

APPENDICES

Appendix I

October 2 Telex from Jean Fochive,
Secretary of State for Internal Security

Editor note: The following is an English translation of the original text of the telex copied below.

1920 - -02/10/92-
-D G S N -YAOUNDE-
-C S P S N C -YAOUNDE- -EVERYBODY-
(DECODING)
03401/3P/AC/DGSN/CAB 01/10/92

RESPECTFULLY REQUEST xx DENY VISAS TO ANY PERSON
CLAIMING TO BE OBSERVER TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
WITHOUT INVITATION FROM OUR GOVERNMENT xx STOP./-
-FOCHIVE-

1920 -
- D G S N -YAOUNDE-

- 02/ 0/92 -

Special transport

- C S P S N C - YAOUNDE -

- TOUT LE MONDE -

(DECHIFFREMENT)
ADRESSEES

03401/3P/AC/DGSN/CAB

01/10/92

HONNEUR VOUS DEMANDER DE REFUSER VISAS AUCUNE TOUTES PERSONNES
SE RECLAMANT TITRE OBSERVATEUR ELECTION PRESIDENTIELLE NON
MUNIES INVITATION NOTRE GOVERNEMENT xx DE FIN./-

- FOCHIVE -

Appendix II

Deployment List

**International Observer Delegation
Cameroon Presidential Election**

October 7-14, 1992

BAFOUSSAM <i>(West Province)</i>	Edouard Bustin (Belgium) Anna Wang (NDI)
BAMENDA <i>(North-West Province)</i>	Taofiki Aminou (Benin) Robert Wood (NDI)
DOUALA <i>(Littoral Province)</i>	Saidou Agbantou (Benin) Mariana Drenska (Bulgaria) Moustapha Osseneni (Benin)
BUEA <i>(South-West Province)</i>	Luis Xavier Garrido (Mexico)
EBOLOWA <i>(South Province)</i>	Lisa Herren (NDI) Aristide Sokambi (Central African Republic)
GAROUA <i>(North Province)</i>	Hubert Oulaye (Côte d'Ivoire)
MAROUA <i>(Far-North Province)</i>	Ivan Horvath (Hungary) Robert Nicolas (USA)
NGAOUNDERE <i>(Adamaoua Province)</i>	Romain DjeDje (Côte d'Ivoire)
YAOUNDE <i>(Center Province)</i>	B.A. Graham (Canada) James Tierney (USA) Christopher Fomunyoh (NDI) Timothy McCoy (NDI) Edward McMahon (NDI)

Appendix III

Excerpts from Selected Team Reports

Ebolowa Region - South Province

Prepared by Lisa Herren

Aristide Sokambi, GERDDES member from Central African Republic, served as the principal NDI observer in Ebolowa. He was joined by Lisa Herren of NDI. Aristide has been actively involved in the opposition in Central African Republic, and attended the NDI training seminar in Benin. Ebolowa was his first election observation mission. Aristide arrived in Ebolowa on Friday afternoon and conducted meetings on his own. Lisa joined him Saturday morning. The following report is taken from the notes of Lisa Herren.

Saturday, 10 October 1992

We contacted the divisional officer, the senior divisional officer and the governor. We attempted to meet with the mayor but were told that he had to attend a meeting. That meeting turned out to be the local CPDM rally. The mayor is the CPDM manager for the Mvila Division.

1. Against a background of Biya posters, we were greeted with open arms at the office of the divisional officer. Local volunteers were counting ballots and stuffing ballot boxes with materials needed for each polling place. We learned that the materials would be picked up by the president of each polling place and transported to their polling site. We were told that 2,000 CFA were being provided to polling-place presidents for expenses in addition to 3,000 CFA for gasoline to facilitate transportation to remote areas.
2. Our next meeting was with the senior divisional officer. We asked for verification of the rules of registration and whether registration cards were still being distributed. This question led to an examination of Articles 47 and 49 of the electoral code, which indicated that electoral cards could not be issued legally from 10 days preceding the election.

3. We then paid a courtesy call to the governor, who welcomed us with champagne and peanuts on his porch overlooking the town. Most of the discussion revolved around everything but the details of our mission. We merely stated our intention to observe and the importance of the democratic process, for which he declared his full support. He stated that receiving us into his home demonstrated his wish for a truly fair election. During the meeting, a security officer arrived to accompany the governor to the CPDM rally. Earlier, the governor had stated his desire not to make an appearance at the rally in the interest of non-partisanship. We preceded the officer in leaving, so we could not ascertain whether the governor stayed true to his word and avoided the manifestation.
4. Aristide contacted a NUDP militant in the Muslim section of the town on Friday. Upon meeting with our contact Saturday, we were presented with an electoral card dated Oct. 9, signed by the divisional officer, which we were told had been obtained by a NUDP man claiming to be a CPDM supporter. Our NUDP contact said that the cards were being made available to CPDM supporters; i.e., those possessing party cards or uniforms. We made a copy of the card in Aristide's possession.
5. Upon departing from our hotel after lunch, we were approached by a commandant who addressed us by name. He directly asked us where we intended to visit on election day so that he could advance for us and let them know we were coming. The non-confrontational exchange yielded little information for him, and we were not questioned again during our stay in Ebolowa.
6. We identified several polling places and chose several where there had been SDF complaints of irregularities. Several concerns arose throughout our discussions with opposition members:
 - confusion about the location of polling sites, even on the eve of the election;
 - polling sites in private homes;
 - availability of electoral cards until the day before the election;
 - voting booths placed by windows; and

62 Presidential Election in Cameroon

- political party (CPDM) posters on administrative buildings, inside and outside polling places.

