

Acknowledgements

This mission could not have been accomplished without the assistance and support of many people. We would particularly like to express our appreciation of the co-operation extended to the Commonwealth Observer Group by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the political parties, Justice Lewis Makame, Chairman of the National Electoral Commission, Justice Zubeir Juma Mzee, Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission, and their fellow Electoral Commissioners, the local election monitoring groups, other international observers and the United Nations Electoral Secretariat in Dar es Salaam.

We are indebted to the people of Tanzania for their warm welcome and the individual kindness shown to us by many during our stay.

We wish to express our special thanks and very warm appreciation to Mr Carl Dundas and his able team from the Commonwealth Secretariat for the extraordinary support given to us in the execution of our mission. Their dedication was exemplary. We were highly appreciative resolute way in which they worked beyond the call of duty.

Finally, we are of course especially grateful to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, for giving us this opportunity to be associated with this historic occasion, and for his guidance and support.

Annexes

ANNEX I

Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group

Mr Rashleigh Esmond Jackson (Guyana – Chairperson)

Mr Rashleigh Jackson began his professional life as a Master at Queen's College, Guyana in 1957. Embarking on a diplomatic career in 1964, Mr Jackson became Permanent Secretary in 1969 and served as Guyana's Permanent Representative to the UN from 1973-78, during which time he was elected President of the UN Council for Namibia; and represented his country on the Security Council in 1975-76. He served as Guyana's Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1978 until 1990. In recent years Mr Jackson has been active in national, regional and international efforts to promote sustainable development. He was a member of the Guyana delegation to the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and led a task force of regional resource personnel which formulated joint positions as Caribbean regional inputs to the UNCED. Mr Jackson was educated in Guyana, Britain and the United States.

Mr Gerard Paul Ah-Shung (Seychelles)

Mr Gerard Ah-Shung began his public service career in 1968 with the Seychelles Directorate of Audit, serving as Director of Audit on several occasions, and was also appointed Registrar of Co-operatives from 1981-84. In 1983, he became Secretary and Head of Administration and Public Debt Department in the Central Bank of Seychelles. Mr Ah-Shung managed BCCI (Seychelles) on behalf of the Central Bank following its take-over in 1991, and supervised the winding up of BCCI (Seychelles) in 1992; he was appointed a Director-General, Banking Supervision, in the Central Bank in 1992. In 1994, Mr Ah-Shung became Electoral Commissioner of Seychelles and Registrar of Political Parties. In addition, he holds the position of Chief Officer of the Civil Statutes.

The Hon Brian G K Alleyne, SC, MP (Dominica)

The Hon Brian Alleyne was admitted to the Bar in Dominica in 1967. He entered into private legal practice – being admitted to the Bar in Grenada in 1978 – until elected to Parliament in 1980 as a member of the Freedom Party. Mr Alleyne's ministerial career included terms as Senator and Attorney-General, 1979-80; Minister of Home Affairs, Housing and Industrial Relations, 1980-85; Attorney-General and Minister for Legal Affairs, Immigration and Labour, 1985-90; Minister for External Affairs and Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States Unity, 1990-95.

Mr Angelos Angelides (Cyprus)

Mr Angelos Angelides is a retired diplomat in the foreign service of Cyprus. During a career that spanned four decades, Mr Angelides served in various capacities at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cyprus, and as Head of the Economic and Political Departments. In the mid-1960s he was appointed Counsellor and Deputy Head of Mission at the High Commission in London, and went on to be posted to Moscow and then to Washington, returning to Moscow as Ambassador in 1979. Between 1984 and 1989, Mr Angelides was Permanent Delegate to the European Union, concurrently accredited to Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the Republic of Ireland. He returned to the Ministry in Nicosia as Under-Secretary for a year, before taking up his last posting as High Commissioner in London, with accreditation to Norway and Sweden. Mr Angelides was educated in Cyprus, the US and Britain, and has decorations from Egypt, Germany, and Luxembourg.

The Hon Anna Kathrina Bayer, MP (Namibia)

The Hon Anna Bayer is a teacher by profession. Having attended Teachers' Training College in Cape Town, South Africa, she taught primary school for 27 years. Mrs Bayer is a longstanding member of SWAPO, and is a committed worker in the development of income-generating projects for groups within the community. Mrs Bayer was elected MP from the Hardap region

to the south of Windhoek in December 1994, and within the National Assembly takes a keen interest in issues concerning women and children, education and culture.

Dr Robin Alexander Ian Bell (Australia)

Dr Robin Bell lectured and undertook research in geophysics and nuclear physics at Victoria University (Wellington), Oxford University (obtaining a D.Phil in 1969), and at the Australian National University (ANU) for 16 years before completing a Bachelor of Laws degree at ANU in 1977. He then served in various legal officer positions with the Attorney-General's Department in Canberra, concurrently being a member of the Australian National Commission for Unesco, and the Australian Public Lending Right Committee Scheme. Between 1985 and 1988 he was Senior Assistant Secretary in the Freedom of Information and Human Rights Branch of the Attorney-General's Department, and Deputy Commonwealth Ombudsman. He has been Deputy Electoral Commissioner with the Australian Electoral Commission since 1991.

Mr Emiliano Bouletare (Vanuatu)

Mr Emiliano Bouletare is Solicitor before the Supreme Court of the Republic of Vanuatu since 1992 and also a member of the Electoral Commission. He is Deputy Clerk of Parliament of the Republic of Vanuatu. He was Manager, Legal Matters and then Secretary to the Board of Directors and Acting Deputy Managing Director of the Development Bank of Vanuatu (1989-94). He is a lecturer in the Government Training Centre for francophone civil servants.

The Hon Rauff Hakeem, MP (Sri Lanka)

The Hon Rauff Hakeem is by profession an attorney-at-law/solicitor and has appeared before the original and Appellate Courts since 1984. He was elected to Parliament in 1994 as a member of the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress, and is Deputy Chairman of Committees within the assembly. Mr Hakeem was a permanent delegate representing the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress to the All Party Conference (1990-92) and is currently General Secretary of the party. He has participated in national and international conferences on human rights, and published a number of articles on constitutional and legal reform.

Mr Natarajan Krishnan (India)

Mr Natarajan Krishnan is a former diplomat. He joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1951 and served in Bangkok, Phnom Penh, Buenos Aires, Geneva and the Ministry of External Affairs. He was Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece from 1976 until 1979, and became India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in 1981 – a post he held for five years before being appointed the Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Africa from 1987-89. Whilst at the UN he was a member of two Committees on UN Reform, and a Commonwealth group on the Security of Small States. Mr Krishnan was the Indian member on the Executive Board of Unesco and is currently a member of the Committee advising the UN Secretary-General on disarmament matters. He is a member of a number of boards of educational and research institutions, having served as Dean of the School of International Studies at Pondicherry University from 1988 to 1990. Mr Krishnan holds a Bachelor of Arts (Econ) degree from the University of Madras.

