

**The Presidential and
National Assembly Elections
in Seychelles**

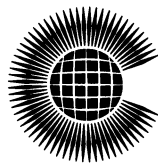
20-23 July 1993

The Report of the
Commonwealth Observer Group

The Presidential and National Assembly Elections in Seychelles

20-23 July 1993

The Report of the
Commonwealth Observer Group



**Commonwealth Secretariat
1993**

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**COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP TO SEYCHELLES
PRESIDENTIAL AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

20–23 JULY 1993

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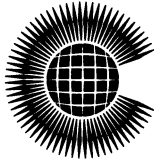
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Patient voters waiting at the polls on the resort island of Bird

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL



Seychelles Elections

Commonwealth Observer Group

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 Telephone: (248) 47665
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c/o Beau-Vallon Bay Hotel
 Mahé
 Seychelles

26 July 1993

Dear Secretary-General,

Following the request made to you by the Government of Seychelles and supported by all political parties, we were appointed by you to observe the Presidential and National Assembly Elections in Seychelles from 20 to 23 July 1993. We are honoured to be part of this third Observer Group sent by you to Seychelles as part of the Commonwealth commitment to assist the country in its eighteen-month long transition to a multi-party system of government. Soon after the close of polling on 23 July 1993, we issued an interim statement on the conduct and organisation of the elections. We now have pleasure in submitting our full Report.

It has been a great privilege for all of us to have served on this mission to observe the culmination of the transition process, the election of a President and National Assembly under a new Constitution. The leaders of the political parties, electoral officials and the people of Seychelles have all told us how much they have valued the assistance and presence of Commonwealth Observers at various times during the past year. We thank you for giving us this opportunity to assist a fellow Commonwealth country in such a positive and constructive way.

Yours sincerely,
Russell Marshall

Russell Marshall
 Chairman

His Excellency Chief Emeke Anyaoku
 Commonwealth Secretary-General
 Marlborough House
 London SW1

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Lucille Bouvier
Mrs Lucille Bouvier

V. Courtenay
Mr Vernon Courtenay, SC

Gardner of Parkes
Baroness Gardner of Parkes

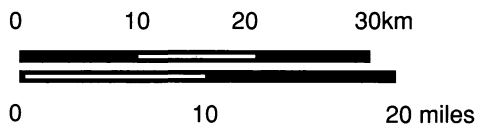
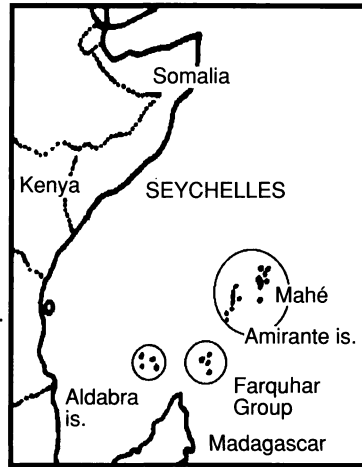
Etienne Kombe
Mr Etienne Kombe

Natarajan Krishnan
Mr Natarajan Krishnan

Virginia M Moshabesha
Miss Virginia M Moshabesha

Map of Seychelles

THE MAHÉ GROUP



Introduction

The Presidential and National Assembly elections in Seychelles from 20 to 23 July 1993 marked the last stages of the restoration of a multi-party system of government and signalled the beginning of a new era of plural democracy.

Commonwealth involvement in the transition from a one-party system to multi-party democracy emerged from discussions at the Commonwealth summit in Harare, Zimbabwe, in October 1991, and from the renewed commitment of Heads of Government at that Meeting, to promote democracy in member countries. Following discussions with his colleagues in Harare and with the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, President Albert René within weeks of his return to Seychelles, announced on 4 December 1991 that Seychelles would return to a 'pluralistic democratic system'.

A Commonwealth role in the transition process was formally initiated with the request to the Secretary-General from the Government of Seychelles in January 1992 for assistance, including Commonwealth observers at elections. In March 1992 a Commonwealth Secretariat Planning Mission visited Seychelles and confirmed to the Secretary-General that the presence of Commonwealth observers would be welcomed by all, and would be seen as both an insurance and an assurance against anything that would mar the credibility of elections and the stability of the country. At about the same time, the Commonwealth Secretariat sent a legal drafter to Seychelles to assist with the drafting of legislation for the organisation of multi-party elections and referenda. A Commonwealth Observer Group was then sent by the Secretary-General to observe the election for a Constitutional Commission in July 1992. A legal drafter was provided to the Commission by the Secretariat to assist with the drafting of a new constitution. A second Commonwealth Observer Group was constituted by the Secretary-General to be present at a referendum in November 1992 which rejected the draft constitution. When the Constitutional Commission reconvened early this year to prepare a fresh draft, two constitutional experts were sent by the Secretariat to advise the two political parties represented on the Commission, the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) and the Democratic Party (DP), and to assist generally in the resolution of contentious issues and provisions. Representatives of the Secretary-General were present at the June 1993 referendum which approved the draft constitution emerging from this second round of deliberations.

The Observer Group

Ours was the third Commonwealth Observer Group to be sent to Seychelles during the transition process. We felt privileged to be there at the culmination of an important period in the history of Seychelles. We served as Observers in our personal capacities and not as representatives of countries, governments or organisations to which we might belong. Collectively, we brought to our task extensive experience and expertise in areas of government, national and international politics, law, diplomacy, electoral management and organisation, and election campaigning. The composition of the Group and our support staff from the Commonwealth Secretariat is at *Annex I*.

We had as our terms of reference the following:

The Group is established by the Commonwealth Secretary-General at the request of the Government of Seychelles supported by all the major political parties. It is to observe relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the elections in accordance with the law of Seychelles. It is to consider the various factors impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole and determine in its own judgment whether the conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors and if the result of the elections reflects the wishes of the people.

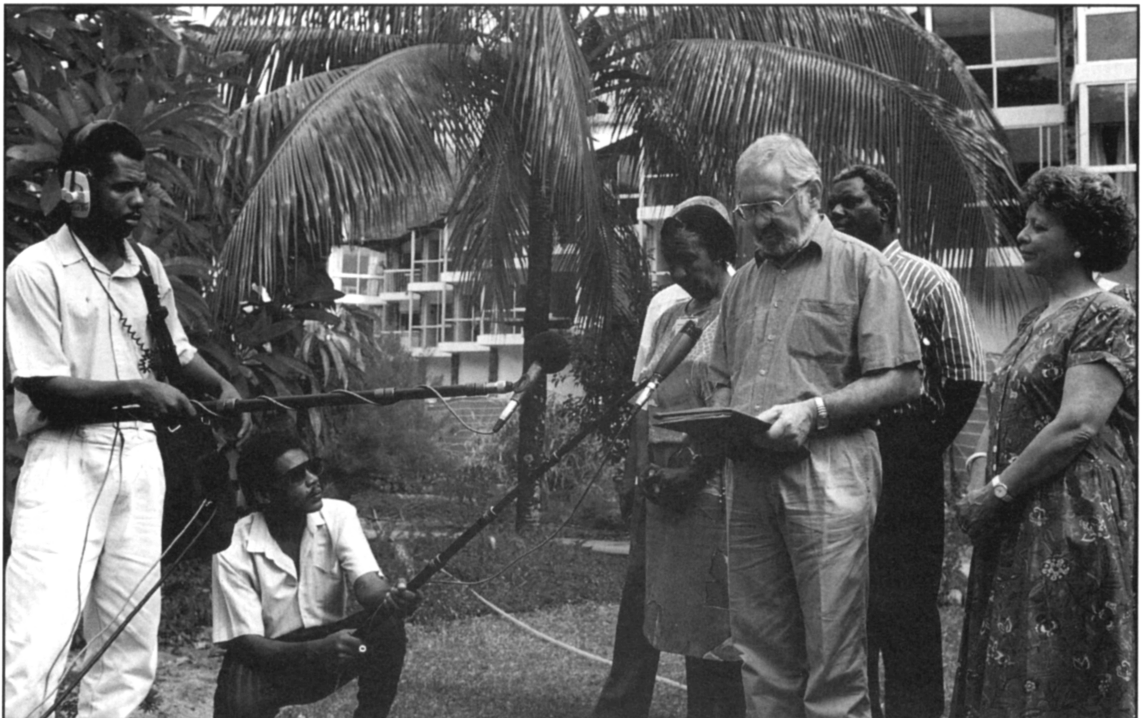
The Group is to act impartially and independently. It has no executive role; its function is not to supervise but to observe the process as a whole and to form a judgment accordingly. It would also be free to propose to the authorities concerned such action on institutional, procedural and other matters as would assist the holding of such elections.

The Group is to submit its report to the Secretary-General, who will forward it to the Government of Seychelles, to the leadership of the parties taking part in the elections and thereafter to all Commonwealth governments.

Method of Work

We gathered in London on 15 July 1993 to be briefed by the Secretary-General on the task ahead of us. By the time of our arrival in Seychelles on the morning of 16 July, four full days of meetings had been arranged for us by the advance team of Secretariat support staff. Our work was made easier by the fact that four members of the Secretariat staff had been to Seychelles before as part of previous Observer Groups, Secretariat planning missions and as special emissaries of the Secretary-General. One of our number, Mr Etienne Kombe, had been a member of the July 1992 Commonwealth Observer Group. They were thus familiar with the personalities and issues of these elections and were able to give us extensive background briefing on the political situation and the issues of concern. In carrying out our tasks and forming views and assessments, we were also able to rely upon the Reports of the two previous Commonwealth Observer Groups to Seychelles, and were guided by our wide-ranging consultations in Seychelles itself. All of this constituted a rich tapestry into which this Report is woven.

On the afternoon of our arrival, we held a press conference and issued a statement, emphasising our independence and impartiality and the mandate of our mission (*Annex II*). We plunged immediately into a programme of meetings until 19 July. We met with the leadership of the seven registered political parties in Seychelles as well as the Presidential candidates of the three parties taking part in the elections, were briefed at length by the Director of Elections on preparations for the elections, and also held discussions with church leaders. A schedule of our engagements with a press statement on the consultations



The Commonwealth Observers attracted attention wherever they went

held are at *Annex III*. On the last day of the campaign on 17 July, we spent an afternoon following candidates from the three parties on their door-to-door canvassing, and were impressed with the spirit of co-operation and goodwill which characterised these elections. The parties taking part in the elections were the SPPF, the DP and the United Opposition – a merger of three small parties, Parti Seselwa, the National Alliance Party and the Seychelles National Movement.

Given that Seychelles is an archipelago made up of 115 islands, polling had to be staged over four days from 20 to 23 July. On the eve of the commencement of polling, we issued a press statement (*Annex IV*). The first three days covered polling on small and isolated Inner and Outer Islands spread over a vast area of the western Indian Ocean. It was an expensive exercise in democracy in that a substantial amount of the total budget for organising these elections was spent on chartering small planes to transport electoral officials, party agents and observers to these far-off islands to enable about 600 voters to exercise their right to vote. Over the three days, six flights and one boat passage were organised to visit 12 islands where mobile polling stations were set up and opened for between 30 minutes and four hours. We were privileged to be able to accompany election officials to eight of these islands, traversing thousands of kilometres of ocean to observe the voting by tiny communities, the smallest of which had only seven voters.

To organise our coverage of the 22 electoral areas on Mahé, Praslin and La Digue, we divided into five teams of two, comprising two Observers or one Observer and one Secretariat staff. (A press statement on our deployment plan is at *Annex V*.) We launched into this second phase of our task before polling day by visiting all the electoral areas and polling stations, many of them at least twice, to talk with the candidates, party activists, District Council chairpersons, the police, electoral officials and people in the street. We attended briefing sessions held by Electoral Officers for party polling and counting agents at each polling station. The day before polling on the main islands of Mahé, Praslin and La Digue (23 July), we inspected polling stations to check on arrangements for 23 July. Everything was in place, tables and chairs arranged and polling booths and extra lighting installed. We were impressed by the interest, enthusiasm, and knowledge about the electoral process and the politics of Seychelles demonstrated by the people we met. They were all ready to vote and were looking forward to the election of a new government and the advent of a new multi-party system.

On 23 July we were at 11 of the 22 polling stations by 6.45 a.m. to observe the stations being set up for the day and to witness the opening procedures. We spent the rest of the day visiting all the polling stations, unannounced, to observe the voting process, and to talk with electoral officials, party agents, candidates and the voters. We returned for the close of the poll at selected polling stations and witnessed the count at the majority of stations. Using our polling station check list and observation notes as guidelines (*Annex VI*), we submitted reports to our operations room to be used for an interim statement and for our final report.

By 8.00 p.m. on polling day we were able to issue the Interim Statement (*Annex VII*), in which we commended the exemplary organisation and conduct of the elections and declared that these arrangements had enabled voters to vote openly, freely and fairly. We had no doubt that the result of the elections would thus accurately reflect the will of the people of Seychelles.

Chapter 1

The Transition Process

A Return to Multi-party Politics

Seychelles achieved independence on 29 June 1976, with Sir James Mancham as the first President of the new republic and Mr René as Prime Minister. This coalition Government between the two long-time political rivals was short-lived. A coup d'état took place on 5 June 1977 while Sir James Mancham was in London to attend a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. Mr René was sworn in as President, the 1976 Independence Constitution was suspended, the National Assembly was dissolved and Sir James Mancham and some supporters were exiled.

In May 1978, President René's party, the Seychelles People's United Party was renamed the Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) and declared to be the country's sole political party. A new Constitution was promulgated in March 1979, turning Seychelles officially into a one-party state. Only members of the SPPF could stand for election to the newly-constituted People's Assembly and President René became the sole candidate for election to the Presidency.