Sunday, 11 October 1992

Election day proceeded in a calm manner, and we were glad to see an absence of any true unrest. Only one incident in a village on the outskirts of Ebolowa caused some concern. The SDF chairman for Ebolowa was chased out of the polling place by the voting crowd and was slightly roughed up. We arrived on the scene just as the incident was taking place and saw him being harassed and forced into his car. However, while the crowd was not amenable to the opposition, the SDF chairman was able to leave one SDF representative in that polling place.

The following are some of the more frequent/grave irregularities that we observed:

1. There seemed to be no standardized procedure for polling-place presidents to solve problems. In several cases, we found two voters with the same electoral card number. In one polling place, located at the Ecole Publique, the second voter was told he could not vote because a woman with the same number had already voted. In another polling site, the second voter was allowed to vote and a notation was made that it was a duplicate.
2. Few polling sites opened on time, due either to lack of materials, absence of the president or party representatives, etc.
3. There was a shortage of ballots in some polling places; in one case, the president of the site was asking voters not to wrinkle their ballots so that they could be pulled out of the trash and reused.
4. Few voters knew the location of the polling sites, including the presidents themselves.
5. We observed confusion over the dating of ballots. In some areas, officials were stamping the ballots with the date, in others, they were not. Concern arose as to whether one set of ballots would be declared void.
6. In rural villages, we were greeted by chants of "100 percent" amid waving pictures of Biya. When asked if all parties were represented, the answer was always in the affirmative, yet the opposition had received no votes. Our NUDP contact verified

that there were no NUDP representatives in the particular area that we had visited.

7. Some polling places were full of CPDM representatives without any opposition representation.
8. There was confusion in polling places over the required identification needed to vote. The law is unclear as to what must be presented. In most cases national identity cards were not obligatory.

Monday 12 October 1992

We spent most of the morning waiting for the results to be tabulated at the office of the senior divisional officer. The senior divisional officer gave us all of the results that he claimed to have tabulated, including a few rural areas. However, Ebolowa, four rural districts, and several urban bureaus were supposedly missing.

Repeated visits yielded no further information except one. Earlier in the morning, the senior divisional officer had given some numbers on the results of two rural areas. However, a man on the commission later told us that the results from those two areas specifically had not been received. Aristide interpreted this faux pas as a hint that the senior divisional officer was tampering with the numbers. His reasoning was this:

- the opposition did not have representatives in the rural areas so were unable to attest to the validity of the results;
- the rural villages were almost 100 percent Biya, as we can attest from the villages we visited; and
- cheating could be accomplished easily by boosting the number of registered voters in the rural villages; this is a tremendous concern and is a potential area of fraudulent activity.

By 14:00 we were told that the results from the rural regions had not yet been received. We therefore found our way to the SDF chairman's home, which had been turned into a hideout/fortress. We noticed one unconcealed weapon, and each of the approximately 20 people seemed extremely worried and tense. We met with the leader of the SDF, who gave the numbers that had been collected by his representatives. The SDF representative's numbers compare with the results given to us by the senior divisional officer (see below).

64 Presidential Election in Cameroon

(N.B. The following chart is a sample of election returns for some subdivisions and districts in the South Province. These results were gathered by NDI observers during the course of their stay in that province.)

	Ebolowa	Biwang-Bane	Mendong	Ngoule-makong
Biya	30,724	4,084	5,856	5,368
Fru Ndi	2,804	4	0	0
Bello	523	0	0	0
Njoya	214	0	0	0
Ekindi	19	7	0	0
Ottou	16	0	0	0
Registered Voters	48,090	4,145	5,856	5,382
Actual Voters	34,611	4,096	5,856	5,368
Null	116	1	0	0

When we left Ebolowa at 15:00, Bamileke shop owners were closing their stores in response to threats by the local Beti population. The military had been called in to keep the peace. Evidently, there was concern by ruling party supporters that a small percentage had voted for the opposition. By SDF figures, SDF garnered 8 percent of the vote while other opposition parties claimed 2 percent, totalling 10 percent for the opposition.

A goodbye call to the governor left us with a sense that something was abrew. He was noticeably worried and displayed none of the relaxed ease with which he had received us previously.

We never obtained the final results from the senior divisional officer as they were not available by 15:00. We departed with the idea that approximately 10 percent had voted for the opposition and that further unrest would soon follow.

Maroua Region - Far-North Province

Prepared by Robert Nicolas

Initial Contacts Upon Arrival in Maroua

Upon arrival in Maroua, the team contacted the local authorities and was assured that all was ready for a smooth election:

- The polling-place presidents and their commissions had all been designated, allowing for representative party participation. However, few, if any, commissions had yet met.
- The divisional supervisory commission headed by the president of the *tribunal de grande instance* had been appointed the day before (October 8; he should have been appointed in time to supervise the entire electoral campaign);
- All of the ballots had been received in more than adequate amounts and were ready for distribution;
- The list of voters had not been published but was reported to have been updated and ready for distribution (Article 48 appears to require that changes in the list be published at least four days before voting);
- The list of polling places had been posted in front of the office of the divisional officer on Monday, October 5, 1992 (less than the eight days required by law).
- It must be noted that the local authorities and political parties expected the team and extended their complete cooperation.