The Hon Dr Moti Lall, MP (Guyana)

The Hon Dr Moti Lall is a specialist in chest diseases, having studied these at the postgraduate level in Germany and Canada. He worked in this field for the Ministry of Health from 1974, rising to the position of Principal Tuberculosis Officer in 1978, a post he currently holds. He became Member of Parliament in the General Election of 1992. He served on UN electoral observer missions to El Salvador and an OAS mission to Peru.

The Hon Joseph McGuire, MP (Canada)

The Hon Joseph McGuire trained as a teacher and community development worker. He was first elected to Parliament in 1988, as the member for Egmont, on Prince Edward Island, and was re-elected in 1993. Mr McGuire has served on the Fisheries and Oceans Committee in the House; the Standing Committee of Agriculture (1988-93); and sub-Committee on Electoral Boundaries.

The Hon Edna Madzongwe, MP (Zimbabwe)

The Hon Edna Madzongwe is the Deputy Speaker of Parliament for Zimbabwe. She held various positions in the Ministry of Education and Culture before being elected MP in 1990. In 1994, Mrs Madzongwe was appointed Deputy Minister of Education. She is a life member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA); Member of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), and former President of the World Women Parliamentarians for Peace. Mrs Madzongwe has chaired various Parliamentary Committees, and is a member of the Central Committee of ZANU-PF, holding the position of Deputy-Secretary for Labour and Production to the Politburo. Mrs Madzongwe attended the University of Massachusetts, USA, where she obtained an MA in Education.

The Rt Reverend Bishop Philip Stanley Mokuku (Lesotho)

The Rt Reverend Bishop Philip Mokuku undertook his theological training in a seminary in Johannesburg, South Africa. He was made a Deacon in 1959, serving in St James' Cathedral, Maseru, Lesotho, and between 1961 and 1976 was a Rector in several parishes in the Diocese of Lesotho. He was the Dean of Maseru for two years, 1976-78, before his elevation to become the Bishop of Lesotho. He is currently Secretary of Heads of Churches in Lesotho, and lists his interests as horse riding and gardening.

HE Mrs Tuelonyana Ditlhabi Oliphant (Botswana)

HE Mrs Tuelonyana Ditlhabi Oliphant began her public service career in the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs in 1977, where she rose to the position of Principal Administration Officer. During the next eight years she worked in administration and also attended sectoral meetings of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). She co-founded and acted as editor of the Ministerial Newsletter. In 1985, Mrs Oliphant joined the Department of Foreign Affairs and her first posting was to Washington DC as First Secretary. She was promoted to Counsellor and Charge d'Affaires, and acted as Head of Chancery before being moved to serve as Counsellor in the Permanent Mission of Botswana to the UN in New York. In 1990, Mrs Oliphant was appointed Botswana's first High Commissioner to the Republic of Namibia and Ambassador to the People's Republic of Angola. She is currently Dean of the Diplomatic Corps and the Commonwealth Group in Namibia, and since 1992 has been Dean of the African Group. Mrs Oliphant studied at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and at Pennsylvania State University in the US. Her interests include issues related to the welfare of the elderly and children, and the advancement of women in public life.

Dato' K Pathmanaban (Malaysia)

Dato' K Pathmanaban has had wide experience as a senior civil servant as well as a Deputy Minister in the Malaysian Government. He was a Director in the National Planning Division of the Malaysian Government's Economic Planning Agency and Acting Secretary-General of the Ministry of Labour before entering politics in 1974. He was a Member of Parliament from that year until 1990. Dato' Pathmanaban's ministerial appointments included periods as Deputy Minister in the Labour and Manpower, and Health Ministries between 1976 and 1990. He was an executive council member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in 1984 and led a number of Malaysian delegations to CPA conferences. He has also led Malaysian Parliamentary delegations to the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organisation. He now heads several national organisations and serves as Director of a number of companies. Dato' Pathmanaban chaired the Commonwealth Observer Group to the elections in Bangladesh in 1991, and was a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group to the elections in South Africa in April 1994.

Mr Muhammad Haneef Ramay, MPA (Pakistan)

Mr Muhammad Haneef Ramay began his professional life as an artist and an economist, but later became involved in politics as a journalist. He was a founding member of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). He was the chief editor of the People's Party papers, and was first elected to the Punjab Assembly on the PPP ticket in 1970. He was appointed Finance Minister of Punjab in 1972, and Chief Minister of the Province in 1974. Mr Ramay was given a seat in the Senate in

1975, and joined the Pakistan Muslim League in 1976, becoming its chief organiser before forming his own political party, the Pakistan Musawat Party in 1978. During the period when political parties were banned in Pakistan, Mr Ramay took a sabbatical in the US as Research Associate at the University of California, Berkeley Campus. After his return to Pakistan, Mr Ramay rejoined the PPP and won a provincial assembly seat from Lahore in 1993. He has served as Speaker of the Punjab Assembly since that time, and is currently a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) Executive Committee.

Lord Redesdale (Britain)

Lord Redesdale is the Liberal Democrat Party Spokesman on Overseas Development. He is a member of the House of Lords Select Committee on Science and Technology. His special interests include the environment and mental health. Lord Redesdale has previously participated in observer missions to South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique and Sri Lanka.

The Hon Trevor Rogers, MP (New Zealand)

The Hon Trevor Rogers had a successful international business career before beginning his political life. Between 1977 and 1989, Mr Rogers was a councillor for Auckland City, serving as Chair on a number of Committees including Works and Sister Cities, during which time the council developed a close relationship with Los Angeles City Council, and a new relationship with Fukuoka City, Japan. He was from 1983-86 concurrently a member of the Auckland Regional Authority, which he represented as an Executive Member of the district roads council. Mr Rogers was first elected to Parliament in 1990, successfully retaining his seat after the boundaries were redrawn in 1993. He has since 1990, at various times served as a Member of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Internal Affairs and Local Government Select Committee, and is presently Chairman of the Commerce Select Committee. Mr Rogers is a keen sailor and a long time pilot.

