conducted by Johns Hopkins University (JHU) and the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA). Several coordinating meetings were held beginning at the end of January to discuss messages for voter education materials. The group concluded that the most important messages for the voter education campaign would be: importance of secrecy in the vote; instruction of step-by-step voting procedures; and encouraging women to participate in the elections.

The different responsibilities during the project were allocated according to the technical expertise and previous activities of each of the three organizations in Nigeria and around the world. JHU/CEDPA used its established track record in developing large-scale public education campaigns in Nigeria to create and distribute radio spots and newspaper inserts for the voter education campaign. IFES provided technical assistance on voter education materials and served as a liaison with the Independent National Election Commission (INEC).

IFES input in the voter education campaign included verification of the information presented in radio spots and newspaper inserts on election day procedures and on electoral guidelines. As liaison with the INEC on the voter

education campaign, IFES ensured that members of the INEC were aware of the messages being conveyed in the voter education materials and the means through which the messages were communicated. Also, through its regular meetings with the INEC, IFES representatives were able to inform JHU/CEDPA of the most updated information regarding the elections. Specifically, IFES communicated last-minute alterations in the voting procedure. For example, the regulation requiring all accredited voters to be in line by 11:30 in order to be eligible to vote was reaffirmed by the INEC for the two February elections. IFES effectively communicated this change to JHU/CEDPA so that all voter education materials emphasized this important message.

### **C. Additional Impact**

The impact of IFES' Nigeria program surpassed the proposed objectives of the long-term monitoring mission, IFES/AAEA observer missions and the voter education project.

To build the institutional capacity of the nascent AAEA, IFES established the AAEA/IFES Secretariat to support the two February observer missions and invited two AAEA staff members to join the Secretariat. Lino Musana, Head of the Administration Department at the Electoral Commission of Uganda, and Angela Neequaye, Public Information Officer at the Electoral Commission of Ghana, contributed tremendously to the success of the February observer missions. Both assisted IFES staff in the logistical and administrative preparations for the observer missions and contributed their own expertise to the mission. Angela Neequaye's contacts with the media and expertise in communication were instrumental in distributing AAEA/IFES statements and materials to the press. In the briefing preceding the presidential observer mission, Lino Musana delivered the module on election day procedures to AAEA and IFES delegates. The involvement of the two AAEA staff members in the daily activities of the Secretariat familiarized them with the organizational elements of a successful monitoring and observation effort. The AAEA considers the experience a good way to prepare itself to independently organize future AAEA activities.

The capacity of the AAEA and the individual AAEA delegates was also enhanced through participation in the observer mission. Exposure to a different electoral system and discussions among delegates and with state level INEC officials on various electoral systems throughout Africa will assist AAEA members in their electoral work in their home countries. During breaks in the briefing sessions, AAEA delegates shared the experiences of organizing, administering and observing elections in their countries. These conversations continued during deployment as delegates were sent in teams of two to their sites for three days each election.

The credibility of the AAEA as an Association of election experts was demonstrated by the interest of the INEC to join the AAEA. Chairman Akpata has applied for membership to the AAEA and arrangements for the membership of the INEC in the AAEA are now in progress

## **Section 4. Conclusion**

IFES clearly met the objectives stated in its project proposals for the long-term monitoring, the IFES/AAEA observation of three out of four elections in the Nigerian transition process and technical assistance on voter education to JHU and CEDPA. IFES raised Nigerian and international awareness of the election process in the interest of preparing them to judge the freedom and fairness of the elections and to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the electoral process. IFES provided a steady stream of information and recommendations to the INEC, political parties, NGOs, international and domestic media outlets, donors and others interested in the Nigerian transition process. The information was provided through written reports and in meetings with several of the stakeholders in the process as well as through television and radio interviews.

Through its long-term presence and the involvement of African election experts, IFES demonstrated the interest and support of the international community in Nigeria's electoral and democratic processes. IFES maintained a field office in Abuja from mid-November through early April and IFES monitors took several trips to Lagos and other parts of the country for meetings and consultations with political parties, NGOs and state-level INEC officials. IFES/AAEA delegates met with these same representatives at their deployment sites.

IFES also met its objectives in the voter education component of the IFES project, advising the development of electoral messages that were communicated through the voter education materials. The relationship developed with the INEC enabled IFES to verify that the voter education materials accurately reflected the election guidelines while keeping the INEC informed on the voter education project.

USAID funding to this project also contributed to additional results not stated in the project proposal. The partnership between IFES and the AAEA for the three observer missions assisted in developing the network of election officials and election-related NGOs among AAEA delegates and with the INEC. The institutional capacity of the AAEA was enhanced through the inclusion of two AAEA staff members in the IFES/AAEA Secretariat. This experience will assist the AAEA in organizing future AAEA activities elsewhere in Africa.

# Appendix I

# CHECKLIST - NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION -

## ACCREDITATION PROCESS

*(Prepared by the International Foundation for Election Systems, in consultation with UN-EAS)*

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>TEAM NUMBER</b> <input style="width: 60%;" type="text"/>   | <b>Arrival Time</b> <input style="width: 20%;" type="text"/>   |
| <b>Name(s)</b> <input style="width: 90%;" type="text"/>   | <b>Departure Time</b> <input style="width: 20%;" type="text"/> |
| <b>State</b> <input style="width: 20%;" type="text"/> <b>LGA</b> <input style="width: 20%;" type="text"/> | <b>Ward</b> <input style="width: 60%;" type="text"/>           |
| <b>Polling Station</b> <input style="width: 40%;" type="text"/>   | <b>Code</b> <input style="width: 40%;" type="text"/>           |

|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <b>POLLING STATION STATISTICS</b>   |  | <b>Time sensitive material arrived</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> |
| <b>Number of voters on register</b> <input style="width: 80%;" type="text"/>        | <b>Time accreditation began</b> <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/>         | <b>ended</b> <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/>                            |
| <b>Count the accredited on register</b> <input style="width: 80%;" type="text"/>    | <b>Number waiting to be accredited</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> |  |
| <b>Time to process each accred. voter</b> <input style="width: 80%;" type="text"/>  | <b>Time voting began</b> <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/>                | <b>ended</b> <input style="width: 15%;" type="text"/>                            |
| <b>Percentage of women being accred.</b> <input style="width: 10%;" type="text"/> % | <b>Number waiting to vote</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>          |  |

|   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|
| <b>PEOPLE PRESENT</b> ✓ <i>(Tick where people present. Note any comments they make about the process on reverse.)</i> |   |  |   |
| <b>INEC Staff:</b>  | <b>Presiding Officer</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>      | <b>Poll Orderly</b> <input type="checkbox"/>                   | <b>Poll Clerk</b> <input type="checkbox"/>                        |
| <b>Security Agents:</b>   | <b>Police</b> <input type="checkbox"/>                            | <b>Army</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>                | <b>Other</b> <input type="checkbox"/>                             |
| <b>Party Agents:</b>  | <b>AD</b> <input type="checkbox"/>                                | <b>APP</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>                 | <b>PDP</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>                    |
| <b>Observers:</b>   | <b>Local accredited</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> | <b>International</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> | <b>Local unofficial</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/> |
| <i>Representing</i>   |   |  | <b>Other</b> <input style="width: 100%;" type="text"/>            |

|   |  |                                     |                                     |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <b>GENERAL OBSERVATIONS</b>   |  | <b>Yes</b>                          | <b>No</b>                           |
| 1. <b>Material:</b> Is all the required material present in sufficient quantities? <i>(see checklist in manual)</i> |  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 2. <b>Voters Register:</b> Is it accurate, complete, a clean copy, and being correctly marked?                      |  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. <b>Poll Officials Manual:</b> Is it present, being used, and its directions followed?                            |  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 4. <b>Election Forms:</b> Are these being completed accurately and at the correct time?                             |  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| 5. <b>Conduct:</b> Are all officials, Party Agents, voters, Security Agents conducting themselves correctly?        |  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |

6. **Opening:** At what time did the polling station open for accreditation?
7. **Polling Station Management:** Is layout correct, queues orderly, and are voters efficiently processed?  Yes  No
8. **Processing:** Are voters register and voter's cards checked and marked correctly?  Yes  No
9. **Integrity of Processing**
- (a) Are any voters being refused accreditation?  Yes  No  
 If Yes, how many  and why
- (b) Are any voters apparently ineligible to vote being granted accreditation?  
 If Yes, how many  and what irregularities were apparent? *(describe on reverse)*
10. **Confinement:** Are voters staying at the polling station after being accredited?  Yes  No
11. **Polling Station Evaluation** *(tick applicable)*

|  | Party Agents' View       | Observer Team's View     |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Polling Station functioning correctly          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Minor irregularities not significant to result | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Serious problems, could affect result          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

*Where problems are indicated give a brief description on reverse of this sheet.*

# CHECKLIST- NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - FEBRUARY 1999 VOTING PROCESS

*(Prepared by the International Foundation for Election Systems, in consultation with UN-EAS)*

|  |  |
|--|--|
| TEAM NUMBER <input style="width: 50px;" type="text"/>      | Arrival Time <input style="width: 50px;" type="text"/>   |
| Name(s) <input style="width: 400px;" type="text"/>         | Departure Time <input style="width: 50px;" type="text"/> |
| State <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>           | LGA <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>           |
| Ward <input style="width: 150px;" type="text"/>            |  |
| Polling Station <input style="width: 200px;" type="text"/> | Code <input style="width: 100px;" type="text"/>          |

| POLLING STATION STATISTICS   |  |
|--|--|
| Number of voters on register <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>       | Time sensitive material arrived <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>  |
| Count the accredited on register <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>   | Time accreditation began <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> ended <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> |
| Time to process each accred. voter <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> | Number waiting to be accredited <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>  |
| Percentage of women voting <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> %       | Time voting began <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> ended <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>        |
|  | Number waiting to vote <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>   |

| PEOPLE PRESENT <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>(Tick where people present. Note any comments they make about the process on reverse.)</i> |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|
| INEC Staff:  | Presiding Officer <input type="checkbox"/>                 | Poll Orderly <input type="checkbox"/>                   | Poll Clerk <input type="checkbox"/>                        |
| Security Agents:   | Police <input type="checkbox"/>                            | Army <input type="checkbox"/>                           | Other <input type="checkbox"/>                             |
| Party Agents:  | AD <input type="checkbox"/>                                | APP <input type="checkbox"/>                            | PDP <input type="checkbox"/>                               |
| Observers:   | Local accredited <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> | International <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> | Local unofficial <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/> |
| Representing   | <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>                  | <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>               | <input style="width: 80px;" type="text"/>                  |

| GENERAL OBSERVATIONS  |                          | Yes                      | No                       |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 12. Material: Is all the required material present in sufficient quantities? <i>(see checklist in manual)</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. Poll Officials Manual: Is it present, being used, and its directions followed?                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Election Forms: Are these being completed accurately and at the correct time?                             | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Conduct: Are all officials, Party Agents, voters, Security Agents conducting themselves correctly?        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Voting Information: Did the Presiding Officer fully inform voters about voting processes?                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Polling Station Management: Is layout correct, queues orderly, and are voters efficiently processed?      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Access: Is access to the polling station area (ie, queues) properly controlled after voting commences?    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Processing: Are ballots being issued (stamped, signed, folded) correctly to properly accredited voters?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. Indelible Ink: Is the indelible ink used correctly on all voters?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. Secrecy: Is a polling booth or private space provided with access to it controlled?                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. Ballot Paper Fold: Are ballot papers being folded after being marked to preserve secrecy?                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. Security: Is there secure control over the ballot papers and the ballot box?                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. Assistance: Is assistance being provided to disabled voters?  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. Irregularities: Were any voting irregularities detected?  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| If Yes, how many <input style="width: 30px;" type="text"/> <i>(describe on reverse)</i>                       |                          |                          |                          |
| 26. Polling Station Evaluation <i>(tick applicable)</i>   |                          |                          |                          |
|   | Party Agents' View       |                          | Observer Team's View     |
| Polling Station functioning correctly   | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Minor Irregularities not significant to result  | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Serious problems, could affect result   | <input type="checkbox"/> |                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

*Where problems are indicated give a brief description on reverse of this sheet.*

**CHECKLIST - NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION - COLLATION PROCESS**

*(Prepared by the International Foundation for Election Systems, in consultation with UN-EAS)*

|                    |                      |                     |                       |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>TEAM NUMBER</b> | <input type="text"/> | <b>Arrival Time</b> | <input type="text"/>  |
| <b>Name(s)</b>     | <input type="text"/> |                     | <b>Departure Time</b> |
| <b>State</b>       | <input type="text"/> | <b>LGA</b>          | <input type="text"/>  |
| <b>Code</b>        | <input type="text"/> | <b>Ward</b>         | <input type="text"/>  |

- |  |                          |                          |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
|  | <b>Yes</b>               | <b>No</b>                |
| 38. Forms: Is the Collation Officer using the correct consolidation form?                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 39. Vote Totals: Do votes recorded agree with figures from previous level (result sheets/own figures)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40. Accuracy: Is the collation process conducted accurately and transparently?                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 41. Party Agents: Are they present with copies of forms from previous level?                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. Party Agents: Do Party Agents sign and take a copy of completed results sheets?                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| Party       | PS Ref. _____<br>President |  |
|-------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
|             |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| AD          |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| APP         |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| PDP         |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Votes cast  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| On Register |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Accredited  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Invalid     |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |

| Party       | PS Ref. _____<br>President |  |
|-------------|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
|             |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| AD          |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| APP         |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| PDP         |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Votes cast  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| On Register |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Accredited  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |
| Invalid     |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |                            |  |

*Where problems are indicated give a brief description on reverse of this sheet.*

**CHECKLIST**  
**LGA or CONSTITUENCY**  
**CONSOLIDATION WORKSHEET**

*(Prepared by the International Foundation for Election Systems, in consultation with UN-EAS)*

|                    |   |   |   |
|--------------------|---|---|---|
| <b>TEAM NUMBER</b> | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> | <b>Arrival Time</b>                     | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> |
| <b>Name(s)</b>     | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> | <b>Departure Time</b>                   | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> |
| <b>State</b>       | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> | <b>LGA/CONSTITUENCY</b>                 |   |
| <b>Code</b>        | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> | <input style="width:95%;" type="text"/> |   |

- |   | Yes                      | No                       |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 43. <b>Forms:</b> Is the Collation Officer/Returning Officer using the correct consolidation form?            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. <b>Vote Totals:</b> Do votes recorded agree with figures from previous level (result sheets/own figures)? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 45. <b>Accuracy:</b> Is the collation process conducted accurately and transparently?                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 46. <b>Party Agents:</b> Are they present with copies of forms from previous level?                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 47. <b>Party Agents:</b> Do Party Agents sign and take a copy of completed results sheets?                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Complete the following table for results brought to this collation centre.

| Party | Ward Ref _____<br>President |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| AD    |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| APP   |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| PDP   |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| Votes |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |

| Party         | Ward Ref _____<br>President |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| AD            |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| APP           |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| PDP           |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |
| Votes<br>cast |                             |                             |                             |                             |                             |

*Where problems are indicated give a brief description on reverse of this sheet.*

# **Appendix II**



EUROPEAN UNION

Delegation of the European Commission in the FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA (Abuja Office)

ABUJA OFFICE, 18 January 1999  
D(99)

IFES

Attn. Simon Clarke, Trefor Owen, Sue Palmer  
Noga Hilton, RM 164

Dear IFES-Team,

Please be informed that I have faxed chapters 3 through 5 of the 'Report of the AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission' to Ambassador Ekström of Sweden, with due attribution to IFES.

