

HAITIAN ELECTION PROJECT
1987

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INTRODUCTION

This booklet contains four reports compiled by Jeff Fischer while working under contract with Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates of Washington, D.C. on the Haitian national elections. Mr. Mahe's firm was under contract with the United States Agency for International Development (US-AID) and the Inter-American Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance (CAPEL) to provide technical guidance to the election organizers.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Eddie Mahe, Jr.
Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates, Inc.

FROM: Helen Howe
Jeff Fischer

SUBJECT: Haitian Election Project

DATE: September 21, 1987

This memorandum is to serve as a report on the meetings and an analysis of events in Haiti from September 13 to September 18, 1987 on a trip taken by Eddie Mahe, Jr., Helen Howe and Jeff Fischer to Port-au-Prince, concerning the upcoming Haitian elections. This report is divided into three sections: 1) a general scenario of the situation; 2) an analysis of unresolved issues and questions; and, 3) some future actions for consideration. Also included is a set of attachments which support the material with accompanying detail. A complete set of additional documents from the trip are included for your records. A list of meeting participants is shown as Attachment I.

I. GENERAL SCENARIO

The upcoming Haitian elections are being organized under the official jurisdiction of the Conseil Electoral Provisoire (CEP). The CEP was established by a decree of May 13, 1987 made possible under the new constitution. Although the CEP was designed to function autonomously of the government, Conseil National De Gouvernement (CNG), it does receive funding from the national Ministry of Finance. An initial budget of \$8.8 million has been established. The CEP is comprised of nine members selected from various institutions in the society including the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, the universities, the news media, the cooperatives and others. Attachment II shows the CEP membership with associations indicated where known.

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The CEP intends to conduct the elections under a set of statutes which it adopted this year. The CEP intends to establish field offices in each of 9 election departments (BED's) and in each of 132 communal sections (BEC's). The Directeur Generale is Marc Antoine Noel and the Directeur d' Informatique Computer Director, who seems to function as second-in-command, is Jean-Claude Roy.

In addition to the CEP's activities in establishing the mechanics of the elections, there are international groups helping with support activities to promote the organization of the elections. First, the Organization of American States (OAS) has budgeted \$500,000 to provide supplies to accomplish these elections. A copy of the proposed budget from their local director, Ragnar Arensen, is included as Attachment III. In addition, the Canadian government has contributed 16,000 ballot boxes and polling booths, called isoairs, for the election. The CAPEL organization has had an individual in Port-au-Prince for a period of time, Francisco Way, working on the voter identification card, the polling place layout, ballot structure, and voter registrar training. The Centre de Developpement des Ressources Humaines (CDRH) has proposed public education programs and training programs for election day workers. CDRH budget information is included in the documents enclosed. Voter registration books have already been printed in Venezuela.

The upcoming elections will involve five levels of public office, two on the local level and the remaining three being national in scope. These offices include: 1) Conseil d' Administration des Sections Communales (CASEC), similar to county offices; 2) Conseils Municipaux, similar to city offices; 3) Deputes, similar to congressional seats; 4) Senateurs, similar to senate seats; and 5) President de la Republique, the highest elected office. All are elected on a direct and secret ballot. Three people are elected by relative majority from each CASEC. Each municipal district elects three members, one mayor and two representatives, by a relative majority. There are 77 deputy districts where each deputy must be elected by a simple majority of 50% plus one vote. There are 27 senate seats with each department electing three senators by a system which will vary with the number of votes received by the field on the first ballot. The president is elected by a simple majority of 50% plus one vote.

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It is proposed that there be 6,000 polling places in the country with 500 persons being registered to vote at each polling place. A three-part registration record including a voter registration card has been proposed by the CAPEL representative. A copy of the card is included with enclosed documents. In fact, it was reported that 3,000,000 of such registration records have already been printed in Venezuela. These records are printed on a three part form with 500 records per book, 6,000 books in total. The first page is for the CEP headquarters, the second page is the voter identification card and the third page is for the departmental registration record.

Financial oversight for CAPEL's involvement with the election is being provided by Jean-Paul Poirier of Price Waterhouse.

II. UNRESOLVED ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

A. The CEP

The CEP's interpretations of the election law, combined with what was described as indecisiveness, have resulted in very slow progress in the establishment of the election mechanism. In addition, the president of the council has recently suffered a stroke and is hospitalized in Miami, Florida. However, during our visit, the CEP members were reported to be establishing departmental offices in locations outside of Port-au-Prince. An election calendar establishing when the municipal, national primary and national run-off elections will be scheduled has yet to be formally announced. Candidate filing procedures and dates have not been established. In fact, the proposed date for the national primary of November 29 has been requested by CEP staff to be delayed for at least two weeks. The CEP Directeur Generale, Marc Antoine Noel, indicated a preference for municipal elections to be held three weeks prior to the scheduled November 29 election, however, no date has been established. If a run-off election is required, it will be held about four weeks after the national primary. On the basis of the only announced date of November 29, this would make the run-off election on December 27. This date is noted because of its potential impact on the availability of poll workers during the Christmas season and the uncertain impact of such seasonal events on the election process.

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B. Ballot Boxes and Polling Places

The proposed 6,000 polling places for each election have not, to any extent, been identified. There has been discussion about using churches and schools, however, there has been no formal contact with representatives of such groups.

The Canadian government has contributed 16,000 ballot boxes and polling devices for the election. However, the ballot boxes have a hole for insertion of the ballot only 1 centimeter by 4 centimeters in size. As a result, an enlargement of the hole must be performed before the ballot boxes are functional. In addition, on the basis of an allocation of 3 devices per polling place, there is a 2,000 device shortage of the 18,000 required.

Efforts were made to look at these devices, however, this could not be arranged with either the CEP or the Ministry of Interior. However, the Canadian embassy may produce a sketch of the devices which would provide some visual aid in evaluating their construction. This is to be delivered to Richard Burns's office. He could be contacted to fax a copy to your office. An additional contact was made with a Mr. Louis LaVoie in Ottawa, Canada on the ballot boxes. He indicated that the ballot boxes were constructed of aluminum with sliding lids which come off completely. A seal both locks the box and holds on the lid. The base of each box is 7 1/4" X 10 1/2". It stands 14 3/4" high, the top is 9 1/4" X 12 1/2". Each box can hold a maximum of 572 ballots approximately 7" X 4" in size.

The CAPEL representative has provided a layout on the basic polling place configuration. A copy of this layout and his sketch of the ballot box are shown as Attachments IV and V. On the basis of the hardware dimensions and other space considerations, the layout shown in the attachment would require about 1,015 square feet to be operational. Such a space obligation could have a significant impact on the availability of suitable polling places. The CEP staff was requested to consider having polling places set up outside so that space would not represent a problem.

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The hours of the voting are from 6:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M. However, in late November it is estimated that sunrise does not occur until around 6:30 A.M. If ballot materials and voting devices must be set up in places which have no electricity, some accommodation for light must be made at the polls where set-up will occur in darkness and open at 6:00 A.M.

C. Voter Registration

Jean-Claude Roy supports registering voters in advance of the elections. During a conversation with him, he alluded to articles he has written on the subject. One article was found in the newspaper Le Nouvelliste which concerned his support of voter registration. This article is included in the enclosed documents. However, the CEP and CAPEL are operating with different timetables for conducting the voter registration process. The CAPEL representative indicated that it would occur from October 1 to October 30. The CEP discussed a ten-day timetable for the registering of 3,000,000 voters. Poll locations, printing and other volume considerations are based upon a projected 3,000,000 registered voters. However, a 2,000,000 figure was what some officials indicated was closer to reality. Registration will be conducted through the CEP headquarters and its departmental offices. The CAPEL representative has drafted instructions on training procedures for the voter registrars which is included.

There are certain technical concerns associated with the registration process. First, some discussion has occurred about using facsimile devices to communicate registration information from the departmental offices to the CEP headquarters. However, this would mean that if a 3,000,000 voter registration effort was conducted in ten days, each departmental office would fax over 33,000 registrations per day for a grand daily total of almost 300,000. On the basis of 5 seconds per registration, this is a total daily incoming load of about 420 manhours of fax time. Further, it has been suggested that these voter registration lists be computerized. Since a triplicate record of each registration has already been created, the purpose of an additional computerized record is uncertain. In order to data enter 3,000,000 voter registration entries at an average of 3 minutes per entry, it is estimated that 15,000 manhours would be required to complete the process.

A sufficient number of keyboards and trained personnel must be provided to accurately produce this list. Moreover, whenever information is transferred in such a fashion, the likelihood of errors increases.

The concept of same-day registration as a back-up to the formal registration effort was initially rejected by the CEP staff members. The use of indelible ink was also dismissed because of Jean-Claude Roy's claim that the ink used in the referendum election was not indelible and could be taken off.

It must be noted that the CEP staff has not planned for any contingencies given potential breakdowns in the formal registration efforts. It is reasonable to assume that some breakdowns can be predicted given logistical, societal, and administrative problems inherent in the process.

D. The Ballot

The ballot structure is defined by the election law as being separate sheets of paper for each of the candidates in the national races. There could easily be twelve to fifteen presidential candidates, one dozen senate candidates, and several deputy candidates running in each polling place. In fact, Marc Antoine Noel estimated that there would be 2,162 separate ballots required for the national primary. If 3,000,000 separate ballot packages must be printed in order to accommodate the ceiling registration figure, it would mean that 45,000,000 separate pieces would be required for the presidential primary alone. It was suggested that the volume of printing involved exceeds the capacities in Haiti itself.