After almost 15 years of one-party rule, President René announced a return to a multi-party system of government on 4 December 1991. Events since then have moved through a three-stage transition process:

- Election for a Constitutional Commission to draft a new constitution;
- Referenda on a new constitution;
- General elections.

Election to the Constitutional Commission

On 27 December 1991, the existing Constitution was amended to allow for the registration of political parties. Exiles were allowed to return to Seychelles, including Sir James Mancham who returned in April 1992 to revive his party, the Democratic Party. By the end of that month, eight political parties had registered to contest the first stage of the transition process: the election to the Constitutional Commission scheduled for 23–26 July 1992. The parties were:

- Democratic Party (DP) led by Sir James Mancham;
- Mouvement Seychellois Pour La Democratie (MSD) led by Jacques Hodoul;
- National Alliance Party (NAP) led by Philippe Boullé;
- Parti Seselwa led by Reverend Wavel Ramkalawan;
- Seychelles Christian Democrats (SCD) led by André Euzice;
- Seychelles Liberal Party (SLP) led by Ogilvy Berlouis;
- Seychelles National Movement (SNM) led by Gabriel Hoarau;
- Seychelles People's Progressive Front (SPPF) led by President René.

The election to select members of a Constitutional Commission to draft a new constitution was held on a party-wide basis. A party winning five per cent or more of the votes was entitled to nominate one member to the Commission for each four per cent of the votes cast in its favour. The Commission was to be made up of 20 to 25 members, with the election determining the precise number. In the event, only two parties, the SPPF with 58.4 per cent of the votes and the DP with 33.7 per cent, achieved the minimum five per cent required to qualify to sit on the Commission – 14 seats went to the SPPF and eight to the DP. The six other parties each won less than five per cent of the votes, with the Parti Seselwa making the best showing at 4.35 per cent.

The First Constitutional Commission and Referendum

The Constitutional Commission commenced work on 27 August 1992 with both President René and Sir James Mancham calling for national reconciliation and consensus on a new democratic constitution. However, any hopes of constructive engagement between the two rival parties soon faded when the DP walked out two weeks later, accusing the SPPF of limiting discussion on issues to be covered in the draft constitution. A compromise was reached whereby unfinished discussion of issues of substance was to be carried over to another sitting. The DP returned to the negotiating table, only to withdraw again on 24 September 1992. The Commission continued to meet with its 14 SPPF members, exceeding the legal quorum of 10, and in the continued absence of the DP a draft constitution was duly adopted on 16 October 1992. It was then submitted to the President, approved and gazetted on the same day.

The referendum was held from 12 to 15 November 1992. The DP together with the five smaller parties (by this time, the SCD which had received only 54 votes in the July election had faded from the scene) formed a united opposition to campaign against the draft constitution. The law required the draft to be approved by not less than 60 per cent of the votes cast. It failed to pass when only 53.7 per cent voted in favour and 44.6 per cent voted against.

A five-member Commonwealth Observer Group sent to monitor this referendum was inundated by complaints from the opposition parties that the Government had not done enough to create a climate in which multi-party politics could prosper. In a meeting with the President, the Group relayed these various concerns, including the conduct of the Constitutional Commission itself, and urged the President to take steps to restore confidence in the transition process. The Group suggested that an independent person with no political connections might be appointed to chair the Constitutional Commission, that the Commission be opened to representations from the public, and that its proceedings be reported by the press.

One important step taken by the political parties at the time of this referendum was the adoption of a Code of Conduct (*Annex VIII*), as had been previously recommended by the Commonwealth. The Observer Group welcomed the adoption of the Code which helped to reduce tensions and prevent abuse during the campaign period and on polling day. The Group also noted that the security forces had, in the intervening period since the July 1992 election, exercised discipline and restraint. It welcomed the peace and calm which prevailed on the day after the referendum when there were no reports of disorder, violence or intimidation as had occurred earlier in July.

The Second Constitutional Commission and Referendum

The Constitutional Commission was reconvened on 11 January 1993 to prepare a fresh draft. A new spirit of co-operation and compromise quickly became evident. President René appointed Mr Bernardin Renaud, former Chief Electoral Officer and now the Director of Elections, to chair the Commission in place of a Government Minister. The proceedings of the Commission were opened up to the public, with live broadcasts over radio and daily transmission on television. The smaller political parties, the churches and members of the public were able to make representations to the Commission.

Both President René and Sir James Mancham called for an end to confrontational politics, and reiterated their earlier calls for national reconciliation. Both expressed a determination to formulate a constitution acceptable to all. Decisions, even on contentious issues, were eventually made by consensus.

A consensus draft constitution was finally agreed on 7 May 1993 and a referendum called for 15–18 June. As expected, the DP and the SPPF called for the draft to be approved, while Parti Seselwa, the NAP and the SNM campaigned against the draft. The draft was approved with 73.9 per cent of the electorate in favour and 24.1 per cent against.

The Commonwealth Secretary-General sent two Secretariat staff as his emissaries to observe this referendum. They noted a marked change in mood among the people of

Seychelles. Much of the tension of July and November 1992 had dissipated. After 18 months of political activity, the people and their political leaders seemed better able to deal with the cut and thrust of multi-party politics.

Issues in the Transition Process

The introduction of multi-party politics had brought with it tension and hostility between the supporters of the ruling party and the opposition parties. In meetings with the July 1992 Commonwealth Observer Group, opposition leaders raised several matters that were of fundamental concern to them as the transition process unfolded. Two issues assumed particular importance, the close linkage between party and state in a one-party system, and the structure and conduct of the security forces.

The opposition held particular concerns about the local government structure of 22 District Councils introduced just days prior to the announcement in late 1991 of the reintroduction of multi-party politics. Under the structure, the Councils are based on the 22 electoral areas. The chairpersons of the parallel SPPF branches who were also members of the People's Assembly won election as chairpersons of the District Councils. The opposition maintained that this structure was designed to install SPPF party stalwarts in key positions at local government level, and that it was inappropriate for a multi-party system of government.

The structure and conduct of the security forces was also a major source of concern. The opposition complained to the Observers in July 1992 that the army, the Police Mobile Unit (PMU) and the Militia remained closely linked to the SPPF and therefore had a stake in its continuation in office. In the week before the July 1992 election, the Observers received many complaints of harassment and intimidation of the opposition parties by security force personnel. A command structure which had fused civilian and military responsibility also gave rise to concern. Under this structure, a Minister who was the second most senior member of the Cabinet concurrently held the post of Chief of Staff of the Defence Forces. There was thus a direct operational link between the Cabinet and Defence Forces.

Other issues of concern to the opposition parties included the independence of the media, the funding of political parties and the voters' registration list. These issues were fully explored in the Report of the July 1992 Commonwealth Observer Group. As reflected in the Report, the Group made several recommendations to facilitate the move towards the second phase of the transition process.

The Group recommended, *inter alia*, that:

- De-linking between the SPPF and state be accelerated;
- Law enforcement and security agencies be reorganised;
- The voters' registration list be reviewed;
- A free and independent media be established;
- Funding of political parties be examined;
- A Code of Conduct governing political parties be adopted.

By the time of our arrival in Seychelles to observe the Presidential and National Assembly elections, some of these issues remained contentious but most had been resolved. The voters' registration list had been accepted by all parties as being credible and as accurate as possible. The Code of Conduct for political parties adopted at the time of the November 1992 referendum had contributed significantly to a reduction of tension on polling day. The Government had re-examined the question of funding of political parties and had decided to allocate a fixed amount for this purpose to be divided among all parties taking part in the elections, proportionate to the support each received in the July 1992 election. In addition, the three parties contesting the Presidential and National Assembly elections were each given SR76,000. We were informed that future funding will be proportionate to votes gained by each party in these elections.

While some in the opposition said that coverage by state radio and television and the government-owned daily newspaper, the *Nation*, had improved, others maintained that they remained biased in favour of the ruling party. It was generally acknowledged, however, that Seychelles Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) radio and television did cover opposition

activities, sometimes generously, and had also been generous in their allocation of time for party political broadcasts at all four polling events. The problem, some said, was due not so much to government control, but more with managers and journalists reluctant or not experienced enough to meet the challenges of their new-found freedom. The role of the media is covered in more detail in Chapter 3.

We learned that in the period since the July 1992 election the security forces had been restructured. The Militia, which had been involved in street patrols, had been transformed into the National Guard to undertake static and escort duties only. The PMU was being reorganised and retrained for its original duties of riot and crowd control. It was now answerable to the Commissioner of Police. The most welcome change had been in the conduct of the security forces, which have exercised discipline and restraint following the incidents of July 1992. All opposition parties reported that the army, the PMU and the National Guard had all kept a low profile and there had been very few incidents of harassment or intimidation.

On the controversial issue of the position of Chief of Staff of the Defence Forces, the Government at the end of 1992 had appointed a professional soldier to the position. The smaller opposition parties, however, complained that a newly appointed Minister of Defence was still Chief of the Armed Forces under the terms of the present Defence Forces Act. They thus questioned whether the operational link between the Cabinet and the military had in fact been severed.

On the question of the District Councils, the Government had by the time of our arrival taken steps to break the state-party linkage. Some measures had been taken at the time of the November 1992 referendum when SPPF flags were removed from the 22 District Council buildings, and the process of relocating SPPF offices out of these premises had begun. All parties were also to have equal access, with the SPPF, to the community centres located in the District Council buildings. By the time of our arrival, the SPPF maintained that further changes had been made. The party had appointed new SPPF branch chairpersons and new



At the November 1992 Referendum on the draft Constitution, electoral officials (right) arrive on the island of Fregate to set up a mobile polling station. The policeman (left) is carrying sealed ballot boxes for Bird and Denis islands

party branch offices had been opened. However, the United Opposition continued to assert that not enough had been done. In particular, they pointed out that the SPPF District Council chairpersons had remained in place and therefore were still in positions of influence as the country entered a general election under a multi-party system. Of the 22 SPPF candidates for the National Assembly elections, seven were district chairpersons and three were district councillors. The United Opposition maintained that this gave the SPPF candidates significant advantages in resources and influence over others.

In various meetings with the President and other SPPF leaders, previous Commonwealth Observers had consistently passed on these concerns about the structure and function of the District Councils. Our Group was therefore interested to note that the party would look again at the existing District Council structure should it form the next government. Like the DP, the SPPF now appears to favour District Councils which would be part of government administration and staffed in effect by civil servants. The newly approved Constitution has provided for the National Assembly to deal with the system of local government by legislation as it sees fit.

In the final analysis, the adoption of an acceptable democratic Constitution should safeguard the rights of Seychellois. It is now up to them to defend it and to ensure that it is respected.

Chapter 2

Preparations for the Elections

The Legislative and Administrative Framework

The general elections for a President and National Assembly had a long gestation period. The announcement in December 1991 by President René of his decision to end one-party rule was followed in April 1992 by the passage in the People's Assembly of the Constitution of the Republic of Seychelles (Preparation and Promulgation) Act 1992 (Act 2 of 1992). This provided for:

- A Constitutional Commission whose purpose was to prepare the draft of a new constitution;
- The submission of the draft constitution to a referendum of the people of Seychelles;
- The coming into force of the new Constitution after its approval by referendum.

Under the provisions of this Act, a draft constitution was to be prepared and approved by an affirmative referendum vote of not less than 60 per cent of the electorate. In the event of the rejection of the draft, the President was required to reconvene the Constitutional Commission for the purpose of preparing a fresh draft.

Constitutional Commission and Draft Constitution

The referendum of 12–15 November 1992 rejected the first draft constitution. The Constitutional Commission was then reconvened by the President to prepare a second draft, which was again put to a referendum, on 15–18 June 1993. This was approved by an affirmative vote of 73.9 per cent. On 30 June 1993 the new Constitution was promulgated and came into force. It ushered in the third Seychelles Republic.

The new Constitution provided for a period of transition and, among other matters, dealt with the arrangements for the first Presidential and National Assembly elections. In general terms these provisions, which are set out in Schedule Seven of the Constitution, ensured that the existing electoral framework, with minimum adjustments, would again be used for the forthcoming elections. This framework had been developed for the conduct of the July 1992 election to the Constitutional Commission and the two subsequent referenda held in November 1992 and June 1993, and had proved to be effective.

Director of Elections

The enabling Act of April 1992 had also provided for the appointment of a Director of Elections who, pursuant to Schedule Seven (Transitional Provisions) and for the purposes of the first Presidential and National Assembly elections, assumed office by virtue of having held office as Chairman of the Constitutional Commission immediately before the date of the coming into force of the new Constitution. The Director was to be independent and not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority; his responsibilities included the organisation and conduct of elections as well as the registration of voters. The Director was required to appoint a Chief Registration Officer, a Chief Electoral Officer and such numbers of other Registration and Electoral Officers as was considered appropriate, and to provide at least one Registration Officer and one Electoral Officer for each of the 22 electoral areas into which Seychelles is divided.

Voters' Registration List

Responsibility for the registration of voters rested with the Chief Registration Officer. He was required to publish the names of those entitled to vote in each of the electoral areas,

and also to publish a notice in the Gazette and a local newspaper inviting persons who claimed entitlement to registration to inspect the lists with a view to submitting claims or objections.

The voters' registration list used for the July 1992 election and the two referenda formed the basis of the list for the Presidential and National Assembly elections. This original list was compiled by extracting names from the general population database, in accordance with the legal qualifications for entitlement to registration.