He made a last minute request for legal background information on the Nigerian elections just before his departure to Stockholm last week. The materials will be used for the training of Swedish short term observers.

*Kindest Regards,*

Curiijn M. Hasselaar  
Third Secretary - Development

# **Appendix III**



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**Monitors say Nigerian polls credible**

12:37 p.m. Dec 08, 1998 Eastern

LAGOS, Dec 8 (Reuters) - International monitors who observed weekend local elections in Nigeria said on Tuesday they were largely satisfied with the voting procedures.

Both the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Carter Centre in the United States, as well the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) expressed their approval following the first of several polls to end years of military rule.

"Despite the difficult conditions in which these elections were held, our observers reported that they were largely orderly and peaceful," the NDI/Carter Centre said in a joint statement sent to Reuters in Lagos.

The statement said there were only isolated incidents of trouble and wrongdoing, and that most Nigerians saw the election as a positive move towards civilian rule.

"We are encouraged that this first vote passed in a relatively peaceful atmosphere, and we hope the following months will be marked by a further commitment to a credible process," AAEA/IFES said in their joint statement.

Among shortcomings identified by the groups in the polls, dominated by the centrist Peoples Democratic Party, were inadequate or late arrival of election materials and isolated cases of violence and multiple voting.

The polls were the first, crucial step in military ruler General Abdulsalami Abubakar's election timetable to end 15 years of military rule in Africa's most populous country of 108 million people.

Oil-producing Nigeria has been ruled by the military for all but 10 years since independence from Britain in 1960.

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## International observers list ways to ease polling

**I**nternational observers who monitored Saturday's council polls yesterday outlined some grey areas which they suggested should be addressed by government to ease polling processes.

They suggested extended "claims and objections" period for additional registration of voters, streamlined accreditation, adequate training for poll workers and voter education.

Briefing the press yesterday in Abuja, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Carter Centre also called on the Federal Government to make more funds available for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to carry out its mandate.

*From Oghoghor Obayuwana (Abuja), Mohammed Abubakar (Maiduguri), Sunry Ogefere (Asaba), Uba Okeke (Onitsha), Seun Adeeye (Osogbo) and Saxe Akhaine (Kaduna)*

The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and the Association of African Elections Authorities (AAEA) also spoke in the same vein that there should be an immediate development and wide dissemination of detailed step-by-step instruction manual for poll officials as well as a review of the ballot layout to minimise invalid ballots for future elections.

But the NDI and Carter Center's delegation led by Sharon Pratt Kelly, former Mayor of Washington and Hama Amadou, former Prime Minister of Niger, denied that they were in the country to fund and ensure support for Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo being a good friend of former President Jimmy Carter.

Fielding reporters' questions, the group said: "It is not for us to decide who is to be elected president of Nigeria. We are here to ensure that all goes well and that there is fairness. It is up to the Nigerian people to decide whether any candidate is appropriate. We are neutral."

*Continued on Page 5*

# WORLD

## In Brief

### AFRICA

#### Results in Gabon Give Bongo Another Term

**LIBREVILLE, Gabon**—President Omar Bongo won another seven-year term in Sunday's presidential election, taking 66.55 percent of the vote, according to results announced late last night.

Interior Minister Antoine Mboumbou Miyakou read the results on state television after opposition parties cried foul and demanded the scrapping of the election.

Bongo's closest rival, Pierre Mamboundou, won 16.54 percent of votes cast, with the Rev. Paul M'ba Abessole, a veteran opposition leader, in third place with 13.43 percent.

#### Libyans Take Up Deal for Lockerbie Suspect

**TUNIS**—Libya's General People's Congress, the top legislative and executive body that formally will endorse any decision on the Lockerbie issue, began a meeting expected to last several days.

As Libyan state television, monitored in Tunis, broadcast debates at the opening session in Sirte, 250 miles east of Tripoli, Libyan lawyers launched a fund-raising campaign for the defense of two Libyan suspects in the case. The United States has accused two Libyans, Abdel Basset Megrahi and Lamem Khalifa Fhimri, of blowing up a Pan Am airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland, on Jan. 21, 1988, killing 270 people.

#### Party Cries Foul Over Nigerian Elections

**ABUJA, Nigeria**—The second-place party in Saturday's Nigerian local elections accused the dominant Peoples Democratic Party of cheating with the help of the electoral commission and security forces.

The All People's Party said in a statement in Abuja, the capital, that the Independent National Electoral Commission had appointed known Peoples Democratic Party supporters to staff polling stations and decide disputes in its favor. Two American groups—the National Democratic Institute and the Carter Center—as well as the Association of African Election Authorities and the International Foundation for Election Systems expressed approval following the elections.

### THE MIDDLE EAST

#### U.N. Team Holds Surprise Searches in Iraq

**BAGHDAD, Iraq**—U.N. inspection teams launched surprise searches for banned Iraqi weapons despite angry assertions from Baghdad that the searches amount to harassment.

"We are undertaking a very intensive schedule," said Catherine Cross, the spokeswoman in Baghdad for the U.N. Commission, which oversees the inspections. "We have 15 teams in town. We need to test Iraq's pledge to comply."

The official Iraqi News Agency said the inspectors, using helicopters, made 32 surprise visits, the most since they returned to Baghdad last month. Baghdad did not hide its displeasure. State-run newspapers quoted Deputy Prime Minister Tariq al-Hassani in Moscow, as saying there was a limit to Iraq's compliance.

#### Stop Overproduction, Gulf Oil Nations Urge

**ABU DHABI, United Arab Emirates**—Persian Gulf countries grappling with ways to halt the plunge in oil prices that has gutted their budgets, called on oil-rich nations to stop overproduction.

"The whole problem" of low oil prices is caused by countries sticking to their production quotas, Jamil Hojeilan, secretary general of the Gulf Cooperation Council, said on the second day of a three-day summit of the six-nation group.

Earlier, Hojeilan said oil ministers decided not to cut oil production to shore up depressed world prices.

## UNITED NATIONS

Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs  
Integrated Regional Information Network for West Africa  
tel: +225 21 73 54, fax: +225 21 63 35  
e-mail: [irin-wa@africaonline.co.ci](mailto:irin-wa@africaonline.co.ci)

IRIN-WA Update 356 of Events in West Africa (Wednesday 9 December)

### **NIGERIA: Nigeria needs to do more to get sanctions lifted, US says**

The United States on Tuesday (yesterday) told Nigeria that further steps were needed to ensure US sanctions were lifted, despite moves to restore democracy, AFP reported. US Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering said restrictions on direct flights between Nigeria and the US were based on "technical and safety issues", while Nigeria's place on a US black list of drug-trafficking countries was a "legal issue". A US team had concluded a number of cooperation agreements with the Nigerian government on fighting transnational crime in October, but Pickering said more needed to be done before the US could "revisit the issue of narcotics".

Gabriel Sam Akunwafor, Nigeria's deputy representative to the UN in New York, said the Nigerian government was embarking on reform but "but we are given at all times a list of what to do. We want to see some kind of recognition." Akunwafor said the restoration of direct flights was a high priority for Nigerians and it was "unfair" to hide behind technical problems. Regarding drug trafficking, he said the Nigerian government had taken action to curb the problem and the US statement was against "evidence on the ground".

Direct flights between the two countries were discontinued during the administration of the late General Sani Abacha on grounds of poor security and corruption at Nigerian airports. The US placed Nigeria under sanctions after the execution of human rights activists in November 1995, but lifted some of its restrictions earlier this year.

### **US hails local elections**

US State Department spokesman James Foley said the success of recent "peaceful and professional elections in Nigeria bodes well for the state, federal and presidential elections early next year," a USIA report said. The US-based **International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)**, in a report received by IRIN today (Wednesday), said it was "encouraged" by the Nigerian electoral commission's commitment to Nigeria's transition to democracy. **IFES** said it hoped the following months would be marked by a further commitment to a credible and transparent poll. It recommended the dissemination of a detailed instruction manual for poll officials as well as better training of political parties. Local government elections were held on 5 December.

**From:** <Darrenkew@aol.com>  
**To:** IFES.IFES(VSCOTT)  
**Date:** 12/14/98 5:59PM  
**Subject:** Guardian IFES article

Monday, December 14, 1998

Ways to better polls, by foreign observers

From Hendrix Oliomogbe, Benin City

A 15-member delegation of international observers from the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) has suggested ways in which the Federal Government can improve on subsequent elections.

In a post-election statement by the AAEA/IFES, the delegation leader, Mr. K. Afari-Gyan, recommended the immediate development and wide dissemination of a detailed step by step instruction manual for poll officials and that the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) undertake a thorough and timely re-training of polls' officials.

Afari-Gyan, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, noted that there were a lot of inconsistent procedures on election day as a result of inadequate guidelines to, and training of polls' officials.

According to him: "We observed a lack of uniform procedures from polling station to polling station". At many polling stations, we observed that, either at the point of marking the ballot or dropping it into the box, the voter's right to secrecy was not preserved. Indelible ink was used to mark the voters in only a few polling stations."

Calling for a review of the ballot lay-out to minimise invalid ballots, the observer team noted that ballots were rejected even when the voter's intention could be discerned. The lay-out of the ballot paper, he added, contributed to numerous invalid ballots as did the lack of clear guidelines to the poll officials on what constituted an invalid ballot.

The AAEA/IFES observer mission advised INEC to provide polling stations additional materials to increase the efficiency of the accreditation and voting processes and the provision of additional staff at polling stations with more than 500 registered voters.

Afari-Gyan and his team also called for uniform procedures for the application of indelible ink to mark voter's thumbs after casting ballots and for increased attention and resources to be given to widespread voter education campaigns by the INEC.

BRIEFING/AFRICA

# Monitoring elections becomes cottage industry

## Leaders enjoy observers they can count on

By Julius Warney  
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Under normal circumstances, the arrival of French election monitors in Gabon three days before the Dec. 6 presidential elections should have reassured all parties that the voting would be held under the gaze of scrupulously impartial observers.

It was a blue-chip panel of six judges and seven lawyers from the International Association for Democracy (AID) — led by Robert Bourgi, a high-ranking member of French President Jacques Chirac's Rally for the Republic party (RPR) and Mr. Chirac's unofficial adviser on African affairs.

But the circumstances were far from normal.

According to the Paris daily Le Monde, the AID members were also guests of Gabon's President Omar Bongo, who was running for re-election. They were wined and dined at his expense and chauffeured around in official limousines.

Mr. Bourgi was an old friend of the Gabonese president's, and faxes he sent to Mr. Bongo addressed the president as "Papa" and signed them "your son."

Mr. Bongo, who has ruled over this small, oil-rich, Central African country of just about a million people for 32 of his 64 years and was facing opposition at the polls for the second time in five years, needed some observers he could count on.

### The monitoring business

His claimed victory in the 1993 election, with 50.07 percent of the vote, was greeted with violent demonstrations in the streets that were brutally suppressed by the military. Local and foreign observers agreed that the balloting had been massively rigged.

In this month's election, Gabon's constitutional court, under the observers' approval, certified Mr. Bongo as the winner with 67 percent of the vote.

Election monitoring is a growing cottage industry in Africa.

In the early 1990s, citizens of many African countries — fed up with decades of one-party rule, single-candidate ballots and 99.99 percent election victories — emboldened by the collapsing autocracies in Eastern Europe, took to the streets and force-marched their own rulers to participatory democracy.

This spawned an alphabet soup of foreign and indigenous election-monitoring, human-rights and other democracy-related organizations.

Most of the difficult and usually thankless work is still done by reputable and experienced groups like the Washington-based International Republican Institute (IRI), the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Carter Center in Atlanta.

All these institutions, with extensive experience from Eastern Europe and Asia, are now involved in the multistage democratic transition under way in Nigeria, where the first phase of local elections took place two weeks ago.

### Local efforts endorsed

About 40 independent organizations are involved in the Nigerian



Nigerians cast their ballots in an election observed by monitors from the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a respected group.

operation, many of them small, indigenous outfits representing genuine attempts by citizens to make sure that democracy takes hold and works, said Tom Bayer, deputy director for Africa and Middle East at IFES.

"It is important that there be indigenous, civil society organizations that can call into question the validity of election results. They also represent the local point of view, they understand the language and customs, and are better able to ask the right questions," Mr. Bayer said.