From a printing standpoint, there are two further complexities. First, each of the ballots must be a different color according to the law. As a result, a variety of many color combinations will represent some additional expense. Next, each ballot must show a photograph of the candidate. The addition of any screening process in printing increases the expense and complexity of the project. Further candidate identification on each ballot is by a party or candidate symbol and the candidate's name in both French and Creole.

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It has been proposed by CAPEL that sets of these ballots be placed on tables in each polling place in stacks of 500 each. As a result, at any typical polling place there may be over 30 separate stacks of paper and over 15,000 separate sheets. Under this procedure, the voter must pick up one of each and an envelope, take this into a voting booth, and place the separate sheet of his candidate in the appropriate envelope. The unused ballots are placed in an envelope and thrown away in some manner.

As an alternative, Dominique Hudicourt of the CDRH has suggested a form of ballot structure which would place the ballots in a "coupon book" for each of the major races. All of the candidates for each of the races would be in the same book and could be torn out along a perforated side and voted. As a visual aid, Dominique and Frantz Ewald devised 4 mock-ups identical to the set enclosed as Attachment VI. One set was requested by Ambassador McKinley, one was given to Jean-Claude Roy at CEP and one set remained with Richard Burns and Linda Morse of US-AID.

E. Election Workers

The CAPEL organization has created a six page set of instructions for the training of voter registrars included with the documents. If there is one registrar per polling place it would mean that at least 6,000 individuals must be recruited and trained for that task.

Further, it is the plan for election day that 5 individuals staff each polling place. This means that 30,000 people must be recruited to work on election day. This figure allows no provision for alternate or back-up staff. It would be useful if all voter registrars could also be used as election day workers as well. No formal contacts have yet been made with organizations such as the Catholic Church which would have access to large pools of qualified potential workers. The CDRH is undertaking a three step training program for election day workers. However, its timetable is scheduled to begin on Wednesday, September 23, followed by subsequent sessions over the following two Wednesdays. Since the election calendar has not been formally established by the CEP, these training efforts could be beginning up to 12 weeks before an election occurs. This early instruction could have an impact on the quality of workers' performance on election day.

It was suggested that each training session be recorded on audio tape and distributed to the participants so that there might be some opportunity for review.

F. Civic Education

The CDRH has conducted some civic education efforts to encourage participation in the voting process. T-shirts, posters and other announcements have been initiated. Under a further program, radio spots, animators and other devices are being developed. It was suggested that a broadly based and less controlled effort be budgeted about \$100,000 to \$125,000 for the widespread dissemination of posters, banners and other devices throughout the country. This effort would serve to involve people in the process, increase interest and also demonstrate that there are no security or safety problems associated with one's participation in the election.

The OAS representative mentioned that the CNG was also budgeting \$196,000 for some civic education under the direction of General Regala. A civic education portion of the OAS contribution of \$60,000 was eliminated at CNG's request.

G. Ballot Security

There has been no effective means established to transport 18,000 ballot boxes and polling booths as well as ballot items to 6,000 locations around the country. Marc Antoine Noel had devised a formula whereby 700 trucks would be used to accomplish the job in a ten day period. At a final meeting with Jean-Claude Roy, he requested assistance in the provision of helicopters to transport these items.

Other questions concerning the polling place hardware and ballot items remain open. These include the formation of a method by which the unused, unvoted ballots can be discarded. Another unanswered question is where the polling place hardware will be stored in between the primary and run-off elections. Additional concerns involve where voted ballots will be retained and for what period of time to allow requests for recounts. After the election, no long-term retention policy has been established for storage and destruction of voted ballots.

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There is a provision in the election law for a set of three additional people per polling place to serve on the Brigades de Vigilance. These groups would have oversight responsibilities to help maintain ballot security and order on election day. However, there has been no effort to recruit, organize and train any such workers. A group mentioned in association with this effort was MOVELH, Mouvement Elections Libres et Honnetes.

A question posed to both CAPEL and CDRH representatives concerned which areas could be potentially problematic on election day. The CAPEL representative mentioned the l'Artibonite area. However, the CDRH also mentioned Cap-Haitien, Plateau Central, Les Cayes, Jeremie and Jean Rabel.

III. FURTHER ACTION

Further action on this project involves two aspects of the process. First, there are several programs recently being initiated concerning election worker training, civic education and voter registration which should be monitored for progress and development. Since there is a maximum time frame of about 22 weeks between now and February 7 when a president must be inaugurated, some progress in these areas should be discernable within the next two weeks.

Next, a dialogue needs to be initiated with Haitian election officials in several key areas including polling place hardware use and transportation; ballot structure; vote computation; recount procedures; and, ballot security issues. Given the same time frame, these issues should be considered as priority items.

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Treasurer

Me. Marc Alex Guerrier
Secretary

Dr. Charles Poisset Romain (University)
Member

M. Carlo Dupiton
Member

M. Philippe Jules (Cooperatives)
Member

Me. Napoleon Eugene (CNG)
Member

M. Emmanuel Ambroise
Member

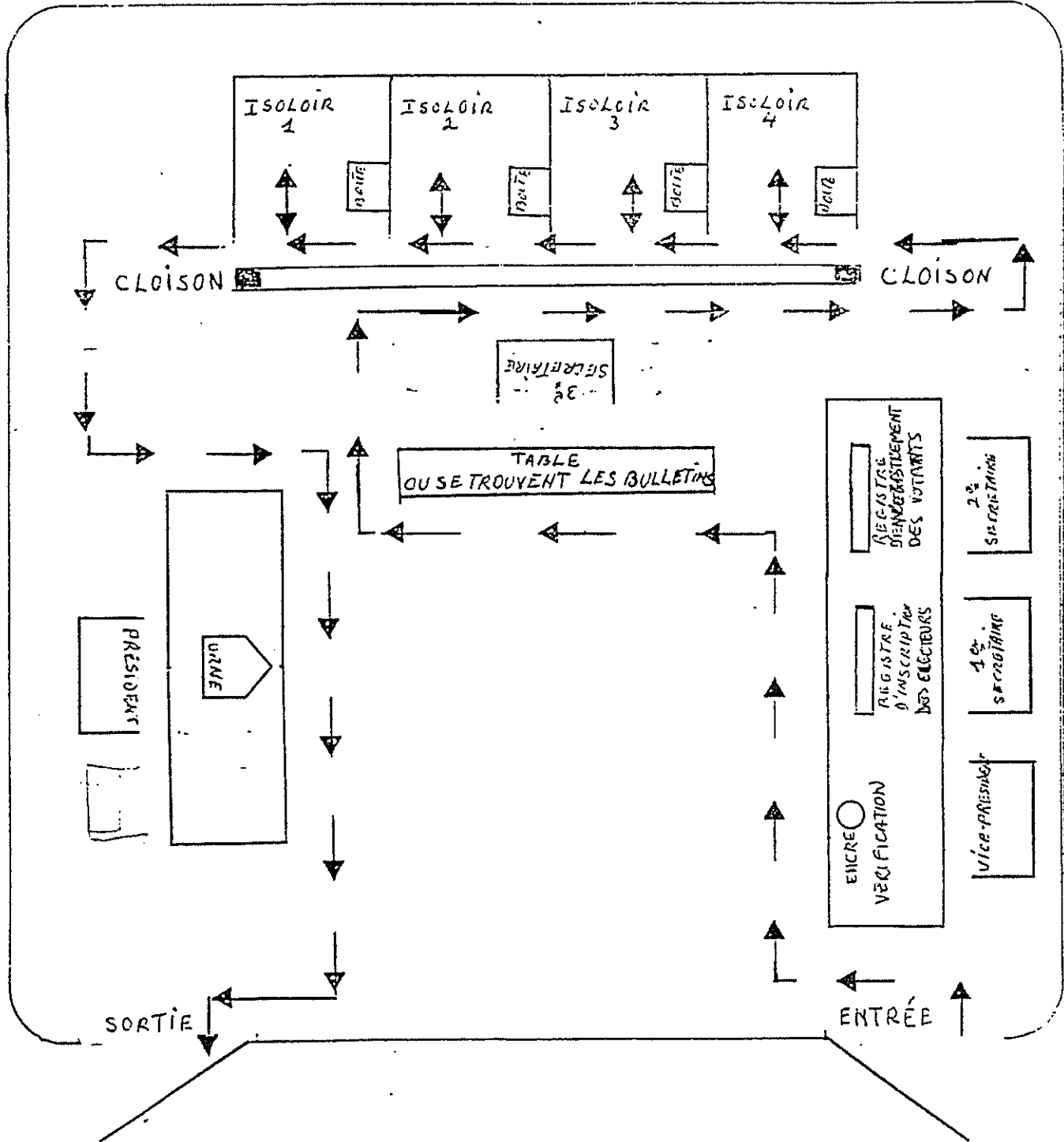
SPENDING PLAN
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

Creole version of election laws (50,000 copies)	\$ 22,500
Lamination for voter identification cards (150,000 rolls)	225,000
Office supplies for polling places (6,000 @ \$15 each)	90,000
Safes for departmental field offices (9)	36,000
300 gallons of indelible ink for election day	90,000
6,500 scissors for cutting voter identification cards	35,000
Miscellaneous	<u>3,500</u>
 TOTAL	 \$500,000