Mrs Tekarei Russell (Kiribati)

Mrs Tekarei Russell qualified as a teacher at the Teachers' Training College in Suva, Fiji, in 1955. She then taught in a school in Fiji, before being employed by the Government of the then Gilbert and Ellice Islands to teach at the newly opened government girls secondary school, the Elaine Bernacchi School and the Teachers' Training College. Whilst raising her family between 1966 and 1971, Mrs Russell worked part-time in the Women's Interest Section of the Department of Education and became the first local Women's Interest Officer. Mrs Russell was first elected to Parliament in 1971, and successfully introduced a Private Bill on the Maintenance of Children which passed into law. She was re-elected in 1974, becoming Minister of Health and Community Development (1975-77), and visited Britain in the Queen's Silver Jubilee year as a member of the government team negotiating independence for Kiribati and the question of Banaba (Ocean Island). Between 1978 and 1987, Mrs Russell returned to teaching at the local government secondary school, and simultaneously served as a member of the Electoral Commission (1978-81). Since her retirement from government employment in 1987, Mrs Russell has helped to re-establish the National Women's Federation, and was elected its President in 1987. Mrs Russell attended the 1995 UN Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt. She is currently a member of the Public Service Commission and the Citizenship Commission, and has had a life-long interest in the Kiribati Girl Guides Association.

Mr David George Pendleton Taylor, CBE (Britain)

Mr David Taylor began his career path in Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service, first as District Officer, finally as Acting Senior Local Government Officer in post-independence Tanzania. In 1964, he joined Booker McConnell as an executive officer, rising to the position of Divisional Director. He was posted to Malawi as Chairman and Chief Executive of Bookers (Malawi) Ltd, before returning to London to take up senior executive positions with responsibility for the company's overseas operations. From 1983-87, Mr Taylor was seconded by Booker at the request of the Government to be Chief Executive of the Falkland Islands, returning again in 1988 to act as Chief Executive, before being posted to Monserrat as Governor between 1990 and 1993. Mr Taylor has a wide range of interests including water-colour painting. He is a member

of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) and the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr Taylor is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and was awarded the CBE in 1993.

The Hon Dianne Yates, MP (New Zealand)

The Hon Dianne Yates has had careers in education, administration and the media in New Zealand, Britain, the US and Zimbabwe. Her political career has included membership of teacher unions, the Association of University Staffs, the Women's Electoral Lobby and the Electoral Reform Coalition. A long-term member of the Labour Party, Ms Yates was first elected to Parliament in 1993 and currently sits for the constituency of Hamilton East. She is presently Labour Opposition Spokesperson on Women's Affairs, and a member of the Justice and Law Reform, and Foreign Affairs Select Committees. Ms Yates chairs the New Zealand Parliamentarians for Global Action Group.

Commonwealth Secretariat Support Staff

Mr Carl Dundas, Team Leader

Dr Moses Anafu, Deputy Team Leader

Ms Cheryl Dorall, Media Adviser / Assistant to Observers

Ms Judith Johnson, Assistant to Observers

Professor Ade Adefuye, Assistant to Observers

Dr Lucy Steward, Assistant to Observers

Ms Sandra Pepera, Assistant to Observers

Ms Lorna McLaren, Administrative Officer

Mr John Saddington, Administrative Officer

Ms Zippy Ojago, Secretary

ANNEX II**Press Release of 19 October 1995****Commonwealth
News Release**

95/42

19 October 1995

Commonwealth to Observe General Election in Tanzania

A team of 22 Commonwealth Observers, together with support staff from the Commonwealth Secretariat, will be present in Tanzania for the Union Presidential and Parliamentary elections to be held on 29 October 1995, as well as the elections for the Presidency and House of Representatives of Zanzibar scheduled for 22 October 1995.

In announcing the Observer mission, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said that the Commonwealth was responding to an invitation received in April this year, from the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, for a Commonwealth Observer Group to observe the general election. A Planning Mission from the Commonwealth Secretariat which visited Tanzania last July established that there was broad support across the political spectrum for a Commonwealth presence throughout the electoral process. These will be the first multi-party elections in Tanzania since 1961.

The main body of the Commonwealth Observer Group will leave London tomorrow. After an intensive briefing on arrival, they will be deployed to a number of different locations around the country to observe the last days of campaigning, the poll and the count. The Group will leave Tanzania once it has completed its report which will be submitted to the Secretary-General.

The Group will be led by **Mr Rashleigh Jackson**, former Foreign Minister of Guyana. The other members of the Group are:-

Mr Gerard Ah Shung
Electoral Commissioner, Seychelles

Mr Brian Alleyne MP
Member of Parliament, Dominica

Mr Angelos Angelides
Former Diplomat, Cyprus

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Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5HX, Britain. Tel: 071-839 3411; Fax: 071-930 0827; Telex: 27678*

Mrs Anna Bayer MP
Member of Parliament, Namibia

Mr Robin Bell
Deputy Electoral Commissioner, Australia

Mr Emiliano Bouletare
Member, Electoral Commission and Clerk of Parliament, Vanuatu

Mr Rauff Hakeem MP
Member of Parliament, Sri Lanka

Ambassador N Krishnan
Former Diplomat, India

Mrs A Kuenyehia
Senior Lecturer in Law, Ghana

Dr Moti Lall MP
Member of Parliament, Guyana

Mr Joseph McGuire MP
Member of Parliament, Canada

The Hon Edna Madzongwe MP
Deputy Speaker, Zimbabwe

Rt Rev Bishop Philip Mokuku
Bishop, Anglican Church in Lesotho

H E Mrs D Oliphant
High Commissioner to Namibia, Botswana

Dato' K Pathmanaban
Former Cabinet Minister, Malaysia

Mr Muhanmad Haneef Ramay MP
Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, Pakistan

Lord Redesdale
Member of the House of Lords, Britain

Mr Trevor Rogers MP
Member of Parliament, New Zealand

Mrs Tekarei Russell MP
Member of Parliament, Kiribati

Mr David Taylor
Former Senior Civil Servant, Britain

Ms Dianne Yates MP
Member of Parliament, New Zealand

The Group will be supported by a ten-member team from the Commonwealth Secretariat led by Mr Carl Dundas, Special Adviser (Legal), of the Economic and Legal Advisory Services Division.

Note to Editors:

This will be the sixteenth Commonwealth team to observe a national plebiscite in a member state since October 1990. These observer missions are to be seen in the context of a decision taken by Commonwealth Heads of Government to support the promotion of democracy in member states.

ANNEX III

Report on the Elections for the Zanzibar Presidency and House of Representatives, 22 October 1995

Introduction

After our briefing by the Secretary-General in London on 16 October 1995, we left for Dar es Salaam and were deployed to Zanzibar on Wednesday 18 October 1995.*

In Zanzibar, we met with the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC); senior officials from the two main political parties present in Zanzibar, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the Civic United Front (CUF); UN Observers; and Professor Haroub Othman, Chief Co-ordinator of the Zanzibar Elections Monitor and Observer Group (ZEMOG), a non-governmental organisation. We also attended a CUF Press Conference as well as the CCM and CUF rallies.

We observed the campaign, the poll on both islands (Zanzibar (Unguja) and Pemba), and the count at one station on Zanzibar island (Unguja). We left on Monday 23 October 1995, the day after the elections, to join the rest of the Commonwealth Observer Group in Dar es Salaam.