Voter Registration Lists

No explanation was given for not publishing the list as required by law, other than it was customary not to publish it. In addition, the senior divisional officer and the divisional officer added that the lists, along with the ballots and their envelopes, the ballot boxes, the tally sheets, pens for the staff, and food for meals for the polling-place staff all would be ready for distribution/pick up on Saturday by the presidents of the polling-place commissions. Also at this time, the lists would be available for the first time to potential voters in their respective regions.

The divisional officer added that anyone who wanted to see the list at the his office could have done so since last April. He stated that a few changes had been made in the list to register the people

whom the law allowed a later (than April) registration. Failure to publish the list could have been considered an oversight under normal circumstances. However, in this instance, when the Diamaré region changed from 261 polling precincts to 361, this issue became more serious. This increase in the number of precincts constituted a complete reorganization of the voting infrastructure.

In order to ensure a more orderly voting process, the local authorities decided to limit all precincts to about 300 registered voters. In order to do so, all precincts over 300 voters were reorganized in two or more precincts. The result was that a large number of voters had voting cards with a precinct number that differed from the official records. At times, the new precinct was next door or nearby, but in many instances it was in a more distant region. The team tested this issue in one case where, using a car, it took 15 minutes to find one of the five precincts added to what was originally precinct #217.

The voters were not informed that these changes had been made. They would proceed to the precinct designated on their card and find that their name was not on the list and would be denied the right to vote. No other information would be given. Several of the parties were rapidly informing their pollwatchers that voters should be told to check several other polling places in the immediate neighborhood to attempt to find their name. In addition, no list of the new numbers of the divided or newly-formed precincts was made available. For example:

- 1) Precinct #217 was now #217 (now numbered #120), #218 and #216 and possibly two others. The team found three of them, in the same neighborhood, about 1 km apart. However, the staff of one precinct could not provide the information about the precinct split or the new numbers, thereby making it difficult for a voter to find his or her designated polling place. There may have been others.
- 2) Precinct #212 was split into #280 and #281. These were right next to each other, in different classrooms, in the school where #212 had been located during the legislative elections. We could not find the "new" #212, which was still listed on the list of precincts in addition to #281. We could not clarify whether there had been an old #281, which voters had been registered in it, or where they had voted.

There was one additional point of confusion observed in all of the polling places visited by the team. All of the lists were in numerical order (the individual number given to each card for that precinct). They were not in alphabetical order. Many voters arrived with what appeared to be valid cards. When their number was verified, another name would be on the list pertaining to that number. In many instances the voters were sent away, unable to vote. In others, where the president of the precinct was more patient, he would actually look up the name, and if it were found on the list the voter would be allowed to vote; the discrepancy would be noted on the list and on his card. In other instances, the voter would be told to wait until the crowd had diminished and a search would be made for his/her name if that voter had been aggressive enough to demand such a search.

Copies of Registered Voter Lists

It must be noted that in all of the precincts visited in Maroua, only one copy of the list existed, which slowed the process considerably, since all of the polling places were experiencing massive problems with the list. By contrast, all of the polling places visited outside of Maroua had two copies of their lists.

Both the NUDP and SDF complained of "parallel" voter lists, one which had been modified by private secretaries in the homes of government officials to allow the "reported thousands" of newly minted registered card holders to vote at secretly designated precincts. The official version of the list, however, was kept at the office of the divisional officer. The team was provided with a copy of a doctored list for precinct #217. However, the possibility of proving this allegation was not possible within the time spent in Maroua.

Fraudulent Cards

NUDP and SDF accused the ruling party of colluding with the local government authorities to provide false cards in the province. They gave estimates ranging from 1,000 to 200,000. The CPDM local campaign manager made similar allegations and accused NUDP and SDF of providing such cards. However, he did not offer any numbers. It was not possible for the team to verify these allegations.

Both the NUDP and SDF local campaign managers proffered that they had sent large numbers of their members to pose as CPDM members, and they were promptly given voter registration cards.

They also reported that many young men in Maroua came to NUDP and SDF to sell voter registration cards that had been issued to them, with various sums of money, by CPDM officials in the days preceding the vote. The NUDP and SDF showed the team large stacks of such cards which they alleged to have purchased locally. Many of the cards shown to the team were for precinct #217. These same people claimed to have many others.

One of the fraudulent cards provided to the team was numbered 930/530 for polling place #217, Djoudoudou V, issued to Wardam Weweme, domiciled in Djoudoudou, born in 1960 in Roua, issued on 15/4/92 and signed by Mr. Mvondo. When the team visited polling place #217 (its new number was now #120), the name on the voter registration list by the number 930/530 was Mama Sali, born in 1965; her profession was listed as housekeeper.

Other types of card-related irregularities included cards bearing the signature of the current divisional officer, Mvondo Jean-Gérard, signed in April. He arrived in Maroua three weeks before the vote.

In addition, cards that were signed by the current divisional officer and reportedly were provided validly to civil servants who had recently moved to the area bore the title of housewife, doctor, mechanic. These titles do not appear to be those of public servants. The numbers of this category of cards was reported to be between 300 and 6,000. These numbers could not be verified.

It must also be noted that voter registration cards in the Maroua area were signed by at least six different officials. The explanation given to the team for this variance was that at various times, in the absence of the divisional officer, several local officials were given authority to sign these cards.

By mid-day, in many of the polling places, the confusion over the cards was so great that decisions were being made haphazardly by polling-place commissions or their presidents. In some instances they were allowing voters who had cards and were not on the lists to vote, but the officials kept their cards and/or kept a separate list of such voters; in other precincts any discrepancy resulted in the voter being denied the right to vote. Some precincts claimed to have the divisional officer's authority to change the regulations.

