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PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS AND FIRST ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN GUINEA BISSAU

13 APRIL 2014

REPORT BY FIONA HALL, CHAIR OF THE DELEGATION

Annexes:

- I. Final programme of the Delegation (including participants' list)**
- II. Declaration of Ms Fiona Hall, Chair of the EP Delegation**
- III. Preliminary Statement of the EU Election Observation Mission (in EN and PT)**

INTRODUCTION

Following an invitation from the National Election Commission (Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE), from 13 November 2013, and the decision of the High Representative and Vice-President of the Commission Mrs Catherine Ashton on the deployment of an EU Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), the Conference of Presidents of the European Parliament authorised on 6 February 2014 the sending of a delegation to observe the general elections in Guinea-Bissau.

On 13 April 2014, Bissau Guineans returned to the polls to elect a President and National Assembly after several postponements, nearly two years of transition and many more years of political instability and turmoil. The country experienced several coups, the latest of which cut short the last elections in 2012 before the second round could take place. Transitional arrangements brokered by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have not been recognised, and the international community has repeatedly called for elections. If successful, these would mark a return to constitutional order, a crucial step watched and waited by international actors before they can commit to restarting political and development cooperation.

The European Union has earlier deployed Election Observation Missions to monitor presidential elections in 2005 and 2009, after which most of the recommendations still remain to be implemented. Moreover, 2014 elections are particularly important to restore the constitutional order.

The EU Election Observation Mission (EU EOM), present in Guinea-Bissau since 19 March 2014, was led by Chief Observer **Krzysztof Lisek**, Member of the European Parliament. In total, the EU EOM deployed 46 observers from 17 EU Member States across the country to assess the whole electoral process against international and regional obligations and commitments for democratic elections as well as the laws of Guinea Bissau.

The delegation of the European Parliament joined the EU EOM on 11 April. The delegation was chaired by Ms Fiona Hall, ALDE, United-Kingdom and was also composed of Ms Maria do Céu PATRÃO NEVES, EPP, Portugal, Ms Anna GOMES, S&D, Portugal and Ms Anna ROSBACH, ECR, Denmark.

The Delegation wishes to highlight its excellent cooperation with and express its particular thanks to the Chief Observer Krzysztof Lisek, MEP, the EU Election Observation Mission, and the Head of the EU Delegation in Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Joaquin Gonzalez-Ducay.

BACKGROUND

In April 2012, just before the second round of presidential elections, Guinea-Bissau's military carried out a coup d'état, leading to the establishment of a National Transitional Council.

European Union institutions, including the European Parliament, condemned the coup and have since refused to recognise the legitimacy of the National Transitional Council. In the sign of strong condemnation from the EU, political negotiations were suspended and several targeted sanctions against members of the military junta were placed in May 2012. Humanitarian and financial aid continues to be provided to directly support the people of Guinea-Bissau, with health and rural development related initiatives.

Following the coup, the African Union suspended Guinea-Bissau's membership and multi- and bi-lateral donor agencies such as the African Development Bank (AfDB) suspended most operations in the country.

The rule of the transitional government has been affected by strong military influences and marked by human rights abuses including extra-judicial killings of officials and supporters of the former regime and intimidation and harassment of the opposition and the media. Freedoms of assembly and movement have been severely restricted and Guinea-Bissau is also facing lack of institutional capacity and judicial independence.

Impunity, corruption and the interference of the military in all aspects of political life resulted in the country's classification as 'not-free' in the 2013 Freedom House' Freedom in the World Report.

Illicit drug trade from South America, transiting through Guinea-Bissau and the West African region on route to Europe, further fuels nepotism and political instability. Aggravated by porous borders and impunity of the military, Guinea-Bissau is considered by some to be a 'narco-state'.

INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION

Around 400 international observers, including the EU EOM, were deployed in the country for the election. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) had the largest group with 200 observers, and provided support to the local security forces with a 450-men military contingent based in the country since after the military coup. The African Union (AU) brought 46 observers to reinforce its nine-member team already in Bissau. A 22-member mission of Pacific and Asian countries, including East Timor and New Zealand, is also observed the electoral process. These missions were joined by others from the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), the Francophone International Organization (OIF) and the British Parliament.

Civil society organizations in Guinea Bissau are not allowed by law to participate in election observation. Despite this unreasonable limitation highlighted in EU EOM final reports, civil society organizations showed a strong commitment to participate in the electoral process.

ORGANISATION OF THE ELECTIONS

An independent body responsible for the oversight, organisation and management of all elections in the country, as well as voter registration, is the National Election Commission (*Comissão Nacional de Eleições*, CNE), presided by Augusto Mendes, who is appointed by the President. Other bodies co-responsible for the elections include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (vis-à-vis the Bissau-Guineans living abroad) and the Ministry of Internal Administration.

The international community financed the entire electoral process with one-third of the contributions coming from the European Union. The elections had a cost of almost US\$17 per voter, which was on the higher side of the world average and well above the African average of US\$7.

Legislative elections

Guinea-Bissau's People's National Assembly, *the Assembleia Nacional Popular* (ANP), is a unicameral parliament, elected on a four-year cycle according to the proportional representation system. The country is split into 27 multi-member constituency-districts, with a 50% quorum of eligible voters' participation within each district. The Assembly has 102 seats, two of which are, for the first time representing the diaspora in Europe and Africa.

Presidential elections

The presidential electoral system is an absolute majority, two-round, run-off system for a five-year term. The president appoints the Prime Minister, who is the acting head of Government. The multi-party democratic system was introduced in the country in 1991 with the first elections taking place in 1994, transitioning from a one-party state led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (*Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*, PAIGC).

CANDIDATES

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (**PAIGC**) is the main political party in Guinea-Bissau. Created in 1956, the party and its founding members were leading figures in the anti-colonial struggles, resulting in the party's victory in the first post-independence presidential elections in 1974, producing the first president Luis Cabral.

PAIGC backed former Finance Minister **José Mário Vaz** as its candidate at the beginning of March. However, following his official registration with the Supreme Court, a legal objection was raised by the attorney general because of on-going proceedings against Vaz for his alleged embezzlement of a USD 12.5 million Angolan grant in 2012 during his term

in office. Despite the legal contestation of his eligibility, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of his candidacy.

The second biggest party in the Bissau-Guinean Assembly is the Party of Social Renovation (*Partido para a Renovação Social*, **PRS**), which is considered to be attracting voters of Balanta ethnicity (comprising roughly 30 % of the population). PRS previously secured the presidency in November 1999 under the leadership of Kumba Yalá, who was, however, overthrown in 2003 before completing his term.

The official candidate for the PRS was **Abdel Incada** - a business man in the construction sector, and the vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture of Guinea-Bissau (of Balanta origin).

A prominent independent candidate was **Nuno Gomes Nabiam** (the former Director of the Bissau-Guinean Agency for Civil Aviation was supported by the former PRS leader and president Kamba Yalá, suddenly deceased on 4 April, and he is seen as close to the army).

The only female candidate would have been **Antonieta Rosa Gomes** of the Civic Forum for Bissau-Guinean Social Democracy (FCGSD) but she was disqualified by the Supreme Court of Justice on the grounds of an insufficient quorum on 10 March.

The **final list of presidential candidates** also included : Paulo Gomes (Independent), , Afonso Té (supported by PRID), Arregado Mantenque Té, Hélder Vaz, Ibraima Sory Djalo, Jorge Malu, Luís Nancassa, Iaia Djalo, Cirilo Oliveira, Domingos Quadé.

The death on 4 April of the former president Kumba Yalá, shortened to 18 days the electoral campaign.

PROGRAMME OF THE DELEGATION

As is the usual practice, the EU EOM core team and Mr Lisek, the Chief Observer (CO) briefed in detail the EP Delegation upon its arrival. The Head of the EP delegation took part, with the CO Mr Lisek , in the coordination meetings for all the Heads of election observation missions. The delegation had also the opportunity to meet the heads of international election observation missions, notably Mr Joaquim Chissano, Head of the African Union Mission and Mr Leonardo Simão, Head of the CPLP Mission. The EU and Members States ambassadors present in Bissau met several times with MEPs during their short visit to Guinea Bissau.

The EP Delegation and the CO also met H.E. Jose Ramos Horta, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, Former President of Timor-Leste and United Nations' Special Representative in Guinea-Bissau. As Head of the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office, Mr Ramos Horta's mandate is supporting political dialogue, national reconciliation and peace building efforts.