Background

Politics in Zanzibar played an important role in the internal campaign for an end to the one-party state. The elections on 22 October 1995 in Zanzibar were the first multi-party elections in thirty years for a President of Zanzibar, the 50-seat House of Representatives and local councils. (These elections were separate from the Union Presidential and Parliamentary elections scheduled to take place throughout Tanzania on 29 October 1995.)

Six parties participated in the elections for the House of Representatives, though only the CCM and CUF participated in the Presidential and local government elections. The competition for the Zanzibar Presidency was very keen. The CCM candidate was Mr Salmin Amour, the incumbent President of Zanzibar, and the CUF candidate was Seif Shariff Hamad.

The tensions between the mainland and Zanzibar were evident in the campaign. The CUF claimed that responsibility for many local matters were being transferred to the Union Government. They, therefore, campaigned for a two-tier/three government federal system, with a national government and separate administrations (one each) for Tanganyika and Zanzibar. This was also a recommendation of the Nyalali Commission.

The most contentious issue which arose during the preparations for the elections had to do with the introduction of the 'five-year rule', a qualification which required a five-year residential status for eligibility to register as a voter in Zanzibar. CUF claimed to be particularly disadvantaged, since many of its supporters currently living in Unguja had migrated from Pemba and would therefore not qualify to vote where they resided.

The Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC)

The ZEC comprised the Chairperson, Mr Zubair J Mzee, and six other Commissioners, and the Director of Elections, Mr Aboud Talib Aboud. We met with the Chairperson and two Commissioners. At that meeting we were told that approximately 95 per cent of the estimated eligible voters had registered. We were also told that CUF had boycotted the registration initially and, according to the ZEC, if this had not happened, the party would have been able to identify discrepancies in the register earlier, and ZEC would not have been rushed at the last minute to deal with mistakes.

Political Parties

While we were in Zanzibar we met the Deputy Secretary-General of CCM and the Secretary-General of CUF. We were informed by the CCM official that relations between the two parties – CCM and CUF – were not cordial. This was because many of the CUF members were former members of the CCM, and also because the CCM considered that the policies of CUF, for



Despite the pouring rain, voters waited patiently during the elections for the Zanzibar Parliament which were held a week before the Union elections

example returning property to private ownership, were reactionary.

The CUF official expressed several concerns which included: difficulty in getting established because of the control by the state of the media; a lack of neutrality on the part of the security forces; bias by the ZEC whose first chairperson resigned because of protests that he was partisan; and intimidation during the registration period by young people recruited by the CCM. We were informed that a rally which was held in Pemba one week before the elections was disrupted by the police because the CCM presidential candidate was passing through the area. We were unable to verify these allegations.

We were unable to meet with officials from the other parties. However, at a briefing organised by the UN Observer Group, we heard representatives from two other parties explaining their respective parties' position on election issues.

Preparations for the Elections

We heard complaints from both the CCM and CUF that the registration process did not go very smoothly. We were told by a CUF official that this was due to several factors: the residency requirements caused confusion; there were several queries about the eligibility of persons wishing to register; the registration period was not extended in Zanzibar although it was extended on the mainland; and the procedures for appeal took time and in fact were taking place just prior to the elections.

We were informed by the ZEC that a comprehensive voter education programme had been planned but could not be implemented due to lack of resources. However, civic education took place by radio and by video which was taken by a van to the various villages. Our observations on polling day indicated that most voters knew where to go to vote and what had to be done in casting a vote.

Ballot papers were distributed from the office of the ZEC. On Friday 20 October, we witnessed and assisted the unpacking and sorting of boxes of ballot papers for Unguja district. The ballot papers were sorted by district and ballot type (for president, local government and



There was a big turnout of women on polling day for the Zanzibar Parliament

House of Representatives) according to the printers' lists. The sorting procedure was witnessed and agreed by party representatives. Police security was very high and both police and party agents accompanied the ballot papers to the polling stations.

The Campaign and the Media

The campaign was keen and energetic. We observed rallies by CCM and CUF on the day before the elections. Both rallies were very lively and free from violence. The police were present and there were adequate security arrangements. We did not observe any instance of intimidation.

We were told that the parties had no problems with the print media since these were privately owned. A committee comprising representatives of the political parties and chaired by a member of the ZEC met once a week to decide on the amount and use of airtime. We understood that the two main parties were satisfied with the arrangements although CUF informed us that their first and last broadcasts were shortened without explanation.

Other Observers

We were invited to participate in a briefing seminar convened by the United Nations on Friday 20 October 1995. At the seminar, Ms Judy Thompson, an election expert provided by Canada as technical assistance to the ZEC, explained the procedures to be followed at the poll and during the count. Observers were also given an overview of the history and politics of Zanzibar.

We later met with Professor Haroub Othman, the Chief Co-ordinator of ZEMOG. For the Zanzibar elections ZEMOG was fielding an observer group which comprised 90 local and 24 international observers. The local members were recruited from the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam, the religious community, professional people, and respected men and women in the community. ZEMOG informed us of a number of local issues and concerns in Zanzibar with regard to the electoral process.

The Poll and the Count

One of our teams observed the poll in Pemba. We visited approximately thirty polling stations on that island. In nearly all cases, the polling stations had opened at the stipulated time or shortly thereafter. At one venue the opening of the poll was delayed because the Presidential ballot papers for that station had been delivered elsewhere and not enough local government ballot papers were available. After a closely supervised collection and redistribution of Presidential ballot papers between various polling stations, polling for the Presidential and House of Representatives ballots was able to commence at noon. However, voters were told that they would not be able to vote for local government that day.

Visits were also made to over thirty polling stations in Unguja. There were cases of delay on this island as well, due to problems of the availability of ballot papers.

On both islands the voters queued well before opening time at 8am. They were orderly and patient, even though some of them were tired and frustrated by the long wait. Priority for

voting was given to the infirm and mothers with babies.

Security staff were present and in many cases they were helpful and not intrusive.

The election officials we encountered were also helpful, and patiently explained the procedures to the voters. They were at their stations well on time and carried out their duties properly but at varying speeds. Voters had to cast three votes, and this took some time since there was the need to explain the difference in the ballot papers and ballot boxes.

The polling stations closed on time, but there were very long delays before counting took place. We witnessed the count at a venue near Zanzibar town. The process did not start until after 9pm for several reasons: the election officials could not proceed until an official from the ZEC had arrived with forms for tallying; reconciling the various polling records took a long time; instructions on the procedure were lengthy; and there was need for clarification and agreement among polling agents as to what votes would be considered invalid.