The result of this situation was that many voters intending to vote were not able to do so or simply gave up and went home. This is clearly and admittedly speculative. However, in some of the

precincts where there were a lot of problems with the lists, the voter participation was lower than in other precincts that appeared to have had a smoother operation.

The Scene at the Subdivisional Office

The day designated for pick up of polling-place supplies and equipment (Saturday, October 11) was marked by general chaos at the office of the divisional officer. This situation was to have been expected because the divisional officer did not begin to organize the division of the supplies and equipment to the 361 precincts until the morning of the 10th, about two hours before the precinct presidents were due to pick them up. The major concern here was that it allowed for very loose control over the ballots. This scene was repeated the next day, on the 11th, because there were still about 12 precincts that had not received their complete set of ballots.

The team was able to observe people who identified themselves verbally as presidents of precincts or party representatives of a precinct commission, helping themselves to stacks of ballots. One man was observed with three 1000-ballot stacks of NUDP ballots and claimed he was saving them for several precincts that had not received adequate numbers of NUDP ballots. Several presidents were complaining that other ballots were still missing, such as SDF or CDU.

Despite the warnings by the representatives of the NUDP and SDF about the "problems" they expected from the voter registration lists, none could actually be observed until the voting started (see description above).

Visit to Kaélé on October 10

The team visited the town of Kaélé for a few hours on October 10. In addition to meeting with the divisional officer briefly, the team met with representatives of NUDP, CPDM, SDF and MDR. They all complained about the issuance of fraudulent voter registration cards. NUDP and SDF complained of various pressures used by the CPDM and local authorities to force local traditional chiefs to ensure that their people would vote for Biya.

NUDP claimed to have documented evidence of non-existent polling places and fraudulent voter registration lists. They stated that in the Tchabeyel and Bibemire (Kaélé II bis) polling places, large numbers of fraudulent cards had been distributed with corresponding

70 Presidential Election in Cameroon

names on the lists of these two precincts. They claimed to have made a formal written complaint to the divisional officer and the president of the local tribunal. These same NUDP representatives also claimed to have documented evidence of false polling places in the subdivision of Gilidis where the official list indicated 75 polling places while the NUDP representatives in the area claimed to have found only 65. Again, NUDP claimed to have made a formal complaint to the proper authorities.

The local CPDM representatives accused the NUDP of importing Chadians to increase the size of the crowds at its political rallies. During the team's visit in Kaélé, the CPDM held a public meeting in front of the office of the senior divisional officer followed by a procession through the town. Most of the local officials attended this political gathering, using their official vehicles.

The SDF representative also complained of fictitious polling places, particularly in the region of Gilidis (or Kidigis) in the Bizil Canton. He also complained of the issuance of fraudulent cards, with a gift of 1,000 CFA, which were provided to anyone claiming to be a member of CPDM. One such card shown to the team was numbered 331 for the polling place of Tchebeyel, Ecole Principal #71. It was dated April 8, 1992 and had been provided to an SDF party member posing as an CPDM militant in early October.

October 10 Disturbance at the Maroua Subdivisional Office

The team was advised by SDF and NUDP officials at about 22:00 that there was a disturbance in front of the subdivisional office. Upon visiting the area, at a safe distance, the team found that a hostile crowd of about 100, mostly young men, were waving sticks and clubs in the air. Upon speaking to some of the calmer members of the crowd, the team was able to find out that the cause of the incident was the lack of adequate numbers of ballots for NUDP in at least 65 of the Maroua precincts. This information was confirmed by someone who presented himself as a NUDP precinct supervisor and shortly thereafter by the governor in a meeting called at the request of the team. Local representatives/campaign directors of SDF and NUDP also confirmed the information.

It must be noted that NUDP said that only NUDP ballots were missing and the governor said that it was both NUDP and CPDM. The governor's explanation for the problem was failure of the clerks

in the subdivisional office to adequately to count the ballots divided among all of the precincts, as they were instructed to do. Assuming that this explanation is true, one wonders why only the ballots of one or two of the parties were insufficient when the local authorities, by their own admission, said that they had received adequate numbers of ballots for all of the parties.

Nevertheless, the situation was rectified when the governor requested and obtained supplemental ballots from the surrounding towns that evening for about one half of the missing precincts and promised that a military flight would bring additional ballots by 06:30 the next day (day of voting). He also added that the same military flight had attempted to leave Yaoundé on the 10th to bring the additional ballots, but due to bad weather over Ngaoundéré they had been obliged to turn back.

This incident did nothing to alleviate the already tense atmosphere. In addition, the divisional officer reported that the next day a large number of polling-place presidents found an excuse to turn down their appointments; replacements had to be found very quickly. This further added to the general atmosphere of disorganization and confusion.

Allegation of Chadian Voters

One of the NUDP regional precinct supervisors (he presented himself as such) was riding in his car with a young man who was being restrained by two NUDP militants. In answer to the team's question, the NUDP supervisor informed the team that they had captured one of the many Chadian voters brought by the CPDM. Upon questioning the young man, he gave his name as David Georges. He carried no identification except for a voter registration card which had only the name of Boubacar. The young man claimed to be from Mora. He would answer no other questions. When I asked the NUDP supervisor how he knew that this young man was Chadian, he responded that he knew what a Chadian looked like. He did not appear to have been harmed physically, but he was not being allowed to escape. He was not tied, but when they let him out of the car to speak to me the two NUDP militants held him by the arm. The young man appeared less than 20 years old.