The electoral authorities, Mr Paulo Sanha, President of the Supreme Court of Justice and Mr. Augusto Mendes, President of the National Election Commission (CNE) talked at length with the delegation about the efforts carried out to make these elections a success and answered the questions of MEPs.

The EP Delegation and the CO held joint meetings with the main presidential candidates: Mr. Abel Incada (PRS), Mr. José Mário Vaz (PAIGC), Mr. Paulo Gomes (Independent) and the Campaign Director for Mr. Nuno Nabiam (Independent) as well as with Ms. Antonieta Rosa Gomes (President of FCG-SD party). The Delegation also met with Mr. Domingos Simões Pereira, President of the PAIGC and likely new prime minister. The Delegation asked about the candidates' priorities for Guinea Bissau but raised also their concerns about a variety of issues like good governance, the fight against corruption or possible avenues towards women's empowerment. The delegation noted that there are no women presidential candidates and that very few women were in eligible positions for the legislative elections.

As the EU does not recognise the transitional authorities, no meetings were organised with the government.

ELECTION DAY

On a peaceful Election Day, the EP delegation split into 2 groups to observe in Bissau and its surroundings. Both teams observed from the opening to the closing and counting. The Members of the Delegation were shocked by the poverty of the country and impressed by the very high turnout.

In line with the general findings of EU EOM observers, MEPs observed few significant irregularities or incidents; the delegation noted however that although women had an active role as polling agents and voters on Election Day, only a few were heading a polling station.

JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE

The press conference was exceptionally held on Monday 14 April (instead of 48 hours after E-day, as is the usual practice for EU EOMs).

The EU Election Observation Mission Preliminary Statement was presented by the CO, Mr Lisek, under the title "Holding of Elections Brings Guinea Bissau Closer to Constitutional Normalcy". Ms Hall, in the name of the EP Delegation backed the findings of the EU EOM. Almost all the questions from the press concerned the lifting of "sanctions" from the EU against Guinea Bissau and the likelihood that the military would recognise the results of these elections.

FINAL RESULTS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The National Election Commission (CNE) officially announced on 24 April the results of the general elections on 13 April 2014:

In the Popular National Assembly, the PAIGC won an absolute majority with 57 seats (now including two for the diaspora), against 41 for the main opposition party, the Party for Social renovation (PRS); the Party for Democratic Convergence (PCD) will fill two seats and the Union for Change (UM) and the New Democracy Party (PND) one each.

A run-off between the candidate of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), José Mário Vaz and the independent candidate Nuno Nabiam, was set for 18 May 2014. Vaz obtained 40.98 percent of the votes and Nabiam 25.14 percent among the 13 candidates.

The elections registered the highest turnout since a multi-party system was established in 1994, with 89 percent of the 775,508 eligible voters exercising their franchise. However, almost 10 percent (9.4 percent) of the votes cast in the legislative election were blank against 5.7 percent in the presidential elections.

Second round of the presidential election

Since the date of a second round fell after the end of the EP's legislative working period, the EP delegation was unable to observe it.

The EU EOM continued its observation for the second round and joined other election observation missions in a call to all stakeholders to refrain from premature declarations of the outcome of the elections, recognizing that the National Election Commission is the only legally mandated authority to announce the results. The seven observation missions (African Union – AU, the Community of Countries of Portuguese Language – CPLP, the Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS, the International Francophone Organization – IFO, the Economic and Monetary Union of West Africa – UEMOA, and the delegation of the United States of America) also urged the candidates and political parties to respect the results and to resort exclusively to legal and constitutional means in seeking redress to any grievances.

On 20 May, the EU EOM issued its preliminary statement: "Electoral process closer to successful conclusion after transparent, orderly and free run-off".

Results of the presidential elections

The electoral commission announced on 20 May that José Mário Vaz of the African party for the Independence for Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) won the second round of voting taking 61.9 percent of the vote. Independent candidate Nuno Gomes Nabiam took 38.1 percent.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Election Observation Mission of the European Union (EU EOM) remains in Guinea-Bissau until the end of the post-election process and will present a final report on the process. This report will contain recommendations aiming to improve certain aspects of the electoral process for future elections.

The election observation Delegation of the European Parliament as part of long-term EU mission was an important tool in the evaluation of the electoral situation in Guinea-Bissau. The delegation recommends that the Democracy Support and Election Coordination Group, the Committee on Development and the relevant Standing Delegations monitor the findings and recommendations of the final report of the EU EOM and use it as a basis for their political dialogue with Guinea-Bissau.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN GUINEA BISSAU

ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION

13 April 2014

List of participants

Members

Ms Fiona HALL, ALDE, UK - Head of Delegation
Ms Maria do Céu PATRÃO NEVES, EPP, Portugal
Ms Anna GOMES, S&D, Portugal
Ms Anna ROSBACH, ECR, Denmark

Secretariat

Ms Emilia GALLEGO, Administrator
Ms Alyson WOOD, Assistant

Political group

Mr Peter BJERREGAARD, ECR group adviser

Interpreters

Ms Adriana CARVALHO-POSSEMIERS
Mr Garry MULLENDER
Ms Paula MATTOS

Abbreviations :

EPP	European People's Party/European	ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists
S&D	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats		
ALDE	Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe		

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN GUINEA BISSAU

ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION

11-15 April 2014

PROGRAMME

Friday, 11 April

- 01:30 Arrival of Members in Bissau and transfer to the
Ancar Hotel
Avenida Osvaldo Vieira 10
Caixa postal 314 Bissau
Républica da Guiné-Bissau
Tel: +245 3207633
Fax: +245 3207635
- 10:00 Meeting with the Chief Observer, Mr Krzysztof Lisek and Deputy Chief
Observer, (DCO) Mr António Reis
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 11:00 Meeting with Mr Paulo Sanha, President of the Supreme Court of Justice
Venue: Rua Guerra Mendes, Bissau Velho
- 11:45 Depart to Azalai
- 12:00 Briefing by the Core Team of the EU Election Observation Mission
Part 1
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 13:00 Lunch hosted by the Chief Observer (CO) Mr Krzysztof Lisek, with Mr José
Ramos-Horta, United Nations' Special Representative and Head of the United
Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS)
Venue: Azalai hotel
- 15:00 Meeting with Mr Augusto Mendes, President of the National Election
Commission (CNE)
Venue: CNE office, Avenida Unidade Africana, Bissau
- 16:00 – 17:00 Briefing by the Core Team of the EU Election Observation Mission
Part 2
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 19:15 Reception hosted by Ambassador Joaquín Gonzalez-Ducay, Head of the EU
Delegation
Venue: EU Residence, Bairro da Penha, Bissau

Saturday, 12 April

- 09:00 -12:00 Meeting with main candidates:
- 09:00-13:00 Mr José Mário Vaz (PAIGC)
Mr Paulo Gomes (Ind)
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- LUNCH – free time for Members
- 15:00 Meeting with the Campaign Director for Mr Nuno Nabiam
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 16:00 Meeting with Antonieta Rosa Gomes former Presidential candidate for the FCG-SD party
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 19:15 Mr Abel Incada(PRS)
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 20:00 Dinner hosted by CO Mr Lisek with Heads of international election observation missions: Mr Joaquim Chissano, Head of the African Union Mission; Mr Ovídio Pequeno, Head of the Liaison Office; Mr Leonardo Simão, Head of the CPLP Mission and Mr António Lopes, Political Adviser for the CPLP
Venue: Azalai Hotel

Sunday, 13 April: Election Day

- 06:15 Depart for Election observation, closing and counting
Voting from 07:00 – 17:00
- 21:00 Both teams return to Ancar hotel

Monday, 14 April

- 09:00 Exchange of views of the delegation with the CO.
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 10:00 Meeting hosted by Mr José Ramos-Horta, United Nations' Special Representative and Head of the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS), **with CO Mr Lisek, Ms Fiona Hall, Head of the EP delegation**, Heads of Delegations from the International Election Observation Missions
Venue: United Nations Offices

- 10:00-11:00 Visit to tabulation centre – by the old port – remainder of the delegation
- 11:00 Revisiting several polling stations around Bissau to check on situation
- 13:00 Free time for lunch
- 17:00 Press Conference
Venue: Madina de Boe 1 meeting room, Azalai hotel
- 18:00- 20:00 Cocktail hosted by the French Ambassador, Mr. Jean-François Parot with Mr Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro and OIF
Venue: French Embassy Residence

Tuesday 15 April

- 12:00 Meeting with Mr Domingos Simoens Pereira, President of the PAIGC
Venue: EUEOM meeting room
- 13:30 Depart to airport
- End of the mission

13 April Presidential and Legislative Elections in Guinea-Bissau

Remarks by Fiona Hall, Head of the EP Delegation

Ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me first to thank you for the interest you have shown in this press conference.