Conclusions

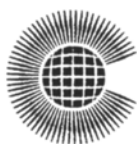
We observed keenly fought elections. The campaigns were intense, lively but peaceful. The public had been mobilised to vote in the three elections on 22 October 1995 and the Union elections on 29 October 1995.

Procedures for the poll and for the count were followed. The election officials, the polling agents and security personnel contributed to a peaceful poll. Voting took place at most stations, but there were cases of delays and, in a few instances, the election for local government had to be postponed. The count and the tally were not completed by the time we left Zanzibar on 23 October 1995. The final results were announced at 2pm on 26 October 1995, a full four days after the polls.

In at least three constituencies, the ZEC had reportedly undertaken a recount and collation of the results. The delays experienced in the count and the tally, and the length of time the ZEC took to announce the election results, led to suspicions and allegations of fraud. This was compounded by the fact that the results were very close.

We returned to join the rest of the COG on the mainland on 23 October 1995, before the counting had been completed. Subsequent to our departure, allegations were made that irregularities had occurred in the count and the tally. In the event, the CCM Presidential candidate, Mr Salmin Amour, was declared the winner of the Presidential ballot on 26 October 1995, and was sworn in the next day.

** Those involved in the observer mission to the Zanzibar elections were: Dr Robin Bell and The Rt Reverend Bishop Philip Mokuku; supported by Dr Moses Anafu and Dr Lucy Steward of the Commonwealth Secretariat*

ANNEX IV**Arrival Statement of 21 October 1995**

Tanzania Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 1995

Commonwealth Observer Group*News Release***ARRIVAL STATEMENT BY THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP**

We are here in response to a request from the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, for the Commonwealth to observe the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections scheduled for 29 October 1995. A Commonwealth Secretariat Planning Mission to Tanzania last July, confirmed a general support for a Commonwealth presence at this time.

Our broad objective is to observe the organisation and conduct of the elections in accordance with the laws of Tanzania, and where appropriate Zanzibar. We have come from many parts of the Commonwealth but not as representatives of the governments or organisations to which many of us belong. Rather, we have been invited to serve the Commonwealth in this manner in our individual capacities.

Our Group has no executive role. Our function is to observe the process and form an impartial judgement as to whether the process taken as a whole has been such as to be likely to represent the wishes of the people. At the end of our mission, we will present a report to the Commonwealth Secretary-General who will make it available to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, to the political parties taking part in the elections, and thereafter to the other 51 Commonwealth Governments.

We are very much looking forward to our mission. In fulfilling it, we will remain in close touch with the Electoral Commissions and their Directorates, with the political parties, and the many other interested groups. We look forward to the next three days of briefings here in Dar es Salaam, during which time we hope to arrive at a clearer appreciation of the preparations in hand. We will be deployed throughout the country some days before polling day, during which time our teams will be visiting constituencies, meeting local electoral officials and party members, and observing the end of the campaign period. On polling day itself, the Commonwealth teams will travel around their designated areas observing the poll and the counting of votes.

It is an honour to be here at this time. We are ready to assist, in whatever ways we can, this stage of the transitional process from a one-party to a multi-party system, knowing that the Commonwealth as an association is committed to strengthening the democratic processes in member countries.

21 October 1995

Note to Editors:

The Commonwealth Observer Group to Tanzania has established an office at the Hotel Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam. For further information please contact: Ms Cheryl Dorall (Press Officer) Tel: 051 - 46694/46879; Fax: 051 - 46839

ANNEX V**Schedule of Engagements****Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) to Tanzania
Daily Schedule****21 October 1995**

- 1100 hrs** Arrive at Dar es Salaam International Airport
- 1130 hrs** Arrival Statement by Chairperson, Mr Rashleigh Jackson
- 1230 hrs** Arrive at COG Headquarters, Hotel Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam
- 1300 hrs** Working Lunch
- 1400** Meeting with National Electoral Commission
- 1600 hrs** REST/FREE TIME
- 1730** Meeting with Commonwealth High Commissioners
- 2000 hrs** British Council, Dar es Salaam

22 October 1995**Elections on Zanzibar**

- 0900** Meeting with CCM (ruling party)
- 1030 hrs**
- 1130 hrs** Meeting with NCCR-Mageuzi (main opposition party)
- 1300 hrs** Lunch
- 1415 hrs** UDP (opposition party, presidential candidate)
- 1600 hrs** Meeting with Professor R Mukhandala,
Co-ordinator TEMCO (local election monitoring group)
- 1800 hrs** Chairperson's Briefing Meeting

23 October 1995**Zanzibar Party rejoins COG in Dar es Salaam**

- 0900 hrs** Meeting with Attorney-General at A-G's Chambers
Chairperson, 4 Observers (Mr Angelos Angelides, Ambassador
N Krishnan, Hon Mrs Madzongwe MP, Mr Trevor Rogers MP)
and Team Leader
- 1400 hrs** Joint Churches' Task Force
- 1530 hrs** Tanganyika Law Society
- 1700 hrs** COG Zanzibar Debriefing
- 1800 hrs** Meeting with the Registrar of Political Parties, Mr George Liundi
- 1830** Chairperson's Reception for Observers and other invited guests,
2030 hrs Hotel Kilimanjaro

24 October 1995

- 0900 hrs** Zanzibar Party debriefing contd.
- 1015 hrs** Group 1) Media and Workers' Association (AJM)
Group 2) CHADEMA (opposition political party)
- 1100 hrs** Briefing by team of UN Co-ordinators
- 1200 hrs** Chairperson's Deployment Briefing
- 1300 hrs** Lunch
- 1430 hrs** Meeting with Chairman and Commissioners of the National
Electoral Commission at the NEC.
Chairperson, 4 Observers (Mr R Hakeem MP, Mr Joseph
McGuire MP, HE Mrs D Oliphant, Ms Dianne Yates MP) and
Team Leader
- 1545 hrs** Deployment Briefing contd.
- 1630 hrs** CCM Rally at Ilala, DSM

25 - 30 October 1995

Deployment

Chairperson's Deployment Statement

29 October 1995 Polling Day

30 October 1995

COG returns to Hotel Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam

2100

2300 hrs Debriefing

31 October 1995

0900 hrs Debriefing and consideration of draft report

1245 hrs Lunch

1545 hrs Consideration of draft report contd..

1700 Group Photograph

1715 hrs

Consideration of draft report contd..

1830 hrs Reception for international observers hosted by the Heads of Mission of the Core Electoral Support Group (Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden, European Union, Norway)

1 November 1995

0830 hrs Consideration of draft report contd..

1245 hrs Lunch

1400 hrs Consideration of draft report contd..

1500 hrs Meeting with Chairman and Commissioners of the NEC

1600 hrs Consideration of draft report contd..