Christopher Pomunyah, director for the Africa region at NDI, said home-grown groups also represent the eagerness to participate in the democratic process that has become evident in Africa.

"Just 10 years ago, many of these groups would not have been permitted to exist, or their leaders would have been jailed. These elections concern them primarily, so it is but natural that they ensure their fairness and validity," he said.

It is to this end that IRI is involved in training a quarter-million poll agents in Nigeria — not only for next year's election, but as part of a long-term democracy-building process.

### Training for democracy

"We anticipate that one day, Africans will run their own elections and ensure that they're clean, without outside help," said Lloyd Pearson, who oversees African elections for IRI. "That is why we all place great emphasis in training not only poll agents but also parliamentarians and civil servants."

For the Gabonese election, IFES carried out a 17-day pre-election technical assessment of preparations for the poll and found some serious shortcomings.

Its report cited continuing "disputes over electoral lists, the ineffectiveness and unpreparedness of the National Electoral Commission and lack of any coherent civic education program."

**GOING TO THE POLLS**  
African countries where elections are due in the next six months:

- Nigeria:** Voting for governors and state assemblies is slated in January, followed by balloting for the National Assembly and Senate on Feb. 20, and presidential elections a week later. A democratically elected civilian government is
- Niger** has scheduled local elections, postponed last month to allow more time to prepare, for Feb. 7.
- Benin** is to hold parliamentary elections in March.
- Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire,** has promised elections in April — the first since the overthrow of dictator Mobutu Sese Seko in May 1997.
- Mali** has set municipal elections for April.
- South Africa** is to hold its second multiracial parliamentary elections April 27.
- Djibouti** is to hold a presidential election in May.
- Malawi** plans presidential and parliamentary elections in May.

*"We anticipate that one day, Africans will run their own election and ensure that they're clean. . . ."*  
—Lloyd Pearson

usually funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development showed up in Gabon, although one seemed to know who was funding his trip.

The U.S. Embassy in Gabon flew two GERDDDES monitors from Togo — largely because of the head of the Gabonese chapter of that organization is a high-ranking member of the ruling party — but Togolese observers were arrested on arrival by Gabon authorities and later deported. When the Americans complained, the government said it was all a mistake and that it would bring them back or reimburse the embassy for the fares.

Some dubious democracy monitors are also emerging from the United States.

The Cameroon weekly newspaper Mutations reports that a little-known Chicago-based entity called IBS was the only foreign observer mission to give a clean bill of health to the re-election of Cameroon's President Paul Biya last year. Interestingly, the paper says the IBS that organized the October visit to Cameroon and Ivory Coast of a delegation led by departing D.C. Mayor Marion Barry.

With the billions of dollars that have salted away in foreign banks over the years, many African leaders have enough money to corrupt any system, said Narcisse Tik, Cameroonian journalist who lives in the Washington area.

But as Gabon's president took a reporter days before his election: "An African head of state is like a big brother. You don't change a big brother as easily as you would a prime minister."

**BEST AVAILABLE COPY**

Later reports showed that the number of eligible voters had increased by almost a third since 1996, from 410,000 to almost 600,000, making Gabon the only country with two-thirds of its population eligible to vote.

The emergence of mercenary election monitors worries officials in Washington concerned about maintaining the integrity of their stamps of approval.

One such institution is the Group for Study and Research into Democracy and Development in Africa, known by its French acronym GERDDDES, headed by controversial Benin lawyer Alao Sadikou Ayo — a retired executive of the African Development Bank who is so taken with his job that he has declined to call elections for his position since they were due in 1995.

**Some dubious outfits**  
Mr. Alao, whose organization is

THE PUNCH

Tuesday Feb 16 1999.

### **AAEA/IFES delegation arrives Nigeria**

A 12-person delegation from the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), will Tuesday arrive in Nigeria to observe the nation's National Assembly elections on February 20. A 28-member AAEA/IFES delegation will also observe the February 27 presidential election.

The AAEA is a membership organization of election administrators and representatives of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) from sub-Saharan Africa, dedicated to the professionalization of election administration. IFES, a Washington, DC-based NGO, provides non partisan assistance to develop or refine election systems in emerging and established democracies around the world. The AAEA and IFES also observed the local government and state-level elections in December and January in Nigeria.

## Decrees on presidential, assembly polls ready

Onyedi Ojiabor, Abuja

**T**HE Provisional Ruling Council (PRC) has finalised the decrees for the national assembly and presidential elections scheduled for February 20

*Continued on Page 6*

## Decrees on presidential, assembly polls ready

and 27.

Briefing the press after the PRC meeting on Wednesday in Abuja, the Chief of Planning and Operations, Naval Headquarters, Rear Admiral Victor Ombu, said the meeting worked mainly on the transition programme and confirmed some sentences of the miscellaneous tribunals set up in various parts of the country.

He noted that it was a brief meeting at which the

Head of State, General Abdulsalami Abubakar, implored Nigerians to ensure that Saturday's national assembly election and the forthcoming presidential poll were successful.

He said field commanders had been ordered back to their respective stations where they were enjoined to ensure a hitch-free election on Saturday.

According to him, the head of state re-affirmed May 29 as the date for

handing over power to a democratically-elected government.

Admiral Ombu confirmed that the committee working out the financial details of the handover ceremonies had submitted its estimates.

On the draft constitution, he said the PRC had not produced a clean copy.

His words: "There are still certain areas that required fine-tuning," he added.

*Continued from Page 1*

"As a subject (constitution) yes, we almost arrived at the end, but it's only to dot the i's and cross the t's. But by the next meeting, I think we should be able to conclude."

He pointed out that there was no division among the members of the PRC over Sharia, adding that everybody expressed his opinion on the issue and a consensus was reached.

This day, February 18, 1999

## Two International Observer Groups Arrive for Assembly and Presidential Polls

Two international non-governmental organisations, the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election System (IFES) have expressed their preparedness to observe next Saturday's National Assembly polls and the Presidential elections slated for February 27.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Chairman, Electoral Commission of Ghana and executive secretary of AAEA, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan and the project manager of IFES, Mr. Simon Clarke during a chart with *THISDAY* yesterday.

Dr. Afari-Gyan, while speaking on the preparation of the two bodies, said that a 12-person observation team would be jointly deployed for the National Assembly polls, while the Presidential election which he

*By Tokunboh Adedaja*

called the 'big event' would be observed by a 28-member AAEA/IFES delegation.

He also spoke on the uniqueness of the AAEA, saying it was predominantly African.

"Twenty-one of us are Africans not only from the English or Anglo-phone countries but also Francophone countries," he said.

Atari-Gyan also spoke on the need for proper enlightenment of the electorate and the press so as to ensure a free and fair election. Afari-Gyan also cautioned journalists on the choice of words when reporting about the elections. Warning that such words used could have consequential effect on the whole process of democratization.

Specifically, he made a distinction between 'rigging' and 'electoral irregularities,' saying that while the former implies fraud, the latter could mean negligence in carrying out functions.

"If there is double thumbprinting for example it is irregularity and not rigging, the press must be made to know all these," he added.

The project manager of IFES, has provided technical assistance to the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for the remaining two national elections adding that, 150,000 copies of the manual would be distributed to all INEC's officials and also made available to the political parties, the media, and international and local observers. Clarke added that a new innovation has been introduced into the voting system which include the use of an indelible ink which could last on the thumb for two or three weeks. This he said check double voting by voters.

Also on the method of voting, Clarke said that the left-hand thumbnail would be used to thumbprint during the national Assembly election, while the right hand thumbnail would be used for the presidential poll.

The Punch.

24th Feb 1999

## Observers fault Assembly elections

Theophilus Abbah,  
Foreign Affairs Correspondent

A group of election observers, the Association of African Election Authorities/International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) has expressed disappointment over the low turnout across the nation during last Saturday's national assembly elections, and the "many irregularities they observed in the conduct of the vote."

Representatives of the organisation who have been monitoring the elections since December 1998; in a press release dated Tuesday, said the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) would

need to amend the voting procedure to avoid the problems that characterised the February 20 polls.

Some of its recommendations would ensure that "accredited voters are distinctly marked on any previously-used register in a different coloured ink; the number of accredited voters is recorded on form EC. 8A immediately after the close of accreditation; accredited voters are at the polling station at 11.30 a.m. for the commencement of voting; the indelible ink specified by the INEC is used to mark all voters; and the INEC-supplied envelopes are used to package used ballots at the end of the count and that the election materials are properly

returned to the ward coalition centre..."

The joint AAEA/IFES mission observed that clean copies of the voters' register were not used at many of the polling stations visited, making it difficult for the poll officials to distinctly mark the accredited voters.

"Of additional concern", the statement said "was the lack of voters' registers at two polling stations in two wards in Yenogoa Local Government area (LGA), in Bayelsa State, and in some cases in Plateau State, accreditation began before 8.00 a.m., while in Rivers and Bayelsa states, accreditation and voting were conducted simultaneously at several polling stations."

# EAST AFRICAN Standard

THE PAPER THAT CARES

No. 26367

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## INSIDE TODAY

... presidential campaign on Sunday in the remote north-

... and All Peoples Party between them secured 98 seats in the Senate and 123 in the House.

... in which the party took just over half the vote. But the party performed

## International observers happy with results

FOREIGN observer groups yesterday praised Nigeria's national assembly elections despite some cheating and said they expected a higher turnout for the upcoming presidential ballot.

Saturday's elections, which were the latest step on the military government's plan to restore civilian rule on May 29, were generally peaceful and orderly but marked by a low turnout in most areas.

Observers from the Commonwealth, European Union and other groups said they hoped irregularities that were reported from some areas would be addressed by the Independent National Electoral Commission before next Saturday's presidential vote.

ABUJA, Monday,

The EU said some of its group of 100 monitors had uncovered cheating in the volatile oil-producing Niger Delta states of Bayelsa and Rivers.

"In many instances, accreditation did not take place, some ballot boxes were stuffed with votes and there were irregularities in the count," said EU spokesman Hans Gunter Sullimmo in a statement.

"In most places the elections took place as planned, were peacefully conducted and can be judged a qualified success. The problems noted did not mar the credibility of the overall result," he added.

Independent National Elec-

toral Commission officials said that turnout in parts of Nigeria had been as low as 20 percent. Witnesses said that in some places it appeared to be much lower than for recent local and state elections.

"While the turnout was lower than observed in the previous two rounds, a greater turnout for the presidential election is expected," said Lloyd Pierson of the International Republican Institute, a foreign monitor group.

The Commonwealth of Britain and former colonies, which suspended Nigeria in 1995 for lack of democracy and human rights abuses under late dictator Sani Abacha, also said it hoped for a better showing at the presidential poll. — Reuters



Some of the international observers monitoring Nigeria's Parliamentary elections, Valeria Scott (left) of the US based International Foundation of Election Systems (IFES) and Kwadwo Afr-Gyan (second left) chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana monitor the polls which recorded low voter turnout. — Picture by AFP

## Observers advise INEC

THE Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has been urged to issue a clear statement on the status of ballots which may be marked for the Alliance for Democracy (AD) in Saturday's presidential election.

A joint international observer mission comprising members of the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and representatives of the International Foundation for Election System (IFES) led by Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, AAEA executive secretary and chairman of the Ghanaian electoral commission said in its comments after the National Assembly polls and INEC statement on the AD ballots would ensure a consistent counting of ballots at the polling stations on Saturday.

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## Observer groups stress need for credible polls

THE joint observer mission of the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) have emphasised that the responsibility for credible elections rests with the INEC, political parties and the Nigerian people.

Consequently, the mission, whose 12 members observed Saturday's polls, said to have been marred by low voter turnout and irregularities; recommended steps to be taken to ensure a transparent and open presidential polls on Saturday.

To further promote confidence in the electoral process, increase transparency, ensure consistent counting of ballots at polling stations for Saturday's exercise and promote increased participation in the coming elections, the mission recommended that:

- INEC should remind election officials that, like the voters and party representatives, they are liable for election offences;
- political parties and observers be permitted to monitor the secured transportation of sensitive election materials;
- INEC should ensure availability of polling station results at the state level for public inspection after the election;
- INEC should issue a clear statement on status of ballots which may be marked for the Alliance for Democracy (AD).

The AAEA/IFES mission also suggested that the INEC, political parties and civil organisations should focus their voters' education efforts, in the time remaining, for the next election (Saturday's):

- on the need for increased participation by registered voters in the electoral process;

- that indelible ink will be used to mark the right thumb of all those voting in the presidential election; and,

- the necessity for an accredited voter to be present at the polling station at the commencement of voting at 11.30a.m. in order to cast a ballot.

The AAEA/IFES mission, led by Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, executive secretary of AAEA and chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, urged INEC to give specific instruction to polling officials to ensure that accredited voters are distinctly marked on any previously used register in a different coloured

ink; the number of accredited voters is recorded on Form EC.8A immediately after the close of accreditation; accredited voters are at the polling stations at 11.30a.m. for the commencement of voting; indelible ink, specified by the INEC, is used to mark all voters; the INEC supplied envelopes are used to package used ballots, and the polling station staff follow the fold-down procedures in cases of late delivery of election materials.

# News

## Presidential poll

From Front Page, Col. 4  
cal and foreign observers to monitor the elections.

Some of the foreign observers, who have been in the country since before last Saturday's national assembly elections, include those from the European Union, the Commonwealth, the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES).

Others include a delegation from the National Democratic Institute and the Carter Centre led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Roseline Carter.

To ensure adequate security during the elections, NAN reports that Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Ibrahim Coomassie has ordered the immediate redeployment of assistant inspectors-generals and all commissioners of police in all state commands.

NAN also reports that tomorrow's elections will be the third attempt to install a democratically elected since the military struck in 1983, terminating the democratically elected government of President Shehu Shagari, barely three months into his second term in office. (NAN)

VICE-Presidential candidate of APP, Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi, has accused the Nigerian military of a gang-up against the Nigerian masses in their bid to perpetuate themselves in power.