The European Parliament is the only directly elected body of the European Union and represents 500 million European citizens. The European Parliament saw that these elections were crucial for Guinea Bissau and decided to send an election observation delegation. During its stay in Guinea Bissau, the delegation has been fully integrated into the framework of the EU EOM and has had the opportunity to meet candidates, electoral authorities and representatives of the international community.

As Head of the European Parliament delegation, I have the honour of saying on behalf of my colleagues that we fully support and endorse the findings of the European Union Election Observation Mission, as presented by Chief Observer Krzysztof LISEK.

Without repeating Mr Lisek words, I would like to emphasise some of the findings of the EU EOM and I will add some more political comments.

Concerning the Election Day itself, our delegation found few significant irregularities or incidents, but there were one or two: for example, I observed myself that polling staff did not perform the necessary cross-check between the number of ballots cast and the number of entries in the manual voters' list. In view of a possible second round, and in general, for forthcoming elections, it is important that polling station staff are further trained in voting and counting procedures.

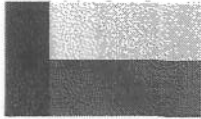
Although women had an active role as polling agents and voters on Election Day, our Delegation only saw a few women heading a polling station. Our delegation was also disappointed to see that there were no women presidential candidates and to realise that very few women are in eligible positions for the legislative elections. No society can develop and prosper in the absence of half of its population. We would like to see more women in positions of leadership at all levels in Guinea Bissau society. We therefore call for speedy realisation of the principles of gender representation, and inclusiveness as a whole.

I also want to put in a good word for domestic observation. The European Parliament sees domestic observation as an essential part of any electoral process and recommends the CNE and electoral authorities to consider authorising domestic observation in Guinea Bissau.

On a more political note, I would like to stress that the strong presence of international observers in these elections shows how much the international community wants to see a democratic Guinea Bissau which is able to work for the development and well being of its people.

The EU in particular is eager to see Guinea Bissau return to constitutional order and to see the new leadership commit to security sector reform, the reinforcement of the judiciary and the fight against corruption and impunity, in order to be able to re-establish political and development cooperation.

Ladies and gentlemen, to conclude let me reassure you that the European Parliament will continue to stand by Guinea Bissau, and naturally by its sister Parliament in Guinea Bissau, established on the basis of yesterday's elections. The work of the Bissau Guinean Parliament will be essential not only in consolidating Democracy and the Rule of Law, but also for the development of the country, the education of its people and the struggle against poverty.



EUROPEAN UNION
ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION
GUINEA BISSAU – GENERAL ELECTIONS 2014



PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

**Holding of Elections Brings Guinea Bissau
Closer to Constitutional Normalcy**

Guinea Bissau, 14 April 2014

Summary

- The presidential and legislative elections were peaceful and orderly with a high number of voters freely exercising their franchise in the final stages of an almost incident-free campaign period and election organization process. The elections were the culmination of a process creating the conditions for Guinea Bissau to come out of international isolation and to bring the country closer to constitutional normalcy.
- The EU EOM observed well organized polling and counting processes conducted in a calm atmosphere that was free of tensions. Minor irregularities were noted by the EU observers in their preliminary assessment, such as ballot boxes not always being sealed properly. Political party representatives had a strong presence, ensuring transparency of the process and the integrity of the vote. Observers noted a small number of official complaints although none was formalized. The EU EOM continues to observe the ongoing tabulation process.
- The legal framework offered sufficient basis for democratic elections. International and regional instruments adopted by Guinea Bissau embrace fundamental political and civic rights which are also reflected in the national legislation. Recent amendments to the electoral law incorporated previous EU EOM recommendations, including a new voter register and voter card and the inclusion of voters in the diaspora. Persisting shortcomings, including the lack of supervision of campaign spending rules, contributed, however, to an uneven playing field for candidates.
- The National Election Commission (CNE) administered the election with professionalism and competence, in line with the electoral calendar and reacting quickly to operational and logistic needs throughout the process. Political parties and other stakeholders were satisfied with the new CNE Executive Secretariat being drawn from members of the judiciary. The gender imbalance remained in all levels of the election management body. CNE plenary meetings allowed party representatives ample opportunity for discussion, however plenary decisions were not effectively published and shared with stakeholders. The CNE conducted an effective cascade training for polling station staff and prepared sufficient polling officials to conduct voting operations in more than 3,000 polling stations. The EU EOM evaluated positively the deployment of 1,000 CNE civic education officers across the country.
- EU EOM observers noted a lower than anticipated turnout for advanced voting, when ballots were cast in an orderly and peaceful atmosphere. The process, however, was marked by confusion when for different reasons polling was halted in some regions.

This preliminary statement is available in English and Portuguese but only the English version is official.

- Through a new voter registration exercise a total of 775,508 citizens were registered, including 22,312 in the diaspora, an increase of 23 percent since the past election. The EU EOM observed some technical errors in printing of the voter lists. Political parties met by the EU EOM were consensual in their general satisfaction with the process. However, several political parties expressed their concern during the final days before elections regarding the non-delivery of voting cards.
- Women constitute 51 percent of the population and despite the lack of legal impediments for political participation, they remain largely underrepresented. Women outnumbered men as registered voters in 2014 but occupy only 8.4 percent of the top positions on party lists. Poor socio-economic conditions, a male-oriented society, illegal traditional practices and lack of public funding for parties, and reduced access to education continue to hinder the empowerment of women.
- An active and motivated civil society engaged in the monitoring of the electoral process with an unprecedented participation of some 680 monitors. Several civil society organizations grouped together and imparted voter education before election day, monitored pre-election campaign activities, and followed incidents and election day events. Monitoring efforts were reinforced by the deployment of over 400 international observers.
- The public and private media covered the electoral process under extremely harsh financial conditions that impacted on their ability to offer a balanced and independent coverage and jeopardized their full enjoyment of the freedom of the press. The media had to compromise their independence in exchange for financial survival.

The European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) has been present in the country since 19 March 2014 following an invitation from the National Election Commission (CNE). The Mission is led by Chief Observer, Krzysztof Lisek, Member of the European Parliament-MEP. In total, the EU EOM deployed 46 observers from 17 EU Member States across the country to assess the whole electoral process against international and regional obligations and commitments for democratic elections as well as the laws of Guinea Bissau. A delegation of the European Parliament, headed by Fiona Hall, MEP, also joined the mission and fully endorses this Statement. On election day, the EU observers visited over 275 polling stations in the nine regions of the country to observe voting and counting. The Mission thanks the collaboration of the observation mission of the British parliament. This preliminary statement is delivered prior to the completion of the election process. The final assessment of the elections will depend, in part, on the conduct of the remaining stages of the election process, in particular, the tabulation of results, and the handling of possible post-election day complaints and appeals. The EU EOM remains in country to observe post-election developments and will publish a public final report containing detailed recommendations within two months of the conclusion of the electoral process. The EU EOM is independent in its findings and conclusions and adheres to the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation signed at the United Nations in October 2005.

Background

Bissau Guineans went to the polls on 13 April 2014 to elect a new president and the 102 members of the Popular National Assembly (ANP), including the two members representing the diaspora in Europe and Africa. The results of the legislative election will determine the new head of government. Thirteen candidates participated in the presidential election and 15 political parties were on the legislative ballot. The elections were called by a transitional government placed in power by the military after a coup soon after the first round of the presidential elections in April 2012. In fact, the general elections were to be held one year after the empowerment of the transition government but were postponed to 24 November 2013, then to 16 March 2014 and, finally, to 13 April 2014. The elections were anxiously awaited by Bissau Guineans in hopes to allow the country to restore its constitutional normalcy and to create the democratic conditions to bring Guinea Bissau out of international isolation, and to promote the changes and reforms necessary to guarantee stability and economic development as well as to discourage new military adventures.

Legal Framework

In a positive development for the 2014 general elections, amendments to the electoral laws were approved in 2013, enhancing the inclusiveness and transparency of the elections. These comprise the new voter registration and voter card with photo, the extension of the right to vote to the diaspora to include the Presidential vote and the approval of eight new media laws, all in line with previous EU EOM recommendations. Several legal shortcomings persist, such as the lack of normative power of the CNE, a deficiency in legal controls over party and campaign spending, no legal framework for domestic observation, and the inequality of the vote whereby the number of registered voters to elect a member to the ANP varies significantly from constituency to constituency.