Precinct Observation Visits by the Team

The team visited the following polling places on election day:

MAROUA

#281. This precinct had been #212 for the legislative elections. The team randomly selected several of the voters waiting in line and interviewed them. None of them were aware that the precincts had been reorganized and all of the cards spot-checked by the team indicated precinct #212.

At this precinct, the team was able to witness two voters who presented voter cards signed by the current divisional officer but dated in February and April. Both of these voters' names appeared on the list. Their names were:

- 1) Mr. Abdouraman, card #614, dated February 23, 1992. This voter, when interviewed by one of the observers, claimed that he had obtained this card from his chief two days before the legislative elections. He said that he had voted in the legislative elections, as stamped on his card. He claimed to be with the NUDP;
- 2) Mr. Asia Wortournou, card #622. The team did not have an opportunity to interview this voter.

This precinct was generally disorganized, and its president rearranged the room twice in the presence of the team in an attempt to respond to a protest by CPDM representatives and to improve the flow of voters through the room.

This precinct, like all of the others visited, had three policemen sleeping at a distance of about 30 meters from the polling place. Their weapons, if they had any, were not visible.

#280. This precinct was the expansion of #212. It was not ready to open until 09:40 because officials had not been able to receive all of their ballots until that time. The president of this precinct's commission was much more experienced and immediately seated the staff and observers for optimum traffic flow. He even devised a smoother system to handle the many problems with the list that quickly began to crop up soon after he opened the voting process.

#241. At about 10:30 this precinct had not opened because officials could not find the ballot box containing their supplies and equipment. The president was at the subdivisinal office trying to locate it. About 70 people were patiently waiting to vote. Like many

of the other ballot boxes, the one for this precinct had the #160 written in red stencil, still visible under the new #241. 241 was the new number for the precinct. Whenever we asked the precinct staff what these changes represented, they either knew nothing about them or responded that the numbers had changed and were unable to provide any further explanation on this issue.

The team returned to this precinct at about 11:59 and found that about 50 people had voted. In answer to our questions, the precinct staff responded that about 15 voters had come to vote with voting card numbers that appeared on the voter registration list but whose names did not appear on the list. They were not allowed to vote. The voter registration list showed that there were 396 registered voters on the list.

#240. The president of this precinct was by himself. The place was well organized and ready for voters (08:45). However, there was no one there. The president did not know why there were no voters. He added that he had been president during the previous election at the same school. The team later ran into this president at another precinct location (School Cetic I). He explained that his precinct location had been changed, and that he had not been informed. He had not met the other members of his commission prior to that morning. He claimed not to be a member of any political party. He was a teacher. He had a new voter registration list that contained 414 voters as opposed to the list he showed the team at 08:45 that had only 214 registered voters. This new list had discrepancies for at least 50 percent of the voters who presented their cards.

#340, Enia II. This precinct was formerly #240. The former precinct was now divided into four polling places, all in different classrooms of the same school. These four precincts had major problems with confusion of names and numbers on the lists of voters. The team spoke to two voters who had gone to all four classrooms and still could not find their names on any lists. In this precinct, the president asked all of the people who had cards but whose numbers did not correspond to the names on the list to come back later, when it would be less crowded. In addition, the SDF and NUDP claimed that with this "surprise" multiplication of precincts, they had to scramble to find additional observers to cover all of these polling

74 Presidential Election in Cameroon

places; in some areas they had not been able to do so until late in the day.

The white trash bag (used for discarded ballots) that had been observed in the voting booth of the other precincts earlier was not available. The president explained that a lot of people were "confusing the trash bag for the ballot box," so he decided with the rest of the commission to dispose of it and let the voters take away the unused ballots.

#242, Enia I. This precinct was formerly #192. By 11:30 about 100 people had voted. According to the president of the commission, more than 90 percent of those who had voted had some discrepancy between the names and the numbers on their cards. The president took the time to find the names on the lists for those whose cards' numbers did not correspond to the name on the list.

#243, Enia III. This precinct was formerly #41. They were having a lot of problems with their list. Many of the voters had various precinct numbers written on their cards, but their names were not on the list.

DOGBA (Small village outside of Maroua on the road to Meri)

#45, Quartier Moundou. This precinct was formerly #33. According to the president of the precinct, a neighboring village now had precinct #33. Here only NUDP, SDF and CPDM had representatives present. No explanation was provided for the lack of representation of the other parties. There were two copies of the voter registration list, which contained 364 registered voters. At the bottom of the list, 40 names had been written by hand to allow voting by people who had what the precinct president considered valid voter registration cards but whose names did not appear on the list. There were no indications of the party affiliation of these 40 voters.

#46. The second precinct for the village of Dogba also had two copies of the voter registration list (344 registered voters). At 14:30, when the team visited this village, more than 75 percent of the voters had already cast their ballots. Here, also, only CPDM, NUDP and SDF had representatives. However, unlike precinct #45 in the same village, any voter whose name did not appear on the list was not allowed to vote.

TIERE (Small village, on the road to Meri)

#59, Tiera 3. The number was formerly #44. This precinct had 405 registered voters, and by early afternoon more than 75 percent of the voters had already cast their ballots. Again, only NUDP, CPDM and SDF had representatives. According to the precinct president only one voter with a voter registration card had not been allowed to vote because his name did not appear on the list.