Against the background of doubts expressed by some opposition leaders about this first list, and accusations of 'phantom' voters in the July 1992 election, special efforts were made by the Director of Elections and his staff to keep the list under constant review. The Director explained to us that an analysis of the voting in July and November 1992 and June 1993 showed that some voters who had not voted in July 1992 voted in November 1992, while some who had not voted at either the July or November polls had in fact exercised their right to vote at the June 1993 poll. It was also adjudged that several thousand on the list believed to be living overseas should retain the right to vote in Seychelles. (There is no provision for postal, proxy or overseas votes.) The Director of Elections therefore decided, with the agreement of the political parties, that it would be unwise to remove the names from the voters' registration list simply because they had not voted in any of the three previous polls. The list was finally revised to account for the deceased and to include young people who would have reached the voting age of 18 years, using 19 July 1993 as the cut-off date, and who would be voting for the first time. The distribution of the 50, 370 voters across the 22 electoral areas, is reflected at *Annex IX*.

By the time of the July 1993 elections, the accuracy of the voters' registration list had ceased to be an issue of real concern. Political leaders with whom we had discussions confirmed that they were satisfied with the technical arrangements in place for the elections and none had encountered any serious problems or had any reservations about the accuracy or acceptability of the list.

Nominations

In announcing the dates for the elections, the Director of Elections fixed 30 June and 1 July 1993 as nomination days for the Presidential and National Assembly elections respectively. Although we were unable to be present to observe the nomination process we were informed that it did not take place without incident. In the case of the Presidential nominations, one of the Presidential candidates arrived later than the time fixed for nominations. On the basis of previous advice, he believed that he was within the time limit. His nomination was initially rejected by the Director of Elections but this decision was subsequently reversed. The Director explained to us that his decision to accept the nomination arose from a delay in the publication of the Official Gazette announcing the dates and times for nominations. The Gazette was not published until 30 June, minutes after the deadline for Presidential nominations had passed.

Two nominations for the National Assembly were, however, rejected when it was found that the candidates' names were not on the voters' registration list. The candidates' party was able to submit fresh nominations immediately in place of the two.

Electoral Areas and Polling Stations

For the election to the Constitutional Commission and the two referenda, there were 23 electoral areas including one set aside for the Inner and Outer Islands. However, the new Constitution reduced this to 22 for the Presidential and National Assembly elections, by incorporating voters from the Inner and Outer Islands into the remaining 22 electoral areas on Mahé, Praslin, and La Digue.

Each of the electoral areas had assigned to it one polling station. Thus there were 19 polling stations on the main island of Mahé, two on Praslin, and one on La Digue which, together with the Inner Islands, constituted one electoral area.

A special polling station was set up at the office of the Director of Elections at National House in Mahé for the general convenience of voters who were unable to get to their respective electoral areas to vote, by reason of any of the recognised grounds such as being employed in an essential service.

Arrangements for the Inner and Outer Islands

For the Inner and Outer Islands, a special polling schedule was drawn up and arrangements made to cater for those voters on these islands working and living away from their home districts on the main islands of Mahé, Praslin and La Digue. Regulations promulgated by the Director of Elections enabled the voters on these isolated islands to cast their ballots on one of the three consecutive days from 20 to 22 July 1993. This presented an administrative and logistical challenge to the Director of Elections involving travel in light aircraft and small boats, and the transport of portable polling booths, ballot boxes, polling materials, election and security officials, party agents and observers, from island to island.

For the voters on the Outer Islands of Alphonse, Assumption, Coetivy, Darros, Desroches, Farquhar, Marie-Louise and Platte, the Constitution provided that they would be voting for candidates standing in their home districts. After voting had proceeded in the prescribed fashion, the unmarked envelope containing a voter's two ballots was then to be placed in an outer envelope identifying the electoral area of the voter. On the main polling day, these envelopes were to be sorted and delivered to the relevant polling stations on Mahé, Praslin and La Digue. The unmarked envelopes containing the ballots were to be removed from their outer covering and placed in the ballot boxes with other ballots. This procedure was intended to ensure that the patterns of voting among a small number of electors remained unknown.

Arrangements for the small Inner Islands of Silhouette, Bird, Denis and Fregate were different. For the purposes of these elections, approximately 281 voters on these islands were incorporated with the voters on La Digue to form one of the 22 electoral areas (Inner Islands). Votes from the four islands were to be transferred to La Digue on the morning of 23 July, to be counted along with the ballots cast on La Digue on that day. Some confusion was evident about this procedure on Bird Island, as reflected in our comments in Chapter 4 relating to polling in the Inner and Outer Islands.

Voting Procedure

Polling procedure, except as noted above for the Inner and Outer Islands, was to be broadly the same for every polling station, with each polling station under the control of an Electoral Officer, assisted by a number of assistant electoral officers who served as polling and counting clerks. Candidates and their agents as well as authorised international observers were allowed to be present at polling stations.

Voters were required to have their national identity cards or some other form of identity such as a passport. Failure to produce any of these did not mean they could not vote, provided their names were on the register and they could be identified by some other reliable means.

On entering the polling station voters were first to have their fingers checked with an ultraviolet lamp to ensure that they had not previously voted. Their names and identity card numbers were to be read out for the benefit of the candidates and their agents. The right thumb and index finger of the voters were then to be marked respectively with indelible ink and special invisible ink, which glowed when tested under an ultraviolet lamp. They were then to be handed the ballot papers for both the Presidential and National Assembly elections and an envelope which were all to be perforated in a specific pattern to validate them for use. Each ballot paper contained the name of each candidate, the party logo and the candidate's photograph, all in colour, to facilitate voting. See *Annex X* for sample ballot papers.

Special arrangements were made for voters who required assistance, such as the very old, those in wheelchairs and those who were illiterate. The Regulations allowed for a witness to

Checking ballot papers before printing...Observers Baroness Gardner, Virginia Moshabesha and Lucille Bouvier



be present when the Electoral Officer assisted such voters to cast their votes. After marking the ballot papers in the secrecy of the polling booth, these were to be placed in the envelope provided, before being inserted in the ballot box located in front of the Electoral Officer, in full view of the candidates and their agents.

The Director of Elections was required to ensure that there was adequate security at every polling station.

Voter Education Programme

After three polls in less than a year, the people of Seychelles were well versed in the technicalities of voting in a multi-party system. The way in which voters moved swiftly and smoothly through the polling stations, which is covered in more detail in Chapter 4, was evidence of this.

However, notwithstanding this heightened awareness of voting procedures, a more sophisticated political appreciation arising from the close coverage of the proceedings of the Constitutional Commission, and the efforts of the Director of Elections and political parties themselves, we received complaints from party leaders and candidates about the possibility of confusion among voters.

The problem was not so much the need to teach people how to vote but to inform them of several new aspects of these elections. First, they would be voting twice, once for the Presidential election and once for the National Assembly election. Second, in addition to the 22 first-past-the-post seats, there would be 11 more seats allocated under proportional representation. Third, voters in the Inner Islands of Bird, Denis, Fregate and Silhouette would be grouped under the electoral area of Inner Islands based on La Digue, and thus voting for the candidates standing from La Digue, while voters on the Outer Islands would be voting for candidates from their home districts on Mahé, Praslin and La Digue.

It was also claimed that while the SBC had initiated efforts to show people how to vote, the Elections Office had been slow in beginning its programme. For their part, political parties reproduced and distributed sample ballot papers to ensure that their supporters knew the order in which candidates appeared. The Director of Elections, however, felt it

was the duty of the political parties to explain the system of proportional representation and that he could do no more than mention it lest he be accused of taking sides in party politics. While the efforts of the Director of Elections might have appeared late to some, what we saw was satisfactory. He had made it clear to us that he had decided that the major voter education programme should commence after the end of the political campaign period on 17 July 1993. The Director of Elections planned to use the remaining week before the elections to conduct his own major voter education programme and in fact did so effectively, as evidenced by the very low percentage of spoilt and rejected ballots. In the week leading up to polling day, radio and television were used to describe and demonstrate voting procedures in and around a polling station, and newspapers carried information on a daily basis about balloting procedures.

Chapter 3

The Campaign

A Fresh Start

The campaign was the beginning of the end of a transition process which had spanned more than 18 months. Preparations for two elections and two referenda during that period had fully stretched the human and financial resources of all political parties, and a discernible degree of 'election fatigue' had clearly contributed to the subdued political climate surrounding the final act in the transition – the Presidential and National Assembly elections.

The prolongation of the transition process, brought about by the rejection of the first effort of the Constitutional Commission, allowed both Government and political parties enough time to contemplate the special needs of the country and to put in train measures to defuse what had become a potentially serious situation. In July 1992, opposition leaders, many of whom had recently returned home after years in exile, had added a special dimension to the political life of the country. They and their followers made no effort to hide their bitterness about events which had occurred during the previous 15 years; their determination that this should not happen again was palpable.

The initial prospects in December 1991 for a peaceful and smooth transition were not hopeful, but since then attitudes had changed dramatically. That there was a more positive mood prevailing in the country soon became apparent to us, not only in the meetings we had with local leaders immediately after our arrival in Seychelles but also in our conversations with the voters. We arrived two days before the election campaign came to an official end on 17 July 1993. The major political rallies were over but we managed to accompany candidates from all parties contesting the elections as they carried out their final 'door-to-door' canvassing.

We found a country and a people determined to make a fresh start and to put divisive attitudes behind them. We were told that before our arrival, the 17-day formal campaign had been conducted in a friendly and open manner. This was confirmed by those members of our Group who had been in Seychelles for the July 1992 election for the Constitutional Commission. As we accompanied candidates in the last stages of their door-to-door campaigning, we noted that they were invited into the homes of supporters of opposing parties. We were told that in the past candidates would not have dared to approach a household known to support another party. We had the clear impression that the electorate was willing to listen to what each side had to offer. They seemed to realise that this was the culmination of a longer transition process than anyone had anticipated, and that their participation was important. They would finally have a new government, elected under a multi-party system.

We were impressed by this fundamental change in the attitudes of leaders and electorate alike and were assured that it was the result of events during the past year. The televising of the sittings of the Constitutional Commission apparently enabled the people to become better informed and more involved in the political process which directly concerned them. It also gave them an unrivalled opportunity to scrutinise and judge the activities of the politicians. This cooling-off period also gave the smaller opposition parties time to contemplate the realities of political life and to assess their chances of survival. The end result was a softening of the attitude of the ruling party, the SPPF led by President René, the adoption of a more pragmatic approach by its main rival, the DP led by Sir James Mancham, and the coming together of three smaller parties in a coalition, the United Opposition. Two other smaller parties, the MSD and the SLP, had thrown in their lot with the DP.

Russell Marshall (left), the Observer Group Chairman, and Virginia Moshabesha (right), another Observer, with President Albert René



A Mood for Reconciliation

In our meetings with political leaders, we were left in no doubt of their determination to maintain the mood of co-operation which had been engendered in the efforts to find an acceptable constitution. An important outcome of this development was the agreement reached between President René and Sir James Mancham to establish a small joint committee to meet weekly to discuss and resolve contentious issues. They met, each with two advisers, away from the attention of the media to work out ways in which to promote national reconciliation.

This decision clearly had a significant effect on the tone of the election campaign. The leaders of the two larger parties made every effort to keep the campaign as unprovocative as possible. A week before the election, they issued a joint appeal to all party supporters for 'civility and tolerance' in the period leading up to election day. The appeal, which came after campaign posters and banners were damaged in incidents across Mahé, stated that every party had the right to put up material without interference. The earlier hostility between them, which had created such a tense atmosphere in the previous polling events, was markedly reduced.

The value of the work of the joint committee was confirmed to us by both President René and Sir James Mancham. When we met President René he told us that during the past year, he had come to the conclusion that given the size and vulnerability of Seychelles, there was a need for a different style of government. Winners and losers would have to work together if the country was to progress.

The need for co-operation and the determination to achieve national reconciliation was endorsed by the Democratic Party leader. After the November 1992 referendum, Sir James Mancham took the decision that the time had come to defuse the volatile and potentially dangerous situation which had built up between Government and opposition parties. He wrote an article putting forward his view that, if after the elections the major political parties could not agree to cohabit in a civilised way, the country would be the loser. He adopted a conciliatory approach at the meetings of the reconvened Constitutional Commission and readily agreed to serve on the joint committee to look at all issues which could affect the future of the country.

The Democratic Party presidential candidate, Sir James Mancham, greeting voters in Beau Vallon



One of the first issues tackled by the joint committee was the question of the restoration of land and property which had been acquired by the Government during the period of one-party rule. This issue was also tied up with the rights of many of the exiles who had left Seychelles because of their opposition to the Government. We raised the issue with President René, who told us that some property had been restored; that compensation would be offered; and in cases where land had been acquired and not used, it would either be returned or former owners would be invited to participate if commercial development was planned.

Another matter raised in the joint committee was the appointment of an independent Board of Directors for the SBC. Opposition parties had charged that the President had not consulted them and had objected to the appointment of Board members who were either civil servants or people alleged to be sympathisers of the ruling party. Discussions in the joint committee would contribute to an eventual resolution of the dispute when a more representative Board would be constituted after the elections.

We have no doubt that a great deal of credit for the change in the political tone of the country must be given to President René and Sir James Mancham. But while the relationship between the two leading parties had improved, this, the United Opposition complained, was at the expense of those excluded from the joint committee, and who were not consulted on matters affecting the political life in the country. They also complained that in the pursuit of national reconciliation, the DP had been less than robust in advancing the opposition cause.