Election Administration

The National Election Commission (CNE) administered the election with professionalism and competence, following the electoral calendar and reacting quickly to operational and logistic needs throughout the process. The CNE organized the presidential and legislative elections in the context of two years of a transitional government, with three postponements in the election date and intense pressure from the international community to deliver elections. These elections were implemented with shortened timeframes for the different electoral phases (see Voter Registration). The international community financed the entire electoral process with one-third of the contributions coming from the European Union. The elections had a cost of almost US\$17 per voter, which was on the higher side of the world average and well above the African average of US\$7.¹ The new composition of the CNE Executive Secretariat, with four magistrates replacing parliamentary proportional representation, was welcomed by political parties and increased stakeholder confidence in the independence of the election management body. Horizontal communication lines between the CNE Executive Secretariat and the CNE staff and plenary were observed to be satisfactory. However, CNE vertical communication was observed

¹ World average cost are between US\$8.70 and US\$17.30. Source: Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governments and ACE-The Electoral Knowledge Network.

to be inadequate. During CNE plenary meetings, the president allowed political party representatives ample opportunity for discussion. EU EOM observers noted that decisions made in CNE plenary meetings were not always effectively communicated to Regional Election Commissions (CREs). As such, lower levels of the electoral authority were often unaware of essential components of the electoral process, including organization and planning for advance voting. The official CNE website was launched late in the process, on 10 April, but in time for publication of last minute information and eventual election results.

Technical and operational preparations were generally carried out on time according to the revised electoral calendar. To ensure the required minimum of three polling station staff, the CNE trained over 12,000 election officials to oversee elections for the 3,020 polling stations. In addition, more than 3,000 civil security agents were trained and deployed by the CNE to assist in organizing queues at polling stations and providing a peaceful voting atmosphere. Women were well represented among polling station staff but few presided over polling stations. Polling staff performance was ensured by the fact that the majority held the same role in previous elections. Non-payment of salaries continued to raise pre-election-day concerns over staff participation. Ballot papers and polling station protocols (*actas*) were printed in South Africa. A member of the CNE Executive Secretariat and a political party representative, selected by the CNE Plenary Assembly, travelled to accompany and observe the printing process. Only four² of the 15 competing parties competed in legislative elections in all 29 national constituencies. Contrary to traditional practice for legislative elections, the CNE Plenary opted to print a single model ballot paper for all constituencies. Supposedly parties had already informed their electorate to cast ballots according to the position associated with the party's ranking in the draw. Regional Election Commission (CRE) staff was challenged to package and deliver ballots for eventual disposition at polling stations, especially given the reduced time frames for electoral logistics and the simultaneous celebration of two elections.

EU EOM observers noted a less than anticipated turnout for advanced voting, when ballots were cast in an orderly and peaceful atmosphere. Electoral law 10/2013 provides advanced voting opportunity for military and other security personnel and marine and aeronautical officials on-duty on election day. Persons in the aforementioned category could present themselves 72 hours before election day to the CRE corresponding to the constituency in which their vote was registered. The EU EOM observed advanced voting in certain regions was marked by confusion when for different reasons polling was halted in some regions. Deployment of 1,000 CNE civic education officers across the country was a positive step, as was production of voter education spots. There was an extensive door-to-door campaign and a strong presence of women officers. In line with national legal provisions and in keeping with previous EU EOM recommendations, the vote was extended to the diaspora in Europe and Africa. Voter registration was undertaken in several countries and voters were issued voter cards. The CNE deployed two trainers along with election materials for the diaspora vote. One trainer each was deployed to Lisbon and Dakar; these locations served as the collection points for the European and African diaspora votes.

Voter Registration

² African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Party for Social renovation (PRS), New Democratic Party (PND) and the Patriotic Guinean Union (UPG).

The accuracy of voter register was a contentious issue during previous electoral processes. For the 2014 elections, a new voter registration exercise took place, based on an “improved manual registration” to ensure a more accurate final voter list than the previous manual registration. A total of 775,508 citizens³ were registered as voters, including 22,312 in the diaspora. The 21-day exercise got off to a slow start and eventually took 70 days. The whole voter registration process was marked by material, financial and human resource deficiencies and the prolonged registration resulted in delays in subsequent phases of the electoral process. To enable elections on 13 April timeframes in the election calendar were shortened, including publication period for verification of the voter lists, presentation period for candidatures and the period for verification and validation of candidatures by the STJ. Political parties followed the registration process, auditing the acts produced by the Technical Office for Support to the Electoral Process (GTAPE) which worked in collaboration with a technical assistance team from East Timor. The EU EOM observed some technical errors in printing of the voter lists, raising concerns about possible disenfranchisement on election day. However, political parties met by the EU EOM were consensual in their general satisfaction with the process. One of the main concerns faced by political parties during the lead up to elections was the non-delivery of voting cards. Neither GTAPE nor CNE divulged information in relation to the number of undelivered cards.

Registration of Candidates/Political Parties

The majority of constituencies offered a reasonable choice of candidates per seat. The Supreme Court of Justice approved 13 presidential candidates and 15 political parties to stand for general elections. The only female potential candidate for the presidency failed to comply with the legal requirements and her candidature was rejected. Four political parties presented candidates in all 29 constituencies including the diaspora, while Union for Change (UM) and the Democratic Convergence Party (PCD) stood in 27. Three parties stood in less than ten constituencies. In all 29 constituencies at least four candidates stood for legislative elections. Presidential candidates’ and parties registration was conducted by the Supreme Court of Justice, under a reduced timeframe and lacking sufficient human and material resources. The STJ deemed this shorter period insufficient, but still allowed time for parties to rectify deficiencies in their candidatures. Complaints regarding the refusal of candidacies and parties were handled by the Supreme Court of Justice within the legal timeframe.

Campaign Environment

The electoral campaign was carried out in a peaceful and orderly manner, although blurred by a few cases of intimidation and an unexplained delay in releasing campaign materials brought from abroad. The 21 days of campaigning was shortened to 18 to observe a three-day national mourning in memory of former president Kumba Yalá, who died on 4 April. Until then, civil society organizations considered positive the campaigning period “with no violations of the Code of Conduct.” The aim of the Code was to stress the importance of respecting the legal electoral framework during the campaign and to respect the election results. The remaining days of campaigning continued under a peaceful environment with no major incidents reported. According to EU observers, freedom of assembly, expression and movement were not questioned in the nine regions of the country, and there was no evident use of state resources

³ An increase of 181,743 registered voters or 23 percent since the 2012 presidential elections.

reported by or to the observers⁴. However, one candidate⁵ was kidnapped and beaten by armed people and for reasons still unclear; the PAIGC complained of two cases of intimidation by supporters of its adversaries⁶ and had delayed for days a landing permit for an airplane carrying its campaign material, which was distributed to the regions only a few days before the elections⁷. As in past elections, the incapacity of most political parties to run a national campaign (only four have candidates in all constituencies) ended up benefiting those parties with more financial resources and countrywide structures⁸. Another drawback was the inability of most political parties on election day to effectively deploy delegates to all regions, or to all polling stations in those regions where their candidates were running. Campaign in the region was intense in some places but mostly unenthusiastic, and candidates tended to resort often to door-to-door (or *tabanca-to-tabanca*) activities. Candidates and political parties respected in general the rules and times of campaigning; however, the EU observers reported on a few rallies that went well beyond the time and sound limits. As for the female presence, there were women speakers at over half the rallies observed by the EU EOM. However, across campaign events, parties and independent candidates revealed an inconsistent approach to inclusion of women candidates and gender issues. The Youth Parliament and Republic of Children (*República di Mininus*) movement actively lobbied presidential candidates to include the rights of children and youth in their political programs.

Media

The public and private media covered the electoral process under extremely harsh financial conditions that impacted on its ability to offer a balanced and independent coverage and jeopardized its full enjoyment of the freedom of the press. The media had to compromise its independence in exchange for financial survival. Voters had to resort and rely almost exclusively on private and communitarian sources for information about their candidates and the campaign. Both public outlets, *Rádio de Difusão Nacional* (RDN) and *Televisão da Guiné-Bissau* (TGB) faced enormous financial constraints that reduced their coverage of the electoral campaign to the last three and four days, respectively, of the process. RDN also made an effort to offer voters CNE civic education messages. The public outlets' financial limitations also affected the candidates and political parties' free air time which began to be broadcasted six days after the beginning of the electoral campaign. The privately owned radios *Sol Mansi* and *Radio Bombolom* offered an extended and balanced coverage of the electoral process, including interviews and debates with candidates and political parties. Radio *Pindjiguiti* was also active in airing the debates organized by *Universidade Lusófona*; although this radio station used a neutral tone towards the different candidates and political parties, its coverage of the electoral process was clearly biased in favor of independent candidate Nuno Nabiam, who got 52 percent of the station's airtime. *Pindjiguiti* also violated Article 45 of the Electoral law and Article 6 of the

⁴ In Quinara, Republican Party for Independence and Development (PRID) candidate, Afonso Té, had in his convoy three cars without plates and allegedly rented in Senegal.