ROGER E. SAVAIN
2-7850/2-7859

BUREAU DE VOTE

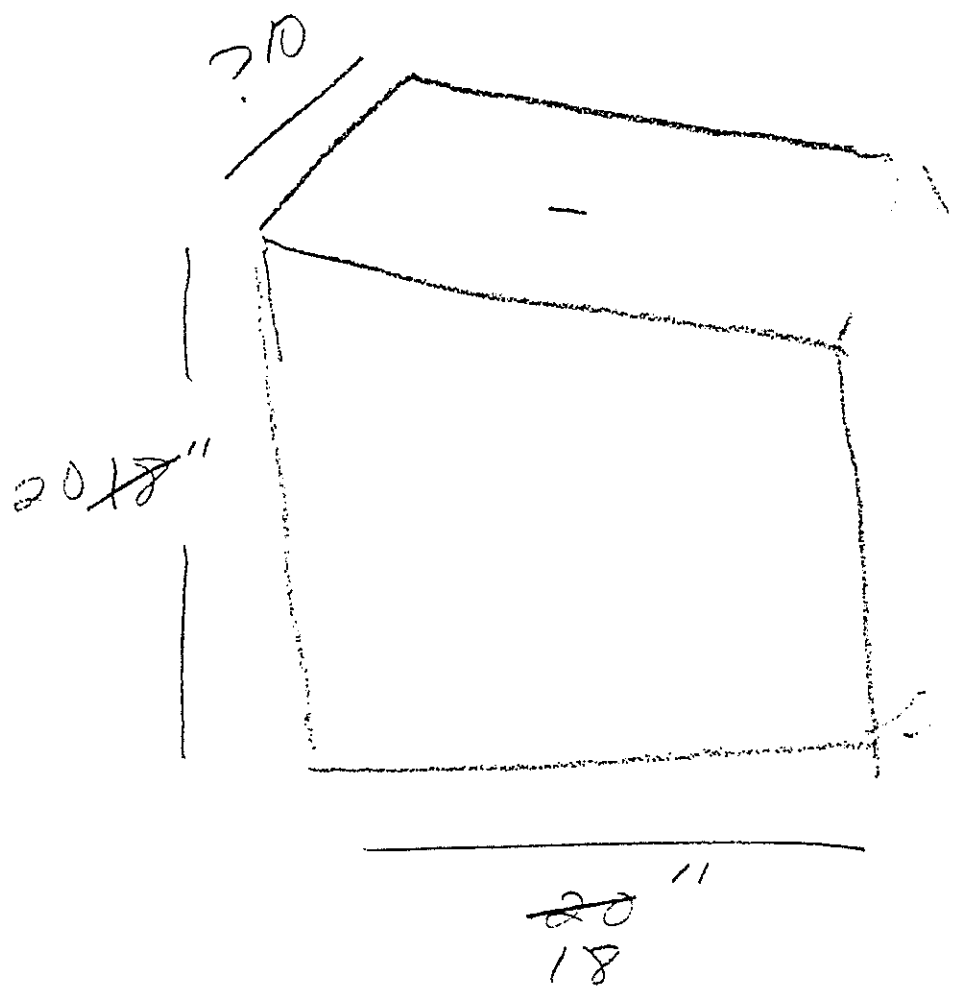
205

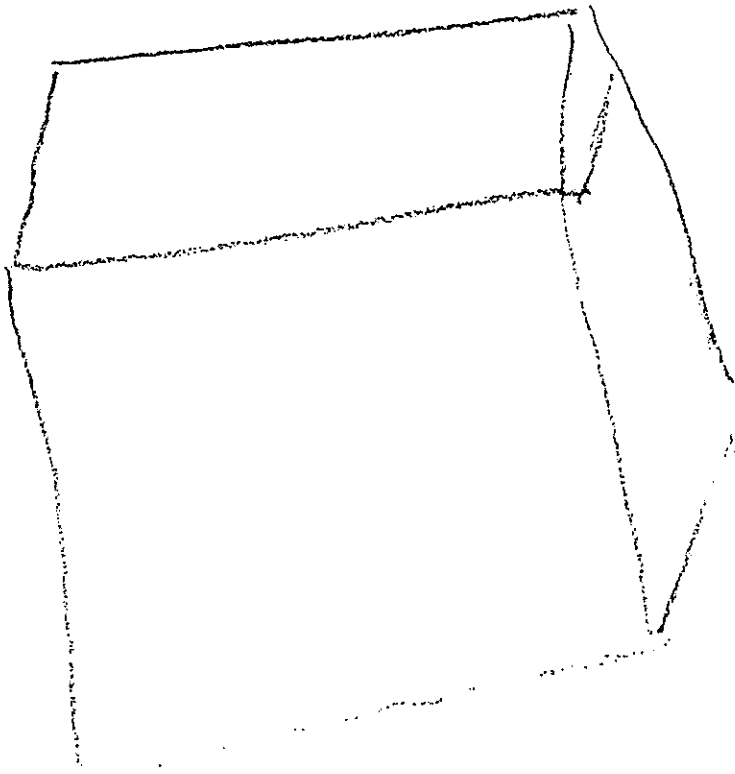
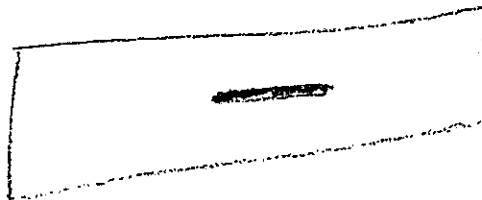


LES FLECHES TRACENT LE PARCOURS DE L'ÉLECTEUR

60000 x 3 = 3

18" x 20"





EXHIBITS UNAVAILABLE

HAITIAN ELECTION PROJECT

Unresolved Issues and Questions

1. What are the filing procedures and deadlines for candidates participating in the November 15 and November 29 elections?
2. What ballot structure has been determined for these elections? Will there be separate sheets of paper for each ballot, or will ballots be arranged in booklet form? What action has been taken to address printing considerations such as the use of half-tones and color printing?
3. Where will the 6,000 polling places planned for each election be located?
4. What scheduling and logistical issues have been addressed for the run-off election after November 29? Is a December 27 date still considered viable?
5. Has there been any attempt to modify the existing ballot boxes to suit the ballots that are under consideration?
6. What has been done to address the problems of the transportation of ballots and voting hardware to the polling locations?
7. What progress has been made on the recruitment and training of 30,000 election day workers for each election?
8. What progress has been made on the recruitment and training of voter registrars who will begin October 19 with the registration program?
9. What progress has been made on both the formal and informal civic education programs?
10. Has there been any attempt to organize the Brigades de Vigilance as provided for in the election law?
11. What procedures have been established for the counting of votes, the publication of results and the accommodation of recounts? Where will the ballots and the polling hardware be stored in between elections.?

10/5/87

MEMORANDUM

TO: Eddie Mahe, Jr.
Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates

FROM: Jeff Fischer

SUBJECT: Haitian Election Project

DATE: October 28, 1987

This memorandum is to serve as a report on the follow-up trip which was taken from October 21 to October 26, 1987 to Haiti concerning the upcoming elections. It is divided into two sections; the first providing an overview of the meetings which occurred; and the second discussing unresolved issues and concerns associated with the election process. Attachments provide additional details where possible. Attachment I is a listing of the meetings' participants.

I. OVERVIEW OF MEETINGS

The country-wide voter registration process began on October 19 and is to be completed by October 31. It was estimated by Jean-Claude Roy of the Conseil Electorale Provisoire (CEP) that about 40% of the total registrations will occur in Port-au-Prince and its environs. Neither schools nor government buildings are being used for registration sites. Each registration site is staffed by two individuals (President, Vice President) who complete a three-part carbon paper form printed 4-up on a page and containing 500 registration forms per book. The first two sheets of the carbon pack are retained by the election authority at both the department and central office levels. The final page is the voter's registration card which is retained by the registrant and shown at the polls to allow voting.

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The card measures 5 1/2" x 6 1/2". A copy of the card is shown as Attachment II. These books were designed and printed through Enrique Raven and Raul Penso of the Consejo Supremo Electoral of Venezuela. After 500 registrants complete a book, a separate sheet is created in hand-written form by the registrars containing the names, birth dates and registration codes. These lists are forwarded to Port-au-Prince as the source documents for the computerized registration lists. These computerized lists will be used at the polling places. A self-adhesive sticker will be placed by the name of each voting registrant.

The CEP, CAPEL and Citibank signed a contract on October 23 for Citibank to provide the data entry services for the computerized list creation. Approximately 50 people on two shifts of operation have been hired to perform the data entry work. This project is being supervised by Nouad Saliba and Gladys Coupet of Citibank. The data entry work is to begin in earnest on October 28 with an unknown completion date. However, on the basis of that manpower factor and an estimated 1.8 million vote records to process at a rate of 15 seconds each, it would take at least 10 to 12 mandays to complete the task.

The entry work is backed up on a shift by shift basis and a list of "discrepancy" registrations, i.e., duplicate names and birth dates from different sites, is being created at the end of each shift. Representatives of the CEP are to be present at all times and will be given the problematic registrations for final disposition. Citibank officials point out that their function is to provide computer services and that they are not involved with any policy questions concerning the registration data provided to them.

The CEP has decided that each voter must ink a finger before leaving the polling place as a safeguard against multiple voting. Ragnar Arnesen and Dr. Carlos Jara of the Organization of American States (OAS) have assumed the responsibility for providing 300 gallons of indelible ink to be used in the election cycle. Preliminary samples of both red and white ink were personally tested at the OAS offices and found to wash off easily. A second OAS sample tested by you also proved unsatisfactory.

The Venezuelan election officials indicated that other samples used in their country would arrive for testing on October 26. These officials indicated that 4 ounces per 500 voters

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would represent an adequate allocation. No spillage or waste factor is included in that estimate. On the basis of 300 gallons, this would mean that such a supply would service 4.8 million instances of voting with about 190 gallons required for each election.