They also informed us that meetings with the major parties were rare and that they aired any grievances about the elections with the Director of Elections. We were also informed that they had had problems with the hire of District Council premises for meetings. They claimed that on the rare occasions when they had obtained the use of a District Council community centre, they were invariably told at the last minute that there had been a mix-up with the bookings, and that they had to make way for some other function.

Activities of the Political Parties

The campaign benefited greatly from the more positive mood surrounding the elections. For the SPPF, the campaign was an opportunity to consolidate their position, and to explain to

supporters that there would be changes in the style of governing. The DP faced the challenge of allaying the anger and suspicion of many followers who were unhappy about the reconciliation efforts and who had to be convinced that the purpose of the exercise was to advance democracy. Meanwhile, the United Opposition told us that they had to rally their supporters in what was becoming for them an increasingly uphill struggle in a political environment dominated by the SPPF and the DP.

As in all elections, the two major parties held public rallies and all parties deluged supporters with manifestoes and other campaign literature. They used the electronic media to communicate, and posters to attract rather than educate voters. Rallies held by the two leading parties attracted good crowds, where manifesto promises were repeated and attempts made to explain some of the real issues facing the country, such as the state of the economy.

The United Opposition, hobbled by a lack of funds, decided that they would not hold rallies, calculating that since only committed supporters would attend, it would not be the best use of scarce resources to go to the expense of hiring buses to transport them. They decided to concentrate their meagre resources on door-to-door campaigning which they were undertaking for the first time. When we met with members of this party, they said that contesting the elections had been especially difficult and that the maximum they had been able to give each candidate for expenses was SR2,000 (about £300).

The Role of the Media

With all their limitations, the media in the Seychelles made a commendable effort to meet the formidable challenges confronting them since the country began its move towards multi-party democracy. In the year since the first Commonwealth Observer Group had monitored elections in Seychelles, there had been few changes in terms of ownership and party allegiance; but there were certainly fewer complaints about unfair or scurrilous reporting of political events.

Indeed, a welcome development was that we received no reports of pressures on journalists, nor of censorship. The media had been left to get on with it, and despite their limitations, largely due to inexperience and having to operate for 15 years under a one-party system, it is fair to record that they performed well in informing readers, listeners and viewers about the elections.



Reverend Wavel Ramkalawan, Leader of Parti Seselwa and a United Opposition candidate for the National Assembly, woos votes in the hills of St Louis

The Print Media

The *Nation*, the only daily newspaper, is owned by the Government and consequently gave most coverage to the activities of government ministers and the SPPF. It provided full coverage of the SPPF manifesto, and somewhat less space for the other parties. We found it a little surprising that in the period immediately prior to the Presidential and National Assembly elections, so little space was devoted to the campaign. We were told that more could have been done by such a well-established paper on voter education and preparing the people of Seychelles for the changes ahead. For example, there could have been articles explaining how multi-party systems operate and on the duties of citizens in such an environment.

The other publications were opposition party organs set up primarily to promote their own policies and to provide some degree of balance to the Government and SPPF's advantage in owning the *Nation* and the party weekly, *The People*. These were *Regar*, launched by the Parti Seselwa and which now advanced the cause of the United Opposition; and two papers which were published by the Democratic Party and the Liberal Party, the *Seychelles Weekly* and the *Liberal* respectively. With all their shortcomings, they were successful in facilitating the flow of news and information.

These new party publications complemented the Seychelles Institute for Democracy's newsletter, *Liberté*, and the Roman Catholic Church's fortnightly magazine *L'Echo Des Isles*, which for many years was the only source of alternative news. It is still a vigorous publication and still reports national political issues.

The Broadcast Media

The most surprising development was the evolution of the SBC from being the arm of the Ministry of Information into a broadcasting corporation. It had been at the centre of a great deal of controversy during the last election; now it was making considerable efforts to meet the demands of a new and changing situation. The SBC, which is responsible for radio and television transmission, is still grossly understaffed and underfunded and this is apparent in the quantity and quality of its output, still limited to five hours daily in the evenings. It has the unenviable task of having to broadcast in three languages, English, French and Creole, which places an additional burden on its resources. Despite the challenges in these elections, it performed creditably.

We were told by all political parties that the SBC had been even-handed in its approach to party political broadcasts and other election coverage. Besides undertaking a generous schedule of party political broadcasts, the SBC managed to maintain routine coverage of the rounds of meetings, statements, press conferences and rallies throughout the campaign as well as its own news output.

Unlike previous occasions, when the Director of Elections had arranged an agreed programme of radio and television broadcasts, the SBC, this time, had taken the initiative of inviting all political parties to meet with the SBC Board to discuss their requirements.

Not all the political parties responded promptly or positively to the invitation, but the SBC eventually obtained agreement for a programme of broadcasts which was more than fair. This allowed the three Presidential candidates a total of 45 minutes each of broadcast time on radio and television respectively over the period of the campaign. They were able to have a weekly broadcast of not more than 15 minutes on radio and the same on television to put across their message. At the same time, each National Assembly candidate was allocated five minutes of airtime over radio and television. Each day over a 12-day period, candidates from three or four electoral areas were able to put their messages across. At least 45 minutes of radio and television time was given over to election broadcasts every evening during the campaign. When one considers the limited transmission hours of SBC television, it is remarkable that they allowed so much time to be put at the disposal of candidates.

The party political broadcasts were transmitted twice on television – first after the main seven o'clock news and later in the evening, and on radio at eight o'clock in the morning and at 8.30 p.m. after the evening news. The first party political broadcast was transmitted on 5

July and these broadcasts continued until 16 July. An acceptable and fair system for transmission of these broadcasts was developed by the SBC, whereby the Presidential candidates were invited to draw lots. Parliamentary candidates were ranked in alphabetical order.

In addition, the SBC produced material for the party political broadcasts of most of the Presidential and National Assembly candidates. There was no censorship, except to prevent defamatory or indecent material being used, and the SBC relinquished editorial control over the content of these broadcasts. So great was the pressure on the SBC's staff and facilities, that a major proportion of its resources was turned over to this work, and only the news department was able to function properly. By the time the campaign came to an end, neither the SBC nor the political parties could have coped with any demand for extra airtime.

Radio and television are the channels of choice for public information in Seychelles. We were told that every household had a radio and most had a television set, which leads us to believe that the voters had no difficulty in finding out about the candidates and issues of these elections. It seems to us that this transition period has enabled the SBC to develop a measure of competence in covering complicated meetings such as those of the Constitutional Commission and had earned respect for its handling of the public information aspects of these elections.

The complaints we received were routine: that hardly a day had passed without some coverage of the Government's achievements and that special attention was paid to government ministers. One party was upset with the hefty bill for the production of their party political broadcasts, which seemed somewhat unrealistic as they were receiving airtime free of cost.

But these complaints were minor and did not detract from the overall appreciation by all parties of the effort which the SBC had made to meet the special demands made on its staff and facilities. We hope that with a new Board, additional funding, more and better trained staff, it can, in time, provide the people of Seychelles with the competent broadcasting service which they deserve.

Chapter 4

Polling Day and the Count

A Remarkable Day

When we compared notes on events during the final day of the elections, we all agreed that it had been a remarkable day. In the course of our observations at all 22 polling stations, we had seen an impressive election machine at work, reflecting great credit on the Director of Elections and his staff. But the undoubted success of the day rested on a combination of the professionalism, impartiality and courtesy displayed by all election officials, the mature and pragmatic attitude adopted by candidates and the discipline and calm demeanour of voters.

We had observed the elections on the Inner and Outer Islands on the first three polling days, when we accompanied election officials as they conducted the poll for voters living on these isolated islands. We had spent several days visiting polling districts on Mahé, Praslin and La Digue, where we familiarised ourselves with the regulations for the elections and identified polling stations. We had also met with electoral officials and attended meetings where they briefed elections staff and party officials on the regulations and procedures. We made ourselves known to candidates and their agents and ascertained that they had no substantial complaints about the arrangements for the conduct of the elections.

Our prior activities could not fully prepare us for the reality of the day on 23 July. In order to ensure that all 22 electoral areas would be fully covered, we paired into five teams and set off early in the morning to be at 11 selected polling stations in time for the opening. We were all delighted to find them ready for business with large numbers of people queuing patiently outside. All polling stations opened promptly at the appointed time of 7.00 a.m.

Everything was in good order. It was apparent that the Electoral Officers were of a high calibre. Each polling station was well staffed and had been organised with the greatest attention to detail. Care had clearly been exercised in the selection of sites for polling stations. Each was located in either a school or a community centre and all were in large, airy and clean rooms.

We spent the entire day observing the poll, visiting and revisiting stations throughout the day. Each polling station had been organised with enough assistants to process voters promptly and efficiently. In some stations three or four sets of electoral officials were organised around tables to deal with separate lines of voters. They were scrupulous in the performance of their duties, which considerably hastened the flow-through of voters.

One aspect of the day's events which was new and interesting to most of us was the high turnout of very old, ill and disabled people. Because they, along with airline workers, nurses and other special groups, were invited to vote at opening time, the scene at many polling stations was unusual to say the least. We were most impressed by the way the staff responded. A voter suffering from epilepsy, who had an attack as he prepared to vote, was calmly sent to hospital, where he recovered and then returned three hours later to cast his vote.

We were careful to scrutinise the conduct of the Electoral Officers in this process and to see how arrangements for incapacitated voters, as laid down in the Electoral Law and the Code of Conduct, and consistent with practice throughout Commonwealth countries, were being administered. The Regulations stipulate that such a voter may ask the Electoral Officer to record his/her vote in the presence of a person selected by him/her. The Electoral Officer should be satisfied that the voter was truly incapacitated; had chosen the witness freely and genuinely; and was expressing a free choice. We observed hundreds of these cases, and we did not come upon one instance where the process had not been carried out kindly and correctly. We noted that some elected not to use a witness. We commend the Director of Elections and his staff for ensuring that this group of people was not disenfranchised and electoral officials and voters alike who behaved so well towards them.

A voter having her right forefinger dipped in invisible ink. Her thumb has already been dabbed with a violet stain



Once voting was under way, the processing of voters was most efficient. Besides official staff, each station provided facilities for two polling agents from each party, and also for candidates, most of whom spent the day there. Relief staff were present and a secretary handled the telephone and fax machine. Every eventuality had been looked at and contingency arrangements made for them. The arrangements were an outstanding display of meticulous planning.

Good order was maintained throughout the day, and we saw no instances of intimidation or of disorderly conduct. Police officers were on duty at all polling stations, maintaining order outside and assisting generally inside. There was no army presence anywhere.

Polling in the Inner and Outer Islands

The elaborate and expensive arrangements made to enable some 600 voters on the 12 Inner and Outer Islands to cast their ballots was impressive. We accompanied electoral officials to witness the polling on eight of these islands from 20 to 22 July 1993. We travelled from island to island in aircraft and in boat, carrying polling booths, ballot boxes, ballot papers, envelopes and other voting materials. Within minutes, a polling station would be set up and voters would be processed smoothly and quickly, in the presence of polling agents from all three parties. We were impressed by the proficiency of the electoral officials and by the voters who, in spite of living on these isolated islands, were well-informed about the elections.

The only hitch we came across was at the start of voting on the Inner Island of Bird which was delayed when a senior official of the resort island argued at length with the Director of Elections to allow his workers to vote for candidates in their home districts, in keeping with the arrangements made for voters from the Outer Islands. But the constitutional provisions had placed Bird in the electoral area of Inner Islands which included La Digue, Denis, Fregate and Silhouette. The Director of Elections, who had accompanied his officials, did not have the right to make any such changes. The dispute was resolved when the Electoral Officer announced that he was now opening the poll for the country's Presidential and National Assembly elections. A queue formed immediately and voting began. We noted that the resort official who had raised the objections eventually joined the queue to vote.

As we flew from island to island, the Electoral Officer and policeman on duty kept the sealed ballot boxes within close sight. At the end of the day, the boxes were taken to the Elections Office at National House in Victoria and kept in a strong-room under 24-hour guard. We received no complaints from any of the party agents on the arrangements and proceedings for these polling days.

Voters' List

The voters' registration list of 50,370 names proved credible and accurate on polling day. All those who came to vote and found their names on the list were able to vote. There were a few cases of voters coming to the wrong polling station. In each case, electoral officials checked the master list to direct the voter to the appropriate station. There were also isolated cases of voters who had registered but whose names were not on the list, but they were cleared to vote when their registration receipts were produced and verified by the Elections Office. There were also a small number of people who went to polling stations, but who had not registered and were therefore not allowed to vote. There were isolated cases of voters with the same name born on the same day who were barred from voting. It appeared that the computer programme designed to eliminate double registration recognised only one name and automatically removed the other name from the list. This is a situation that needs to be rectified. Barring these instances, we were satisfied with the accuracy of the registration list. At the end of the day, 43,584 people had cast their votes for the Presidential election and 43,579 for the National Assembly election, an impressive turnout of 86.5 per cent the highest recorded of the last four polls. Taking into consideration that about 3,000 names on the list are Seychellois thought to be living overseas, an effective turnout of over 90 per cent would be a more accurate estimate.