⁵ Mario Fambé, a PRS candidate to the Popular National Assembly.

⁶ The complaints were made by PAIGC in a letter to the African Union and shared with the international community.

⁷ The delay in the distribution of the campaign material was not exclusively due to the late arrival of the airplane but also to internal party fundraising problems.

⁸ Candidates rely exclusively on party and private funds for their campaign. The law envisages financial support by the State subject to "fund availability."

Directive 1/2014 on the Code of Conduct of Media and Journalists by broadcasting an independent presidential candidate political propaganda. Moreover, *Pindjiguiti* used a speech made by the late president Koumba Ialá as publicity for a candidate breaking the campaign silence decreed by the Council of Ministers. The same was observed with public radio RDN when it broadcasted a candidate's publicity outside his allowed free air time as well as during the campaign silence following Koumba Ialá death. The state-run newspaper *Nô Pintcha* covered the most influential presidential candidates; as for the political parties, the newspaper focused on the PRS and PAIGC that received 24 and 22 percent, respectively of the space offered to political parties. The private newspaper *Expresso de Bissau* showed a clear bias in favor of one independent and PAIGC's legislative candidates. *Expresso de Bissau* and *Dono da Bola* violated Article 33 of the Electoral Law by publishing opinion polls.

Participation of Women

The constitutional recognition of equal rights for women in public life did not translate into equal participation. While there were no unreasonable legal restrictions for the participation of women, Guinea Bissau has yet to take appropriate measures to implement and substantiate *de facto* gender equality. Women are underrepresented in Guinean public life and their representation in parliament has declined from 20 to 10 percent in the last twenty years. The current number of women in government includes only one minister and three secretaries of state out of a total of 34 members. Following the 2012 coup, only one regional governor out of eight was a woman. In the election management body, only one woman is a member of the executive secretariat. At intermediate and regional levels women are absent from leading positions. For the National Popular Assembly elections, women candidates occupy 8.4 per cent of first positions on party lists. The two largest parties – PAIGC and PRS – placed four and one woman respectively in top positions. Political participation of women follows cultural and religious rules. Factors such as persisting male-dominated political party structures and decision-making mechanisms, poverty, traditional illegal practices, illiteracy, the lack of public funding for campaigns and the country's ongoing political instability contribute to the persistent lack of participation of women in politics. The legal framework does not foresee reserved seats for women or quotas.

Civil society organizations and international observers to monitor elections

Civil society organizations in Guinea Bissau are not allowed by law to participate in election observation. Despite this unreasonable limitation highlighted in EU EOM final reports, civil society organizations showed a strong commitment to participate in the electoral process. An unprecedented number of monitors – some 680, participated in these elections following the process from the outside of polling stations, taking note of reported irregularities and centralizing information. Their efforts and strong will to participate has again revealed the need for proper regulation. Civil society monitors, were selected and trained with the help of different groups, including several women's groups. A strong presence of international observer groups also lent transparency to the electoral process. Over 400 observers from various organizations were spread out around the country, observing the performance of the election management body and the participation of political parties and candidates.

Voting and Counting

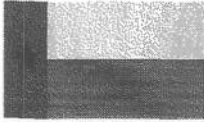
The EU EOM observed 275 polling stations in urban and rural zones across the country. EU observers evaluated the voting process as very good or good in 96 percent of observed polling stations and noted that polling staff was fully cooperative with observers. Voting activities started on schedule at 07:00 hours and were conducted in a calm, orderly manner, without tensions, and with a high voter turnout estimated at around 80 percent in the polling stations visited by the observers, compared with 55 percent in the 2012 elections. Some essential election materials, including ballot papers, were missing in a few polling stations. However, voting proceeded normally as authorities reacted quickly to reported shortages. Voters almost always marked their ballots in secrecy and the transparency of the process was guaranteed by the strong presence of political party representatives. EU EOM observers reported that across the country and in 20 percent of visited polling stations ballot boxes were not properly sealed. Few significant irregularities or incidents and only a small number of complaints were observed or reported to the EU observers.

Polling stations closed at 17:00 hours in the same quiet and peaceful atmosphere observed during the day. Closing and counting procedures were rated by the EU observers as very good or good in 70 percent of observed polling stations. It was noted polling staff did not perform the necessary cross-check between the number of ballots cast and the number of entries in the manual voters' lists in 18 percent of observed polling stations. Also, it was not observed any organized behavior that compromised the integrity of the vote. Party representatives were also present during closing and counting and there were only few complaints (three during polling and none during counting). In almost all observed cases they signed and received copies of the results which were also posted according to established procedures. The EU EOM continues to observe the tabulation of results at the CREs and CNE and will remain in country to follow the remainder of the election process.

An electronic version of this Preliminary Statement is available on the Mission website www.moeguinebissau.eu. For further information, please contact:

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European Union Election Observation Mission
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**MISSÃO DE OBSERVAÇÃO ELEITORAL
UNIÃO EUROPEIA
GUINÉ-BISSAU – ELEIÇÕES GERAIS 2014**



DECLARAÇÃO PRELIMINAR

**A Realização das Eleições
Aproxima a Guiné-Bissau da Normalidade Constitucional**

Guiné-Bissau, 14 de Abril de 2014

Resumo

- As eleições presidenciais e legislativas decorreram de forma pacífica e ordeira com um número elevado de eleitores a exercerem livremente o seu direito de voto na fase final de um período de campanha e de organização do processo eleitoral praticamente livres de incidentes. As eleições constituíram o culminar de um processo de criação de condições para que a Guiné-Bissau possa sair do isolamento internacional e aproximar-se da normalidade constitucional.
- A MOE UE observou processos de votação e contagem bem organizados, realizados numa atmosfera calma e livre de tensões. Na sua avaliação preliminar, os observadores da UE verificaram pequenas irregularidades como por exemplo, urnas nem sempre fechadas correctamente. Os partidos políticos estiveram representados nas MAV, assegurando a transparência do processo e a integridade do voto. Os observadores assistiram a um número reduzido de reclamações que não chegaram a ser formalizadas. A MOE UE continua a acompanhar o processo de apuramento dos votos.
- O quadro legal proporcionou uma base aceitável para a realização de eleições democráticas. Os instrumentos internacionais e regionais adoptados pela Guiné-Bissau incluem direitos políticos e civis fundamentais que se encontram igualmente espelhados na legislação nacional. Recomendações de anteriores MOE UE foram incorporadas nas recentes alterações feitas à lei eleitoral, tais como o recenseamento eleitoral de raiz, novos cartões de eleitor e a participação dos eleitores na diáspora. Falhas recorrentes, como a falta de supervisão relativamente às normas de gastos de campanhas, contribuíram para a desigualdade de condições entre os candidatos.
- A Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE) geriu as eleições com profissionalismo e competência, de acordo com o calendário eleitoral e respondendo rapidamente às necessidades operacionais e logísticas surgidas no decorrer do processo. Os partidos políticos e outros interlocutores mostraram-se satisfeitos com o novo Secretariado Executivo da CNE integrado por membros da magistratura. O desequilíbrio de género manteve-se em todos os níveis de gestão do órgão eleitoral. As reuniões plenárias da CNE permitiram aos representantes dos partidos políticos uma ampla oportunidade de diálogo, muito embora as decisões tomadas não tenham sido devidamente publicitadas e partilhadas com os interlocutores. A CNE conduziu uma série eficaz de formações para os membros das Mesas de Assembleia de Voto (MAV) e preparou suficientes agentes eleitorais para a realização das operações de voto em mais de 3,000 MAV. A MOE UE

Esta declaração preliminar está disponível em português e inglês mas apenas a versão em inglês é oficial.

avaliou positivamente a participação de 1,000 agentes de educação cívica da CNE distribuídos por todo o país.