MERI (Large Town)

#1. This precinct number and location had also changed, and its president learned of the change early on voting day. It was previously #2. Here, too, no explanation was provided for the change in number and building location. There were 398 registered voters, and more than 80 percent had voted by 15:30. According to the president, only about 10 voters had been turned away because their names were not on the registration list. CPDM, NUDP, CDU and SDF were represented in this precinct.

#2. 431 registered voters appeared on the list at this precinct, and the same four parties had representatives at the table. However, this list had 11 names handwritten at the end. According to the president, these names were on the list when it was provided by the subdivisional office. According to the president, fewer than 10 people were not allowed to vote due to discrepancies; either their name was not on the list or the number on their card differed from the number on the list.

The team met briefly with the divisional officer who provided the following information. For the legislative elections, there were 53 precincts in the subdivision; and for the current election, the number had increased to 69, each to contain no more than 600 voters. For the legislative elections, there were 22,959 registered voters; 17,200 had voted and 15,000 were considered valid. He did not explain why 2,200 were not considered valid. There are now 25,000 registered voters. He allowed voters to register until June 1992. He felt that he had to be more flexible due to the difficulties in communicating with the many isolated villages in the region.

MORA (Large Town)

In a brief discussion with the divisional officer, he informed the team of the following: 41,229 voters were registered for the

76 Presidential Election in Cameroon

legislative elections in 119 precincts; 44,860 voters were registered for the presidential election in 135 precincts.

He estimated that close to 50 percent of the voters had problems at their respective precincts due to discrepancies in the voter registration lists and differences between the information on the voter registration cards and the lists provided to the precincts. He added that most of the voters who experienced such problems were not allowed to vote.

#2. This precinct had 484 voters and at 09:00 more than 80 percent had voted. According to the president, about 20 people had been turned away because their names were not on the list at this precinct.

#3. At this precinct at 17:40, about 60 percent of the registered voters had voted. The president said that at least 40 people had been refused the right to vote because their names were not on the voter registration list.

#5. This precinct experienced no particular problems. The president estimated that fewer than five people were turned away because their names did not appear on the list. There were 281 registered voters on their list, and more than 80 percent had voted at 17:55.

#4. This precinct started the day with the wrong voter registration list, but the problem was corrected before 09:00. By 17:45, 250 of their 326 registered voters had voted. The president estimated that no more than 10 people were not allowed to vote because their names did not appear on the list.

Vote Counting

The team observed vote counting in the following Maroua precincts:

#218, Wardum Weweme. The vote count was witnessed by a large number of local residents and appeared to have proceeded normally. When the team arrived, the count was almost finished, and the various party representatives were completing their copies of the official minutes (*process verbal*). The results were as follows: 351 registered voters; only 219 actually voted; nine annulled; nine voted for CPDM; 190 for NUDP; one vote for MP; six votes for SDF; CDU received four; and zero for RFP.

#217. The new number for this precinct was #120. The vote count was witnessed by an orderly crowd of local residents. The team arrived when the minutes were being completed by the various members of the precinct commission. The results were as follows: 366 registered voters; 187 votes for NUDP; 11 for CPDM; one for CDU; zero for RFP; and zero for MP.

#340, Enia II. The vote count was witnessed by an orderly crowd of local residents. The team arrived when the minutes were being completed by the various members of the precinct commission. The president of this polling-place commission had kept nine voter registration cards. They belonged to the voters whose names did not appear on the list but who were allowed to vote and had valid cards. None of these cards had been signed by the current divisional officer. This problem had been noted in the minutes, and he was submitting the cards with the minutes. The results were as follows: 428 registered voters; 225 actually voted; 183 votes for NUDP; 24 for CPDM; seven for SDF; 10 for CDU; and one for RFP.

#242, Enia I. The team arrived when the vote count and the minutes had been completed. The president of this polling-place commission noted that a large number of voters were turned away because their names did not appear on his list. The results were as follows: 423 registered voters; 204 actually voted; NUDP received 189 votes; CPDM five; SDF five; CDU two; MP two; and RFP one.

Garoua Region - North Province

Prepared by Hubert Oulaye (Translated from French by the editors)

The NDI observation mission in this region was conducted by Hubert Oulaye, who was charged with observing several polling places in the city of Garoua. Following observations in Garoua itself, polling places would be visited in surrounding areas, in the neighboring division of Mayo-Rey, the town of Poli, and in Faro Division.

The day before election day, I met with the senior divisional officer of Bénoué Division and presented him with letters of accreditation for conducting the observation mission. The senior divisional officer, after taking note of the accreditation letters, assured me that he would take the necessary measures to inform local administrators of my presence in areas I would be visiting.

The senior divisional officer, in responding to my questions, also informed me that he had just signed the decree designating members of the divisional commission. He indicated that he had been informed of two incidents that had taken place a few days earlier: 1) police had searched the home of a NUDP official in Garoua and; 2) a young supporter of the CPDM in Gonna village had died following a confrontation with NUDP supporters. Finally, the senior divisional officer was unable to provide me with a list of polling places and referred me to divisional officers for this information.

Also on the day before elections, I met with local officials of political parties, notably the SDF and CPDM. A NUDP official was unable to be present at the meeting. The SDF official stressed that the voter list had not been published while the divisional officer had illicitly distributed voter cards to CPDM supporters. This SDF official offered to show photocopies of voter cards that had been given to certain SDF supporters who had made themselves appear as CPDM supporters. NUDP officials confirmed, by telephone, the same voter card fraud.