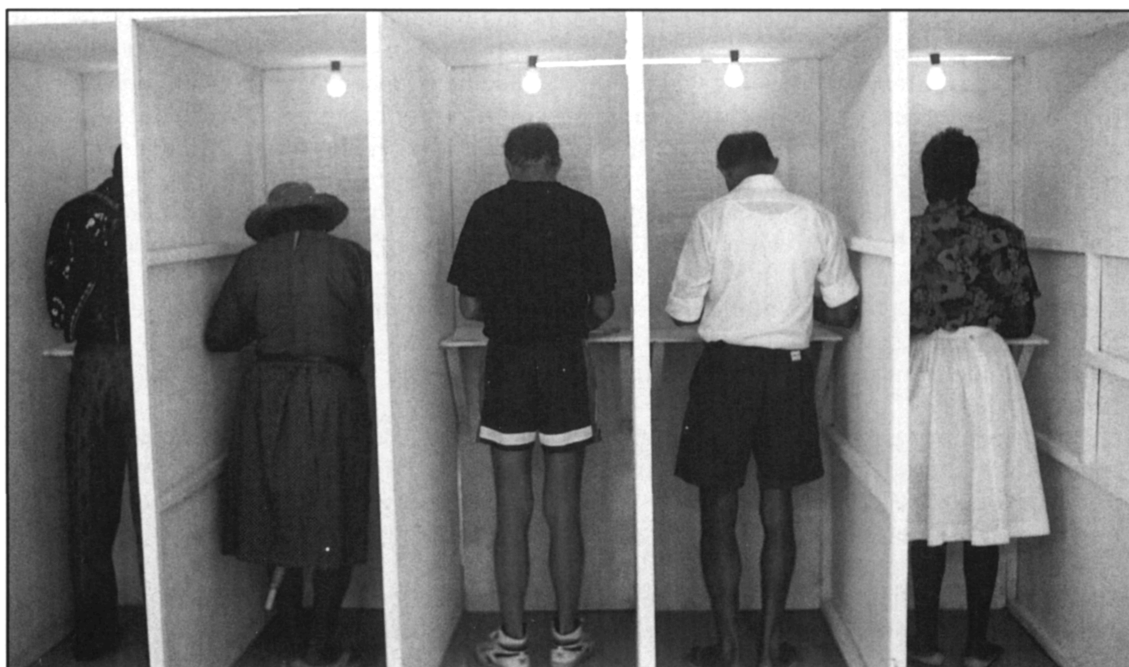
Secrecy of the Ballot

From the first election in July 1992, the secrecy of the ballot had never been questioned. The credibility of the electoral system established by the first Director of Elections, Mr André



An elderly woman casting her ballot

Ensuring secrecy. Voters marking their ballot papers in the well-designed and well-lighted polling booths



Sauzier, and continued by his successor, Mr Bernardin Renaud, and the credibility of all the officials who had been appointed in consultation with all political parties, meant that the voters of Seychelles had total confidence in the system.

A decision by Mr Renaud to allow political party agents to witness the process of printing the ballot papers, at which some of us were also present, was welcomed by the political parties as a further confidence-building measure.

Adequacy of Polling Arrangements

Much thought and care had gone into the arrangements for polling day. Every single item of polling material needed, from ballot papers to signboards showing the direction of a polling station, from fax machines with direct links to the Elections Office operations room to staplers and sellotape, was provided for. All equipment and supplies were in good working order. Adequate numbers of polling booths were set up in each station to handle the number of voters expected. Each booth had an electric light bulb and notices pinned up providing instructions on the voting procedure. Every contingency arrangement was in place, including supplies of spare light bulbs, pens, drawing pins, candles and tissue paper. Nothing at all was left to chance. As a result, polling stations were able to open and close on time, voters were processed quickly and everything worked according to plan.

Performance of Electoral Officials

Electoral officials were outstanding in the conduct of their duties. Those in charge of polling stations were senior government servants and professionals from the private sector, specially selected to maintain credibility and confidence in the electoral process. It was to the credit of the first Director of Elections that the appointments of all Electoral Officers and polling clerks were made in consultation with the political parties. Officials who were identified as being actively involved in party politics were weeded out and replaced. This process continued into these elections. The integrity and independence of Electoral Officers, their deputies and other electoral officials were therefore unquestionable. This was particularly evident and important in their dealings with the old and disabled and with their handling of doubtful registration.

Nearly all of these officials were doing the job for the fourth time in a year. They were thus able to process the voters much faster than before and within two hours, the long queues that had formed at the opening of the poll had disappeared. As in the past, they were most efficient and courteous in assisting voters who needed help, ushering voters from one stage of the voting procedure to the next and guiding them to empty ballot booths. We did not come across one instance of inefficiency or discourtesy in the 11 hours of polling nor were any reported to us.

Different Electoral Officers had organised and managed their stations in different ways. Most had set up three to five separate tables to verify voters' names on the list before they had their thumb marked with violet ink and their forefinger dipped in invisible ink. Some stations had divided their voters' list into alphabetical groupings and voters were guided to the appropriate table. Polling clerks read out loudly and clearly each voter's name, the page and line number to enable polling agents to cross out the name on their copy of the list.

We were impressed by the confidence and flexibility displayed by Electoral Officers, especially in their dealings with candidates and party agents. They went out of their way to put everyone at ease, acceding to such requests as removing a light bulb from one polling booth for those voters who did not like the glare of a bare bulb, and altering one booth to enable agents to see how voters needing assistance were helped. They were careful to obtain the agreement of all agents in making the changes requested. At the biggest polling station, the agents did not wish to go through the procedure of name checking as they felt this would slow down the voting process. Instead each agent would take down the names of voters as they were announced and would later cross-check them against their copy of the list. The Electoral Officer agreed to the request and as a safeguard made them sign his occurrence book to record this arrangement. Such a request was a reflection of the degree of confidence the parties had in the electoral officials and the system established.

At every station we visited, we asked the agents from the three parties and the candidates present if they had any complaints to make and whether they were satisfied with the process. There were virtually no complaints from any of the three parties.

Performance of Party Polling Agents

Polling agents from all three parties were at every polling station to keep a vigilant eye on the process. For added measure, the candidates were also present, most of them staying for the full 11 hours that the stations remained opened and then staying on to observe the counting. Most agents had copies of the voters' list and carefully cancelled out the names as they were announced. However, at several polling stations, the agents were trying out a new system where they were only taking down the page and line number of the name. At the end of each hour, the list was delivered to a central checking area nearby and these names would be appropriately crossed out. They found this a much faster and efficient way of keeping pace with the voters passing through the process.

At one station, however, this caused some confusion and led to supporters of one candidate claiming that scores of voters had voted twice because their page and line number had been recorded twice, some within the space of one hour and others at different times. We advised the candidate to report this to the Electoral Officer, but he declined to do so until he had fully investigated the matter. At the end of the day, he informed us that his supporters had made an error in cross-checking the names. There had been two agents at the station, one recording the announcements from one polling clerk and the other from two other polling clerks. Both agents had apparently recorded the announcement of the page and line number in their own separate sheets of paper and on subsequent cross-checking, made it appear that the same voter had voted twice. At other times, the agents simply misheard the numbers announced. The agents and other party workers manning this operation obviously needed to be better trained. We were, however, gratified to note that the candidate had used his wisdom to calm the more hot-headed among his supporters and dismiss the allegations.

Allegations of Irregularities

Notwithstanding the goodwill and tolerance that characterised these elections, there were of course the inevitable complaints of party irregularities and violations of the Code of Conduct. We received a list of complaints from one political party about vote-buying, canvassing in the immediate vicinity of polling stations, the use of government vehicles to transport voters, party 'checkpoints' close to polling stations, and party supporters congregating at homes of district leaders. There were also complaints that one party had put posters up on polling day while another had pulled down the posters of a candidate of an opposing party that had been displayed within the prohibited 50 meters of a polling station. We investigated most allegations. A few of the complaints were verified and rectified. Others we realised were due to a lack of awareness of the normal workings of well-oiled party machines on polling day. But we found most complaints to be totally unfounded and even mischievous. This, however, did not detract us from our overall impression that the new mood of reconciliation which now prevailed in Seychelles had done much to ensure a calm and peaceful polling day.

Security Presence

All polling stations were manned by officers from the Seychelles Police Force, including from the PMU. We noted that the police were an integral part of the success of polling day. They guided voters to the entrance of the polling stations, ushered them into and out of stations, and were vigilant in their care of the ballot boxes. When one party vehicle festooned with party flag and stickers arrived at a polling station, the police officer in charge marched up to the driver and told him to move on immediately as this was a violation of the Code of Conduct. The police undertook their responsibilities politely and discreetly and were most helpful, particularly to those who required special assistance. They deserve commendation for an excellent performance.

Conduct of the Count

With two ballots to be counted for these elections, the Elections Office had expected the results to come in the early hours of the morning. As it turned out, by 11.00 p.m., results from all but three polling stations had been submitted. We were able to witness the counting at 15 stations and again were impressed by the efficiency of the electoral officials and the procedures adopted. Some stations opened all the boxes at the same time to start the count, while others counted one box at a time. We were told that unlike the July 1992 election, agents and candidates did not, this time, see the need to scrutinise the sorting and counting quite as vigilantly as before. They were able to observe the process carefully from close quarters and were consulted by the Electoral Officers when appropriate. It was obvious that they now had faith in the system and were confident that no irregularities would take place. At one polling station where an opposition party candidate was expected to win, the Electoral Officer went through an elaborate process of personally opening each and every envelope, and displaying each ballot paper to all present before placing it on the appropriate pile. Needless to say, this station was one of the last to report its result, but the count had been done to the satisfaction of all agents and candidates. As with the polling process, we did not receive one complaint.

One cumbersome procedure that had slowed down the counting was the use of envelopes for ballot papers. The need to open the envelopes, pull out and unfold two ballot papers and then sort them into Presidential and National Assembly piles considerably lengthened an otherwise straightforward process. While we understood the original reason for this practice of using envelopes as an extra security measure, the confidence in the system and the credibility now established should enable the Director of Elections, in consultation with the political parties, to consider abolishing this procedure.

We were impressed by the very low percentage of rejected ballots, which stood at only 1.17 per cent for the Presidential election and 1.6 per cent for the National Assembly

election. The discrepancy was apparently due to the fact that some voters, especially among the old, insisted on casting only their vote for the Presidential election. Most of the rejected votes for the National Assembly election were therefore blank ballots.

Declaration of the Result

The final results were announced live on television and radio at 1.30 a.m. on 24 July 1993. Mr Albert René had won the Presidential election with 58.8 per cent of the votes, while Sir James Mancham received 36.29 per cent and Mr Philippe Boullé of the United Opposition 3.74 per cent. For the National Assembly election, the SPPF won all but one of the 22 first-past-the-post seats. The solitary opposition seat went to the DP. In the allocation of the 11 proportional representation seats, six went to the SPPF which had won 56.55 per cent of the votes cast, four to the DP for its 32.27 per cent share and one to the United Opposition for its 9.71 per cent. A copy of the full results is at *Annex XI*.

Chapter 5

Summary of Conclusions

The principal conclusions emerging from the body of this Report are as follows:

- The voters of Seychelles were able to vote openly, freely and fairly, and the results of the elections accurately reflected the free expression of the will of the people of Seychelles.
- Arrangements and procedures for the elections were outstanding. The Director of Elections, his staff, and electoral officials at the polling stations were dedicated, scrupulous and meticulous in carrying out their duties. Voters were processed with professionalism, efficiency, and unfailing courtesy. The secrecy of the ballot was assured.
- The exceptionally high turnout of voters suggested a strong commitment on the part of the people of Seychelles to the restoration of multi-party politics, and to elections as a means of selecting their representatives to govern. The low proportion of spoiled or rejected ballots indicated that voters were familiar with the technicalities of voting procedures, and that voter education programmes aimed at explaining and clarifying these procedures were successful.
- Candidates and their agents were vigilant in monitoring both voting and the count, and a mood of cordiality prevailed among them and with the electoral officials at polling stations.
- The elections were conducted in a general atmosphere of peace and order. Personnel from the Seychelles Police Force performed in exemplary fashion in assisting at polling stations, and were integral to the success of the day. The military was not in evidence. Concerns expressed about the possibility of violence and disorder in the aftermath of the elections fortunately did not materialise.
- The news media performed well in keeping the electorate informed, both during the campaign and in the period immediately prior to the elections. All political parties had access to the state-owned media, in addition to their own publications. There were no undue restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly. The further development of a responsible and professional news media in Seychelles will assist greatly in the nurturing and consolidation of the multi-party system.
- Political leaders are to be commended for their determination to succeed with the transition process from a one-party to a multi-party system of government and in particular for their efforts along with church leaders to promote national reconciliation in a once-divided country.
- The completion of the process of de-linking the ruling political party from the organs and institutions of the state by the new Government will strengthen the newly restored multi-party system of government, will engender further confidence, and will serve to consolidate what has already been achieved.
- The successful completion of the elections for a President and National Assembly under a new Constitution and an emerging mood of national reconciliation augur well for the development of a democratic system of government which will serve all of the people of Seychelles.
- The presence of Commonwealth Observers at these elections was widely and uniformly welcomed by the Government, political parties, electoral officials, and the people of Seychelles.

Acknowledgements

We wish to record our appreciation to the many people who contributed to the success of our mission. Particular thanks are due to the Director of Elections and his staff for their unflinching assistance and co-operation at a time when they were under constant pressure. We would also like to thank the Government and all the political leaders of Seychelles for their ready co-operation and assistance, and church leaders for their wise counsel.

We would like to express our special appreciation to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, for according us this privilege to serve the Commonwealth in its efforts to promote democracy and democratic practices in member countries.

Finally, we cannot end without expressing our admiration for the people of Seychelles for their enthusiasm, tolerance and maturity as they participated in these elections to mark the final stages of the transition process from one-party rule to a multi-party system of government. Our gratitude goes to them for the warm welcome they extended to us wherever we went.