Plans in September for the Centre De Developpment Des Ressources Humaines (CDRH) to provide election worker training and civic education were significantly altered by the CEP. In the final form, the CDRH contracted directly with the CEP for voter registrar training and not through CAPEL as originally proposed. The civic education proposal was eliminated entirely and redistributed to local groups. Banners, flyers, bumper stickers and electronic media spots advertising the election were developed by Anne Arthur of Corbin Advertising of Port-au-Prince. This aspect of civic education is now considered complete. However, the OAS has budgeted an additional \$186,000 for further, similar civic education efforts. A copy of the current OAS election budget is shown on Attachment III.

II. UNRESOLVED ISSUES AND CONCERNS

A. Voter Registration

The voter registration cards in use are about four times the size originally proposed. The cards must be folded several times to fit in a wallet, purse or pocket. Card stock tends to deteriorate with folding and unfolding. The OAS continues to budget \$225,000 for card laminating materials. However, lamination would make the registration cards very difficult to carry on a practical basis. Printing errors on the registration codes have been discovered as well as differences in the thicknesses of card stocks used. There is a further discrepancy in that the first page of the registration books calls for a thumb print even though the election laws do not specify that such identification is required.

Several voter registration locations inside and outside of Port-au-Prince were personally visited including: 1) Petionville; 2) Delmas 30; 3) Centrale Autonome de Travailleurs Haitiens; 4) Thomassin; and, 5) the B.E.C. at Kenscoff. Sporadic thumb printing was observed only at Delmas 30 and did not appear to occur elsewhere. Many of these thumb prints were smudged and could not be used for identification purposes if required.

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There was only one report of scuffling and disruption at a registration site and that was at Delmas 30 on October 21.

Representatives at both the CEP and CAPEL offices indicated by October 23 that registration cards gained through multiple registrations were already being sold on the street for \$15 to \$50 each. Since addresses and ID verification are often difficult to ascertain, there is nothing in the registration process to prevent one individual from registering to vote in multiple locations. Such a realization gives an increased importance to employing an effective ink to prevent multiple voting by a single individual.

There is a further computer programming concern in the election codes used to identify voters by districts. Citibank has established a program to use 8 digits and the registration records show codes using more than 8 digits.

B. Ballots and Ballot Boxes

The CEP has decided not to use the proposed "coupon book" style of ballots, but rather keep each ballot on a separate sheet of paper. Rocks or other weights will be placed on the stacks of ballots to secure them. Further, the CEP desires that all ballots be printed by a Haitian supplier. Since there are 35 candidates for president, this would mean that on the basis of a maximum of 3 million voters, 105 million separate ballots with halftones and color-coding by candidate would have to be produced for that contest alone.

Furthermore, there is no policy yet adopted by the CEP for the retention of ballots after each election. Although the election laws are silent on provisions for recounts or disputed results, neither the length of retention nor a storage location have been identified.

Since the openings in the tops of the ballot boxes are too small for the envelopes holding the voted ballots, the CEP has decided to keep the sliding tops partially open for ballot envelope insertion. The impact on the security of the ballot box from such utilization has yet to be determined.

C. Election Workers

With the CDRH's withdrawal from the election worker training process, there is no clear program for the training and recruitment of election workers. Moreover, the status of the number of workers still needed to complete the complement of 30,000 required and who will be responsible for such an effort is personally unknown. In addition, the 6,000 polling places where these workers will be stationed have not been completely identified.

D. Candidates

The filing deadline has passed and there is an insufficient number of candidates in some contests. A complete list of candidates is shown as Attachment IV. This problem is particularly evident in the local races where a CAPEL representative reported that 22 contests have a single candidate and 11 districts have no candidate whatsoever. Because of this shortage of local candidates, the CEP is considering changing the scheduled local elections from November 15 to January 3.

In addition, Article 291 of the new constitution prohibits anyone associated with the former Duvalier regime from running for public office in the next ten years. A copy of this provision is shown as Attachment V. Regardless, some former Duvalier associates insist on running and other certified candidates have publicly questioned the validity of such a constitutional provision. The impact of such "unofficial" candidacies on the election process is uncertain.

E. Civic Education

Although civic education programs have been organized and financed, personal observation did not reveal any extensive dissemination of the printed materials developed by Corbin Advertising. Many of these materials are still stockpiled on the first floor of the CEP central office in Port-au-Prince. In fact, personal observations indicate wider dissemination of the printed media previously developed by the CDRH.

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Further, the real impact of the Corbin Advertising materials remains a question. The CDRH approach emphasized themes which illustrated the rights and responsibilities of living in a democracy, whereas Corbin Advertising took a flatter approach which simply advertised the fact that elections are occurring.

Although the first phases of civic education have been completed, the process should not be curtailed. In fact, it should continue in any form possible between now and the end of the current election cycle in December.

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199 Autoroute de Delmas
Delmas, Port-au-Prince, Haiti

CARTE D'ÉLECTEUR / KAT ELEKTÈ N°									
NOM / SIYATI:									
PRÉNOM / NON:									
ADRESSE / ADRÈS:									
DATE DE NAISSANCE / JOU OU TE FET									
AGE / LAJ									
SEXE / SEKS									
CIRCONSCRIPTION DE VOTE / SIKONSKRIPSYON VÔT:									
M / G									
F / F									
N° BUREAU VOTE / N° BIWO VÔT									
N° D'ORDRE SUR LA LISTE / N° DÒD SOU LIS LA									
DATE D'INSCRIPTION / DAT ENSKRIPSYON									
SIGNATURES AUTORISÉES / SIYATI OTORIZE									
PRÉSIDENT / PREZIDAN:					MEMBRE / MANM:				

ELECTEUR / ELEKTE

SPENDING PLAN
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES

Creole version of election laws (50,000 copies)	\$ 22,500
Lamination for voter identification cards (150,000 rolls)	225,000
Office supplies for polling places (6,000 @ \$15 each)	90,000
Safes for departmental field offices (9)	36,000
300 gallons of indelible ink for election day	90,000
6,500 scissors for cutting voter identification cards	35,000
Miscellaneous	<u>3,500</u>
 TOTAL	 \$500,000

EXHIBIT UNAVAILABLE

manent se départagent par tirage au sort les mandats de neuf (9), six (6) et trois (3) ans, prévus pour le renouvellement partiers (1/3) du Conseil.

Article 291: Ne pourra briguer aucune fonction publique durant les dix (10) années qui suivront la publication de la Présente Constitution et cela sans préjudice des actions pénales ou en réparation civile:

a) Toute personne notablement connue pour avoir été par ses excès de zèle un des artisans de la dictature et de son maintien durant les vingt-neuf (29) dernières années;

b) Tout comptable des deniers publics durant les années de la dictature sur qui plane une présomption d'enrichissement illicite;

c) Toute personne dénoncée par le clameur publique pour avoir pratiqué la torture sur les prisonniers politiques, à l'occasion des arrestations et des enquêtes ou d'actes commis des assassinats politiques.

Article 292: Le Conseil Electoral Provisionnel chargé de recevoir les dépôts de candidature, veille à la stricte application de cette disposition.

Article 293: Tous les Décrets d'expropriation de biens immobiliers dans les zones urbaines et rurales de la République des deux (2) derniers Gouvernements Haïtiens au profit de l'Etat ou des sociétés en formation sont annulés si le but pour lequel ils ont

été pris, n'a pas été exécuté au cours des dix (10) dernières années.

Article 293-1: Tout individu victime de confiscation de biens ou de dépossession arbitraire pour raison politique, durant la période s'étendant du 22 Octobre 1957 au 7 Février 1986 peut récupérer ses biens devant le Tribunal compétent.

Dans ce cas, la procédure est célébre comme pour les affaires urgentes et la décision n'est susceptible que du pourvoi en Cassation.

Article 294: Les condamnations à des peines afflictives et infamantes pour des raisons politiques de 1957 à 1986, n'engendrent aucun empêchement à l'exercice des Droits Civils et Politiques.

Article 295: Dans les six (6) mois à partir de l'entrée en fonction du Premier Président élu sous l'empire de la Constitution de 1987, le Pouvoir Exécutif est autorisé à procéder à toutes réformes jugées nécessaires dans l'Administration Publique en général et dans la Magistrature.

Titre XV

Dispositions Finales

Article 296: Tous les Codes de Lois ou Manuels de Justice, toutes les Lois, tous les Décrets-Lois et tous les Décrets et Arrêts actuellement en vigueur sont maintenus en tout ce qui n'est pas contraire à la présente Constitution.

Article 297: Toutes les Lois, tous les Décrets-Lois, tous les Décrets restreignant arbitrairement les droits et libertés fondamentaux des citoyens notamment:

a) Le Décret-Loi du 5 Septembre 1935 sur les croyances superstitieuses;

b) La Loi du 2 Août 1977 instituant le Tribunal de la Sécurité de l'Etat;

c) La Loi du 28 Juillet 1975 soumettant les terres de la Vallée de l'Arbonne à un statut d'exception;

d) La Loi du 29 Avril 1969 concernant toute doctrine d'importation;

Sont et demeurent abrogés.

Article 298: La présente Constitution doit être publiée dans la quinzaine de sa ratification par voie référendaire. Elle entre en vigueur dès sa publication au Monteur, Journal Officiel de la République.

Donné au Palais Législatif, à Port-au-Prince, siège de l'Assemblée Nationale Constituante, le 10 Mars 1987, Ann 184ème de l'Indépendance.