CPDM officials, for their part, noted the death of one of their supporters in Gonna village. They also indicated that CPDM supporters had been intimidated by NUDP supporters.

Garoua, Sunday, October 11, 1992

At 7:45 a.m. I visited the divisional officer in Garoua. He informed me that everything was in order. Ballot boxes and election materials (ballots, ink pads, rubber stamps, nine copies of the tally sheets, sacks for discarded ballots, etc.) had been delivered the day before to presidents of polling places located outside of Garoua.

Nevertheless, even as the meeting with the divisional officer was taking place, the first incidents were reported by polling-place party representatives; there were not enough opposition candidate ballots in several polling places in Garoua. Words were exchanged between several party representatives and the divisional officer.

I left the divisional officer around 8:15 a.m. to begin visiting polling places. During election day, I visited 26 polling places, including the following:

- City of Garoua 10 polling places
- Countryside around Garoua 11 polling places
- City of Tcholliré (Mayo-Rey Division) 02 polling places

- Countryside around Rey Bouba 02 polling places
- Countryside around Poli 01 polling place

It should be noted that in order to reach Tcholliré, the home territory of the traditional chief (*lamido*) of Rey Bouba, we had to cover nearly 180 km. It is for this reason that I was unable to observe a larger number of polling places. However, the decision to visit Rey Bouba was motivated by the fact that this region is, in reality, controlled by a powerful traditional chief who is a CPDM supporter and who had refused to allow campaign meetings of the NUDP. It was decided that irregularities would more than likely be discovered in this region. On this point we were correct.

It also should be noted that I was unable to reach the town of Poli because of the extremely poor condition of the road and the lateness of the day.

City of Garoua

- There were not enough ballots in most polling places. Example: Lainde A Polling Place, around 8:30 a.m., 631 registered to vote. Ballots were present in the following quantities: RFP, 82; MP, 100; CDU, 155; NUDP, 232; CPDM, 347; SDF, 477
- Voters could not find their polling places;
- Voters sometimes found under their registration number another name or found their names listed under another number; and
- Some voters were refused their right to vote due to an erroneous interpretation by divisional officers and polling-place presidents of the decree from the Ministry of Territorial Administration. In this case, a voter registered to vote and carrying a national identity card could not vote because he did not possess a voter registration card. This was in violation of Article 10 of Decree (revised) No. 0391 of September 22, 1992.

Countryside around Garoua

Bukle Polling Place: 443 registered voters

- There were no ballots for the CDU candidate;
- Ballots were still present for candidates who had previously withdrawn from the race, i.e., Samuel Eboua and Antar Gassagay; and

80 Presidential Election in Cameroon

- More seriously, 138 voters whose voter cards carried the numbers 202 to 340 could not find their names on the voter list. Curiously, the list included numbers 341-443. Obviously, these names had been voluntarily omitted; several of the affected voters testified that they had voted in this polling place during the legislative elections.

Sangrepool Polling Place: 292 registered voters

- Ballots were missing; and
- Ballots were still present for withdrawn candidates Samuel Eboua and Antar Gassagay.

Sangerigode Polling Place: 332 registered voters

- Insufficient number of ballots;
- Insufficient supply of tally sheets; and
- Registered voters had not received their voter cards.

N'gaounbara Polling Place: 672 registered voters

- Some voters had received new voter cards but could not find their names on the voter list; and
- Registered voters who had not received voter cards were not allowed to vote.

N'gong "C" Polling Place: 509 registered voters

- No representatives were present from the SDF, RFP and MP; and
- There were not enough tally sheets.

N'gong "A" Polling Place: 513 registered voters

- No organizational problems observed.

N'gong "B" Polling Place: 550 registered voters

- No representatives were present from the RFP and MP; and
- The polling-place president stated that the divisional officer had asked all polling-place presidents not to give tally sheets to party representatives except in cases where party representatives insisted on having them.

N'gong "D" Polling Place: 395 registered voters

- Two voter lists were furnished to the polling-place president, who did not know which one to use.

Quona "B" Polling Place: 356 registered voters

- No representatives were present from the CDU, RFP and MP; and
- 30 voters were in possession of voter cards, but could not find their names on the voter list; affected voters had voted in this polling place during the legislative elections.

Gonna "A" Polling Place: 308 registered voters

- The only parties represented were the SDF, NU DP and CPDM.

Tcholliré 1 Polling Place: 499 registered voters

- The only parties represented were the NU DP and CPDM;
- There were not enough tally sheets; and
- The polling place was located in the local CPDM headquarters.

Tcholliré 3 Polling Place: 494 registered voters

- Some voters had voter cards but could not find their names on the voter list; and
- An insufficient supply of ballots was present. The senior divisional officer, in noting the size and distances involved in his division, had requested that in case of shortages missing ballots should be replaced by those already discarded in the voting booths.

Maradi Polling Place (Rey Bouba): 225 registered voters

- A CPDM campaign poster was posted on the front of the polling place;
- There were no political party representatives (certainly prevented from being present – this polling place was located in territory controlled by the traditional chief (*lamido*) of Rey Bouba.); and
- A strange fact – during the visit to this polling place, a vehicle arrived to drop off a ballot box. Questioned, the polling-place president, visibly angered, indicated that this ballot box had come from a neighboring polling place, Larki, where voting had already ended. It was 4:30 p.m. When asked if the vote counting had already taken place at Larki, the president responded that the divisional officer had demanded that all vote counting take place in Rey Bouba.

Panon Pape Polling Place

- I arrived at this polling place as vote counting was taking place at 5:15 p.m. Nothing to report.