The Observer Group was greatly assisted in fulfilling its task by the work of the Commonwealth Secretariat team which was with it in Seychelles and by the staff at Marlborough House in the months prior to our visit. We wish to place on record our appreciation of the major contributions of Mr Max Gaylard and his team. Their knowledge, experience, professionalism and industry made our task easier and added greatly to both the quality of our activities and our Report.

Annexes

ANNEX I

Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group

The Hon Russell Marshall (New Zealand – Chairman)

The Hon Russell Marshall is a former Minister of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand, holding the post from 1987 until he retired at the 1990 general election after 18 years as Member of Parliament for Wanganui. He was a member of the Labour Government from 1984 to 1990 during which time he held the posts of Minister of Education, Conservation, Pacific Island Affairs and Disarmament as well as Foreign Affairs. Mr Marshall is currently Chairman of the New Zealand National Commission for Unesco and Chairman of the Trustees of the New Zealand Africa Information Centre. He has a Bachelor of Arts Degree from Victoria University, Wellington, a New Zealand Diploma of Teaching and an Honorary PhD from the University of Khon Kaen (Thailand). Mr Marshall was a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group to Lesotho (March 1993).

Mrs Lucille Bouvier (Canada)

Mrs Lucille Bouvier is currently Elections Canada's Returning Officer for the Federal Riding of St Boniface and Elections Manitoba's Returning Officer for the Provincial Riding of St Boniface, positions which she has held since January 1988 and August 1990 respectively. Since 1987 Mrs Bouvier has also been Senior Bilingual Interviewer for the Labour Force Survey for Statistics Canada, for whom she has also worked as Project Manager for the National Farm Survey in Manitoba (April–August 1991) and Census Commissioner (April–September 1986). In 1990 Mrs Bouvier was a member of the Organisation of American States' Observer Group to the General Election in Haiti, and in 1992 was a Consultant for the United Nations on a Needs Assessment Mission on the Election of the Constituent Assembly of Uganda. She is a Registered Radiology Technologist and was educated at St Boniface General Hospital School of Radiology.

Mr Vernon H Courtenay, SC (Belize)

Mr Vernon Courtenay is currently Deputy Leader of the People's United Party of Belize. His political career started in 1964 when he was appointed to the Senate, the first of two such appointments, and in 1969 he was elected to the House of Representatives, for the first of three such terms. He served as Ambassador to the Caribbean Community (1977–79) and between 1969 and 1984 held several Ministerial posts including Attorney General, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Works, Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office and Head of the Independence Secretariat. Mr Courtenay was Co-Chairman of the National Assembly Committee to consider the White Paper on the Independence Constitution of Belize, 1981 and was a member of the Belize Delegation to the Independence Talks, 1981. He was also Belize's Representative at the Anglo-Guatemalan talks between 1973 and 1981. Mr Courtenay served as Regional Member of the International Executive of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 1977–80, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Caribbean Development Bank, 1979. Mr Courtenay was educated at St John's in Belize and was admitted to the Bar in England in 1960 and to the Bar of the Supreme Court of Belize in May 1960.

Baroness Gardner, JP (Britain)

Baroness (Trixie) Gardner was created a Life Peer in 1981 and plays an active part in the work of the House of Lords. Born in Australia she is a dentist by profession and came to Britain in 1955. She was an elected member of Westminster City Council for ten years (1968–78) and an elected member of the Greater London Council for various constituencies for 12 years spanning from 1970 to 1986. Baroness Gardner was Lady Mayoress from 1987 to 1988, and has served as British Chairperson of the European

Union of Women (1978–82) and as British Representative on the United Nations Status of Women Commission (1982–88). She is currently British Chairperson of Plan International Ltd, an NGO which sponsors community development in Third World countries. Baroness Gardner was educated at East Sydney Technical College and the University of Sydney.

Mr Etienne Kombe (Vanuatu)

Mr Etienne Kombe was reappointed principal electoral officer of Vanuatu in 1992, a position he also occupied in the South Pacific island republic from 1980 to 1983. Earlier, he served as Private Secretary to the President and as Controller of Prices. He has also held senior positions in the Development Bank of Vanuatu and in the Municipality of Port Vila, Vanuatu's capital. Mr Kombe was educated in New Caledonia, Fiji, New Zealand and France and was trained in Public Administration. He was a member of the Commonwealth Observer Group to Seychelles (July 1992).

Mr Natarajan Krishnan (India)

Mr Natarajan Krishnan is currently the Indian member on the Executive Board of Unesco. A former diplomat, he joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1951 and served in Bangkok, Phnom Penh, Buenos Aires, Geneva and the Ministry of External Affairs. He was Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece (1976–79). He became India's Permanent Representative to the United Nations (1981–86) and was then appointed as the Prime Minister's Special Envoy for Africa (1987–89). He was a member of two Committees on UN Reform and a Commonwealth group on Security of Small States. Mr Krishnan was Dean of the School of International Studies at Pondicherry University from 1988 to 1990. He is a member of the Board of Auroville in Pondicherry, Kalakshetra in Madras and the Institute of Social Studies Trust in Delhi. Mr Krishnan holds a Bachelor of Arts (Econ) Degree from the University of Madras.

Miss Virginia Matseliso Moshabesha, MP (Lesotho)

Miss Virginia Moshabesha commenced her political career in 1992 when she stood as the Ha Matala constituency candidate of the Basutoland Congress Party. She won the seat and was sworn in as a Member of Parliament in April 1993. Prior to entering politics she has spent most of her career working as a nursing sister, a co-ordinator for the Lesotho Red Cross centres in seven areas and more recently as a public health nurse for the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. Miss Moshabesha was educated in South Africa and commenced her nursing training at the Baragwanath Hospital and the MacCord Hospital, obtaining her general nursing certificate and midwifery diploma. She studied public health nursing at the Institute of Public Health, Calcutta, India, in the early 1970s. She also trained as a family planning practitioner at Santa Cruz University, California, USA, and has attended workshops and seminars in most African countries concerning health matters.

SECRETARIAT SUPPORT STAFF

Mr Max Gaylard

Mrs Patsy Robertson

Mr Richard Nzerem

Ms Zainah Anwar

Mrs Shirley Edwards

Team Leader

Press Adviser

Assistant to Observers

Assistant to Observers

Administrative Officer/Secretary

ANNEX II
Arrival Statement of 16 July 1993



Seychelles Elections

ANNEX II

Commonwealth Observer Group

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Mahé
Seychelles

SEYCHELLES OBSERVER GROUP: ARRIVAL STATEMENT

We have been sent to Seychelles by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, to observe the Presidential and National Assembly elections on 20 to 23 July. This is the third Commonwealth Observer Group to Seychelles, sent at the request of the Government and with support of all political parties.

We will serve as Observers in our personal capacities and not as representatives of countries, governments or organisations to which we may belong. Our broad task here is to observe relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the elections in accordance with the law of Seychelles. We will consider the various factors impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole and determine whether conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors.

We have no executive role. Our function is not to supervise but to observe the process as a whole and to form an impartial judgement on the credibility of the whole exercise. We may, however, make proposals designed to assist the holding of the elections. On completion of our task, we will present a report to the Commonwealth Secretary-General who will make it available to the Seychelles Government and the political parties taking part in the elections, and thereafter to all Commonwealth governments.

As part of our work, we will be in touch with the political parties, the Director of Elections, the Government, the Church and other interested groups. We will also be travelling to all parts of the country before and on polling day. We are honoured to be here for this final stage of Seychelles' transition to multiparty democracy.

Beau Vallon Bay Hotel
16 July 1993

ANNEX III**Schedule of Engagements and Press Statement of 18 July 1993****Friday 16 July**

1300	COG Briefing
1400	Press Conference
1500	Meeting with Mr Danny Faure Principal Executive Co-ordinator, SPPF
1600	Meeting with Bishop Felix Paul Roman Catholic Church
1715	Meeting with Mr André Sauzier Former Director of Elections

Saturday 17 July

0930	Meeting with Sir James Mancham Leader, Democratic Party
1130	Meeting with Mr Jacques Hodoul Leader, Mouvement Seychellois Pour La Democratie
1400	Briefing by Mr Bernardin Renaud Director of Elections
1630	Observe door-to-door campaigns

Sunday 18 July

0900	Meeting with British and Indian High Commissioners
1100	Observe printing of ballot papers
1500	Meeting with the United Opposition

Monday 19 July

0930	Meeting with Archbishop French Chang-Him Anglican Church
1100	Meeting with Mr Philippe Boullé Presidential Candidate for the United Opposition
1300	Meeting with President Albert René
1400	Meeting with Mdm Danielle de St Jorre Minister of Environment, Planning and External Relations
1730	Meeting with Mr Ogilvy Berlouis Leader, Seychelles Liberal Party

Tuesday 20 July

0700	Mr Gaylard to Farquhar and Desroches (Polling Day)
0800	Chairman, Baroness Gardner, Miss Moshabesha and Mrs Bouvier to Bird, Denis, Fregate (Polling Day)
1000	Other Observers to visit electoral areas. Meet with candidates, party supporters, District Councils, police, electoral officials and general public.

Wednesday 21 July

0700 Chairman, Baroness Gardner, Mr Gaylard and Mr Nzerem to Praslin and La Digue

0800 Mr Krishnan to Coetivy (Polling Day)

0800 Mr Kombe and Mr Courtenay to Silhouette (Polling Day)

1000 Other Observers to visit electoral areas

Thursday 22 July

0800 Mr Courtenay to Platte (Polling Day)

1000 Chairman and Mr Gaylard meet with Commissioner of Police

1000 All observers to visit electoral areas and polling stations. Check on arrangements for polling day. Attend briefing of party polling and counting agents. Meet with candidates, party supporters, District Councils, police, electoral officials and general public.

Friday 23 July 1993**POLLING DAY**

0630 Observers visit selected polling stations to observe opening of the poll
Observe polling at all stations throughout morning

1300 Return to Hotel for interim consultations. Observers in Praslin and La Digue report by telephone or fax

1500 Observe polling and close of poll and counting at selected stations

2000 Issue Interim Statement



Seychelles Elections

Commonwealth Observer Group

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Seychelles

PRESS STATEMENT

COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS TO MEET PRESIDENT RENÉ

The Commonwealth Observer Group will call on President Albert René tomorrow (Monday) afternoon at the end of an intensive round of consultations with political and religious leaders as well as with election officials. The team of twelve observers led by the Hon Russell Marshall, former Foreign Minister of New Zealand, are here to observe the Presidential and Parliamentary elections which will confirm the return of democracy to Seychelles.

Last Thursday, members of the Group met with the Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London and he told them that they would be serving in their personal capacities and their broad task was to observe and not to supervise the elections. On completion of this task, the Group will submit a report to him, and he will make it available to the Seychelles Government, all political parties contesting the elections, and Commonwealth Governments.

Since their arrival, the Group has met with Sir James Mancham, leader and presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, with Mr Danny Faure, Principal Organising Secretary of the SPPF and with leaders of the United Opposition Party. Tomorrow morning (Monday) they will meet with Mr Philippe Boullé, presidential candidate for the United Opposition. They have had detailed discussions on the arrangements for the elections with Mr Bernardin Renaud, Director of Elections, met with Mr André Sauzier, the former Director, and visited the printers to observe the printing and security arrangements for ballot papers. They also called on Roman Catholic Bishop Felix Paul and had sessions with Mr Jacques Hodoul, Leader of the Mouvement Seychellois Pour La Democratie and Mr Ogilvy Berlouis, leader of the Liberal Party. A meeting with Anglican Archbishop French Chang-Him is scheduled for tomorrow (Monday) morning.

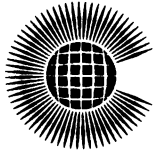
Yesterday afternoon, the Group accompanied candidates from all political parties on door-to-door canvassing, and met with voters at the end of the campaign.

The meeting with President René at State House tomorrow (Monday) afternoon, followed by one with the Minister of Planning and External Affairs, Madame Danielle de St Jorre, will enable the observers to discuss matters which are pertinent to the conduct of the elections and to the political process which has unfolded over the past eighteen months.

On Tuesday, the Group will begin to observe polling on the inner and outer islands, and will visit all twenty-two electoral areas.

18 July 1993

ANNEX IV
Statement on Eve of Polling Day, 19 July 1993



Seychelles Elections

Commonwealth Observer Group

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Seychelles

PRESS STATEMENT

On the eve of the elections for a President and National Assembly of Seychelles under a new multi-party Constitution, the Chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Group issued the following statement:

One year ago, the Commonwealth was invited to send an Observer Group to Seychelles to be present at the start of a process which would lead to the return of multi-party democracy. In the intervening months, the Commonwealth has also been present for the two referenda on the Constitution and has now sent a third Observer Group of twelve distinguished representatives to observe the final event in this process and to share with all the people of this beautiful country, the challenges of a new beginning.

Our presence here at this time underlines the Commonwealth's commitment to democracy and its readiness to assist member states in achieving democratic forms of government. The Commonwealth, an association of 50 nations, has been a willing partner with Seychelles in this effort, and has been conscious of its involvement in a process which, by the end of this week, will return truly representative government to this country.

We have been deeply impressed with the spirit of co-operation and goodwill which has characterised these elections and in our discussions with President Albert René and other political leaders we have sought and received from them firm assurances that they will accept the verdict of the people. For their part, voters should endeavour to cast their votes in a peaceful and orderly manner, and we encourage them to make every effort to ensure that the next three days will pass without incident. We have met with party officials and electoral officials and we have raised all remaining matters of concern with them. These have included seeking and receiving reports on the delinking of state and party structures, on the independence of the media and on the arrangements for the elections themselves.