- Os observadores da MOE UE constataram uma participação inferior à prevista no que diz respeito à votação antecipada, que decorreu num ambiente disciplinado e pacífico. O processo foi acompanhado de alguma confusão, quando por diferentes razões, a votação foi interrompida em certas regiões.
- Através do novo recenseamento eleitoral, um total de 775,508 cidadãos foram recenseados, incluindo 22,312 que se encontram na diáspora, registando-se um aumento de 23% desde as últimas eleições. A MOE UE detectou alguns problemas técnicos na impressão dos cadernos eleitorais. Os partidos políticos com quem a MOE UE esteve reunida mostraram-se unanimemente satisfeitos com o processo. Contudo, vários partidos manifestaram a sua preocupação devido à morosidade na entrega dos cartões de eleitor junto dos eleitores durante os últimos dias que precederam a votação.
- As mulheres constituem 51% da população e apesar de não existir nenhum impedimento legal para a sua participação na política, elas permanecem largamente sub-representadas. O número de eleitoras ultrapassa o número de eleitores em 2014, mas ainda somente 8.4% das mulheres ocuparam os lugares de cabeças de lista dos partidos. Condições socioeconómicas precárias, uma sociedade orientada por padrões masculinos, a persistência de práticas tradicionais ilegais, a inexistência de fundos públicos para os partidos e o acesso limitado à educação continuam a impedir a plena participação política das mulheres.
- Uma sociedade civil activa e motivada comprometeu-se a acompanhar o processo eleitoral com uma participação sem precedentes que contou com a colaboração de cerca de 680 monitores. Uma série de organizações da sociedade civil reuniu-se e promoveu sessões de educação eleitoral antes do dia das eleições, acompanhou as actividades da campanha pré-eleitoral e observou os incidentes e eventos do dia da eleição. Mais de 400 observadores internacionais reforçaram as actividades de seguimento do processo eleitoral.
- Os órgãos de comunicação públicos e privados cobriram o processo eleitoral em condições financeiras extremamente difíceis que influenciaram a sua capacidade de proporcionar uma cobertura equilibrada e imparcial, pondo em causa o pleno gozo da liberdade de imprensa. Os meios de comunicação tiveram que comprometer a sua independência em troca da sua sobrevivência financeira.

A Missão da União Europeia para a Observação das Eleições (MOE UE) encontra-se no país desde o dia 19 de Março de 2014 a convite da Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE). A Missão é liderada pelo Chefe de Missão, Krzysztof Lisek, Membro do Parlamento Europeu – MPE. A MOE UE destacou por todo o país, um total de 46 observadores de 17 Estados Membros da UE para avaliar o processo eleitoral de acordo com as obrigações e compromissos internacionais e regionais que regem as eleições democráticas bem como as leis da Guiné-Bissau. Uma Delegação do Parlamento Europeu chefiada por Fiona Hall, MPE, também se juntou à Missão, subscrevendo plenamente a presente declaração preliminar. No dia das eleições, os observadores da EU visitaram mais de 275 Mesas de Assembleia de Voto (MAV) nas nove regiões do país para observar o processo de votação e contagem. A Missão agradece a colaboração da missão de observação do Parlamento Britânico. A presente declaração

preliminar é apresentada antes da conclusão do processo eleitoral. A avaliação final das eleições, irá depender em parte, da condução das restantes fases do processo eleitoral, em particular, do apuramento dos resultados e do tratamento de possíveis reclamações e recursos pós-eleitorais. A MOE UE permanecerá no país para observação dos desenvolvimentos pós-eleitorais e irá publicar um relatório final com recomendações detalhadas, dois meses após a conclusão do processo eleitoral.

A MOE UE é imparcial nas suas observações e conclusões e adere à Declaração de Princípios para a Observação de Eleições Internacionais, assinada nas Nações Unidas em Outubro de 2005.

Resultados Preliminares

Contexto

Os guineenses foram às urnas no dia 13 de Abril de 2014 para eleger um novo Presidente da República e 102 deputados à Assembleia Nacional Popular (ANP), incluindo os dois deputados que representam a Diáspora na Europa e em África. Os resultados das eleições legislativas irão determinar o novo chefe de governo. Nas eleições presidenciais participaram 13 candidatos e nas legislativas 15 partidos políticos. As eleições foram convocadas por um governo de transição, colocado no poder pelos militares após um golpe de Estado que teve lugar logo a seguir à primeira volta das eleições presidenciais de Abril de 2012.

As eleições gerais deveriam ter ocorrido um ano após o início de funções do governo de transição, tendo sido, no entanto, adiadas para 24 de Novembro de 2013, depois para 16 de Março de 2014 e finalmente para 13 de Abril de 2014. As eleições foram ansiosamente aguardadas pelos guineenses na esperança de permitir o retorno à normalidade constitucional, de criar condições democráticas para que a Guiné-Bissau possa sair do isolamento internacional em que se encontra e de promover mudanças e reformas necessárias que garantam a estabilidade, o desenvolvimento económico, bem como o desencorajamento de novas interferências militares.

Quadro legal

As alterações à lei eleitoral aprovadas em 2013 contribuíram para um desenvolvimento positivo das eleições gerais de 2014, e para aumentar a inclusão e transparência das eleições. Estas alterações, que incluem um recenseamento eleitoral de raiz, um novo cartão de eleitor com a respectiva fotografia, a extensão do direito de voto presidencial da diáspora e a aprovação de oito novas leis para a comunicação social, estão em sintonia com as recomendações prévias da MOE UE. Uma série de lacunas de natureza legal persistem, tal como a ausência do poder normativo da Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE), o inexistente controlo legal dos gastos referentes aos partidos e respectivas campanhas, a inexistência de um quadro legal para a observação eleitoral nacional e a desigualdade do peso de cada voto necessário para eleger um membro da ANP, que varia significativamente de círculo eleitoral para círculo eleitoral.

Administração das Eleições

A Comissão Nacional de Eleições (CNE) geriu as eleições com profissionalismo e competência, respeitando o calendário eleitoral e respondendo rapidamente às necessidades operacionais e logísticas ao longo do processo. A CNE organizou as eleições presidenciais e legislativas durante os dois anos do governo de transição sob uma forte pressão da comunidade internacional para a realização das mesmas, tendo visto adiada três vezes a data das eleições. Estas eleições foram implementadas num quadro temporal reduzido para cada uma das diferentes etapas eleitorais (ver recenseamento eleitoral). A comunidade internacional

financiou o processo eleitoral na sua totalidade, com um terço das contribuições provenientes da União Europeia. As eleições tiveram um custo de quase 17 USD por eleitor, valor que ultrapassa a média mundial e a média para a África, de 7 USD¹. A nova composição do Secretariado Executivo da CNE, com quatro magistrados a substituir a representação proporcional da ANP, foi favoravelmente acolhida pelos partidos políticos tendo aumentado a confiança dos interlocutores relativamente à independência do órgão de gestão das eleições. As linhas de comunicação horizontal entre o Secretariado Executivo da CNE, os membros da CNE e a plenária foram consideradas satisfatórias. Contudo, a comunicação vertical da CNE mostrou-se inadequada. Durante as reuniões plenárias, o presidente concedeu aos representantes dos partidos políticos uma ampla oportunidade para o diálogo. Os observadores da MOE UE constataram que as decisões tomadas nas reuniões plenárias nem sempre foram eficazmente transmitidas às Comissões Regionais de Eleições (CNR). Como tal, os níveis de base das autoridades eleitorais não tomaram conhecimento de componentes essenciais do processo eleitoral, como a organização e planeamento da votação antecipada. O site oficial da CNE foi actualizado no final do processo, no dia 10 de Abril tendo sido possível no entanto, publicar informações de última hora.

Os preparativos técnicos e operacionais foram geralmente realizados dentro do prazo estipulado, de acordo com o calendário eleitoral revisto. Para garantir o mínimo de três membros necessários na Mesa de Assembleia de Voto (MAV), a CNE formou mais de 12,000 membros para supervisionar as eleições nas 3,020 MAV. Para além disso, foram formados e destacados pela CNE mais de 3,000 agentes de segurança civil para apoiar a organização das filas nas MAV e a manutenção de um ambiente de votação pacífico. As mulheres estiveram devidamente representadas nas MAV mas foram poucas as que as presidiram. O desempenho dos membros das MAV beneficiou do facto da maioria já ter ocupado funções semelhantes em eleições anteriores. Nos dias que antecederam as eleições, o não pagamento dos salários contribuiu para aumentar as preocupações relativamente à participação dos membros das MAV. Os boletins de voto e as actas foram impressas na África do Sul. Um membro do Secretariado Executivo da CNE e um representante dos partidos políticos foram seleccionados em Assembleia Plenária da CNE tendo viajado para a África do Sul para acompanhar e observar o processo de impressão do referido material. Apenas quatro² dos 15 partidos concorrentes, competiram nas eleições legislativas em todos os 29 círculos eleitorais nacionais. Ao contrário do tradicionalmente praticado nas eleições legislativas, a plenária da CNE decidiu imprimir um único modelo de boletim de voto para todos os círculos eleitorais. Supostamente, os partidos teriam já informado o seu eleitorado para votar de acordo com a posição correspondente dos partidos no boletim de voto. Os membros da Comissão Regional de Eleições (CRE) tiveram dificuldade em empacotar e entregar os boletins de voto para distribuição nas MAV, sobretudo tendo em conta os prazos reduzidos para a logística eleitoral e a realização simultânea de duas eleições.