Finalisation of report

2 November 1995

COG to Tanzania disperses

1200 hrs Chairperson's Departure Statement

ANNEX VI

Statement on the Deployment of Commonwealth Observers, 24 October 1995



Tanzania Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 1995

Commonwealth Observer Group

News Release

24 October 1995

Commonwealth Observer Groups Deploy To The Regions

The 21-member Commonwealth Observer Group has completed four days of intensive briefings in Dar es Salaam, during which it met representatives of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), some of the political parties, the Registrar of Political Parties and the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee, among others. From tomorrow (Wednesday 25 October), the Observers will be deployed to the regions, together with some Commonwealth Secretariat support staff, who will act as Assistant Observers.

The Group will be deployed in the following way:

Dar es Salaam/Morogoro	Rashleigh Jackson (Chairman - Guyana) Carl Dundas (Secretariat) Cheryl Dorall (Secretariat)
Dar es Salaam/Morogoro	Dianne Yates (New Zealand) Emeliano Bouletare (Vanuatu)
Arusha/Moshi	Brian Alleyne (Dominica) Sandra Pepera (Secretariat)
Tanga	Joseph McGuire (Canada) Anna Bayer (Namibia)
Zanzibar	David Taylor (Britain) K. Pathmanaban (Malaysia)
Lindi/Mtwara	Gerard Ah Shung (Seychelles) Trevor Rogers (New Zealand)
Musoma	Edna Madzongwe (Zimbabwe) Ade Adefuye (Secretariat)
Bukoba	Muhammad Haneef Ramay (Pakistan) John Saddington (Secretariat)
Mwanza	N Krishnan (India) D Oliphant (Botswana)
Kigoma	Lord Redesdale (Britain) Lucy Steward (Secretariat)

Dodoma	Angelos Angelides (Cyprus) Tekarei Russell (Kiribati)
Mbeya	Moti Lall (Guyana) Judith Johnson (Secretariat)
Shinyanga	Rt Rev Bishop Philip Mokuku (Lesotho) Robin Bell (Australia)
Iringa	Rauff Hakeem (Sri Lanka) Moses Anafu (Secretariat)

In the last few days before the elections of 29 October 1995, the Observers will meet with electoral and security officials, representatives of parties in the regions and observe the last days of campaigning. They will also visit and examine polling stations. On election day, they will observe the opening of the polls and throughout the day visit polling stations, observing the electoral process. They will also observe the count before returning to Dar es Salaam where they will discuss their final report on the elections as a whole.

This report will be submitted to the Commonwealth Secretary-General who will forward it to the Government of Tanzania, the leadership of the political parties taking part in the elections and thereafter to other Commonwealth governments.

Note: The office of the Commonwealth Observer Group is in the Hotel Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, tel: 051-46694/46879, fax: 051-46839, or Extension 892 through the hotel's switchboard.

ANNEX VII**Observation Notes for Poll and Count and Check List for Polling Station Visits****OBSERVATION NOTES FOR POLL AND COUNT****PART A**

The Observers may focus particular attention on the following aspects of the conduct of the election:

THE CAMPAIGN

1. The extent of access to the electronic media available to all parties.
2. The procedure for the allocation of time for political broadcasts and advertisements on radio and television.
3. The extent of access enjoyed by the political parties to the print media.
4. The tone and content of political broadcasts, advertisements and posters put out by the political parties.
5. The conduct of political meetings.
6. The conduct of house-to-house canvassing of voters.
7. The voter education programme on radio and television conducted by the Electoral Commission and others.
8. Permits for public meetings.
9. Access to printing facilities.
10. Access to funds and sources of funds.

THE POLL

1. The location of polling stations.
2. Distances travelled by voters to polling stations, particularly in rural areas.
3. The length of time voters wait to cast their votes.
4. The steps taken to ensure that the secrecy of the ballot is assured.
5. The performance of electoral officials at the polling stations visited.
6. The procedure followed at the opening of the poll.
7. The adequacy or otherwise of facilities at polling stations and their state of readiness.
8. The procedures in place to ensure proper security of ballot papers, ballot boxes and official seals.
9. The general atmosphere at the polling stations visited.
10. Availability of adequate supplies, eg, ballot papers, official stamps and stamp-pads, indelible ink, etc.
11. Security of ballot papers prior to election.
12. Access of party agents to polling stations.

THE COUNT

1. Inspection of seals.
2. The process of reconciling the number of people who voted with the number of ballots cast.
3. The determination of invalid ballots.
4. The conduct of electoral officers.
5. The facilities for candidates and their representatives to witness and verify the count.

PART B

Questions that may be put:

BEFORE POLLING DAY

1. Was the Voters' Register compiled in a satisfactory way? Were people missed out? Were the names of dead people included?
2. Who are the election officials? How were they chosen? Are voters confident that they will be impartial?
3. Is the person in the street satisfied with arrangements? Will he/she vote? If not, is he/she afraid to do so?
4. Have all parties been able to campaign freely? Has the campaign been free of intimidation, etc? Have all parties had full access to the mass media?
5. Is there freedom to advertise and distribute posters, leaflets, etc?

ON POLLING DAY

1. Before polling starts, are the ballot boxes empty? Are they properly sealed?
2. Are all procedures being adhered to?
3. Are all parties represented at polling stations? Are they satisfied with the process?
4. Are voters apparently voting freely? Are they enthusiastic? Do they talk freely? Do they exhibit signs of fear or intimidation?
5. Do voters understand the procedures properly? If not, are the procedures being explained fully and impartially? Are attempts being made to suggest how voters should vote?
6. Is only one person at a time being allowed into the voting booth?
7. How long are voters waiting to vote? If a long time, are some being put off?
8. Will all parties be represented at polling stations throughout voting and count? Are party polling agents adequately trained and vigilant?

9. Will foreign observers have free access to all stages of the process?
10. Is the security presence oppressive?

THE COUNT

1. Are the boxes kept safe until opened? Are all parties present at opening?
2. Does the number of used ballot papers tally with the record of those who voted?
3. Are the papers counted properly? Are counting agents present? Are they satisfied with the procedure of the count?

CHECKLIST FOR POLLING STATION VISITS

Name of Observer(s):.....