During the coming week we will be visiting all electoral districts and polling stations in the Inner and Outer Islands. We pledge that we will carry out our duties faithfully and impartially and that we will be vigilant in pursuing our task of assisting fellow Commonwealth citizens achieve their goal of electing a government and parliament to prepare them for the challenges of the 21st century.

19 July 1993

ANNEX V

Press Statement of Deployment Plan, 20 July 1993

ANNEX V



Seychelles Elections

Commonwealth Observer Group

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 Mahé
 Seychelles

PRESS STATEMENT

The Commonwealth Observer Group begins the next phase of its activities today with a full schedule of visits to the Inner and Outer Islands. In the three days ending on Thursday evening, they will be flying and sailing throughout the outlying islands, accompanying election officials as they carry out their duties and observing and monitoring the electoral process.

Today, the Chairman, the Hon Russell Marshall, Baroness Gardner, Miss Virginia Moshabesha and Mrs Lucille Bouvier will be visiting Bird, Denis and Fregate, while Mr Max Gaylard covers Farquhar and Desroches. On the following day, the Observers will be particularly busy, with Mr Natarajan Krishnan to Coetivy and Mr Etienne Kombe with Mr Vernon Courtenay observing in Silhouette. At the same time the Chairman, Mr Gaylard and Mrs Patsy Robertson will be looking into arrangements for the poll in Praslin and La Digue. Thursday's elections in Platte will be covered by Mr Vernon Courtenay.

On Friday, the last day of polling, Observers will be deployed in five teams concentrating on special areas in Mahe, Praslin and La Digue. Two Observers, Baroness Gardner and Mr Richard Nzerem will be based in Praslin from Wednesday until after the elections are completed. Below is a list of the teams with the areas they will monitor.

- Team 1 **Chairman, Mr Gaylard & Mrs Robertson** to Bel Air, Mt Buxton, St Louis, English River and Mont Fleuri
- Team 2 **Mrs Bouvier and Mr Courtenay** to Beau Vallon, Bel Ombre, Glacis and Anse Etoile
- Team 3 **Mr Kombe and Ambassador Krishnan** to Port Glaud, Grand Anse, Anse Bolleau, Baie Lazare and Takamaka
- Team 4 **Miss Moshabesha and Ms Zainah** to Plaisance, Cascade, Pointe Larue, Anse Aux Pins and Anse Royale
- Team 5 **Baroness Gardner and Mr Nzerem** to Grand Anse and Baie Ste Anne on Praslin, and La Digue

20 July 1993

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

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

REGISTRATION

1. Unqualified voters on the list.
2. Likely percentage of potential voters denied registration through early closure of rolls.
3. Procedures to challenge by voters of their exclusion from the rolls.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

1. The nature of access to the electronic media available to the opposition parties.
2. The procedure (if any) for the allocation of time for political broadcasts and advertisements on radio and television.
3. The nature of access enjoyed by the political parties to the print media.
4. The tone and content of political broadcasts, advertisements and posters put out by the political parties.
5. The conduct of political meetings.
6. The conduct of house to house canvassing of voters.
7. The voter education programme on radio and television conducted by the Director of Elections.
8. Permits for public meetings.
9. Access to printing facilities.
10. Access to funds and sources of funds.
11. Access to state services.

CONDUCT OF THE POLL

1. The location of polling stations.
2. The accuracy of the Voters' List at the polling stations.
3. Distances travelled by voters to polling stations in rural areas.
4. The length of time voters waited to cast their votes.
5. The steps (if any) taken to ensure that the secrecy of the ballot is assured.
6. The performance of electoral officials at the polling station visited.
7. The procedure followed at the opening of the poll.
8. The adequacy or otherwise of polling station facilities.
9. The incidence of loss of registration certificates.
10. The number (if any) of persons with voter registration certificates but whose names are not on the Voters' List.
11. The procedures in place to ensure proper security of ballot papers, ballot boxes and official seals.
12. The general electoral environment that prevailed at the polling stations visited.
13. The state of readiness of polling stations.
14. Availability of adequate supplies, e.g. ballot papers, Voters' List, official stamps and pads, etc.
15. Security of ballot papers prior to election.
16. Access of party agents to polling stations.

THE COUNT

1. Inspection of seals.
2. The process of reconciling the number of people who voted with the number of ballots cast.
3. The determination of invalid ballots which are stamped rejected.
4. The conduct of the returning officers and their assistants.
5. The preparation for the Declaration of the Result of the Poll.
6. The facilities for candidates and their representatives to witness and verify the count.

PART B

Questions that may be put:

Before Polling Day

1. Is electoral register full and correct? People missed off? Are there names of dead people/people who have moved away included?
2. Are electoral officials confident about arrangements? Are political parties and local notables satisfied?
3. Is the person in the street satisfied with arrangements? Will he/she vote? If not, is he/she afraid to do so?
4. Has the campaign been free of intimidation, etc? Have all parties had full access to media?
5. Is there freedom to advertise (posters, leaflets, etc)?
6. How will voters' IDs be checked? Will it be possible to vote twice?
7. How will those away from home or ill in bed be able to vote?

On the day

1. Before polling starts, are the ballot boxes empty? Are they properly sealed?
2. Are all procedures agreed beforehand being adhered to?
3. Are all parties represented at polling stations? Are they satisfied with process?
4. Are IDs being properly checked?
5. Are voters apparently voting freely? Are they enthusiastic? Do they talk freely? Do they exhibit signs of fear or intimidation?
6. Do voters understand procedures properly? If not, are they being explained fully and impartially? Are attempts being made to suggest how they should vote?
7. Is only one person at a time allowed into the voting booth? Do their ballot papers go straight into the sealed box?
8. How long are voters waiting to vote? If a long time, are some being put off?
9. Who will run the procedures on the day? Will they be ex- Party people? How were they chosen?
10. Will all parties be present at polling stations throughout voting and count?
11. Will foreign observers have free access to all stages of the process?
12. Are voters being asked suspicious questions after leaving the polling station?

After Voting

1. Are the boxes kept safe until opened? Are all parties/observers present at opening?
2. Does the number of used ballot papers tally with the record of those who have voted?
3. Are the papers counted properly? Are any valid ones being spoiled during counting, intentionally or not?

COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP TO SEYCHELLES

Check List for Polling Station visits

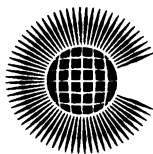
Names of Observers:

Constituency:

Polling Station Location:

-
- | | | | | |
|---|------------|-------------|---------------|----------|
| 1. Facilities: | Good? | Adequate? | Poor? | |
| 2. Number waiting to vote: | Approx | | | |
| 3. Polling staff: | Efficient? | Adequate? | Poor? | |
| 4. Voters' attitudes: | Happy? | Resigned? | Confused? | Subdued? |
| 5. Security presence: | Discreet? | Intrusive? | Oppressive? | |
| 6. Complaints by party polling agents: | | No[] | Yes[] | |
| 7. Complaints by voters: | | No[] | Yes[] | |
| 8. Mood at polling station: | Orderly? | Tense? | Excited? | Relaxed? |
| 9. Secrecy: | Assured? | Uncertain? | | |
| 10. Register | | | | |
| (a) personation attempts alleged? | No[] | Yes[] | (number) | |
| (b) names alleged to be missing? | No[] | Yes[] | (number) | |
| (c) multiple voting attempts alleged? | | No[] | Yes[] | (number) |
| 11. Apparent fairness overall: | Good? | Acceptable? | Questionable? | |
| 12. Other comments/Details of above: | | | | |

ANNEX VII
Interim Statement of 23 July 1993



Seychelles Elections

ANNEX VII

Commonwealth Observer Group

Room: 107/108
Telephone: (248) 47665
Fax: (248) 47464

c/o Beau-Vallon Bay Hotel
Mahé
Seychelles

INTERIM STATEMENT

The long and challenging process of restoring a multi-party system of government to Seychelles is now approaching its last stages. The successful completion of these Elections for a President and National Assembly under a new constitution and an emerging mood of national reconciliation augur well for the development of a democratic system of government which will serve all of the people of Seychelles.

Our mandate was to observe all relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the elections in accordance with the law of Seychelles. As we toured the country, meeting political leaders, political party officials, election officers and Seychellois from all walks of life, we found a determination to ensure that political life would henceforth be characterised by co-operation and tolerance. We observed a once-divided nation readying itself for a challenging future.

During the four days of the poll, we travelled to all 22 electoral areas and monitored voting procedures in the Inner and Outer Islands. Today, the main polling day, we began our task well before polling stations opened at 7.00 a.m. We were present to view opening procedures at eleven polling stations, and visited all 22 stations at random throughout the day. We observed the beginning of the count in 11 stations and will cover the others later this evening.

We have been much impressed with the efforts of all concerned. The Director of Elections, his staff and electoral officials at all polling stations have displayed exemplary dedication, and have been meticulous in carrying out their duties. Party agents and candidates maintained a watchful eye on the proceedings. The voters showed patience and good humour and they turned out in large numbers to exercise their right to vote. Voters were clearly now more familiar with the voting procedures, were processed with professionalism and efficiency, and moved quickly to cast their ballots and move away from the polling stations. Uniformed officers from the Seychelles Police Force were present at all polling stations, and in addition to providing reassurance by their presence, assisted in a practical way with the organisation of voting lines and other activities at polling stations.

We have received no complaints from any political party about the conduct by electoral officials of the polling and counting process. However, we received complaints from all three political parties about alleged infringements of the Code of Conduct for political parties, including payment of voters, use of government vehicles to transport voters, party 'check-points' close to polling stations, and canvassing within the precincts of polling stations. Where appropriate the complainants were advised to bring their concerns to the attention of the Director of Elections and his staff. We investigated these allegations and we received no clear evidence to support them. We also received one complaint of double voting, and we advised the party agents present to bring the matter to the attention of the appropriate Electoral Officer.

Overall, we were satisfied that the transition process had succeeded in preparing a solid foundation for these elections, with the integrity of the secrecy of the ballot, and indeed with the entire voting process which was carried out in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. We are thus able to conclude that the arrangements enabled voters to cast their ballots openly, freely and fairly. It is our considered view that the results to be announced later this evening will accurately reflect the will of the people of Seychelles.

23 July 1993

ANNEX VIII Code of Conduct

Referendum and elections

Code of Conduct

THE Office of the Director of Elections and registered political parties have agreed on a Code of Conduct to be adhered to by political parties, their members and supporters in an election or referendum.

This code of conduct is aimed at maintaining a peaceful atmosphere during an election or referendum campaign and on polling day.