Me Emile Jonassaint
Président de l'Assemblée
Constituante

Me Jean Suplice
Vice-Président de l'Assemblée
Constituante

Les Secrétaires:

Mme Barthilde Barbancourt
M. Jacques Saint-Louis

Me Raphaël Michel Adelson

Les Membres:

Me Daniel Anglade
M. Yvon Auguste

M. Karl Auguste
M. Richard Baker
M. Jean Adler Basin
Me Fresnel Bellaire
Me Rigaud Th Bois
Me Nyl Calixte
Me Hugo Charles
Me Claveroche Cherenfant
Me Alcan Dormeus
Me Chantal Hudicourt Ewald
Me. Rotchild François
M. Rick Garnier
Me. Reynold Georges
Me. Antoine Gilles
Dr. Georges Greffin
M. Alexis C. Guerrier
M. Louis Domnald Guerrier
Me. Athanase Jean-Louis
M. Julio Larosillère
M. Gérard M. Laurent
M. Jean Abraham Lubin
Me. François R. Magloire
M. Volvic Mathieu
Me Justin Mezile
Me. Barbanès Mousignac
Me Ménéès Ovide
M. Franck Paulche.
M. Gustave Pierre-Louis
Me Gérard Romulus
M. Gary Sajous
Me Michel Félix Sapin
M. Eddy Saint-Pierre
M. Jacques Selde
M. Jean Edmond Tida
M. Serge Villard
M. Adollon Israël
Me. Wilbert Joseph
M. Guy Latorue
M. Lavelanet Lindor
M. Jean Léonidas Lucien
Me Jean Malville
Dr. Georges Michel
Me Justin Obas
Me. Plerès Paul
M. Réginal Ribboul
Dr. Louis Roy
M. Benoit Sanon
Me. Gracia Saint Louis
M. Pierre Saint Remy
Me Marc Semerville
M. Eclésiaste Valcin

MEMORANDUM

TO: Eddie Mahe, Jr.
Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates, Inc.

FROM: Jeff Fischer

SUBJECT: Haitian Election Project

DATE: November 16, 1987

This memorandum is to serve as a report on a trip which was taken from November 8 through November 11 to Port-au-Prince concerning the upcoming Haitian elections. It is divided into three sections: 1) a discussion of critical issues in the election process remaining unresolved; 2) a list of recommendations; and 3) an outline of background information for international election observers. Also included is a set of attachments which support the material with accompanying detail. A complete set of additional documents from the trip is also included. A list of the meeting participants is shown as Attachment I.

I. CRITICAL ISSUES

A. Transportation and Supplies

At this writing, there are thirteen days remaining in the November 29 election cycle. As a result, only twelve days can be considered as remaining on the election calendar during which the transportation of election items can be accomplished. During this period of time, the Conseil Electoral Provisoire (CEP) must transport 69,000,000 presidential ballots; over 300 million senate and deputy ballots; around 5,000 ballot boxes; 15,000 voting booths; voter registration lists; and, 300 gallons of ink to an estimated 4,500 to 5,000 polling places in the country. Since a single building may house several polling

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places, the actual number of stops required by those transporting the election items would be considerably less than 5,000. No comprehensive list of polling locations has been compiled or published. In fact, some landlords, chary of the violence which occurred at registration locations, have cancelled arrangements to use their buildings as polling place sites. Nevertheless, if there were an average of three locations per polling site, it would mean around 1,600 total stops would be necessary to route election materials around the country. It is also reported that some places are remote and cannot be easily reached by land vehicle.

After polls close and the local vote counting has been completed, the communication of the vote results back to the CEP central office is also a transportation concern. The original plan was to carry the results from the BEC level to the departmental office (BED) where the tally sheets would be faxed to the central office. However, the 10 fax machines required for this operation were destroyed in the fire at the CEP headquarters. One alternative plan discussed was to have the president, vice president and any other election workers of the polling place, telephone the results back to the CEP central office. The written tally sheets could then be sent the next day by conventional land transportation to confirm the previous evening report.

During my visit, there were two direct requests made for helicopters to be used to assist in the transportation effort. The first came through Francisco Way of CAPEL for 10 units and the second from Dr. Louis Roy of MOVEH for 5 units.

B. Voter Registration

Problems with the transportation of election materials are clearly illustrated in logistical failures which occurred in the voter registration process. By all reports, public response to the voter registration process has been described in optimistic terms. The actual final count has been reported to range between 1.5 million and 2 million plus voters. In those BEC's where snags in the registration process occurred, the CEP extended its deadline for registration completion a second time, to November 15.

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At the other end, the Citibank computerization process has procedures, personnel, programming and supervision in place to process a maximum of 130,000 names per day using three shifts of operation. Even at this optimistic rate, 1.5 million names would take about 11 days to process. It is obvious that total computerization of the registration records will not occur. However, handwritten registration has been completed and simply because names are not on a computerized list does not mean that registration has not occurred. In those areas where the computerized lists are not available, the handwritten registration documents should suffice.

The bottleneck in the system occurred in the transportation of registration documents from the local level to Port-au-Prince for processing. As of November 9, only 50,000 entries had been made. Since Citibank had not received registration documents to handle, one shift of operation was temporarily laid off. No work was being performed on that Monday, however, by Tuesday a single shift of operation was going and an additional 50,000 or so registration documents that had arrived on Monday were being input. By the conclusion of my visit on Wednesday, slightly over 100,000 entries had been made (See NOTE). The operation was functioning with 45 data entry people employed by the bank and 11 representatives of the CEP who were inspecting the registration documents and checking each data processed list for errors and discrepancies. The operation is supervised by two individuals who work in data processing at the bank. They reported to me that as soon as a backlog collects in a sufficient amount to support a second shift or third shift, individuals have been trained and viable shifts can be quickly reassembled.

The problems reported by the Citibank supervisors concerning the source documents received were the following: 1) handwriting made some registrations difficult to read; 2) the date of birth was not given but rather the age; as a result, all such registrations are simply listed as 1-1-53, for example, of someone listed as 34 years old; and 3) sometimes the local registration officials sent the original registration forms rather than the logs. From an estimate made by observation, it takes twice as long to enter from the registration books than from the logs.

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Each registration possesses an eight digit code which refers to the Department, Arrondissement, Commune, Section de Commune and Bureau de Vote of that voter. The print-outs to be returned to the polling places are in registration number order and show the eight digit registration number, name, date of birth, and sex of the voter as well as the operator and batch number of the items processed.

Although transportation is a factor in the registration bottleneck, three other factors were mentioned as possible reasons for delays. There have been payroll problems with voter registration workers and it is reported that some registration workers were holding on to registration documents until they got paid. Attachment II is a note on a visit to the CEP made by Peter Whaley concerning this issue. Additionally, Ed Scott of the Centre De Developpement Des Ressources Humaines (CDRH) mentioned that some workers were concerned about the violence in Port-au-Prince and the vulnerability of the documents they had created. They were holding on to the documents fearful that they might be destroyed while in transport or storage. He further mentioned that it was possible in such areas as Jeremie, which is a traditionally independent and somewhat anti-establishment region, that workers there might be holding on to the documents as part of their routine way of doing things.

C. Security

Attachment III is a calendar of election activities which was developed during a meeting on November 9 between Francisco Way and Mark Antoine Noel held at the CAPEL offices. Also present at the meeting and in the discussions were Claude Baudel, Dr. Oscar Fernandez and myself. The overleaf shows a translation from the French of each of these activities and its intended timeframe. The distribution of materials and equipment to the local election boards is addressed on this calendar as occurring between November 12 and November 26. When discussing this issue, I posed a security question to Mark Antoine Noel concerning protection for the vehicles delivering election materials. He responded that the only way security could be guaranteed in any measure was for it to be provided by the Conseil National Gouvernement (CNG). He further stated that the only party who

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could place sufficient pressure on the CNG to deliver such security would be the United States government. Otherwise, there is no security provided for in CEP plans.

Further, item 14 refers to the organization of the Brigades de Vigilance. This is the first such reference in planning to the organization of such groups. The calendar indicates that the Brigades must be organized on the departmental level and with the Director of Civic Education at the CEP. That director is Dr. Louis Roy. Ed Scott indicated that the organization effort was just getting started and that it was uneven throughout the country. However, groups and individuals mentioned as being part of the process include MOVELH, the Boy Scouts, Catholic nuns, IHRED and Odette Fombrun.

This calendar indicates that the printing of the ballots would be completed by November 19. The CEP has been tight-lipped about the location of the ballot printing as a result of the La Natale printing company fire.

A further security concern is in the use of ink to identify those who have voted. A sample of ink developed by your office as well as a report were presented at both a meeting on November 9 at the Embassy as well as a meeting on November 11 with Ragnar Arnesen of the Organization of American States (OAS). The problems with the ink selected by the OAS were presented at both meetings. At the OAS meeting, I was accompanied by Marilyn Zak of US-AID in Washington, D.C. It was suggested that the CEP test the OAS ink, an ink from Venezuela and the one provided by your office. However, it was reported that the decision was made to use the ink provided by the OAS despite the documented problems with it.

Finally, at this writing, Article 291 has not been invoked for Senate or Deputy contests. It is reported that the type of election-related violence experienced in Port-au-Prince has not been similarly observed in the provinces.