¹ Os custos médios mundiais estão entre os 8.70 USD e os 17.30 USD. Fonte: Centro para Governos de Transição e Pós-Conflitos e ACE – Rede de Conhecimentos Eleitorais.

² Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo-Verde (PAIGC), Partido para a Renovação Social (PRS), Partido Novo Democrático (PND) e União Patriótica Guineense (UPG).

Os observadores da MOE UE constataram uma participação inferior à prevista no que diz respeito à votação antecipada, que foi levada a cabo num ambiente disciplinado e pacífico. A lei eleitoral 10/2013 oferece a possibilidade de votação antecipada a todos os militares e outro pessoal de segurança e a oficiais da marinha e da aeronáutica que se encontram de serviço no dia das eleições. As pessoas incluídas nas categorias acima mencionadas puderam votar nas CRE dos seus respectivos círculos eleitorais, 72 horas antes do dia das eleições. A MOE UE constatou que em certas regiões, a votação antecipada foi acompanhada de alguma confusão, quando por diferentes razões, a votação foi interrompida. O destacamento de 1,000 agentes de educação cívica por todo o país constituiu um passo positivo, bem como a produção de anúncios de educação ao eleitor. Houve uma vasta campanha porta a porta e uma enorme presença de agentes do sexo feminino. Em consonância com as disposições legais nacionais e de acordo com as recomendações feitas anteriormente pela MOE UE, o voto foi estendido à diáspora na Europa e em África. O recenseamento foi levado a cabo em diversos países e foram emitidos cartões de eleitor para os eleitores. A CNE enviou dois formadores com materiais eleitorais para a votação na diáspora que se dividiram entre Lisboa e Dakar. Estas cidades serviram de pontos de recolha de votos da diáspora da Europa e de África.

Recenseamento Eleitoral

A precisão do recenseamento eleitoral constituiu uma questão controversa em processos eleitorais anteriores. Para as eleições de 2014, um novo recenseamento eleitoral foi levado a cabo, baseado no “recenseamento manual melhorado” para garantir uma lista final de eleitores mais exacta do que a da inscrição manual anterior. Um total de 775,508 cidadãos³, foram registados como eleitores, incluindo 22,312 da diáspora. O recenseamento planeado para durar 21 dias começou lentamente, tendo acabado por se estender por 70 dias. Todo o processo de recenseamento foi marcado por necessidades materiais, financeiras e de recursos humanos, tendo o prolongamento do período de recenseamento resultado em atrasos nas etapas subsequentes do processo eleitoral. Para permitir a realização das eleições a 13 de Abril, os prazos do calendário eleitoral tiveram de ser reduzidos, tal como o período de publicação para a verificação das listas de eleitores, o período de apresentação das candidaturas e o período de verificação e validação das candidaturas pelo Supremo Tribunal de Justiça. Os partidos políticos acompanharam o processo de recenseamento, auditando os actos produzidos pelo Gabinete Técnico de Apoio ao Processo Eleitoral (GTAPE), que trabalhou em colaboração com a equipa técnica de assistência de Timor Leste. A MOE UE detectou alguns erros técnicos na impressão das listas de eleitores, levantando preocupações sobre a possibilidade de eleitores serem excluídos no dia das eleições. Contudo, os partidos políticos que estiveram reunidos com a MOE UE, manifestaram a sua satisfação geral em relação ao recenseamento. Uma das principais preocupações dos partidos políticos durante a fase de preparação das eleições foi a não entrega dos cartões de eleitor. Nem a GTAPE nem a CNE divulgaram informações sobre o número de cartões de eleitor que não chegaram a ser entregues.

³ Desde as eleições presidenciais de 2012 houve um aumento de 181,743 eleitores recenseados (23%).

Registo de Candidatos e de Partidos Políticos

A maioria dos círculos eleitorais ofereceu uma escolha razoável de candidatos por assento parlamentar. O Supremo Tribunal de Justiça (STJ) aprovou 13 candidatos presidenciais e 15 partidos políticos para participarem nas eleições gerais. A única candidata às eleições presidenciais, não cumpriu com os requisitos legais tendo a sua candidatura sido rejeitada. Quatro partidos políticos apresentaram candidatos em todos os 29 círculos eleitorais, incluindo na diáspora, ao passo que a União para a Mudança (UM) e o Partido de Convergência Democrática (PCD) apresentaram-se em 27 círculos. Três partidos políticos fizeram-se representar em menos de dez círculos eleitorais. Em 29 círculos eleitorais, pelo menos quatro candidatos concorreram para as eleições legislativas. O Supremo Tribunal de Justiça conduziu o registo dos candidatos presidenciais e dos partidos políticos, num prazo reduzido e com recursos humanos e materiais insuficientes. O STJ considerou este período de tempo insuficiente, ainda que tenha permitido aos partidos políticos corrigir lacunas identificadas nas suas candidaturas. O STJ geriu no prazo estabelecido todas as reclamações apresentadas referentes à rejeição de candidaturas e partidos políticos.

Ambiente da Campanha Eleitoral

A campanha eleitoral decorreu num ambiente pacífico e ordeiro, embora tenha sido ensombrado por alguns casos de intimidação e atrasos inexplicáveis na entrega de materiais de campanha provenientes do estrangeiro. Os 21 dias de campanha passaram a 18, devido aos três dias de luto nacional em memória do ex-Presidente da República Kumba Yalá, que faleceu no dia 4 de Abril. Até então, as organizações da sociedade civil consideraram positivo o período de campanha eleitoral “sem violações ao Código de Conduta”. O objectivo deste código foi o de sublinhar a importância do respeito pelo quadro eleitoral legal durante a campanha e também pelos resultados eleitorais. Os restantes dias da campanha prosseguiram num ambiente pacífico sem que se tenham registado incidentes maiores. De acordo com os observadores da MOE UE, a liberdade de reunião, de expressão e movimentação não foram postos em causa nas nove regiões do país, e não houve utilização visível de recursos públicos referidos por ou aos observadores⁴. Contudo, um candidato⁵ foi raptado e agredido fisicamente por pessoas armadas e por razões ainda por esclarecer; o PAIGC queixou-se de dois casos de intimidação por apoiantes dos seus adversários⁶ e viu retardada por dias a autorização de aterragem de um avião que transportava material de campanha, que acabou por ser distribuído pelas regiões do país, poucos dias antes do dia das eleições. Tal como em eleições anteriores, a incapacidade da maioria dos partidos políticos de levar a cabo uma campanha eleitoral nacional (apenas quatro possuem candidatos em todos os círculos eleitorais) acabou por beneficiar os partidos políticos com maiores recursos financeiros e com

⁴ Em Quinara, o candidato do Partido Republicano para a Independência e Desenvolvimento (PRID), Afonso Té, tinha na sua comitiva três viaturas sem matrícula, alegadamente alugadas no Senegal.

⁵ Mário Fambé, candidato a deputado na ANP pelo PRS.

⁶ As queixas foram efectuadas pelo PAIGC numa carta dirigida à União Africana com conhecimento da Comunidade Internacional.

estruturas em todo o país⁷. Uma outra desvantagem foi a incapacidade da maior parte dos partidos políticos enviar delegados no dia das eleições para todas as regiões, ou para todas as MAV nas regiões em que os seus candidatos concorreram. A campanha no interior do país foi pouco entusiasta, tendo sido intensa em poucos sítios. Os candidatos manifestaram preferência por actividades de porta-a-porta (ou *tabanca em tabanca*). Os candidatos e os partidos políticos respeitaram de uma forma geral as regras e prazos da campanha, no entanto, os observadores da MOE UE identificaram alguns comícios onde a duração e emissões sonoras ultrapassaram o limite legal determinado. Relativamente à presença de mulheres, pode-se observar a existência de oradoras em mais de metade dos comícios presenciados pelos observadores da MOE UE. Apesar disso, no decorrer das acções de campanha observadas, os candidatos e os partidos políticos apresentaram uma abordagem incoerente no que diz respeito à inclusão de candidatas do sexo feminino e às questões de género. O Parlamento dos Jovens e o Movimento da República das Crianças (*República di Mininus*) fizeram *lobby* junto dos candidatos presidenciais para que os direitos das crianças e dos jovens fossem incluídos nos seus programas políticos.