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <p>(i) Existing election laws and rules must be adhered to.</p> <p>(ii) All political parties and contestants will have to extend all necessary help and co-operation to the law-enforcing authorities.</p> <p>(iii) Everyone should be aware not only of his own rights, but should also respect the rights of others.</p> <p>(iv) All political parties and candidates participating in the polls will extend full co-operation to election officials and ensure their safety until the polls are over.</p> <p>(v) Election campaigns should be so organised that a congenial and peaceful atmosphere prevails during polling.</p> <p>(vi) Nothing should be done that will create tension and disrupt the congenial atmosphere of the election. All parties shall exercise restraint in speech, manner and conduct, and show respect for the opinion of others so that electioneering does not turn into a war of words and confrontation.</p> <p>(vii) It is expected that criticism of opponents will occur during electioneering. However, indecorous and provocative speeches, statements, posters, taunting, ridiculing and innuendos shall be avoided. Parties shall be careful so that behaviour, statements or comments do not cause unnecessary tension.</p> <p>(viii) All political parties shall be vocal against violence. No party shall give indulgence to any kind of violent activity to demonstrate party strength or to prove supremacy. All political parties will extend co-operation to the law-enforcing agencies for recovery of illegal arms. No party will take any initiative for the release of any person arrested by the police, forcibly or with arms, during an election or referendum campaign or in the polling station during voting or in the vicinity of the polling station during polls.</p> <p>(ix) All parties and candidates will have equal opportunity for publicity. Meetings, processions and other campaign activities of opponents cannot be interfered with. Posters and banners shall be displayed only in accordance with the Code of Conduct set out in the Schedule hereto.</p> <p>(x) Assistance of the nearest law-enforcing agencies will have to be sought to resist and check any sort of election offence.</p> <p>(xi) Any attempts to influence voting through money or allurement are election offences. Everyone should be aware of these offences.</p> <p>(xii) No Government transport shall be used to carry voters to polling stations other than persons working for Government departments who are on duty or persons living in Government institutions. This rule does not apply to a person who has the use of a Government vehicle and the vehicle is used for self and family.</p> <p>(xiii) No Defence Force vehicles shall be used to carry voters, including Defence Force personnel, to polling stations.</p> <p>(xiv) Defence Force personnel shall not go to vote in their uniform.</p> <p>(xv) Political parties will not procure voters by forcible occupation of polling stations or through illegal activities in the polling stations.</p> <p>(xvi) No candidate or party can commit or give covertly or overtly any contribution, grant or favour to any individual, institution, body or organisation until election or referendum day for the purpose of election campaigning and obtaining votes.</p> | <p>(xvii) The congenial and peaceful atmosphere for an election or a referendum cannot be disturbed by spreading untrue and motivated rumour or by having recourse to conspiracy.</p> <p>(xviii) No election camps, check points and refreshment stalls shall be set up by political parties, their members and supporters. There shall be no campaigning of any sort either individually or collectively on polling day. District Council offices shall be closed on the day of the election or referendum. Voters must be left alone when queuing up so that they are not influenced in any way.</p> <p>(xix) Where a voter is incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause or otherwise, he may ask the Electoral Officer to record his vote in the presence of a person selected by him.</p> <p>In those circumstances the Electoral Officer shall satisfy himself that:-</p> <p>(a) the voter is truly incapacitated as he claims to be;</p> <p>(b) that the person who is to witness the vote has been freely and genuinely chosen by the voter; and</p> <p>(c) that the vote expressed by the voter is free. In this respect the political parties shall not abuse this procedure to pressure incapacitated persons to vote in their favour.</p> <p>(xx) In addition to election officials, only the voter is entitled to enter the polling stations. The political parties shall make sure that their workers do not enter the polling stations and loiter therein. Only the polling and counting agents will remain seated at their designated seats in the polling station and discharge their responsibility from there. No disruption shall be caused by the moving or changing of accredited agents.</p> <p>(xxi) No person shall, in a polling station or within a radius of 50 metres from a polling station, be allowed to wear or display any cloth, banner, insignia, logo, bill or board indicating affiliation to or support for a registered political party. This does not extend to the wearing of any dress or clothes of a particular colour.</p> | <p>1.3 The Planning Authority, Police (Traffic Section) and Land Transport Division shall agree on the size, height and number of the boards to be displayed in a particular area.</p> <p>1.4 The Department of Tourism and Transport (Tourism Division) has already erected some permanent bill boards in Victoria. Only advertisements announcing local events such as educational, cultural, social or recreational and tourism promoting activities should be displayed on these boards.</p> <p>1.5 Extra bulletin boards (temporary) may be erected and allocated to the different political parties.</p> <p>1.6 Boards will be erected only fourteen days prior to the day of the election or referendum.</p> <p>1.7 All boards and political displays must be removed by the political parties as soon as possible, in any case within fourteen days of the close of the poll in the election or referendum in accordance with regulation 13 (2) (b) of the Town and Country Planning (Control of Advertisements) Regulations, Cap 160.</p> <p>2.0 Use of cloth banners</p> <p>2.1 Easily removable cloth banners should be utilized as much as possible instead of pasted paper posters.</p> <p>2.2 Cloth banners shall be displayed only after the necessary permission has been obtained from the Land Transport Division and Police (Traffic Section).</p> <p>2.3 All banners shall be removed as soon as possible, in any case, within fourteen days after the election or referendum.</p> <p>3.0 Use of paint</p> <p>3.1 There shall be a total ban on the use of paint (liquid and sprays) to write upon, mark or paint any slogan on any road, pavement, telephone or electric post, wall, fence, etc, whether on public or private property.</p> <p>This is an offence punishable under Section 183(j) of the Penal Code, Cap 73.</p> <p>4.0 Electoral or referendum posters</p> <p>4.1 Electoral or Referendum posters shall be affixed only on special boards erected for this purpose as set out in paragraph 1.</p> <p>4.2 No poster or any other paper shall be pasted on any wall, building, road, pavement, telephone or electric poles, fence whether public or private property</p> <p>This is an offence punishable under Section 183(j) of the Penal Code, Cap 73.</p> <p>5.0 Respect of others and their property</p> <p>5.1 Political party members and supporters shall respect others and their property and shall refrain from causing damage to any property whether public or private.</p> |
|--|--|--|

ANNEX IX
Distribution of Voters

NUMBER OF VOTERS PER DISTRICT

Anse aux Pins	3,355
Anse Boileau	2,682
Anse Etoile	2,559
Anse Royale	3,391
Bel Air	1,740
Baie Lazare	1,698
Bel-Ombre	1,392
Baie Ste Anne	1,826
Beau Vallon	2,777
Cascade	1,916
English River	2,189
Glacis	1,730
Grand Anse Mahe	1,452
Grand Anse Praslin	1,757
Inner Islands	1,619
Mont Buxton	2,692
Mont Fleuri	3,553
Plaisance	4,579
Port Glaud	1,091
Pointe Larue	1,733
St Louis	3,142
Takamaka	1,472
Unspecified districts	25
Total Number of Voters	50,370


Source: Director of Elections


ANNEX X
Sample Ballot Papers


BALLOT PAPER


PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

JULY 1993

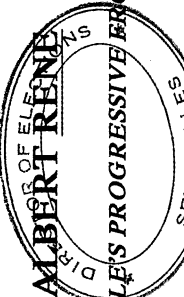











FRANCE, ALBERT RENÉ
SEYCHELLES PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE FRONT



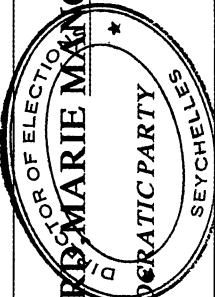



**The United
Opposition**







JAMES, RICHARD, MARIE MAURICAM
DEMOCRATIC PARTY









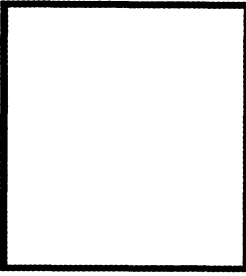
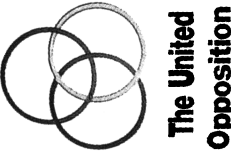
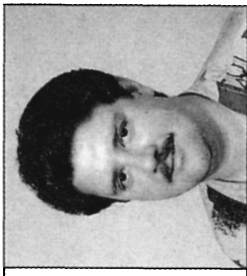
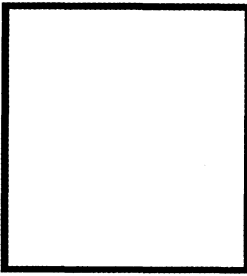


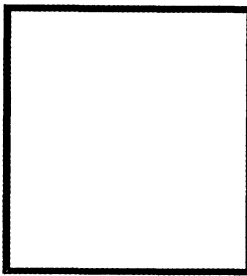




**BALLOT PAPER
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

JULY 1993

PORT GLAUD

<p><u>JINETTE GAMATIS</u></p> <p>SEYCHELLES PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE FRONT</p>			
<p><u>JULES, MAXIME, IAN DELORIE</u></p> <p>THE UNITED OPPOSITION</p>	 <p>The United Opposition</p>		
<p><u>MARY, STARLINE JUMAYE</u></p> <p>DEMOCRATIC PARTY</p>			

ANNEX XI
Final Results

Presidential Elections, July 1993 Results											
Electoral Areas	Total Votes Cast	Total Votes Rejected	Total Valid Votes Cast	Mr. F. A. Rene S P F		Mr. P. J. R. Boule The United Opposition		Mr. J. R. M. Mancham Democratic Party		Percentage	Valid V.
				No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage		
Anse Aux Pins	2886	57	2829	1759	60.95%	89	3.08%	985	34.13%		34.82%
Anse Boileau	2478	24	2454	1540	62.15%	36	1.45%	878	35.43%		35.78%
Anse Etoile	2196	33	2163	1220	55.56%	95	4.33%	848	38.62%		39.20%
Anse Royale	2922	54	2868	1877	64.24%	114	3.90%	877	30.01%		30.58%
Belombre	1226	15	1211	536	43.72%	56	4.57%	619	50.49%		51.11%
Bel Air	1433	8	1425	738	51.50%	69	4.82%	618	43.13%		43.37%
Beau Vallon	2327	20	2307	1204	51.74%	114	4.90%	987	42.42%		42.78%
Baie Ste Anne	1639	13	1626	1167	71.20%	58	3.54%	401	24.47%		24.66%
Baie Lazare	1579	27	1552	928	58.77%	44	2.79%	580	36.73%		37.37%
Cascade	1702	17	1685	1117	65.63%	26	1.53%	542	31.84%		32.17%
English River	1830	26	1804	1025	56.01%	77	4.21%	702	38.36%		38.91%
Grand Anse Mahe	1318	11	1307	919	69.73%	44	3.34%	344	26.10%		26.32%
Grand Anse Praslin	1610	16	1594	1006	62.48%	75	4.66%	513	31.86%		32.18%
Glacis	1529	13	1516	780	51.01%	46	3.01%	690	45.13%		45.51%
Inner Islands	1463	15	1448	1132	77.38%	62	4.24%	254	17.36%		17.54%
Mont Buxton	2248	28	2220	1093	48.62%	82	3.65%	1045	46.49%		47.07%
Mont Fleuri	2963	23	2940	1682	56.77%	129	4.35%	1129	38.10%		38.40%
Plaisance	3805	41	3764	2160	56.77%	169	4.44%	1435	37.71%		38.12%
Pointe La Rue	1543	19	1524	1086	70.38%	26	1.69%	412	26.70%		27.03%
Port Glaud	1003	17	986	632	63.01%	38	3.79%	316	31.51%		32.05%
Saint Louis	2545	26	2519	1135	44.60%	137	5.38%	1247	49.00%		49.50%
Takamaka	1339	10	1329	891	66.54%	45	3.36%	393	29.35%		29.57%
Total	43584	513	43071	25627	58.80%	1631	3.74%	15815	36.29%		36.72%

National Assembly Elections, July 1993
Results

Electoral Areas	Total Votes cast	Total Votes Reflected	Total Valid Votes Cast	S P P F No.	% of Cast	United Opposition No.	%	Democratic Party No.	%	Elected
Anse Aux Pins	2886	51	2835	Walter J. F. Confait 1707	59.15%	Archange Michel 157	5.44%	Georges R. Bibi 975	33.78%	Walter J. F. Confait
Anse Boileau	2479	45	2434	Andre L. B. Pool 1557	62.81%	Philippe M. Arissol 83	3.35%	Philip H. Jumeau 794	32.03%	Andre L. B. Pool
Anse Etoile	2196	31	2165	Roger J. Toussaint 1227	55.87%	Gabriel F. Hoareau 135	6.15%	Pat R. Barrallon 803	36.57%	Roger J. Toussaint
Anse Royale	2922	66	2856	Barry J. J. Faure 1884	64.48%	Kathleen J. J. Pillay 239	8.18%	Simon J. Mondon 733	25.09%	Barry J. J. Faure
Baie Lazare	1579	33	1546	Angé D. Morel 858	54.34%	Lewis B. X. Alexis 50	3.17%	Louis C. Chetty 638	40.41%	Angé D. Morel
Baie Ste. Anne	1637	20	1617	Mitcy M. T. Larue 1095	66.89%	Karl E. R. Souffe 207	12.65%	Darrel D. C. Green 315	19.24%	Mitcy M. T. Larue
Beau Vallon	2327	25	2302	Marie-Louise Potter 1178	50.62%	Collin J. Dyer 138	5.99%	Paul B. J. Chow 984	42.29%	Marie-Louise Potter
Bel Air	1433	10	1423	Michael A. R. Rene 706	49.27%	Alain St. Ange 101	7.05%	Bernard R. Elizabeth 616	42.99%	Michael A. R. Rene
Bel Ombre	1226	17	1209	Francis Macgregor 502	40.95%	Serge J.L. Rouillon 78	6.36%	Christopher C. Gill 629	51.31%	Christopher C. Gill
Cascade	1702	27	1675	C. De Commarmond 1163	68.33%	Ronnie M. M. Delcy 37	2.17%	M. Y. Diana Barra 475	27.91%	C. De Commarmond
English River	1830	33	1797	Patrick Herminie 1016	55.52%	Anthony Juliette 148	8.09%	Rose Marie Hoareau 633	34.59%	Patrick Herminie
Glacis	1527	12	1515	Gilbert F. Barbier 762	49.90%	Kevin Jean-Louis 36	2.36%	George K. Michel 717	46.95%	Gilbert F. Barbier
Grand Anse Mahe	1317	23	1294	Waven W. William 908	68.94%	Roger A. Mancienne 112	8.50%	Antoine Mathurin 274	20.80%	Waven W. William
Grand Anse Praslin	1610	23	1587	Michel G. Gardette 878	54.53%	Luc JC Grandcourt 232	14.41%	Daniel J. Belle 477	29.63%	Michel G. Gardette
Inner Islands	1462	39	1423	Monica Figaro 1060	73.87%	Anna-Rose Legge 169	11.56%	Rex S. Choppoy 174	11.90%	Monica Figaro
Mont Buxton	2247	48	2199	Simon J. Gill 1070	47.62%	Anthony Derjacques 192	8.54%	Gonzague A. D'Offay 937	41.70%	Simon J. Gill
Mont Fleuri	2963	37	2926	Florence Benstrong 1585	53.49%	Jean-Francois Ferari 353	11.91%	Eddie J. Nicock 988	33.34%	Florence Benstrong
Plaisance	3805	54	3751	Jeovana E. Charles 1959	51.48%	Bernard Georges 907	23.84%	Jean Khambatta 885	23.26%	Jeovana E. Charles
Pointe La Rue	1543	20	1523	Dick P. Esparon 972	62.99%	Ralph M. G. Volcère 57	3.69%	Nichol J. R. Gabriel 494	32.02%	Dick P. Esparon
Port Glaud	1003	29	974	Jinette Gamatis 640	63.81%	J.M. Ian Delorie 54	5.38%	Mary S. Jumaye 280	27.92%	Jinette Gamatis
Saint Louis	2545	39	2506	Bella T. Henderson 1034	40.63%	Wavel Ramkalawam 546	21.45%	Josen M.V. Stravens 925	36.35%	Bella T. Henderson
Takamaka	1340	31	1309	Jeanne T. Marie 861	64.25%	Patrick P. Larue 132	9.85%	Judy A.B. Esparon 316	23.58%	Jeanne T. Marie
Total	43579	713	42866	24642	56.55%	4163	9.71%	14062	32.27%	
Proportional Allocation				6.32		1.07		3.61		

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