D. Election Workers

Election workers at polling places are to be paid \$2.00 per day for a period of ten days

which includes their training. Those workers in voter registration were paid at a rate of \$3.00 per day. It was estimated by Ed Scott that there were between 4,000 and 5,000 functional registration sites employing between 10,000 and 12,000 registrars. This represents the base of individuals who will serve as election workers. However, additional recruitment of people to work in polling places must occur. The original plan by the CEP was to have 5 people per polling place. Three of these workers would be representatives from the political parties involved and must be identified outside the CEP. If the CEP had only 5,000 polling places which would require 2 people each, the existing number of election workers would just cover what is needed.

The election worker training was scheduled to begin on Thursday, November 12. However, it was reported on November 16 that internal dissent on the training program at the BED level prevented the CDRH effort to begin. The CDRH program included videotapes showing on how to set up a polling place, how to receive voters, and other miscellaneous items. Workers were to be instructed not to set out all the ballots at once but to replenish supplies as needed. Each polling place will differ in terms of the placement of ballots on the table so as to not appear to favor any particular candidate with a preferred position. Attachment IV and V show instructional sheets in Creole on the training process.

At the OAS meeting, representatives there were under the impression that each voter would pick up one of each ballot to be able to preserve a secret ballot procedure. Some individuals at US-AID understood that the voter only selects the ballots of those whom he supports. Ed Scott is instructing election workers that the voter is to only pick up the ballots of those whom they wish to support. Operationally, either method could be used and its impact is neutral on the process. However, it must be understood that by selecting a ballot in public, a measure of the secrecy of one's ballot is sacrificed in the process. The election law clearly calls for a secret ballot.

Further public educational materials are being developed by Anne Arthur at Corbin Advertising. Attachment VI is a photostat of a brochure mock-up which shows instructions on the voting process.

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NOTE: By November 14, 430,000 names were entered; by November 22, a projected 700,000 names are to be completed; and by early in the week of November 23, a projected 1.2 million names will be entered.

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Transportation and Supplies

Specific and critical assistance should be provided to the CEP in the transportation and distribution of voting materials to polling places. US assistance can be earmarked to pay for four-wheel drive or pickup truck vehicles, drivers and coordinators to distribute the materials to the appropriate places. In addition, the lease of two or three helicopters to assist in distributing the items more quickly and to remote places should be included. Particular expertise should be provided to assist the CEP in establishing routes and in coordinating the distribution activity. This infrastructure should also be used after the election to return the items to the CEP.

B. Voter Registration

Public statements concerning the voter registration effort should not indicate an unqualified declaration of failure of the registration process. It has served the purpose of creating public interest and enthusiasm concerning the upcoming elections and provided civic education on the process. Further, in contrast to the 1957 elections where no registration occurred, the fact that a registration effort existed sends a signal to those who might contemplate fraud that more controls are on this process than were on the process in 1957. Further, the computerization project at Citibank is functioning well but is under an unrealistic time constraint for completion. The failure in the registration process was a logistical failure in transporting registration records for input. However, it must be understood that simply because one's name may not appear on a computer print-out that does not mean one is not registered to vote.

Further, the issue of voter disenfranchisement must be addressed. The suggestion has been made that a provision for election day registration be established so that any of those not registering previously may do so. If an effective inking process were in place, the establishment of an election day registration option should be pursued. However, the

lack of an effective inking process does not make election day registration a viable alternative. Neither the CEP nor Embassy officials felt that election workers could have effectively handled a registration process in addition to the routines associated with the voting activity. As a result, part of the civic education effort must be to advise people about the constraints of the registration process. The messages must say that if you have not registered to vote and do not have a card, you will not be permitted to vote and it is not a conspiracy of the government to prevent you from doing so. Although this may be a difficult issue to communicate, public announcement services must be utilized not only to advise those who have registered on how to vote but to advise those who did not register what the result of their inaction will be. Such announcements could be combined with further information so that registration can occur for the run-off election in late December.

C. Security

All official and unofficial avenues should be used to demand that the CNG provide a peaceful environment in the country for an election to occur on November 29. Some relationship between the CNG and CEP must be established for security to exist at polling places and in the transportation of election materials. In addition, security must be provided in the collection of voting materials the day after the election and their return to the central office.

Specific expertise should be directed toward assisting in the organization of the Brigades de Vigilance. Education on what such brigades should do and how they should report any problems must be clearly understood. The organization of such groups has not been in the forefront of issues addressed by the CEP. As a result, additional expertise devoted to this problem could prove to be a valuable manpower addition at this point in time.

D. Election Workers

Although there will be fewer workers than originally estimated, there appears to be enough to accomplish an election. The status of those to be supplied by the political parties or candidates must be determined in better detail.

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However, one critical difference among those involved must be resolved for a consistent policy. That point is the voting procedure on whether a voter takes only those ballots of the candidate he supports, or, whether he takes ballots from all candidates, selects one and discards the rest. As explained earlier, the CDRH is training election workers that only a ballot of support is taken, whereas, there is understanding elsewhere that all ballots are picked up. This is important because of the need for a consistent policy on ballot secrecy. In the general election, when the contest narrows to two candidates, the ballot secrecy issue will have increased importance. If a similar ballot form is preserved, it should be the recommended procedure that each individual pick-up all ballots and vote in the privacy of the voting booth.

III. BACKGROUND FOR INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS

Anne Arthur of Corbin Advertising has proposed a \$59,530 program for election day security and accommodations for journalists and election observers. A copy of her proposal and budget is included as Attachment VII. An ID card stock of 2,000 exists for the total number of journalists and observers she anticipated. According to Marilyn Zak, there could be up to 800 journalists and 1,500 observers making this card stock a little short. Anne Arthur has been advised of this potential shortfall and has been asked to be updated if additional printing requirements occur. Her proposal includes providing a room for reporters with a small office including typewriters and other equipment. Information boards at airports and hotels are also included. Additionally, security at the hotel and in other locations represent a portion of the total budget.

Below is an outline of information to be developed for a background sheet for international observers. In addition, Attachment VIII shows a glossary of terms to be included in the packet which are unique or important to the Haitian election process.

- I. Referendum Election
 - A. Date and question involved
 - B. Turnout

- II. Election Districts and Contests
 - A. Election Contests
 - 1. President
 - 2. Senator
 - 3. Deputy
 - 4. Local Offices

- III. Voting Procedures
 - A. Voter Registration
 - B. Polling Place Configuration
 - C. Voting Procedures
 - D. Ballot Configurations

- IV. Election System
 - A. Conseil Electoral Provisoire (CEP)
 - 1. Departmental and Communal Offices
 - B. Article 291

- V. Election Controls
 - A. Brigades de Vigilance
 - B. Voter Counting Procedures
 - C. Computerization Efforts

MEETING PARTICIPANTS

Jean-Claude H. Roy
 Director of Information
 Conseil Electoral Provisoire
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 272 Rue de Magasin de l'Est
 Boite Postale 15292
 Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Brunson McKinley
 United States Ambassador
 United States Embassy
 Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Claude Baudel
 CAPEL
 Holiday Inn
 Port-au-Prince

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Marilyn A. Zak
 Deputy Director
 Office of Caribbean Affairs
 U. S. Agency for International
 Development
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 Washington, D. C. 20523

Dr. Oscar Fernandez
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 San Jose, Costa Rica

Francisco Way
 CAPEL
 Holiday Inn
 Port-au-Prince, Haiti

CALENDAR OF ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

<u>ORDER</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>
01	Meeting of personnel for assignment of tasks.
02	Determination of number of polling places.
03	Organization of personnel of polling places.
04	Locating polling places and development and distribution of lists.
05	Printing and distribution of ballots.
06	Receipt and distribution of polling place materials.
07	Organization of equipment and distribution to polling places.
08	Continuation of the registration process.
09	Development of statistical tables by department, deputy district, commune and commune section.
10	Establishment of an information system.
11	Organization of welcome offices for international observers and journalists.
12	Establishment of a system of publicizing information on voting procedures.
13	Lamination of voter registration cards.
14	Organization of Brigades of Vigilance.
15	Development of budget.
16	Development of voter registration lists in alphabetical order.
17	Publicity.
18	Examination of candidates' backgrounds.

EXHIBITS UNAVAILABLE



REPUBLIQUE HAÏTIENNE
COMMISSION NATIONALE D'ORGANISATION ET DE SURVEILLANCE DES ELECTIONS

advertising estimate

Client: CAPEL / HAÏTI
 Project: CEP/KEP / Elections
 Area: Haiti
 Budget: Phase II / VOTE
 Date: 27 Octobre 1967

*Submitted to: Mr. H. A. ...
 Thursday, 29 Oct 1967*

Coût de production

(1) Dépliants: VOTE

Design, épreuve, maquette, typographie;
 photostats non inclus, pour un dépliant en
 2 couleurs, format 9" X 12" en Créole et en Français \$ 350.00
 Imprimerie de 250,000 dépliants, format
 9" X 12" avec 2 couleurs,
 2 couleurs, papier Bond offset: \$ 10,500.00
\$ 10,850.00

(2) Feuilles volants: VOTE

Design, épreuve, maquette, typographie
 Imprimerie de 2 millions de feuillets
 sur papier bond 16 en 2 couleurs
 (text: slogan dates des élections et logo) \$ 29,000.00
\$ 29,200.00



DDBM ADVERTISING INC. HAITI S.A.
 100 RUE DE SAATCHI (COURTESY WOODBURN) LAURENCE

advertising estimate

Client: CAPEL / HAITI
 Product: CEP/KEP Elections
 Agency: H&H
 Budget: Phase II / VOTE
 Date: 27 Octobre 1987
 Period:

Coût de Production (Sdts)

(3) Banderôles: VOTE

Design, maquette pour banderôle double face
 avec text et logo:

\$ 150.00

Production de banderôle: tissus, peinture,
 screen, imprimerie, cordes

pour 450 banderôles double face \$150.00

\$ 85,500.00

\$ 85,650.00

(4) Affiches: VOTE

Maquette, design, typographie, photostats

\$ 400.00

Imprimerie d'affiches, format 17" X 22"
 en 2 couleurs
 (pas de photos)

40,000 affiches

\$ 6,900.00

\$ 7,300.00



PRIN ADVERTISING HAITI S.A.
 THE SATCHEL COMPTON WORKING AGENCY

advertising estimate

Client : CAPEL/HAITI
 Product : OEP/KEP/Elections
 Area : Haiti
 Budget : Phase II/VOTE
 Date : 27 Octobre 1997
 Period :

Coût de Production (Suite)

(5) Spots Television : VOTE

Conception de scenario, prises de vue,
 montage, studio et direction pour un spot de 30 secondes:
 Paiement acteur

\$ 1,200.00
 200.00
\$ 1,400.00

(6) Spots Radio : VOTE

Redaction des textes sourises, une (1) voix, studio, montage
 avec jingle \$ 300.00
 Production de quereux spots \$ 1,200.00
 Copies pour stations de radio:
 30 copies à \$10.00 par spot = 30 X 1 X \$10.00

\$ 1,200.00
\$ 2,400.00

Approved

Date



COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
 1000 17th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

adv. printing estimate

Client: CAFEL / PARTI
 Product: CEP/KEP/ Elections
 Area: Haiti
 Budget: Phase II / VOTE Part 1
 Date: 27 Octobre 1967

Coût de production / Phase II / VOTE

(7) T-shirt: VOTE

Design, maquette, typographie \$ 150.00
 Imprimerie de T-shirts
 en 2 couleurs, recto

900 douzaines = 10,800 T-shirts \$ 15,300.00

\$ 15,450.00

(8) Annonce de Journaux: VOTE

Design, épreuve, maquette pour une
 annonce d'une page entière \$ 300.00



CORPORATION ADVERTISING AND PUBLICITY, HAITI S.A.
 SAATCHI & SAATCHI HICORPORATION WORLDWIDE AGENCY

advertising estimate

Client: CASAL / HAITI
 Product: CEP/KEP / Elections
 Agency: Haiti
 Order: Phase II / VOTE
 Period: 27 Octobre 1987

(1) Coût de placement / Press

Le Nouvelliste

Dix (10) annonces d'une page entière (\$200.00/page) \$ 2,000.00

Le Matin

Cinq (5) annonces d'une page entière (\$500.00/page) \$ 2,500.00

~~\$ 4,500.00~~

Pour tous les autres placements aux journaux, le CEP/KEP est responsable.

(2) Placement Télévision et Radio

CEP/KEP est responsable de la diffusion des messages radio/télévisés.

(3) Distribution matériel imprimé, T-shirts, Banderôles

Le CEP / KEP distribue tout le matériel imprimé pour les provinces et Port au Prince, les T-shirts aux employés des bureaux de vote et les banderôles pour les provinces.

La Corbin installe les banderôles à Port au Prince et à Petit-ŷan, Route de Kenscoff.
 La Corbin s'engage à donner des conseils pour mieux organiser la distribution du matériel.



COMMISSION NATIONALE D'ÉLECTIONS
 NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF HAITI

advertising estimate
 CAPEL / HAITI
 SEP/SEP / Elections
 Haiti
 Phase II / VOTE
 27 Octobre 1987

Recapitulation Budget Phase II / VOTE

Production

250,000	dépliants	\$ 10,850.00
2 million	feuillets	29,200.00
450	banderoles	85,650.00
40,000	affiches	7,300.00
1	spot television	1,400.00
4	spots radio	2,400.00
10,800	T-shirts	15,450.00
1	annonce journaux	300.00
		<u>\$ 152,550.00</u>

Placement

Nouveliste,	10 annonces	\$ 2,000.00
Matin,	5 annonces	\$ 2,500.00
		<u>\$ 4,500.00</u>
	Total	<u>\$ 157,050.00</u>

MODE DE PAIEMENT:

- 50% A l'Avance
- 25% A l'épreuve du Travail
- 25% Balance à la livraison

Approved

GLOSSARY OF ELECTION TERMS

ARRONDISSEMENT	Deputy district.
ARTICLE 291	Article in Constitution which prohibits a candidate from running for office on the basis of his association with the Duvalier regime.
BRIGADES DE VIGILANCE	Groups of voluntary poll watchers provided for in the election law.
BULLETIN DE VOTE	Individual candidate's ballot which is voted and includes candidate photograph, campaign colors, symbol and name in French and Creole.
BUREAU D' INSCRIPTION	Voter registration site.
BUREAU DE VOTE	Polling Place.
BUREAU ELECTORAL COMMUNAL (BEC)	Election offices on the local level.
BUREAU ELECTORAL DEPARTMENT (BED)	Election offices on the department level.
CENTRE DE DEVELOPPEMENT DES RESSOURCES HUMAINES (CDRH)	Organization responsible for voter education and election worker training programs.
CIRCONSCRIPTION ELECTORALE	Election district.
CONSEIL ELECTORAL PROVISOIRE (CEP)	Independent Provisional Election Council.

CONSEIL NATIONAL DE GOUVERNEMENT (CNG)	Provisional National Government.
CONSEILS D' ADMINISTRATION DES SECTIONS COMMUNALES (CASEC)	Local provincial offices for which candidates will run in January.
CONSEILS MUNICIPAUX	Local municipal office for which candidates will run in January.
DEPARTMENT	Senate district.
DEPUTE	One of 77 congressional level offices elected by arrondissement whose primary is on November 29.
INTER-AMERICAN CENTER FOR ELECTORAL PROMOTION AND ASSISTANCE (CAPEL)	Latin American organization responsible for general election assistance.
ISOLOIR	Voting booth.
LOI ELECTORAL 1987	That set of statutes created by the CEP to govern this election cycle.
ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES (OAS)	Organization providing election materials, ink and other direct assistance to CEP.
SCRUTIN DE LISTE OU CARTEL	Ballot for local offices where all names appear on a single ballot sheet.
SENATEUR	One of 27 senate level offices elected by department whose primary is on November 29.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Eddie Mahe, Jr.
Eddie Mahe, Jr. and Associates, Inc.

FROM: Jeff Fischer

SUBJECT: Haitian Election Project

DATE: December 4, 1987

This memorandum is to serve as a report on a trip taken to Haiti from November 27 through December 1 for the purpose of observing the Haiti national elections on November 29. The report is divided into two sections: 1) a chronological narrative of my experiences on the day before and the day of the election; and, 2) final impressions drawn from these observations.

I. CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE

During the morning of November 28, the offices of the Conseil Electoral Provisoire (CEP) were visited in order to observe the election material distribution process. Dozens of people were working in open-air quarters organizing the items. These workers represented a cross section of young and old, male and female. Catholic nuns were involved with much of the activity. The items were being loaded into trucks which were located on a lot adjacent to the CEP offices. Security was provided by CEP personnel and no government-sponsored protection was present. It was here that Marc Antoine Noel of the CEP stated that the Conseil National Gouvernement (CNG) had grounded the single helicopter which was to be used for election material distribution to remote areas. The CNG stated that the grounding decision was motivated by security reasons.

On the afternoon of November 28, I visited four Bureau Electoral Communal (BEC) offices with Charles Tardieu-Dehoux, a Haitian observer and consultant with the Centre De

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Developpement Des Ressources Humaines (CDRH). Mr. Tardieu had been involved with the training of election workers from this area. On our visits, we checked on the arrival of election materials and distributed further educational posters and training manuals.

The first office visited was in Gressiere. Its contents had been burned the evening before. Envelopes, posters, ballot boxes and ballots had been destroyed, although the structure itself remained usable. It was situated about 200 feet from a police station. The BEC office was full of volunteers cleaning up charred ballot boxes, removing usable materials and reorganizing a newly delivered batch of ballots.

At the next stop, in Leogande, the ballots had just arrived and were being organized for distribution to over a dozen polling places which were fed by this BEC. The atmosphere was orderly and the election workers appeared comfortable with the process and knowledgeable about what was required to distribute the materials. At the Grand Goave BEC, voting materials for five or six remote polling places had not been distributed by the time of our arrival. The election workers indicated that this had been intentional because of their concern over the security of these materials. In addition, a couple of polling places were out-of-doors and there were no nearby indoor storage facilities identified. Mr. Tardieu and I stated that we would assist in the distribution effort the next morning.

After nightfall, a final stop was made at the Petit-Goave BEC. Here, all ballots and voting materials had already been received, organized, and dispatched to the polling places. During our conversation with the BEC president, a soldier came into the office and remained there in silence until our departure.

The Tardieu family and I stayed overnight in a seaside home located in a rural area about ten minutes from Grand Goave. During the evening, we were joined by eight young Haitian men, some of whom were election workers, and who were interested in discussing politics and the election.

One polling place vice president said that he was getting up at 2:00 or 3:00 A.M. in order

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to walk ten miles with election materials to a remote polling place where he would be working. Mr. Tardieu also hand-wrote several "Mandats", a form of challenger credential in the election law used by candidate supporters so that they can enter the polling places and check on activities on behalf of their candidates. These "Mandats" were written for some of the visitors.

I asked these workers who or what motivated them to participate in these elections. They indicated that it was not so much an institution, e.g., the church, or school, as it was self-motivation and peer encouragement.