Alhaji Shinkafi, who was speaking at a political rally in Port Harcourt on Wednesday, told thousands of people that the PDP was the manifestation of a gang-up by the military, through retired generals, to impose military rulers from the backdoor.

He said the AD/APP alliance was a platform by the Nigerian masses to resist the imposition and continuation of military rule.

Alhaji Shinkafi said that the alliance would metamorphose into a political party after the presidential election, adding that their leaders were putting

## PDP is a gang-up against the masses

— Shinkafi

Meanwhile, Ohaneze Ndigbo, the pan-Igbo cultural organisation, yesterday declared support for the presidential candidate of the APP/AD alliance, Chief Otu Fala, saying that the alliance's manifesto and public statements conform with its principles and aspirations.

A statement signed by the organisation's Secretary General, Prof. Ben Nwabueze, urged the people to vote for the alliance.

According to Ohaneze, the APP/AD alliance is in agreement with the two cardinal principles that have guided the stand of Ndigbo on the issues of unity and indissolubility of Nigeria and genuine democracy.

"Ohaneze said that the Igbos were committed to the inescapable necessity to restructure the Nigerian federation in terms of its constituent units, power relations between them, revenue allocation, the armed forces and the police."

"Democratic civilian government after the initial transition from more than 14 years of continuous military rule should not be headed by a retired military man, especially one who happened to have been a former military head of state," it said.

The organisation called on the Igbos to turn out massively

to cast their votes in the exercise of their birth right as Nigerians, adding that "the matter transcends our desires and hopes for personal gains and advantage as individuals."

The News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) reports that the cultural organisation's call may have been ignored by a former APP presidential aspirant, Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, who has thrown in his support for the PDP presidential candidate, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo.

Chief Iwuanyanwu, at a press conference yesterday in Enugu, claimed that Ohaneze Ndigbo did not consult with him before issuing the electoral advice to the Igbos. (NAN)

pledged to investigate why the contractor has not begun work. ... gated neglect of our educational

## Foreign observers laud Nigerians' commitment to transition

Toye Fawole

**A**N international observer mission which monitored local elections in Nigeria from last December till last Saturday, has commended Nigerians for their commitment to the transition programme.

The mission, fielded by the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Federation of Election Systems (IFES), based in Washington DC, also recognised the efforts of the

Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to achieve a transparent electoral process.

In a statement issued in Lagos on last Saturday's presidential election, the AAEA/IFES mission noted in particular that the INEC "has worked to strengthen the electoral system, since the first round of polling conducted in December and has taken steps towards more open and credible elections."

The mission commended INEC for demonstrating its commitment to dialogue with the political parties and for taking into account, "the parties' concerns throughout the elections."

The mission, as a passing-shot, has however, recommended a simplification of the election procedures, the computerisation of the voters register and the enhancement of the organisational capacity of INEC.

It also suggested the promotion of transparency of the electoral process and the conduct of widespread education campaigns.

The AAEA/IFES mission is a 28-member delegation of African election officials, representatives of African non-governmental organisations and international election specialists.

It was led by the chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, who also doubles as the executive secretary of AAEA. He left for Accra, Ghana, Tuesday night.

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## buys 145 bikes, 40 sets for workers

Maiduguri

... ate Govern- ... sed N1.2 mil- ... ccess Decem- ... ry recovered ... tries and ... chase 145 bi- ... colour televi- ... civil servants ... y to the State ... (G) and Head ... haji Dauda ... s on Tuesday

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... two million ... red by Man- ... Salary Rami- ... ce from min- ... atals as ... rting the first ... ise.

... rd television ... d under the ... elfare pack- ... s in the state.

The state Administrator, Group Captain Lawal Haruna, had promised that the money would be used to enhance the welfare of the workers and to motivate them.

The Chairman of the state Joint Public Service Negotiations Council, Comrade Zanna Shettima, commended the government for initiating various welfare packages for the state civil servants.

Shettima, who is also the state Chairman-elect of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), disclosed that government bought the 145 bicycles at the rate of N4,500 each while the 14-inch colour television sets with remote control devices were bought at N13,500 per set.

He commended the state government for initiating the owner-occupier scheme of government low cost houses. "This, we believe is long overdue as civil servants cannot afford houses for their families. By this gesture, many civil servants will now own houses," Comrade Shettima stated.

BEATRICE, USCOTECTION

I formerly Mohammed Ibrahim, now JESSY JOCKTHAN, former documents remain valid. 19 Mechnised Battalion note.

Formerly Miss Patricia Egwu, now MRS. PATRICIA OKOOTI. Former documents remain valid, National Orthopaedic Hospital Enugu and public note.

Formerly Odunleye Foluke Aduke, now MRS. FOLUKE ADUKE ADEBESIN. Ipokia Local Government note.

Elizabeth Oluwafemi Ogunyankinnu, now MRS. ELIZABETH OLUWAFEMI KUNLERE. Former document remain valid. Public note.

Helen Omolara Abayomi, now HELEN OMOLARA OLOPADE. Public note.

Former Miss Mopelola Ogunsemowo, now MRS. MOPELOLA LASILO. Former documents remain valid. Police Authority note.

Formerly Miss Janet Oluwakemi Akintola, now MRS. JANET OLUWAKEMI ABRAHAM-YAKUBU. Former documents remain valid. New Capital School, public note.

I formerly Miss Flora Tamunotokini Karibo, now known as MRS. FLORA TAMUNOTOKINI ALAKA. Former documents valid general public take note.

Former Miss Oluseyi Fakeye, now MRS. OLUSEYI OMOTUNDE-ADAMS. Former documents remains valid. Public note.

Former Funmilola Pauline Alibaloye, now MRS. FUNMILOLA PAULINE ADEBOLA-DADA. All other documents remain valid. Public take note.

I formerly known as Miss

Public note.

Former Latifat Adebusola Sanusi, now LATIFAT ADEBUSOLA BABAJIDE. TSC Abeokuta note.

I formerly Miss Olubunmi Atinuke Falowo, now MRS. OLUBUNMI ATINUKE ADEBAYO. Pharmacists Council of Nigeria note.

Miss Tochi Francisca Chilaka, now MRS. TOCHI FRANCISCA OKORIE. NYSC Public note.

Formerly Miss Mirian Nkechinyere Ekpe, now MRS. MIRIAN NKECHINYERE SMART UKAEGBU. IMSU/ Public note.

Formerly Miss Azeez Basirat Ayodele now MRS. OBARO BASIRAT AYODELE. LSPEB and public note.

Formerly, Miss Garba Asmau Karaye now MRS. ASMAU ABDUL-RAHMAN ADO. Former documents remain valid. NYSC note.

Formerly Shittu Kudirat Idowu now MRS. KUDIRAT IDOWU SULAIMON. NYSC please note.

Formerly Edo Noah Akpan now ELIJAH NOAH EDEM EKONG. Former documents remain valid. Public/UCTH please note.

Formerly Mrs. Ujoh Lydia now MISS. LYDIA ABE. NITEL Ltd. and public note.

Formerly Miss Adenike Bilikisu Dada now MRS. ADENIKE BILIKISU OSHO. Public note.

Udeji Beatrice Ifeoma now MRS. AZIUDE BEATRICE IFEOMA. NEPA and public note.

Formerly Michael Ebor now known as MICHAEL EBORSON. All documents

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## USIS Washington File

04 March 1999

### **U.S. DEMOCRACY NGO DISCUSSES NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

(NDI is concerned with voting flaws) (760)

By Jim Fisher-Thompson  
USIA Staff Correspondent

ABUJA, Nigeria -- Having completed their mission of helping monitor Nigeria's historic presidential election, two U.S. non-governmental organizations expressed their concern over flaws they witnessed in the overall balloting.

At a March 1 press conference, spokesmen for the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and The Carter Center issued a statement commending what the group felt was "the strong, widespread support of Nigerians for a rapid transition to democratic civilian rule."

Presented in part by NDI President Ken Wollack and The Carter Center's Director of Democracy Programs Chuck Costello, the statement added that "although there were many positive aspects of the presidential election, notably the peaceful conduct of polling, we are greatly concerned about evidence of serious flaws in the electoral process in certain areas of the country."

The 66 members of the NDI/Carter Center observer team were led by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and co-led by former Nigerian President Mahamane Ousmane and former U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman General Colin Powell. Other members included former U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria Princeton Lyman, former Mayor of Washington, D.C., Sharon Pratt Kelly, scholar in Nigerian studies John Paden, and Africanist Pauline Baker.

President Carter, who observed polling stations in and around Abuja on election day February 27, returned to the United States the next day.

Other democracy NGOs in America fielded observer teams, such as the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Studies (IFES). Observer teams also were put together by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Union (EU), and the United Nations.

Immediately following the NDI/Carter Center briefing, the former president of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, who was the chairman of an observer team from the Commonwealth, also gave a press conference.

By the time of the press conferences, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) had tabulated most returns from Nigeria's voting districts, indicating that former head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo had won the election.

While his opponent Olu Falae put up a good fight and won majority votes in several states, he was not able to overtake the man many Nigerians think can keep the military in the barracks and out of active politics.

Even though the military has a sullied reputation, because of widespread corruption and misrule, the NDI/Carter Center statement noted that the group was "encouraged by the firm commitment of the present military government to adhere to their transition schedule and

to achieve a prompt hand-over to civilian rule on May 29."

It added that "throughout the [election] process we received full cooperation and support from the government, INEC, Nigerian political parties, and non-governmental organizations that monitored the electoral process."

The statement itemized a number of voting irregularities the NDI/Carter Center witnessed in 20 states and the federal capital of Abuja, including:

-- inflated vote returns, especially from nine states in the southern part of the nation, which did not accord with the few numbers of voters the teams actually saw during the voting period. In general, the group estimated a turnout of only about 20 percent based on its monitoring, whereas INEC has indicated a figure as high as 48 percent for overall voter participation. The group was also disappointed at the low turnout of women for the balloting;

-- ballot box stuffing seen by several team members with ballots neatly stacked in the box with sequential numbers; and

-- altered tabulations, which in a number of cases meant the observers saw a small number of voters attending the accreditation phase of the process but later during the voting phase those same polling stations were claiming a larger number of voters than had earlier been accredited.

Among the recommendations the NDI/Carter Center group made were:

-- INEC's role as "an effective, arms-length regulatory body that can ensure a fair and legitimate electoral process" should be strengthened.

-- "Political parties should take the opportunity to build stronger links with their constituencies, and elaborate clear positions on key issues of concern to the nation. There must be a move away from the much criticized politics of money, and winner-take-all contest."

-- "Efforts should be made to integrate the military into a democratic society. Civilian leaders should develop the mechanisms and knowledge needed to oversee and manage security affairs."

This was a point that General Powell frequently made when he addressed the issue of civilian-military relations in the new democratic Nigeria.

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AAEA

### AAEA/IFES Statement on the February 27, 1999 Presidential Election in Nigeria

A 28-member joint delegation of African election officials, representatives of African non-governmental organizations and international election specialists observed the February 27 presidential election in Nigeria. This mission, headed by the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation of Election Systems (IFES), commends all Nigerians on their commitment to the transition process which will result in the inauguration of a civilian, elected government on May 29. As a delegation focusing on the technical aspects of the administration of the election, the AAEA/IFES mission presents its observations so that the people of Nigeria are better able to assess the conduct of this election, and submits its recommendations as to steps that could be taken to strengthen the electoral process in Nigeria in order to contribute to the nation's democratic consolidation.



Chairman Paul N. Guah  
telling his bocket about his warrant

The AAEA/IFES mission, led by Dr. K. Alaril-Gyan, AAEA Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, observed the conduct of the February 27 election in thirteen of Nigeria's 36 states (Adamawa, Bayelsa, Borno, Cross River, Enugu, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers and Sokoto) and in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The AAEA and IFES have been present in Nigeria since November 1998, when they conducted an assessment prior to the elections. AAEA/IFES missions observed the December 5, 1998 local government and the February 20, 1999 National Assembly Elections and IFES long-term monitors additionally assessed the December 12, 1998 by-elections in Rivers and the run-off elections in the FCT; the January 9, 1999 state elections; and the January 30 elections in Bayelsa state.

The AAEA/IFES team recognizes the efforts of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to achieve a transparent electoral process. In particular, the INEC has worked to strengthen the electoral system since the first round of polling conducted in December, and has taken steps towards more, open and credible Elections. The INEC has demonstrated its commitment to dialogue with the political parties and has taken into account their concerns throughout these elections. Further, the INEC has opened the electoral process to the international and, more importantly, domestic observers, accrediting more than 10,000 Nigerians from civic groups throughout the country as domestic observers and extending an invitation to approximately 600 international observers, including the AAEA/IFES mission. Since the December 1998 local government elections, the INEC has clarified and added to the election procedures in response to its review of the process and to comments made by the AAEA and IFES and other observers. Of great importance has been the use of indelible ink to mark voters in the February 20 and February 27 elections - a notable safeguard against multiple voting. The step-by-step INEC poll worker manual, produced for the January and February elections, also increased the uniformity of election day procedures from polling station to polling station.

Following its observation of the February 20 National Assembly Elections, the AAEA/IFES mission made several specific recommendations concerning steps that could be taken by the INEC to strengthen the conduct of the February 27 presidential poll. AAEA/IFES mission notes that the INEC has responded positively to many of these recommendations in particular, the AAEA/IFES observers reported:

- the increased use of indelible ink to mark voters, particularly in the rural areas of the country;
- the distribution of additional forms to record the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation (a procedure designed to thwart additional accreditation and ballot box stuffing later in the day);
- the increased awareness on the part of election officials and the Nigerian voters as to the timing of the accreditation and voting processes;
- an enhanced effort to protect the voters right to mark his or her ballot in secret;
- the INEC's clear guidance to election officials as to the counting of ballots in secret;
- the INEC's clear guidance to election officials as to the counting of ballots cast for the Alliance for Democracy (AD), which supported the presidential candidate fielded by the All People's Party (APP); and,
- the INEC's re-distribution of the oath of office for polling for the polling officials as a reminder to its staff, both permanent and ad hoc, that they would be held liable for any election offences committed.