Constituency:

Polling Station:

Time of Arrival:

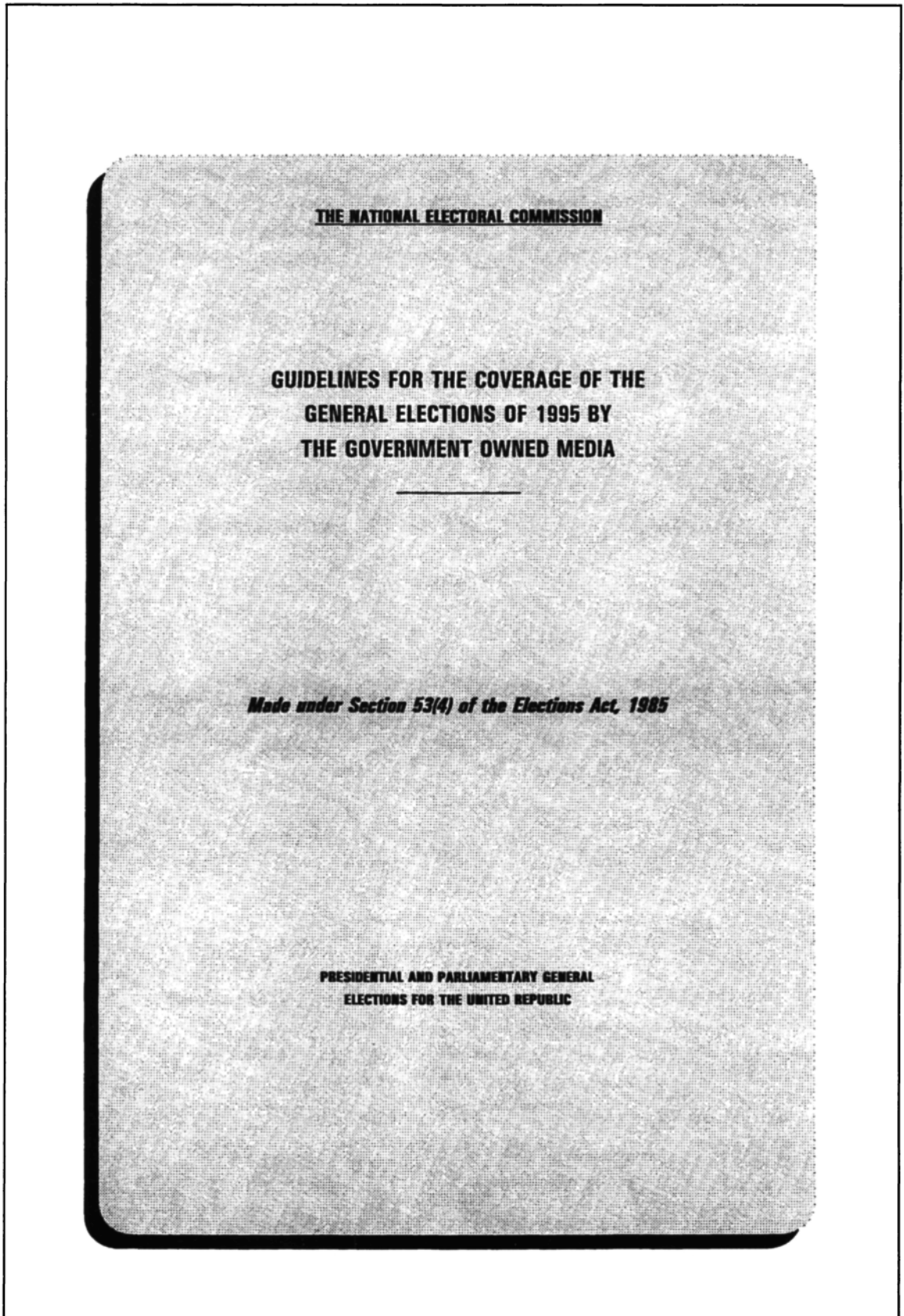
Voters in Queue: Rate of Processing:

-
1. **Opening of Poll:** On time? Procedures followed?
 No/Yes No/Yes
 Details:
 2. **Layout and Facilities:** Good? Adequate? Poor?
 3. **Polling Staff:** Efficient? Satisfactory? Poor?
 4. **Security Presence:** Discreet? Intrusive? Oppressive?
 5. **Complaints by Party Polling Agents:** No/Yes Details:
 6. **Complaints by Voters:** No/Yes Details:
 7. **Mood at Station?** Orderly? Tense? Chaotic?
 8. **Secrecy of Ballot:** Assured? Poor? Uncertain

9. **Voting:**
- (a) Personation attempts alleged: No/Yes
Details:
- (b) Multiple voting attempts alleged: No/Yes
Details:
10. **Closing of Poll:** On time? Numbers still in queue?
Procedure followed? No/Yes
11. **The Count:** Are procedures being observed? No/Yes
12. **Apparent fairness overall:** Good? Acceptable?
Questionable?
13. **Other Comments:**

ANNEX VIII

Guidelines for the Coverage of the General Elections of 1995 by the Government-Owned Media, published by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) of Tanzania



THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

GUIDELINES FOR THE COVERAGE OF THE
GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1995 BY
THE GOVERNMENT OWNED MEDIA

PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY GENERAL
ELECTIONS FOR THE UNITED REPUBLIC

1. **INTRODUCTION**

The Constitution of the United Republic guarantees freedom of opinion and expression that is to say, the right to hold and express opinions freely and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, whether through printed materials, or radio or television broadcasts. The media wield can assert enormous impact on society and can therefore play an important role in educating, informing and motivating the public for the common good. However, they can only achieve these lofty objectives if they deliberately adopt and observe certain guidelines and professional ethics for their editorial policy and in their handling of the factual news.

2. These Guidelines shall apply after necessary consultations with parties has been finalised and shall be applicable up to 28th October 1995.

GUIDELINES FOR GOVERNMENT OWNED MEDIA
DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGN

3. **GENERAL GUIDELINES**

(a) **Events**

Reports of factual happenings should be accurate and without bias. Editorials and commentaries on events should be clearly distinguished from plain reports of events.

(b) Controversial Issues

Where a public issue is controversial fair representation of the opposing sides should be afforded. Requests by any person or group to present their case on controversial public issues should be considered on their individual merits and in the light of their contribution to the public interest.

4. SPECIFIC GUIDELINES**(A) Access by Political Parties**

(i) (a) The government owned media in mainland Tanzania consists of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and two newspapers - "The Daily News" and "The Sunday News".

(b) The government owned media in Zanzibar consist of Television Zanzibar (TVZ) and Radio Zanzibar which will be available after consultation between National Electoral Commission and Zanzibar Electoral Commission.

(ii) Access to the government owned media shall be given free of charge and on an equal basis to all political parties which qualify and wish to campaign in the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections for the United Republic. Accordingly broadcasts should devote an equal period of time and the print media should make available the same amount of space for each qualified political party. The National Electoral Commission shall notify the media of the parties that qualify for this free coverage. The existing programmes aired by RTD available for political campaigning are:-

- (a) News Bulletins
- (b) TUAMBIE
- (c) MAJIRA.

These programmes should be apportioned fairly and equitably among the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates and the qualified political parties.

(iii) No paid political programme should be accepted by the government owned media for dissemination of such programme during the election campaign save for "kipindi maalum" to be facilitated by the National Electoral Commission.