Since there still appeared to be confusion over the "all ballots selected" versus "one ballot selected" voting procedure, I inquired if ballot secrecy was a concern. Each responded that it was not.

On election day, Mr. Tardieu and I delivered ballots, ballot boxes, materials and poll workers to six polls in the Grand Goave area.

The first polling place reviewed was at the BEC in Grand Goave. New holes had been cut in all ballot boxes to accommodate the envelopes. The following steps in the voting process were observed:

1. The voter registration card was presented to poll workers.
2. After identifying the voter, a self-adhesive label was placed on the registration list to indicate the voter had voted.
3. The voter registration card was laminated.
4. The voter registration card was punched.
5. The voter selected ballots of only those candidates he supported. The ballots were stacked on the floor next to the walls of the building. No isolairs were used. Signs in Creole designating the ballots as

5. (Con't.) President, Senate or Deputy were on the walls above the ballots.
6. The voter placed the selected ballots in an envelope, sealed the envelope and placed it in the ballot box.
7. In most cases, the voter's finger was inked after voting. However, in some cases, it occurred before the ballots were selected. Some inking was performed to sufficiently cover the cuticle, some was not.

Further general observations from this location include the following points. The times that it took to vote for both an elderly man and a Catholic nun were tracked in order to determine possible extremes in the voting process. The elderly man took a little over 4 minutes to walk through the process and the Catholic nun took about 3 minutes. Some voters came in with candidate literature to assist them in selecting the correct candidate's ballot. Two Catholic nuns assumed the roles of assisting voters in balloting on the inside of the polling place, as well as helping to keep order in the line of voters outside the polling place. The maximum number of people observed in the line to vote was around fifty.

There was an insufficient number of ballot envelopes. At my suggestion, envelopes were cut in half and the open ends sealed with the laminating material, making two envelopes out of each one. Placing the self-adhesive stickers on the registration lists to show which voters had voted seemed to be a time consuming process. In addition, the card lamination activity was awkward and messy and added at least one minute to the voting process.

Non-computerized lists of registered voters were used. No problems associated with discrepancies or omissions in the registration process were observed or reported.

Six members of the Brigade de Vigilance were present with name tags created from colored construction paper.

At about 8:30 A.M., four soldiers drove by in a private vehicle, but made no attempt to

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stop or make contact with anyone at the polling place.

Although most poll workers appeared to be young people in their late teens and twenties, voters represented a complete range of young and old, male and female.

Additional polling places were visited in the area. The number of workers at each ranged from two at the smaller locations to five at the larger ones. The lines of voters ranged from zero to about twenty-five. Although tables were used in each location, no isoairs were present. Hand-written registration lists were used everywhere. In each case, only the ballots of those candidates the voter supported were selected and placed in the envelope. Two of the polls were out-of-doors.

The only altercation observed was when a polling place president became upset that the voters were crowding the table containing the ballots and were not forming lines as he had instructed.

Mr. Tardieu and I were on our way to another polling place, ferrying three workers and some materials, when the announcement from Dr. Ernst Mirville came on the radio concerning the suspension of voting. We returned the workers to their homes and went to the telephone company to get instructions from the US-AID office at the El Rancho Hotel.

II. FINAL IMPRESSIONS

The voting process observed on election day was operating within acceptable standards of performance.

Since the middle of September, the CEP has had the responsibility of establishing its central office, nine BED offices and 137 BEC's. It has identified and equipped over 5,000 polling locations and registration sites. It has registered around two million voters. It has established candidate filing procedures to handle dozens of candidates for President, Senator and Deputy. It has printed and transported millions of ballots and election

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items. And, it has identified over 12,000 election workers who participated in both the registration and voting processes. The objectives were accomplished despite the atmosphere of violence and intimidation surrounding the election.

The election workers with whom I had contact exhibited a genuine enthusiasm and possessed an obvious esprit de corps. In addition, they appeared capable of managing their local polls. The local BEC officials and poll workers improvised procedures where necessary to accomplish the voting objectives. If the election workers have not been paid for their efforts, each should be fully compensated as though the voting had proceeded as planned.

Some anticipated bottlenecks in the system did not develop into problems. A 3 or 4 minute voting time is an acceptable rate. More than one voter was allowed in the polling place at one time to further accelerate the process. No disputes concerning problems with voter registration were observed or reported by any poll workers. The positive response to the registration effort suggests that some civic education processes were working.

Members of the Brigade de Vigilance were conspicuously a part of the scene at the Grand Goave BEC inside and outside of the polling place. They helped keep lines of voters straight and assisted voters in selecting ballots. No government-sponsored security for polling places, materials, election workers or voters was observed or reported.

Nevertheless, there were problems with some of the decisions made by the CEP. For example, although voter registration was accomplished, the total automation of the lists by election day was not a realistic objective given other competing priorities. Ironically, the system seemed to work without automated lists and the computerization project was probably not really necessary for this first election cycle.

Moreover, the "all ballots selected" versus "one ballot selected" voting procedure was never cleared up and made consistent. In fact, both methods of voting occurred on election day with the former method appearing to be the more time consuming of the

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two. In fact, voting procedures and ballot structure were cumbersome in places. Suggestions, such as the ballot "coupon book", which were developed to help streamline voting, were rejected by the CEP.

The CEP did not act to resolve transportation issues for election day in a timely manner. Similar logistical problems thwarted the completion of the voter registration automation project because the source documents were slow in arriving at Citibank for processing.

Even though there was a positive response to the voter registration program, organized civic education projects were not effectively coordinated by the CEP. For print media, a simple slogan for the election developed by Corbin Advertising was used over more effective messages created by the CDRH. Unfortunately, because the supply of these posters, flyers and banners had not been disseminated in a timely way, this inventory was completely destroyed in the CEP fire.

However, it must be understood, that the failure to complete an election on schedule does not represent a failure by the CEP. Rather, it represents the failure of the CNG to provide a secure environment in which an election could be held. Repeated requests for protection by the CEP were denied, unfulfilled or unanswered.

It is not uncommon for police power to be required to maintain order and resolve disputes during an election. It was impossible for the CEP to establish its own national armed security force. As a result, the CNG, based on its own public statements and societal obligations, should have provided that security.

For any future elections conducted by an independent election council and not the CNG, resolution of the security issue will be the principal determinant in whether there is a successful election or a repeated scenario of violence.

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KC Observer cites Haitians' bravery

By Tony Rizzo
Of the Metropolitan Staff

As the Haitian election workers struggled Saturday to clean up the burned polling place, Jeff Fischer was inspired by their efforts to get things ready for Sunday's elections.

"It was a real testimony to the depth of commitment of the people to hold free elections," the Kansas City man said. "It was inspiring to see this burned-out headquarters and to watch them trying to put it back together."

Fischer, a member of the Kansas City Board of Election Commissioners, was in Haiti as an emissary for the International Development Agency for the first national elections in the impoverished Caribbean country since 1957.

What Fischer observed on the morning of election day was a system that was working well until extreme violence left more than 30 people dead and scores injured.

Fischer, who arrived in Haiti on Friday, spent election day visiting polling places in the metropolitan area and in the capital.

The Reagan administration urges Haiti's leaders to guarantee safe elections. Page A-1.

of Port-Au-Prince, where most of the violence was concentrated.

"I was impressed with the ability of election workers to handle problems under extreme circumstances," he said. "Faced with indifference and outright opposition, people were turning out to vote."

Fischer said the only outward sign of violence that he saw in the countryside was the burned-out polling place.

It was a different scene in the capital. Fischer said that as he drove through the city Monday morning he saw several burned-out buildings and blood-covered sidewalks. Trucks loaded with soldiers occasionally rumbled by.

Reached by telephone at a hotel Monday night, Fischer said he had not heard any gunfire or explosions, but he said that rumors of "something happening" later in the evening were circulated.

See KC MAN, B-6, Col. 1

KC man is impressed by Haitians

Continued from Page B-1

ing through the capital.

Fischer said the government's dissolving of the independent Electoral Council after postponing the elections on Sunday was not "an acceptable alternative to the Haitian people."

"I can't believe the decision will be accepted without some sort of response from the people," he said.

Much of Sunday's violence has been attributed to the Tontons Macoutes, a militia that Fischer described as the "chiselers, punks and murderers who act as enforcers for those who didn't want the elections to occur."

He said that there have been reports of night-wing elements of the army participating in the violence, and that there is widespread resentment for the government's failure to provide security for the elections.

"The big problem with the army's role was not what they did, but what they didn't do," he said.

Fischer's interest in the Haitian

election process started last March when a group of Haitian election officials came to Kansas City to observe primary elections.

He has made four trips to Haiti since mid-September and has spent three or four weeks in the country working with the council, he said.

Fischer said that he had not felt personally threatened by the violence, but he said on Monday night that he had been through a "very tense 36 hours."

Barring any overnight developments, Fischer said he was scheduled to leave the country and return to Kansas City today.

Though Sunday's violence effectively crushed the elections, Fischer said the sheer number of people who registered to vote was a victory for the democratic process in Haiti.

"Two million people put their names on the line," he said. "It's a referendum that the people want a change and they won't be satisfied until free elections are held."

On Saturday night, Fischer said, he spoke to a group of young men who all wanted to talk about the election. One of them, who was in charge of an isolated polling place, had to get up at 2 a.m. Sunday and walk 10 miles to prepare his station for the voting.

"We have become very comfortable with the way our democracy functions," Fischer said. "I think we can take a civics lesson from the depth of the commitment those people have."

Unfortunately, those who didn't want the elections were able to throw enough firepower at the fragile system to stop it.