In its observation of the February 27 vote, the AAEA/IFES team nevertheless noted a considerable lack of adherence to the election procedures as stipulated by the INEC. In addition, the AAEA/IFES observer delegation was concerned about some cases of possible fraudulent activity, apparently resulting from collusion on the part of some election officials with agents of the political parties. The delegation's specific observations are summarized below.

# LIBERIA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE NIGERIAN ELECTIONS

#### ACCREDITATION:

The late distribution of sensitive materials delayed the opening of polling stations in several areas (Bayelsa state - Kolokma/Opokuma LGA; Cross River state - Calabar Municipality; Enugu state - Anirri and Awgu LGAs; Kano state - Gabasawa LGA; and in Rivers state - Oyiibo LGA). The late delivery of materials in Oyiibo LGA (Rivers), resulted in simultaneous accreditation and voting. Accreditation and voting also occurred at the same time in two wards in Adamawa State (Hong LGA, Daksiri and Hong Wards). In one of these cases, some voters were accredited without being marked as accredited on the voters register.

At one polling station in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Ward - Code 127), the AAEA/IFES team noted five cases of accreditation of multiple voter's cards. Two individuals accredited five cards each and three individuals were in possession of two cards. The Presiding Officer of that polling station explained that the voters were accrediting cards for their family members and that the rightful holders of the voter's cards were expected to cast their vote in persons.

Despite the introduction of the series AC forms to record the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation, the AAEA/IFES team observed that in most cases the Supervisory Presiding Officer (SPO) did not complete the AC.1 form immediately after the close of accreditation. While some of the AC forms were completed later in the day, the fact that the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation was not immediately recorded by the SPO left open the possibility of additional accreditation or ballot box stuffing, which the forms were intended to prevent.

As with the previous elections, at none of the polling stations observed by the AAEA/IFES team did all accredited voters remain at the polling station from the time of accreditation to voting, as mandated by the INEC.

#### VOTING:

While the AAEA/IFES delegates noted that the application of indelible ink to mark voters was more prevalent than in February 20 elections, AAEA/IFES observers noted that the ink was not used in some polling stations in Bayelsa (Kolokma/Opokuma LGA), Cross River (Calabar Municipality LGA, Wards 1.4 and 9, and Calabar South LGA, Wards 1 and 10); Kwara (Ifelodun LGA, Omupo Ward, and Rivers (Elem, Oyiibo, Obio Akpor and Tai LGAs).

The AAEA/IFES team observed a stack of about 30 ballots in a ballot box at a polling station in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Kajuru Ward). The Presiding Officer was not able to explain this occurrence to the observers. At many polling stations in Kolokma/Opokuma LGA in Bayelsa state, the AAEA/IFES team observed that the voter's right to mark the ballot in secret was not respected.

At several polling stations in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Kajuru and Kufana Wards), the AAEA/IFES noted voters apparently under age of 18 casting ballots. One of these voters was in possession of a voter's card of a person of 30 years of age.

#### COUNTING AND COLLATION:

One of the AAEA/IFES teams deployed to Kano state, expressed concern about polling station results from four of the 11 polling stations in Gabasawa LGA, Zugachi Ward, as these polling stations reported 100% voter turn-out. The AAEA/IFES observer team noted that they did not witness a high voter turn-out in this Ward throughout the day. Voter turn-out of 100% was also reported at two polling stations in Kwara state (Ifelodun LGA, Omupo Ward). In addition, the AAEA/IFES observers in Rivers noted two polling stations with 100% turn-out in Oyiibo LGA Ward 4, while polling stations in that same general area showed turn-outs of 20% and below.

During counting at three polling stations in Cross Rivers (Calabar South LGA, Ward 10), the AAEA/IFES team noted significant discrepancies in the number of accredited voters as compared to voters cast at three polling stations. Two of these stations, which were observed by the AAEA/IFES team prior to voting, reported accreditation figures of 21 and 35 respectively, but late reported 500 and 311 as having voted. The third station, with a register of 500 voters, reported 500 accredited, with 501 votes recorded on the EC.8A. Also in Cross River (Calabar South LGA, Ward 10), the AAEA/IFES team reported three polling stations which lacked EC.8A forms; consequently, the Presiding Officers recorded the results on pieces of paper.

Of serious concern to the AAEA/IFES mission was the changing of results from the polling stations as reported at the Local Government Collation Centre from one Ward in Enugu state. In Awgu LGA, Mgbowo Ward, the original EC.8B form, as submitted to the Local Government Collation by the polling stations at the Ward level.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS:

The AAEA/IFES observer mission recognizes the tremendous challenge faced by the INEC and the Nigerian government in making the transition from military to civilian government in the given time-frame. As noted above, the AAEA/IFES delegation to the February 27 presidential election observed numerous cases of irregularities in the implementation of the election procedures and some possible cases of electoral fraud, as also reported in previous reports and in the AAEA/IFES statement following the February 20 National Assembly elections.

The shortcomings of the electoral system and the lack of civic awareness of many Nigerians resulted in many of these irregularities and possible cases of fraud. The AAEA/IFES joint international observer mission recommends the review of the legal framework for the elections in addition to nationwide civic and voter education in advance of the future elections. Specifically, the AAEA/IFES mission recommends:

- the review of the electoral
- In this transition timetable, the conduct of these elections was governed by guidelines which were issued by the INEC and promulgated by Decree by the Provisional Ruling Council, in most

Cont'd on Page 5

instances less than a week before each election day. The late release of the legal framework for the elections resulted in a limited understanding of the electoral process on the part of the Nigerian public and even on the part of the ad hoc election officials, despite the efforts of the INEC to inform the public and to train its officials. In the review of the law, consideration should also be given to the simplification of election procedures to enhance the transparency of the process and to facilitate the participation of all Nigerian citizens. The computerization of the voter register

Many of the procedures put into place in the conduct of these elections (such as the separate accreditation and voting periods) were designed to reduce the opportunities for multiple voting. The computerization of the voters register, in conjunction with photo identification cards, would greatly enhance integrity of the register. The enhancement of the organizational capacity of the INEC. A comprehensive review of the mandate and organizational structure of the INEC at national and state levels would contribute to the ability of the INEC to efficiently administer credible Elections. A detailed and ongoing training program would further develop staff professionalism.

The promotion of the transparency of the electoral process. The institutionalization of the dialogue between the INEC and the political parties would encourage the transparency of the electoral process, particularly as the issues noted above are addressed. Consideration should also be given to the further development of a transparent budgeting process on the part of the INEC. The conduct of widespread civic and voter education campaigns. A comprehensive civic education program be developed and

implemented on a continuous basis, in order to ensure that citizens understand their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. Closer to the next elections a more detailed and far reaching voter education campaign should be mounted in order to explain the registration and election day procedures and the importance of being able to mark the ballot in secret and without undue influence.

The AAEA and IFES would like to extend its appreciation to the INEC and to the people of Nigeria for the warm welcome they have been given since the beginning of their activities in November 1998. The AAEA and IFES look forward to continuing their support to Nigeria's transition to democracy and hope that these observations will contribute to Nigeria's efforts to strengthen the electoral system.

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The Association of African Election Authorities is a membership organization of election officials and representatives of election-focused non-governmental organizations from sub-Saharan Africa dedicated to promoting the professionalization of election administration.

Since its inception in 1987, the International Foundation for Election Systems, based in Washington, DC, has provided nonpartisan assistance to develop or refine election systems in more than 100 emerging and established democracies worldwide.

AAEA and IFES observation activities in Nigeria are funded by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

## AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission Nigerian presidential Election: February 27, 1999

**Delegation Leader**  
**K. Afari-Gyan**  
*Executive Secretary, AAEA*  
*Chairman, Electoral Commission of Ghana*

**Delegates**  
**Marcel Bakak**  
*CERUCDE, Cameroon*

**Tom Bayer**  
*Director of Programs, Africa and the Near East, IFES*

**Ahaji Mustapha Carayol**  
*Commission Member, Independent Electoral Commission, The Gambia*

**Simon Clarke**  
*Program Manager, IFES/Nigeria*

**Ahmadou Ballo Diallo**  
*Judicial Counselor, Ministry of Interior and Decentralization, Guinea*

**Kendall Dwyer**  
*Projects Coordinator, IFES/Nigeria*

**Albert Geoffrey M. Dzvikamanja**  
*Member, Electoral Supervisory Commission, Zimbabwe*

**John Ernest Ejuba**  
*Coordinator, Institute of Economic Affairs, Ghana*

**Paul Guah**  
*Chairman, Elections Commission of Liberia*

**Chelkh Gueye**  
*Executive Director of Elections, Ministry of Interior, Senegal*

**Samuel Kivultu**  
*Chairman, Electoral Commission of Kenya*

**John Langley**  
*Member, Elections Commission of Liberia*

**Issa Moko**  
*Director of the House of Local Collectivities, Ministry of the Interior Benin*

**Richard Moyo-Majwabu**  
*Commissioner, Electoral Supervisory Commission, Zimbabwe*

**Lino Musana**  
*Head, Administration Department, Electoral Commission of Uganda*

**Andrew Muwonge**  
*Commissioner, Electoral Commission of Uganda*

**Angela Neequaye**  
*Public Information Officer, Electoral Commission of Ghana*

**Simon Nkuou**  
*Ambassador, Diplomatic Counselor, Gabon*  
**Flora Nkurukenda**  
*Deputy Chairperson, Electoral Commission of Uganda*

**Francis Oke**  
*Consultant, GERDES-Benin*

**Susan Palmer**  
*Program Officer, Africa and the Near East, IFES*

**Sie Jean de la Croix Pooda**  
*Permanent Executive Secretary, National Electoral Commission, Burkina Faso*

**Valeria Scott**  
*Program Assistant, Africa and the Near East, IFES*

**Mabel Sikhosana**  
*Education Officer, Zimbabwe Human Rights Association*

**Elizabeth Solomon**  
*Member, Electoral Commission of Ghana*

**Caroline Vuillemin**  
*Program Assistant, Africa and the Near East, IFES*

**Alfred Zulu**  
*Director, Zambia Independent Monitoring Team*

## Nigeria Presidential Electoral Results

| STATE       | REGISTERED VOTERS | TOTAL VOTES | VOTER TURN-OUT | PDP        | % OF TOTAL | APP       | % OF |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|------------|------------|-----------|------|
| ABIA        | 1,321,364         | 535,918     | 40.56%         | 360,823    | 67.33%     | 175,095   |      |
| ADAMAWA     | 1,259,543         | 845,107     | 67.10%         | 677,239    | 79.95%     | 177,868   |      |
| AKWA IBOM   | 1,450,357         | 883,278     | 60.90%         | 730,744    | 82.73%     | 152,534   |      |
| ANAMBRA     | 1,605,030         | 833,178     | 51.91%         | 633,717    | 76.06%     | 199,461   |      |
| BAUCHI      | 1,899,154         | 1,176,541   | 61.95%         | 834,308    | 70.91%     | 342,233   |      |
| BAYELSA     | 497,333           | 610,032     | 122.66%        | 457,812    | 75.05%     | 152,220   |      |
| BENUE       | 1,798,337         | 1,252,957   | 69.67%         | 983,912    | 78.53%     | 269,045   |      |
| BORNO       | 1,650,943         | 915,975     | 55.47%         | 581,392    | 63.47%     | 334,583   |      |
| CROSS RIVER | 1,091,930         | 876,155     | 80.24%         | 592,688    | 67.65%     | 283,468   |      |
| DELTA       | 1,547,685         | 816,574     | 52.76%         | 576,230    | 70.57%     | 240,344   |      |
| EBONYI      | 902,327           | 325,921     | 36.14%         | 250,587    | 77.56%     | 94,934    |      |
| EDO         | 1,414,511         | 679,784     | 48.06%         | 516,581    | 75.99%     | 163,203   |      |
| EKITI       | 1,075,278         | 713,690     | 66.37%         | 191,618    | 26.85%     | 522,072   |      |
| ENUGU       | 1,466,472         | 835,586     | 56.99%         | 640,418    | 76.64%     | 195,168   |      |
| GOMBE       | 1,113,734         | 844,539     | 75.83%         | 633,158    | 63.13%     | 311,381   |      |
| IMO         | 1,627,939         | 736,105     | 45.22%         | 421,767    | 57.30%     | 314,331   |      |
| JIGAWA      | 1,568,423         | 548,595     | 34.98%         | 311,571    | 56.79%     | 237,025   |      |
| KADUNA      | 3,889,405         | 1,676,029   | 43.13%         | 1,294,679  | 77.25%     | 381,350   |      |
| KANO        | 3,680,990         | 904,713     | 24.58%         | 682,255    | 75.41%     | 222,458   |      |
| KATSINA     | 2,235,067         | 1,193,397   | 53.37%         | 964,216    | 80.80%     | 229,181   |      |
| KEBBI       | 1,167,171         | 512,229     | 43.89%         | 339,893    | 66.36%     | 172,336   |      |
| KOGI        | 1,265,442         | 984,710     | 77.82%         | 507,503    | 51.58%     | 476,807   |      |
| KWARA       | 940,425           | 659,598     | 70.14%         | 470,510    | 71.33%     | 189,068   |      |
| LAGOS       | 4,093,143         | 1,751,581   | 42.80%         | 209,012    | 11.93%     | 1,542,969 |      |
| NASSARAWA   | 702,021           | 597,008     | 85.04%         | 423,731    | 70.96%     | 173,277   |      |
| NIGER       | 1,553,303         | 871,130     | 56.06%         | 730,665    | 83.88%     | 140,465   |      |
| OGUN        | 1,592,502         | 475,504     | 29.88%         | 143,564    | 30.17%     | 332,340   |      |
| ONDO        | 1,333,617         | 801,797     | 60.12%         | 133,323    | 16.63%     | 668,474   |      |
| OSUN        | 1,495,068         | 794,639     | 53.12%         | 187,011    | 23.53%     | 607,628   |      |
| OYO         | 2,397,270         | 921,178     | 38.43%         | 227,668    | 24.71%     | 693,510   |      |
| PLATEAU     | 1,313,603         | 672,442     | 51.19%         | 499,072    | 74.22%     | 173,370   |      |
| RIVERS      | 1,778,593         | 1,565,603   | 88.03%         | 1,352,275  | 86.37%     | 213,328   |      |
| SOKOTO      | 1,249,311         | 354,427     | 28.39%         | 155,568    | 43.90%     | 198,859   |      |
| TARABA      | 979,001           | 671,039     | 68.97%         | 789,749    | 50.67%     | 81,250    |      |
| YOBE        | 877,587           | 311,576     | 35.50%         | 146,517    | 47.02%     | 165,061   |      |
| ZAMFARA     | 1,113,428         | 353,079     | 31.71%         | 136,324    | 38.67%     | 216,755   |      |
| FGT         | 384,272           | 93,222      | 24.27%         | 59,234     | 63.57%     | 33,988    |      |
| GRAND TOTAL | 67,339,653        | 25,828,441  | 38.36%         | 18,736,154 | 72.53%     | 7,092,287 |      |

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## International Foundation for Election Systems

### African Delegation to Observe National Elections in Nigeria

February 16, 1999

ABUJA, NIGERIA - The following document was released by the International Foundation for Election Systems: In response to Nigeria's invitation to international election observers, a 12-person delegation from the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) will arrive in Nigeria today to observe the nation's National Assembly elections on February 20.