Comunicação Social

Os órgãos de comunicação públicos e privados cobriram o processo eleitoral com condições financeiras extremamente difíceis, o que influenciou a sua capacidade de oferecer uma cobertura equilibrada e imparcial, pondo em causa o pleno gozo da liberdade de imprensa. A comunicação social teve de comprometer a sua independência em troca da sobrevivência financeira. Os eleitores tiveram de recorrer e depender quase exclusivamente de fontes privadas e comunitárias para obterem informações sobre os seus candidatos e respectivas campanhas. Ambos os órgãos de comunicação estatal, a *Rádio de Difusão Nacional* (RDN) e a *Televisão da Guiné-Bissau* (TGB) enfrentaram enormes constrangimentos financeiros que reduziram a possibilidade de cobertura da campanha eleitoral para os últimos três e quatro dias, respectivamente, do processo. A RDN fez um esforço para proporcionar aos eleitores mensagens de educação cívica da CNE. Estes constrangimentos financeiros afectaram igualmente o tempo de antena dos candidatos e dos partidos políticos que começou a ser difundido seis dias após o início da campanha eleitoral. As rádios privadas *Sol Mansi* e *Bombolom* ofereceram uma cobertura vasta e equilibrada do processo eleitoral, incluindo a realização de entrevistas e debates com candidatos e partidos políticos; a rádio *Pindjiguiti* mostrou-se também activa na transmissão dos debates organizados pela *Universidade Lusófona*; apesar desta rádio ter utilizado uma abordagem neutra para com todos os candidatos e partidos políticos, a sua cobertura do processo eleitoral, favoreceu claramente o candidato Nuno Nabiam, que usufruiu de 52% do seu tempo de transmissão. A rádio *Pindjiguiti* também violou o Artigo 45 da Lei Eleitoral e o Artigo 6 da Directiva 1/2014 do Código de Conduta da Comunicação Social e Jornalistas por ter emitido propaganda política de um candidato independente às presidenciais. Além disso, a *Pindjiguiti* utilizou um discurso do ex-Presidente da República Kumba Yalá como forma de fazer propaganda a um candidato,

⁷ Os candidatos dependem exclusivamente de fundos do partido ou contribuições privadas para realizarem a sua campanha. A lei prevê um apoio financeiro do Estado, em função da sua “disponibilidade financeira”.

quebrando assim o silêncio de campanha decretado pelo Conselho de Ministros. O mesmo pôde ser constatado na RDN que difundiu uma publicidade de um candidato fora do seu respectivo tempo de antena, assim como também durante o período de luto que se seguiu à morte de Kumba Yalá. O jornal estatal *Nô Pintcha* fez a cobertura dos candidatos e dos partidos políticos mais influentes; quanto aos partidos políticos, o jornal evidenciou o PRS e o PAIGC que receberam, respectivamente, 24 e 22% do espaço disponibilizado para os partidos. O jornal privado *Expresso de Bissau* favoreceu claramente um dos candidatos independentes e o candidato do PAIGC para as legislativas. O *Expresso de Bissau* e *Donos da Bola* violaram o Artigo 33 da Lei Eleitoral ao emitirem sondagens de opinião.

Participação das Mulheres

O reconhecimento constitucional da igualdade de direitos da mulher na vida pública não se traduziu numa igualdade de participação. Ainda que não existam restrições legais para a participação das mulheres, a Guiné-Bissau precisa ainda de tomar medidas apropriadas para implementar efectivamente a igualdade de género. As mulheres estão sub-representadas na vida pública da Guiné-Bissau e a sua representatividade na Assembleia Nacional Popular diminuiu de 20 para 10% nos últimos 20 anos. O número actual de mulheres no governo inclui apenas uma Ministra e 3 Secretárias de Estado num total de 34 membros. Após o golpe de Estado de 2012, apenas um governador regional de oito, é mulher. No órgão de gestão das eleições, apenas uma mulher faz parte do Secretariado Executivo. Nos níveis intermédios e regionais as mulheres encontram-se ausentes nas posições de liderança (em lugares de chefia). Para as eleições da ANP, as mulheres ocuparam apenas 8.4% das posições de cabeças de lista dos partidos políticos. Os maiores partidos – PAIGC e PRS – colocaram quatro e uma mulher respectivamente, em posições de topo. A participação das mulheres na política sofre de limitações de ordem cultural e religiosa. Factores como estruturas de partido políticas e mecanismos de tomada de decisão centrados nos homens, a pobreza extrema, a persistência de práticas tradicionais ilegais, o analfabetismo, a inexistência de fundos públicos para a realização de campanhas eleitorais e a permanente instabilidade política contribuem para a insuficiente participação das mulheres na política. O quadro legal não prevê lugares reservados ou quotas para as mulheres.

Observação Eleitoral pelas Organizações da Sociedade Civil e Observadores Internacionais

De acordo com a lei, as organizações da sociedade civil da Guiné-Bissau, não podem participar na observação das eleições. Apesar desta limitação injustificada, realçada nos relatórios finais de outras MOE UE, as organizações da sociedade civil demonstraram um forte compromisso na participação do processo eleitoral. Um número sem precedentes de cerca de 680 monitores participou nestas eleições acompanhando o processo nas imediações das MAV, tomando nota de irregularidades verificadas e reunindo informação. Os seus esforços e enorme vontade em participar demonstraram mais uma vez a necessidade de uma regulamentação mais adequada. Os monitores da sociedade civil foram seleccionados e formados com o apoio de diferentes grupos, incluindo uma série de grupos de mulheres. Mais de 400 observadores de inúmeras organizações foram distribuídos pelo país, para observar o desempenho do órgão de gestão das eleições e a participação dos partidos políticos e candidatos presidenciais.

Votação e Contagem

A MOE UE observou 275 MAV de zonas urbanas e rurais espalhadas por todo o país. Os observadores da UE avaliaram o processo de votação como “muito bom” ou “bom” em 96% das MAV observadas e constataram que os membros das MAV cooperaram inteiramente com os observadores. As actividades de votação tiveram início às 07h00, conforme previsto e decorreram de uma forma calma e ordeira, sem tensões e com uma elevada afluência às urnas, estimada em cerca de 80% nas MAV visitadas pelos observadores, em contraste com os 55% registados nas eleições de 2012. Em algumas MAV, estiveram em falta alguns materiais essenciais como boletins de voto. Contudo, a votação decorreu normalmente, tendo as autoridades reagido rapidamente perante as limitações verificadas. Os eleitores preencheram os seus boletins de voto quase sempre em segredo e a transparência do processo foi assegurada pela forte presença dos representantes dos partidos políticos. Os observadores da MOE UE verificaram que ao longo do país e em 20% das MAV visitadas, as urnas não foram devidamente seladas. Foram registadas algumas irregularidades ou incidentes pouco significativos e observado ou reportados aos observadores da UE, um número reduzido de reclamações.

As MAV encerraram às 17h00 no mesmo ambiente calmo e pacífico observado durante o dia. Os procedimentos de encerramento e contagem foram classificados pelos observadores da EU, como “muito bons” ou “bons” em 70% das MAV observadas. Foi constatado que os membros das MAV não efectuaram o cruzamento necessário entre o número de boletins de voto e o número de entradas na lista manual de eleitores, em 18% das MAV observadas. Não se constatou igualmente nenhum tipo de comportamento que comprometesse a integridade do voto. Os representantes dos partidos estiveram também presentes durante o encerramento e contagem, tendo-se registado um número reduzido de queixas (três durante a votação e nenhuma durante a contagem). Em quase todos os casos observados eles assinaram e receberam cópias dos resultados que foram igualmente publicados de acordo com os procedimentos. A MOE EU continua a observar o apuramento dos resultados nas CRE e na CNE e permanecerá no país para acompanhar as restantes fases do processo eleitoral.

Uma versão electrónica do presente relatório preliminar encontra-se disponível no site da Missão www.moeueguinebissau.eu Para mais informações, por favor contacte:

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