(iv) (a) Submission of Programmes

Programmes should be submitted by a political party concerned within seven days before the expected allocated time or space for publication.

(b) Political Programmes submitted to the government owned media for publication shall be in accordance with allocated time or space. Any extra material shall be returned to the political party concerned.

(c) Controversial Materials

If any of the media believes that a political programme is not in good taste, or contrary to the public interest, security, peace or morality, they may reject the political message in question in the presence of the appointed representative of the political party concerned. However, specific details should be provided for the rejection and opportunity be given for changing the material to meet broadcast or publication standards.

(d) Correction of Errors by the Media

The media may not censor or alter in any manner any of the materials presented by the parties or candidates to rectify the broadcasting or publication of errors, except after the consultations with the party concerned.

(v) Disclaimers

The media shall insert or publish a disclaimer whenever a political programme is published by their medium.

The disclaimer shall be made by the same medium which made the publication.

(vi) Incumbency

It is the responsibility of publishers to ensure that they do not become the vehicles by which participants in the election unduly benefit from their incumbency in Government.

(B) Requirements

The Mass Media shall ensure that all the registered political parties will cooperate in abiding by the election guidelines during the campaign period.

ANNEX IX

Guidelines for the Coverage of the General Elections of 1995 by the Private News Media, published by the NEC

THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

COVERAGE OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1995 BY THE PRIVATE NEWS MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of the United Republic guarantees freedom of opinion and expression that is to say, the right to hold and express opinions freely and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, whether through printed materials, or radio or television broadcasts. The media wield can assert enormous impact on society and can therefore play an important role in educating, informing and motivating the public for the common good. However, they can only achieve these lofty objectives if they deliberately adopt and observe certain guidelines and professional ethics for their editorial policy and in their handling of the factual news. It is common knowledge that election campaign period started on 30th August 1995 and will end on the 28th October, 1995.

GUIDELINES

In order to have before them the right kind of information on the candidates and party policies on which to base their choice, the voters will need a fair and unbiased coverage by the mass media.

The National Electoral Commission therefore urges the private media to observe the following points:

(a) **News**

To be fair and without bias in the reporting of factual happenings, which should be clearly distinguished from news analysis, commentaries and editorials. Professional ethics should be maintained in the use and selection of news sources.

(b) Controversial Public Issues

Opportunity for fair representation of opposing sides should be granted. Requests by individuals or groups to present their views on controversial public issues should be considered on the basis of merit and in the light of their bearing on the public interest.

(c) Access by Political Parties to Gratuitous Programmes

The National Electoral Commission requests the broadcast media (radio and television) to make available, weekly and at no cost, a reasonable amount of time or space, for each qualified political party to deliver political advertisements.

The National Electoral Commission shall notify the media of the political parties which qualify for this free coverage. All such programmes should be clearly identified as a public service to political parties.

(d) Submission of Programmes

The media may establish reasonable deadlines for the submission of the materials in order to fit their broadcast or publication schedule.

The media shall ensure that all political parties are given equal treatment and access as to time and space for the publication of their political programmes.

(e) Correction of Errors by the Media

The media may not censor or alter in any manner any of the materials presented by the parties or candidates to rectify the broadcasting or publication of errors, except after the consultations with the party concerned.

(f) Controversial Materials

If any of the media believes that a political programme is not in good taste, or contrary to the public interest, security, peace or morality, they may reject the political message in question in the presence of the appointed representative of the political party concerned. However, specific details should be provided for the rejection and opportunity be given for changing the material to meet broadcast or publication standards.

(g) Paid Political Advertisements

Political parties or candidates who require additional time and space should pay for all the extra advertisements, preferably at the lowest established rates, but each party should be charged at the same rate. However, one political party or candidate should not be allowed to block access by other parties or candidates by purchasing all available time or space.

ANNEX X**Departure Statement of 2 November 1995, by Mr Rashleigh Jackson, Chairperson of the Commonwealth Observer Group**

Tanzania Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 1995

Commonwealth Observer Group

Tel: (255) 51 21281-9

Fax: (255) 51 46762

Hotel Kilimanjaro

P O Box 9574

Dar es Salaam

NEWS RELEASE

2 November 1995

**DEPARTURE STATEMENT BY MR RASHLEIGH JACKSON,
CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP IN TANZANIA**

The Commonwealth Observer Group has been in Tanzania for the last 10 days. During this time, our 21 members have met with members of the National Electoral Commission, representatives of political parties and other interest groups, and spoken to many ordinary citizens of this country. We have travelled extensively throughout this country in the week before the elections, observing the last days of the campaign and preparations for the poll, and were present in 13 regions and in Zanzibar on election day. Some members of our Group were also present in Zanzibar on 22 October to witness the elections for the President and House of Representatives of Zanzibar.

Our Group leaves this country today with some regret that these historic elections marking the transition from one-party to a multi-party system were not concluded when they should have. We witnessed the events of polling day which led to the National Electoral Commission's decision to annul the vote in the seven constituencies of Dar es Salaam and hope that the re-run of voting will be conducted in a manner worthy of the patience and obvious desire for a multi-party democracy displayed by the Tanzanian voters thus far.

We have deliberated upon our final report on the elections up to this point, which we will submit shortly to the Commonwealth Secretary-General. He will make this available to the Government of Tanzania and the political parties, as well as to all Commonwealth governments. However, we thought we should share with the people of Tanzania some of our observations. These are as follows:

- We were impressed by the great enthusiasm for voting in a multi-party system displayed by Tanzanians and for their great patience and fortitude in the often trying circumstances on 29 October;

- We commend the National Electoral Commission for its effort to make voting as easy as possible for Tanzanians by placing thousands of polling stations within easy reach of millions of voters;
- We also commend the Electoral Commission for attempting to meet the concerns of political parties with regard to the selection of election officials by recruiting thousands of people who had not served previously as election officials; the Electoral Commission also brought representatives of political parties closer to the electoral process;
- We observed that the conduct of the elections varied considerably throughout the country. Polling and counting proceeded fairly smoothly in many places but in others, and especially in the seven constituencies of Dar es Salaam as well as in Dodoma and Mbeya, polling opened very late because of delays in the distribution of election materials, and in some cases did not open at all;
- We observed that facilities were inadequate at polling stations and that the secrecy of the vote was compromised at some stations;
- We believe that inadequate preparations, especially in logistical planning, by the National Electoral Commission contributed to the delays in election materials arriving at the stations and to the chaos and confusion we witnessed on polling day, scenes we have not witnessed before when observing elections in other Commonwealth countries.

We thank the Government and the people of Tanzania for their kindness and hospitality and hope that multi-party democracy will take firm root in this country.