A 28-member AAEA/IFES delegation will also observe the February 27 presidential election. The AAEA is a membership organization of election administrators and representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGO) from sub-Saharan Africa, dedicated to the professionalization of election administration. IFES, a Washington, DC-based NGO, provides nonpartisan assistance to develop or refine election systems in emerging and established democracies around the world. The AAEA and IFES also observed the local government and state-level elections in December and January in Nigeria.

"As African election officials and election experts with vast, practical experience in the administration of elections, the AAEA/IFES delegation is unique," noted Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, Executive Secretary of the AAEA and Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana. He added, "Our sustained involvement in Nigeria demonstrates a long-term commitment to supporting transparent and credible elections in Nigeria."

Led by Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, delegates on the AAEA/IFES mission to the February 20 elections include the following AAEA members:

- Benin: Francis Oke, Consultant, GERDDES-Benin
- Ghana: Angela Neeguaye, Electoral Commission
- Liberia: Paul N. Guah, Chairman, Elections Commission

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- Uganda: Flora Nkurukenda, Deputy Chairperson, Electoral Commission; Lino Musana, Electoral Commission

- Zimbabwe: Mabel Sikhosana, Deputy Director, ZimRights

Also participating in the mission are the following IFES representatives: Simon Clarke, Program Manager/Nigeria; Kendall Dwyer, Projects Coordinator/Nigeria; Susan Palmer, Program Officer, IFES/Washington; Valeria Scott, Program Assistant, IFES/Washington; and Caroline Vuillemin, Program Assistant, IFES/Washington.

Additional AAEA members and IFES representatives will join the delegation for the presidential election on February 27. AAEA/IFES observers of the February 27 elections will include additional election officials such as Samuel Kivuitu, Chairman of the Election Commission of Kenya, and Cheikh Gueye, Director-General of Elections in Senegal.

IFES will maintain its presence in Nigeria after the February elections to continue to monitor the ongoing electoral process and the transition to the elected government. IFES and AAEA activities in Nigeria are supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development. Further information on AAEA and IFES activities in Nigeria, as well as information on the Nigerian elections, can be found on the IFES website at [www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org).

CONTACT: Torie Keller/Washington, +1-202-828-8507 Susan Palmer/Abuja, +234-9-523-1811 x164 Susan Palmer/Lagos, +234-1-497-8661 x140; IFES 1101 15th Street, NW Suite 300 Washington, DC USA +1-202-828-8507 phone +1-202-452-0804 facsimile [torie@ifes.org](mailto:torie@ifes.org)

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## the International Foundation for Election Systems

### Presidential Election in Nigeria

**March 2, 1999**

ABUJA, NIGERIA - The following document was released by the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES): ABUJA, NIGERIA (March 2, 1999) - A 28-member joint delegation of African election officials, representatives of African nongovernmental organizations and international election specialists observed the February 27 presidential election in Nigeria.

This mission, fielded by the Association of African Election Authorities (AAEA) and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), commends all Nigerians on their commitment to the transition process which will result in the inauguration of a civilian, elected government on May 29.

As a delegation focusing on the technical aspects of the administration of the election, the AAEA/IFES mission presents its observations to help the people of Nigeria assess the conduct of this election, and to contribute to the nation's democratic consolidation by submitting recommendations that could be taken to strengthen the electoral process in Nigeria.

The AAEA/IFES mission, led by Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, AAEA Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, observed the conduct of the February 27 election in thirteen of Nigeria's 36 states (Adamawa, Bayelsa, Borno, Cross River, Enugu, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Oyo, Plateau, Rivers and Sokoto) and in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The AAEA and IFES have been present in Nigeria since November 1998, when they conducted an assessment prior to the elections.

AAEA/IFES missions observed the December 5, 1998 local government and the February 20, 1999 National Assembly elections and IFES long-term monitors additionally assessed the December 12, 1998 bye-elections in Rivers and the run-off elections in the FCT; the January 9, 1999 state elections; and the January 30 elections in Bayelsa state.

The AAEA/IFES team recognizes the efforts of Nigeria's Independent National Electoral

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Commission (INEC) to achieve a transparent electoral process. In particular, the INEC has worked to strengthen the electoral system since the first round of polling conducted in December, and has taken steps towards more open and credible elections.

The INEC has demonstrated its commitment to dialogue with the political parties and has taken into account their concerns throughout these elections. Further, the INEC has opened the electoral process to international and, more importantly, domestic observers, accrediting more than 10,000 Nigerians from civic groups throughout the country as domestic observers and extending an invitation to approximately 600 international observers, including the AAEA/IFES mission.

Since the December 1998 local government elections, the INEC has clarified and added to the election procedures in response to its review of the process and to comments made by the AAEA and IFES and other observers.

Of great importance has been the use of indelible ink to mark voters in the February 20 and February 27 elections a notable safeguard against multiple voting. The step-by-step INEC poll worker manual, produced for the January and February elections, also increased the uniformity of election day procedures from polling station to polling station.

Following its observation of the February 20 National Assembly elections, the AAEA/IFES mission made several specific recommendations concerning steps that could be taken by the INEC to strengthen the conduct of the February 27 presidential poll.

The AAEA/IFES mission notes that the INEC has responded positively to many of these recommendations. In particular, the AAEA/IFES observers reported:

- \* the increased use of indelible ink to mark voters, particularly in the rural areas of the country;
- \* the distribution of additional forms to record the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation (a procedure designed to thwart additional accreditation and ballot box stuffing later in the day);
- \* the increased awareness on the part of election officials and the Nigerian voters as to the timing of the accreditation and voting processes;
- \* an enhanced effort to protect the voter's right to mark his or her ballot in secret;
- \* the INEC's clear guidance to election officials as to the counting of ballots cast for the Alliance for Democracy (AD), which supported the presidential candidate fielded by the All Peoples' Party (APP); and
- \* the INEC's re-distribution of the oath of office for polling officials as a reminder to its staff, both permanent and ad hoc, that they would be held liable for any election offences committed.

In its observation of the February 27 vote, the AAEA/IFES team nevertheless noted a considerable lack of adherence to the election procedures as stipulated by the INEC.

In addition, the AAEA/IFES observer delegation was concerned about some cases of possible

fraudulent activity, apparently resulting from collusion on the part of some election officials with agents of the political parties. The delegation's specific observations are summarized below.

**Accreditation:** The late distribution of sensitive materials delayed the opening of polling stations in several areas (Bayelsa state - Kolokma/Opokuma LGA; Cross River state - Calabar Municipality; Enugu state - Aninri and Awgu LGAs; Kano state - Gabasawa LGA; and in Rivers state - Oyigbo LGA).

The late delivery of materials in Oyigbo LGA (Rivers) resulted in simultaneous accreditation and voting. Accreditation and voting also occurred at the same time in two wards in Adamawa State (Hong LGA, Daksiri and Hong Wards).

In one of these cases, some voters were accredited without being marked as accredited on the voter's register

At one polling station in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Ward - Code 127), the AAEA/IFES team noted five cases of accreditation of multiple voter's cards. Two individuals accredited five cards each and three individuals were in possession of two cards.

The Presiding Officer of that polling station explained that the voters were accrediting cards for their family members and that the rightful holders of the voter's cards were expected to cast their vote in person.

Despite the introduction of the series AC forms to record the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation, the AAEA/IFES team observed that in most cases the Supervisory Presiding Officer (SPO) did not complete the AC.1 form immediately after the close of accreditation. While some of the AC forms were completed later in the day, the fact that the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation was not immediately recorded by the SPO left open the possibility of additional accreditation or ballot box stuffing, which the forms were intended to prevent.

As with the previous elections, the AAEA/IFES teams did not observe any polling stations where accredited voters remained from the time of accreditation, as mandated by the INEC.

**Voting:** While the AAEA/IFES delegates noted that the application of indelible ink to mark voters was more prevalent than in the February 20 elections, AAEA/IFES observers noted that the ink was not used in some polling stations in Bayelsa (Kolokma/Opokuma LGA), Cross River (Calabar Municipality LGA, Wards 1, 4 and 9; and Calabar South LGA, Wards 1 and 10); Kwara (Ifeledun LGA, Omupo Ward); and Rivers (Eleme, Oyigbo, Obio Akpor and Tai LGAs).

The AAEA/IFES team observed a stack of about 30 ballots in a ballot box at a polling station in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Kajuru Ward). The Presiding Officer was not able to explain this occurrence to the observers.

At many polling stations in Kolokma/Opokuma LGA in Bayelsa state, the AAEA/IFES team observed that the voter's right to mark the ballot in secret was not respected.

At several polling stations in Kaduna state (Kajuru LGA, Kajuru and Kufana Wards), the

AAEA/IFES noted voters apparently under the age of 18 casting ballots. One of these voters was in possession of a voter's card of a person of 30 years of age.

Counting and Collation: One of the AAEA/IFES teams, deployed to Kano state, expressed concern about polling station results from four of the 11 polling stations in Gabasawa LGA, Zugachi Ward, as these polling stations reported 100% voter turn-out.

The AAEA/IFES observer team noted that they did not witness a high voter turnout in this Ward throughout the day. Voter turnout of 100% was also reported at two polling stations in Kwara state (Ifeledun LGA, Omupo Ward).

In addition, the AAEA/IFES observers in Rivers noted two polling stations with 100% turnout in Oyibgo LGA, Ward 4, while polling stations in that same general area showed turnouts of 20% and below.

During counting at three polling stations in Cross Rivers (Calabar South LGA, Ward 10), the AAEA/IFES team noted significant discrepancies in the number of accredited voters as compared to votes cast at three polling stations. Two of these stations, which were observed by the AAEA/IFES team prior to voting, reported accreditation figures of 21 and 35 respectively, but later reported 500 and 311 as having voted.

The third station, with a register of 500 voters, reported 500 accredited, with 501 votes recorded on the EC.8A. Also in Cross River (Calabar South LGA, Ward 10), the AAEA/IFES team reported three polling stations that lacked EC.8A forms; consequently, the Presiding Officers recorded the results on pieces of paper.

Of serious concern to the AAEA/IFES mission was the changing of results from the polling stations as reported at the Local Government Collation Centre from one Ward in Enugu state.

In Awgu LGA, Mgbowo Ward, the original EC.8B form, as submitted to the Local Government Collation Centre, differed significantly from the results as submitted by the polling stations at the Ward level.

**RECOMMENDATIONS** The AAEA/IFES observer mission recognizes the tremendous challenge faced by the INEC and the Nigerian government in making the transition from military to civilian government in the given timeframe.

As noted above, the AAEA/IFES delegation to the February 27 presidential election observed numerous cases of irregularities in the implementation of the election procedures and some possible cases of electoral fraud - this was also previously reported in the AAEA/IFES statement following the February 20 National Assembly elections.

The shortcomings of the electoral system and the lack of civic awareness of many Nigerians resulted in many of these irregularities and possible cases of fraud.

The AAEA/IFES joint international observer mission recommends the review of the legal framework for the elections in addition to nationwide civic and voter education in advance of the future elections. Specifically, the AAEA/IFES mission recommends: \* the review of the electoral law; In this transition timetable, the conduct of these elections was governed by guidelines that were issued by the INEC and promulgated by Decree by the Provisional Ruling

Council, in most instances less than a week before each election day.

The late release of the legal framework for the elections resulted in a limited understanding of the electoral process on the part of the Nigerian public, and even on the part of the ad hoc election officials, despite INEC efforts to inform the public and to train its officials. In the review of the law, consideration should also be given to the simplification of election procedures to enhance the transparency of the process and to facilitate the participation of all Nigerian citizens.

\* the computerization of the voter register; Many of the procedures put into place in the conduct of these elections (such as the separate accreditation and voting periods) were designed to reduce the opportunities for multiple voting. The computerization of the voters register, in conjunction with photo identification cards, would greatly enhance the integrity of the register.

\* the enhancement of the organizational capacity of the INEC; A comprehensive review of the mandate and organizational structure of the INEC at national and state levels would contribute to the ability of the INEC to efficiently administer credible elections. A detailed and ongoing training program would further develop staff professionalism.

\* the promotion of the transparency of the electoral process; and The institutionalization of the dialogue between the INEC and the political parties would encourage the transparency of the electoral process, particularly as the issues noted above are addressed. Consideration should also be given to the further development of a transparent budgeting process on the part of the INEC.