Pinchouba Polling Place

- I also arrived here as vote counting was taking place. Nothing to report.

Just as I was ready to return to Garoua, two persons arrived to report that the senior divisional officer at Poli had prohibited NUDP party representatives from being present in polling places. He had, in turn, accepted CPDM party representatives. I could not go to Poli to confirm this report as it was already 6 p.m. and the road was bad.

Douala Region - Littoral Province

Prepared by Mariana Drenska and Moustapha Osseni (Translated from French by the editors)

We conducted an election observer training seminar in Yaoundé from October 2 to 4, 1992. In this seminar, where there were nearly 200 participants from all political parties (at least from those having a presidential candidate) and several nonpartisan civic organizations, we had promised to assist seminar participants in continuing the training in areas outside of Yaoundé. Therefore, it was with this in mind that we arrived in Douala on Tuesday, October 6, 1992 and stayed until Monday, October 12, 1992.

We also took advantage of our time in Douala to observe the conduct of the October 11 presidential election. In this mission we were joined by Saidou Agbantou on October 8.

On our arrival in Douala, we went to the American Consulate to arrange for transportation on election day. We would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank the American Consul, Michelle Sisson, Vice-Consul Christopher Lamora, the Secretary of the Consulate, and the consulate drivers, who impressed us with their generosity and warmth. We will, ladies and gentlemen of the consulate, always remember your kindness.

In the course of our stay in Douala we met with the governor of Littoral Province; the senior divisional officer of Wouri Division; representatives of the CPDM, SDF, NUDP and MP; representatives

of the National League of Human Rights (LINAH); and the four divisional officers for Douala.

While the provincial governor, Kounga Edima, and the senior divisional officer, Richard Mota, had given us a general idea of election organization, we set out to find problems that were of concern to political parties, and we tried to find solutions based on the various legal codes relating to the conduct of the elections.

Only LINAH accepted our invitation to train several of its members. This training session took place in the study of Mr. Mbok, national president of LINAH, on Saturday, October 10, 1992 from 11 a.m. until 2 p.m.

The different points of concern raised by the political parties are summarized below.

1. Polling-Place Lists
 - a. They had not been published, as required by law, at least eight days before the election.
 - b. Certain problems were associated with polling-place lists:
 - i. There were more lists present for the presidential election than for the legislative elections.
 - ii. Polling places were not numbered sequentially.
 - iii. The same number was given to more than one polling place.
 - iv. Polling-place locations were indicated geographically, but addresses were not provided.
2. Contradictions existed between Article 92 of the Electoral Code and Article 31 of the Ministry of Territorial Administration Decree No. 0391 of September 22, 1992.
 - a. Except for Mme. Foning from the CPDM, who could not believe that Paul Biya could make such a decision with the agreement of his legal advisers, the other political parties agreed that, from a legal point of view, the Electoral Code supersedes the Ministerial Decree.
(N.B. A new ministerial decree, No. 0466 of October 6, 1992, re-established order at the level of Article 31. Also, Article 92 of the Electoral Code was kept. We brought this information to the attention of the political parties.)

84 Presidential Election in Cameroon

3. Contradiction existed between Article 92 of the Electoral Code and Article 35 of the Ministry of Territorial Administration Decree No. 0391 of September 22, 1992. See above.
4. Article 87 of the Electoral Code stipulated that "in case of public disorder" ballot boxes are to be transferred to the divisional level for counting:
 - a. Political parties worried about the vagueness given to the term "public disorder," fearing that this could be a source of fraud.
5. Creation of new administrative divisions five days before the election:
 - a. The plan had been in existence for several years, according to the CPDM, and would have no impact on the elections.
 - b. The governor called it a policy decision.
 - c. Other political parties called the move confusing as the measure was accompanied by new appointments of officials, even in existing administrative divisions.
6. Article 36 of Decree No. 0391, which stipulates that ballots already counted are to be burned:
 - a. For the ruling party, this was not a problem.
 - b. For opposition parties this was a source of possible fraud. They argued that if tally sheets are altered after the counting has been completed, there would be no way to undertake a count of verification.
7. Failure to re-open voter registration and keep voter lists secret:
 - a. According to the administrative authorities and representatives of the CPDM, this was a fair decision.
 - b. According to the opposition, this decision was unfair. They argued that because the presidential election had been announced, it was necessary to re-open voter registration.
 - c. Also, party representatives should be registered on the voter list of the polling place where they would be representing their parties. Since the voter list was unknown, it was impossible to make a list of party representatives.
 - d. Opposition representatives also alleged that voter lists had been re-opened for CPDM supporters and cited an October 7, 1992 article in the journal *La Detente*.

8. Who should sign accreditation for party observers?
 - a. For CPDM representatives, it would be the party, a position also held by the governor.
 - b. Several opposition representatives held that the divisional officer should sign accreditation, while others felt the parties were responsible for this action.

Election-Day Observations

1. Some polling places listed on the polling-place list could not be found.
2. Voter cards were used that did not indicate a polling place.
3. Voters who had voted in the legislative elections, when attempting to vote during the presidential election, found other names in place of their own.
4. Divisional supervisory commission only began its work at 12 p.m. on Monday, October 12, 1992.
5. Estimated 65 percent voter turnout observed by 4 p.m.
6. Polling places were generally open around one hour after the scheduled opening.
7. We confirmed that, in several rare cases, there was a lack of ballots for certain opposition candidates.
8. Forces of order were not present.