\* the conduct of widespread civic and voter education campaigns; A comprehensive civic education program should be developed and implemented on a continuous basis, in order to ensure that citizens understand their rights and responsibilities in a democracy. Closer to the next elections a more detailed and far reaching voter education campaign should be mounted in order to explain the registration and election day procedures and the importance of being able to mark the ballot in secret and without undue influence.

The AAEA and IFES would like to extend its appreciation to the INEC and to the people of Nigeria for the warm welcome they have been given since the beginning of their activities in November 1998. The AAEA and IFES look forward to continuing their support to Nigeria's transition to democracy and hope that these observations will contribute to Nigeria's efforts to strengthen the electoral system.

Since its inception in 1987, IFES has provided nonpartisan assistance to develop or refine election systems in more than 100 emerging and established democracies worldwide.

The AAEA is a membership organization of election officials and representatives of election-focused nongovernmental organizations from sub-Saharan Africa dedicated to promoting the professionalization of election administration.

Additional information on AAEA and IFES activities in Nigeria, as well as information on the Nigerian elections, can be found on the IFES website at [www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org).

Torie Keller Public Information Officer, IFES 1101 15th Street, NW Suite 300 Washington, DC

20005 USA +1-202-828-8507 phone +1-202-452-0804 facsimile [torie@ifes.org](mailto:torie@ifes.org). Please visit our website at [www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org).

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In 1997, General Sani Abacha, Nigeria's military ruler, promised an imminent return to civilian rule. He announced that elections would be held in August 1998, that the country's parliament-- which he had dissolved four years earlier-- would be reinstated, and that a new constitution would be written for the new civil regime.

But as political parties registered for the elections, it quickly became apparent that the promised elections would be a farce. Only five of the fifteen parties applying to contest the elections were approved by the Abacha government, and all five eventually chose Abacha himself as their candidate.

This state of affairs was radically altered when Abacha suddenly died in June 1998. His former chief of staff and successor, General Abdusalam Abubakar, responded to international demands that fair elections be held. Abubakar dissolved the Abacha cabinet and all five parties that had nominated him, released ten political prisoners --including future Presidential candidate Olusegun Obasanjo --and announced a new transition timetable.

The first step, the formation and registration of new political parties, was completed in late October 1998. The Independent National Electoral Commission qualified nine out of 23 potential parties to participate in the elections. INEC's choice was based on the parties' national support bases. It disqualified those groups that emphasized regional or ethnic divisions or interests, on the grounds that such parties threatened national unity.

Elections were structured over four successive rounds. Municipal officials would be elected on December 5th, after which eligible parties would be further reduced to three. Elections for

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[INEC issues statistical details on presidential polls](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 5Apr99

[Abdullahi, Musdapher, three others in polls court](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 19Mar99

[Petition: PDP, INEC prepare defence](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 17Mar99

[Soyinka: Nigerian elections 'an auction'](#)

BBC, 16Mar99

[INEC Is Not Infallible](#)

*Post-Express*, 16Mar99

[Igbo Leaders Express Confidence in Obasanjo](#)

*Post-Express* 15Mar99

[Falae to appeal polls result today](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 3/12/99

[Clinton, Mandela, Blair For Obasanjo's Inauguration](#)

PANA, 3/12/99

[PDP dares Falae on polls result](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 3/11/99

[I won by 84,000 votes, says Falae](#)

*The Vanguard*, 3/11/99

[Why I must challenge polls results, by Falae](#)

*The Guardian* (Lagos), 3/10/99

[Clinton hails Obasanjo, Falae, Abubakar](#)

*The Vanguard*, 3/9/99

[Supporters meet Falae over options for protest](#)

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state governments would follow on January 9th. Finally, the races for seats in the national parliament and the Presidency would be decided on February 20th and 27th respectively.

The December elections were overwhelmingly carried by the People's Democratic Party (PDP), a center-left coalition formed by well-known politicians and military leaders. The other two parties approved by INEC to contest further elections were the All People's Party (APP), comprised of businessmen and former Abacha supporters, and the Alliance for Democracy (AD), a party founded by the National Democratic Council (NADECO), an anti-Abacha, non-governmental association popular with the Yoruba people in Nigeria's Southwest region.

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In the January elections for state government, the PDP again proved itself the dominant party, winning just over 50 percent of the popular vote, and the governors' seats in 21 of Nigeria's 36 states. The APP finished in second place, with approximately 36 percent of the vote, winning the governorships in nine states. The AD swept the six states in which the Yoruba are the ethnic majority.

Following the state elections, the parties began to prepare for the national contest. To the surprise of many observers, the APP and AD soon announced that they would field a joint candidate to better challenge the PDP. The alliance was viewed as proof that "politics makes strange bedfellows."

The two parties appeared to have very little in common. The APP was ideologically conservative, aligned with many of Abacha's programs, while the AD was a leftist party --the ideological antithesis of Abachism. The APP was strong in the nation's Northern, Muslim region; the AD controlled the Christian Southwest. The two found common ground in their choice of a presidential nominee,

*The Guardian (Lagos), 3/9/99*

Falae vows to contest election results  
*The Vanguard, 3/3/99*

Obasanjo to the nation: Nigeria Will Rise Again  
*Tempo, 3/3/99*

Eight Dead in Nigeria After Rioting  
*AP, 3/3/99*

Obasanjo: Handover programme out  
*The Vanguard, 3/2/99*

Shinkafi, Atiku present insights at TV debate  
*The Vanguard, 2/25/99*

U.S. Monitors Sound Warning Over Nigeria Election  
*Reuters, 2/24/99*

Form and shape of the National Assembly  
*The Guardian(Lagos), 2/24/99*

Four-year term for president, others  
*The Guardian(Lagos), 2/24/99*

Akinoyemi decries absence of constitution for transition  
*The Guardian(Lagos), 2/24/99*

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### Essays

Obasanjo and Falae  
by Reuben Abati  
*Kilima, 3/9/99*

Election Is Good, But Not Enough  
by Reuben Abati  
*Kilima, 2/21/99*

Where is the constitution?  
Editorial from the *Vanguard, 2/18/99*

To Save PDP from Itself  
by Francis Ogon  
*The Post-Express, 2/4/99*

In Abacha's Dungeon: Interview with Obasanjo  
*Newswatch Magazine, 1/30/99*

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Chief Olu Falae. Falae, a Yoruba, had a reputation as a talented economist. As a finance minister in the cabinet of former military ruler Ibrahim Babangida, he had helped devise and implement a structural adjustment program (SAP) that would qualify Nigeria for assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. While these programs were not popular with the Nigerian people, they did serve to bolster Falae's reputation in the international community and improve his credibility as a potential leader.

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Falae's nomination was not uncontroversial within the ranks of either of the two parties that supported him. Many in the AD thought another candidate, Chief Bola Ige, would be a better representative of the leftist political and economic ideals that the AD purported to champion. And in the APP, some party leaders resented being passed over for a man who was identified with the Yorubas and the AD. Though there was a broad national consensus that the next Nigerian president should be a Southerner, many Northern politicians resented this and were determined to push their candidacies.

Falae's competitor was announced at a national convention of the PDP on February 13th. General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military leader of the country, was picked by around three-fourths of the delegates. It is assumed that the delegates picked Obasanjo for both his democratic and military credentials --a combination that makes him a credible candidate both to the power structure and to many citizens. Obasanjo had assumed power in 1976, following the assassination of General Murtal Muhammed, the previous head of state. He spent much of his three years in power preparing to hand his government over to civilians in what would be known as the "Second Republic." It was the only time in Nigerian history that a military ruler

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willfully transferred power to an elected President.

Obasanjo's main rival for the 1999 PDP nomination was Dr. Alex Ekwueme, one of the men for whom Obasanjo had stepped down two decades earlier. Ekwueme was the Nigeria's Vice President during the Second Republic, in the administration of Shegu Shagari.

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When the PDP gave the nod to Obasanjo, it was feared that the move might weaken support for the party in the Southeast --a potential swing region. The Ibo might desert the party if their native son Ekwueme were passed over for Obasanjo, who was a high ranking officer in the Nigerian Army during the civil war.

But such fears were at least partially dispelled when the results of the elections for National Assembly came in. The PDP again had the best showing, and won an absolute majority in both Houses, and was the most popular party in the Southeast. Some East/West border states, though, had gone over to the AD/APP alliance

Obasanjo easily carried the presidential elections on February 27th, with 63% of the popular vote. But international observers discovered evidence of vote-rigging that called the legitimacy of the vote into question; a team led by former President Jimmy Carter found that in one district, 500 votes were counted for the PDP despite the fact that only 50 individuals had been registered to vote. Olu Falae and the parties that had backed him protested these irregularities, but INEC declared the results valid. In the wake of its decision, some rioting broke out in the streets of Lagos, an AD stronghold.

With the elections over and a winner certified, another question is causing some concern: where is the Constitution? It is unclear whether

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Abubakar plans for the new government to operate under an earlier version of the Constitution (versions drafted in 1979 and 1989 are available), or one that Abacha and the military had drafted in 1995. Some sources claim that language will be taken from each of these documents and woven into a new Constitution, but as yet no one knows for sure.

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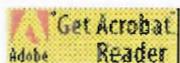
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| <a href="#">INEC Timetable for Electoral Activities</a>  | <a href="#">INEC Guidelines for Election into the Office of President and the National Assembly (PDF-22kb)</a> | <a href="#">INEC Background Information</a>                         | <a href="#">INEC Code of Conduct for Foreign Observers</a> |
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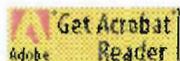
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## Building credibility without a constitution

By Michael Boda



Boda

While Nigerians edge their way toward democracy under a "Transition to Civil Rule" decree pushed forward by the country's current head of state and military leader, [Gen. Abdulsalami Abubakar](#), the legal foundation for their right to vote is unique among most other democracies.

[Nigeria](#) currently lacks a constitution, complicating the work of election officials who often find their mandate for running an election in this creed.

With this in mind, Nigeria's Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) has devised a solution that has offered credibility to the electoral process among candidates, political parties and voters in advance of the transition of power scheduled for May 29, 1999.

### Comparing Nigeria to other countries

In the United States, the Constitution assures universal suffrage among citizens. Article XV states that the right to vote will not be denied based on race, color or previous condition of servitude. Article XIX enshrines the vote for women.

In India, the world's largest democracy, the right to vote for all adults is described in that country's constitution, which was adopted in 1950.

South Africa, a newer democracy, first laid the foundation for universal adult suffrage in a constitution passed in preparation for its premier democratic elections held in April 1994.

In each of these countries, a constitution provides the principal direction for electoral legislation, regulations and codes of conduct that direct the voting process.

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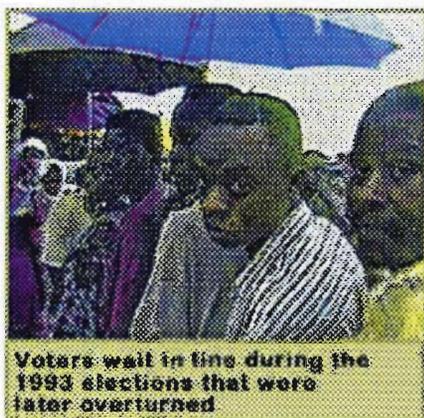
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This has not been the case in Nigeria, however, where progress on assembling a constitution moved slowly until the death of the country's former military leader, [Gen. Sani Abacha](#), in June 1998.

Abacha's successor, Abubakar, has since quickened the pace by appointing a Constitutional Debate Commission to complete a

document based on two earlier attempts -- one from the Abacha era and another from the last period of civilian rule in Nigeria, which lasted from 1979 to 1983.

Once completed, the Nigerian Constitution will undergird the transition to civilian rule. Still, a constitution will not be available to lend credibility to the elections scheduled in advance of the May transition. Elections for local governments, governors and state assemblies, the National Assembly and president, all will have been held without a constitutional mandate.

### International declarations offer support

While conducting elections may not be backed by a constitution in Nigeria, international law certainly reinforces the process. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, lists a variety of basic rights and freedoms, including the right to vote.

According to Article 21, "[E]veryone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. ... The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

This document is not in itself binding, but it "has acquired the status of customary international law in terms of the broad respect it enjoys," say Harry Barnes and David Carroll in an Elections Today article that focuses on voting as a human right.



In addition, Nigeria is a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a subsequent agreement that embodies the concepts outlined in the Universal Declaration.

Article 25 of the Covenant states, "Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity ... a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country."

### 'Electoral guidelines' issued

While international law is important, its practical impact is often quite limited. Without a constitution, the Independent National Electoral Commission has been forced to devise an alternative legislative tool until a new constitution is assembled and accepted by Nigerians.

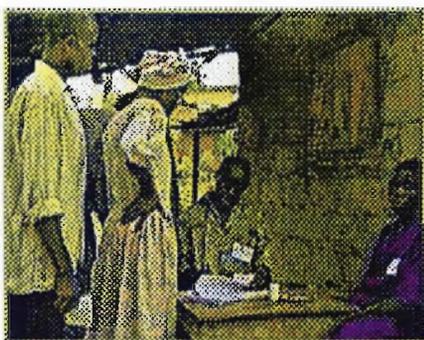
To bridge the gap, the Commission has released a series of "electoral guidelines" that describe the overall direction most often outlined in a constitution and provide the basic ground rules typically found in election law.

The guidelines include the basic parameters for the election and the qualifications for candidates, political parties and voters. Further, they outline that voting will be by secret ballot and describe the voting regulations to be followed on election day.

### Helping poll workers

For the three elections held since December, electoral guidelines issued by the Commission have won the support of the public. The candidates, parties and voters have generally accepted them as the "rules of the game."

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Step-by-step directions have been developed to assist poll workers

The elections could not have been implemented, however, without further detail being offered on the voting process. Poll workers tasked with managing the vote at individual polling stations on election day require step-by-step guidance that simply is not found in the electoral guidelines.

For the Nigerian National Assembly and presidential

elections, INEC and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) have created a "Manual for Poll Officials" that offers this fundamental direction.

Created with financial assistance from Canada and Britain, an inaugural version of this manual was published for the governorship and state House of Assembly elections in January 1999. Based on feedback from poll workers, the publication was improved and updated for the most recent round of elections.

After 15 years of military rule, Nigeria's INEC has assembled an initial voting system for the country's transitional elections that can facilitate the transfer of power from a military to civilian government on May 29.

While the timelines have been short, the infrastructure assembled has thus far proven credible during the elections leading to the presidential race scheduled for February 27.

Clearly, the legal framework necessary for maintaining democratic electoral practices in the long term -- including a constitution, election law and regulations -- is not yet in place. Still, Nigerians have made notable progress toward this eventual goal.

*Michael Boda is editor of Elections Today and deputy director of the F. Clifton White Resource Center at IFES, the International Foundation for Election Systems.*

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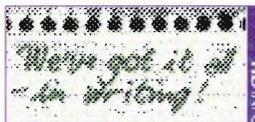
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## Related sites on Nigeria

(CNN) -- As Nigeria moves toward democracy, the Internet has taken notice. There is no shortage of sites, both official and personal, that detail the latest news, debates and campaign information about the elections. Here are several to get you started:



- [International Foundation for Election Systems \(IFES\)](#) -- This private, nonprofit organization established in 1987 has provided technical and other assistance concerning elections in more than 90 countries
  - [IFES Election Monitoring and Observation for Nigeria](#)
  - [IFES Local Government Elections in Nigeria: The Report of the AAEA/IFES Joint International Observer Mission \(1/1/99\)](#)
  - [IFES Post-Election Statement of the AAEA/IFES Observer Mission to the Local Government Elections in Nigeria \(12/8/99\)](#)
  - [IFES press release: "African Election Officials to Observe Local Government Elections in Nigeria" \(11/27\)](#)
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- [African News Service -- Nigeria](#) -- Weekly news archive and special section on "Nigeria After Abacha"
- [ShellNigeria.com](#) -- Information about the company's operations in Nigeria
- [Nigeria Action Newsgroup](#) -- Information and opinion about the presence of Shell in Nigeria



- [Global Road Warrior: Nigeria](#) -- Information about Nigerian communications, business services, technical support and Internet connections
- [MBendi Information for Africa: Nigerian Oil Industry](#) -- Profiles of the oil industry in Nigeria with background information, links and search functions



- [Index on Africa](#) -- Information about Nigerian culture, economy, human rights and politics
- [TIME on Nigeria](#) -- Story on the next generation of leadership in Nigeria

## Nigerian political links:

- [Falae.org](#) -- Official site for presidential candidate Olu Falae
- [Obasanjo-Campaign.com.ng](#) -- Official site for People's Democratic Party presidential candidate Olusegun Obasanjo
- [APPNigeria.org](#) -- Official site for All Peoples Party of Nigeria
- [AllianceForDemocracy.com](#) -- Official site for Alliance for Democracy

## Nigerian election guidelines:

- [Administration and Cost of Elections \(ACE\) Project](#) -- including background on electoral systems, legislative frameworks, and electoral management
- [U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) -- United Nations
- [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#) -- Tufts University
- [Electoral guidelines for the National Assembly and presidential elections](#) -- International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)
- [Manual for Poll Officials for the National Assembly and Presidential Elections](#) -- International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES)
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### Ex-military ruler to be next president

Olusegun Obasanjo, the winner of Nigeria's long-awaited presidential election, is a former military ruler who will be returning to power as a civilian ruler -- provided that the transition to democratic rule goes as planned.



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Video: Interview with Obasanjo  
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- [Falae loses the battle for presidency](#)

### Election monitors issue report and recommendations

While commending Nigeria's Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) for attempting to foster fair and uniform voting practices, the observation delegation of the Association of African Election Authorities and the International Foundation for Election Systems noted "observed numerous cases of irregularities in the implementation of the election procedures and some possible cases of electoral fraud"

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[Dream of democracy sprouts in shadow](#)

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CNN's Jim Clancy reports from Nigeria

Report on voters' and a monitor's views on the elections from Lagos, Nigeria  
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Report on how the campaign have been handled.  
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| <a href="#">Djibouti</a> | April 9, 1999  | Presidential     |
| <a href="#">Algeria</a>  | April 15, 1999 | Presidential     |
| Italy                    | April 18, 1999 | Referendum       |
| <a href="#">Turkey</a>   | April 18, 1999 | Parliamentary    |
| Venezuela                | April 25, 1999 | Referendum       |
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| CAMBODIA<br><a href="#">Parliamentary election (July 26, 1998)</a>     | BENIN<br><a href="#">Legislative election (March 30, 1999)</a>  |
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| COUNTRY                     | ELECTION TYPE | DATE              |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Federal Republic of Nigeria | Parliamentary | February 20, 1999 |

**At stake in this election:**

- Seats in the Senate: 109
- Seats in the House of Representatives: 360

**Description of government structure:**

- Chief of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces: General Abdulsalami ABUBAKAR. General ABUBAKAR obtained power upon the June 1998 death of military ruler General Sani ABACHA.
- Parliament: Nigeria's bicameral parliament, the National Assembly, is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Members of both the Senate and the House are directly elected for four-year terms.
- Total number of seats in the Senate: 109
- Total number of seats in the House of Representatives: 360

**Main parties in the electoral races:**

- **Party: People's Democratic Party (PDP)**  
Leaders: Olusegun OBASANJO, Solomon LAR, Alex EKWUEME
- **Party: All People's Party (APP)**  
Leader: Mahmud WAZIRI
- **Party: Alliance for Democracy (AD)**  
Leader: Solomon Oluoyemi FALAE
- Note: In July 1998, General ABUBAKAR announced the dissolution of the five political parties recognized by the previous government of General ABACHA. To meet eligibility requirements for the February 1999 National Assembly elections, a party must have received at least five percent of the votes cast in 24 of the 36 federal states in the December 5, 1998, local government elections.

**When was the last election? Number of seats in last election?**

- Legislative elections last held: July 4, 1992
  - Seats decided in the 1992 election to the Senate: 90
  - Seats decided in the 1992 election to the House of Representatives: 300
- Note: Elections to the National Assembly were also held on April 25, 1998. The 1998 elections, however, have since been declared invalid.

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Now, what was her number?  


1998. The 1998 elections, however, have since been declared invalid.

**Population and number of registered voters:**

- Population: 108,000,000 (approx.)
- Number of registered voters: 60,000,000 (approx.)

**Of interest:**

- General ABUBAKAR's military regime is scheduled to hand over governing power to an elected civilian government on May 29, 1999.
- The February 20, 1999, National Assembly elections are part of a series of polls in Nigeria, beginning with local elections on December 5, 1998, and culminating with the election for Nigeria's civilian president on February 27, 1999.
- The National Assembly elections are being organized and administered by the recently created Independent National Election Commission (INEC).

**SOURCE: INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS (IFES)**

For additional information: [IFES ElectionGuide Online](#)

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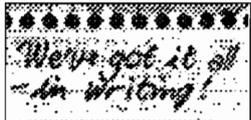
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# electionwatch



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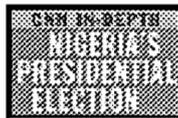
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## Nigeria (Presidential)



| COUNTRY                     | ELECTION TYPE | DATE              |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Federal Republic of Nigeria | Presidential  | February 27, 1999 |

**At stake in this election:**

- The office of the president of Nigeria

**Description of government structure:**

- The president is directly elected by simple majority vote for a four-year term.

**Results of election for president:**

- **Presidential Candidate: Olusegun OBASANJO**  
Party: People's Democratic Party (PDP)  
Valid Votes Received: 18,738,154  
Percent of Valid Votes Received: 62.78%
- **Presidential Candidate: Samuel Oluyemi FALAE**  
Parties: Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All People's Party (APP)  
Valid Votes Received: 11,110,287  
Percent of Valid Votes Received: 37.22

**When was the last presidential election?**

- Last presidential election held: June 12, 1993
- On November 17, 1993, General ABACHA assumed power through a military coup.

**Population and number of registered voters:**

- Population: 108,000,000 (approx.)
- Number of registered voters: 60,000,000 (approx.)

**Of interest:**

- General ABUBAKAR's military regime is scheduled to hand over power to an elected civilian government on May 29, 1999.
- The February 27, 1999, presidential election was the last of a series of polls in Nigeria which began with local elections on December 5.
- The presidential elections were organized and administered by the recently created Independent National Election Commission (INEC).

**SOURCE: INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS (IFES)**

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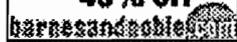
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# **Appendix VII**

## Akpata commends observers

Churchill Umoren, Abuja

**T**HE Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Justice Ephraim Akpata, has commended the role of the international observers in the just concluded transition programme.

He gave this commendation Monday night at a cocktail party in honour of the international election observers.

According to Justice Akpata the comments, reports and advice of the observers, assisted INEC in the correction of some lapses in previous elections.

The INEC boss explained: "We organised the party, to show appreciation to various international observer groups for the crucial role they played in the electoral process within the last six months.

Justice Akpata added that their reports contributed immensely to the success of the elections.

Responding on behalf of the observers, former Botswana president, Sir Ketumile Masiru, who headed the Commonwealth observer mission, thanked the INEC for the invitation to international observers to monitor the elections.

According to him, observers had the opportunity to witness the elections first hand in all the states of Nigeria.

Their general belief, he noted further was that the elections were largely successful.

In a similar development, the leader of a United Nations delegation, Mrs. Carina Perelli, has expressed delight that all the elections scheduled for the transition were concluded.

## Women prepare for 2003 elections

Akpanem James, Port Harcourt

**W**OMEN in the country are already mobilising for active participation in the 2003 elections as the Women Opinion Leaders Forum (WOLF) embarks on grassroots mobilisation campaign.

The programme tagged: "300,000 for 2003" launched last month in Abuja by its leader, Hajiya Laila Dogonyaro, is principally aimed at educating, encouraging and mobilising women towards effective participation in future democratic processes.

Apart from carrying out enlightenment programmes,

WOLF henceforth would sensitize policies at women participation in promote democratic process support female candidates every level of election, train and mobilise 300,000 women who would favour victory for female candidates the year 2003.

According to the State Mobiliser of Dame Valerie Young: "the organisation has dropped the project because of the drop in female participation in the politics of the dispensation."

# **Appendix VIII**



# INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

INEC-HEADQUARTERS  
Plot 436, Zambezi Crescent, Maitama District A5,  
P.M.B. 0184, Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, Nigeria.  
☎: 09 - 5239549



## OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

*Ref.* INEC/SEC/015/Vol.1/99/280

23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1999

*Date.*

All Resident Electoral Commissioners,  
Independent National Electoral Commission,  
Nation-wide.

### ACCREDITATION/VERIFICATION FORM

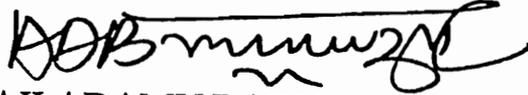
I write to inform you that the Commission has approved an additional responsibility for the Supervisory Presiding Officers (SPO) as follows:-

- (a) While going round the polling units under his supervision, the SPO using the above prescribed form is to record the number of accredited voters at the close of accreditation i.e at 11.00 a.m.;
- (b) The information is to be lifted from the entry made by the Presiding Officer (PO) on the prescribed form EC8A;
- (c) Thereafter, the SPO, the PO and the Party Agents present will sign the form as appropriate, and
- (d) Finally, the SPO will then deliver the already signed form to the Collation Officer who in turn will cross-check (compare) the information contained thereon with the one on form EC 8A as submitted.

2. Please, ensure STRICT compliance. You will endeavour to ensure that the information is disseminated to all concerned.

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3. Thank you.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'AAB mu'azu', written in a cursive style.

(ALHAJI ADAMU BAWA MU'AZU)  
SECRETARY,  
for: CHAIRMAN, INEC.

: SECRETARY.  
INEC HQTRS. ABUJA.

TO : ALL REL.

REF. NO. INEC/SEC/015/VOL. 1/99/282

DATE: 24TH FEB.. 1999

MESSAGE: ACCREDITATION/VERIFICATION FORM

YOU ARE HEREBY INFORMED THAT THE COMMISSION HAS APPROVED  
ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRESIDING OFFICERS AS FOLLOWS:-

- (A) THAT THE SUPERVISORY PRESIDING OFFICER (SPO) IS TO GO ROUND, USING THE PRESCRIBED FORM TO RECORD THE NUMBER OF ACCREDITED VOTERS IN ALL THE POLLING STATIONS UNDER HIM AT THE CLOSE OF ACCREDITATION AT 11.00 A.M.
- (B) THE INFORMATION IS TO BE LIFTED FROM THE ENTRY MADE BY THE PRESIDING OFFICER ON FORM EC 8A AND
- (C) THEREAFTER, THE SPO, PO AND PARTY AGENTS PRESENT WILL SIGN THE FORM EC 8A APPROPRIATELY.

THE SPO WILL THEN DELIVER THE SIGNED FORM TO THE COLLATION OFFICER WHO WILL IN TURN COMPARE THE INFORMATION CONTAINED THEREON WITH THAT ON FORM EC 8A SUBMITTED.

PLEASE ENSURE STRICT COMPLIANCE AND DISSEMINATE THE INFORMATION TO ALL CONCERNED.

THANK YOU.

S&D: ALHAJI ADAMU BAWA MU'AZU  
SECRETARY.  
FOR: CHAIRMAN. INEC.

PLS. DO ACK. RECEIPT  
(MINE) ISIDMA MOLOK.WU  
INEC HQTRS. ABUJA  
24-FEB-99

All Electoral Officers,  
FCT INEC Headquarters,  
Abuja.

Above for your information and strict compliance please.

MSG WELL RECEIVED  
UNAR ISAH INEC FCT ABUJA  
24-FEB-99 11:37

  
BABA UMAR  
(S.S.A.)

for: RESIDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSIONER

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