



Final Report
International Study Mission To Argentina
November 2007

This report was prepared by Albertina Pitterbarg and Sandra Cesilini, with the contributions of all mission members

SUMMARY

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in Sudan organized a one-week Study Mission in Argentina for six senior Sudanese leaders appointed by the SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) in Southern Sudan. The main purpose of the Study Mission consisted in observing Argentina's electoral system during the national elections to be used as an example for the design and elaboration of Sudan's National Electoral Law.

NDI has been working with the SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) in developing their proposals for the design of a new Electoral Law for the 2009 national elections. On this occasion, the delegates of the Study Mission acted as representatives of their movement and of the political leaders writing the Electoral Law and the Constitution of Sudan. The initiative was part of NDI's ongoing program with governance/parliamentary partners in Southern Sudan and was designed because of the timeliness and usefulness given Sudan's current political process (see agenda in Appendix 1).

The main issues analyzed during the Study Mission were:

- 1) The Argentinean Electoral System.
- 2) The independence and powers of the electoral branches: Cámara Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Chamber) and the Dirección Nacional Electoral (National Electoral Office) and its relationship with the Judiciary and Executive branches of government.
- 3) The participation of women in politics. The comparison between the participation of women throughout the national electoral system and the appointment of seats for the assemblies.
- 4) The electoral process and procedures before, during and after the election day.
- 5) The registration and identification of voters.

In order to carry out the Study Mission, NDI selected an Argentine NGO specialized in electoral issues, Democracia Representativa (DR, Representative Democracy), for support and advice. The agenda organized by DR offered a series of seminars and events to fulfill the needs of Sudanese MPs and other prominent institutions. All the activities proposed were aimed to function as an inspiration and a model of rights and wrongdoings for the Sudanese delegates. The Argentine political system, with its federalism and its constitutional and legal framework aimed to manage the relationship between national and provincial levels, was expected to provide a valuable model for the Sudanese delegates.

MEMBERS OF THE STUDY MISSION (see bios at annexes)

Sudan Delegates: Honorable Walid Hamid, Honorable Priscilla Joseph, Honorable Deng Biong Mijak, Honorable Akon Akok Bol, Honorable David Nailo Mayo and Honorable Jemma Tareda Kumba.

NDI: Franco Sánchez, Félix Ulloa and Peter Dugan.

Argentinean NDI Representative: Natalia Bernardoni

Argentinean NDI Representative Assistant: Martin Tonelli

Democracia Representativa NGO: [Santiago Mariani](#), Albertina Piterbarg, [Héctor Vanolli](#), [Thomas Legler](#), Sandra Cesilini, Miguel Mariani, [and](#) Patricia Escolari.

Translators: Silvina Moreno, Marisol Tobeña, Johanna Díaz

CHAPTER 1

Context and relevance

I. Sudan Context

Sudan is the largest and one of the most diverse countries in Africa, home of deserts, mountain ranges, swamps and rain forests. It has emerged from a 21-year civil war between the mainly Muslim north and the Animist and Christian south, which is said to have cost the lives of approximately two million people. Southern rebels said they were battling oppression and marginalization. After two years of bargaining, the government and rebels signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005.

Sudan continues to take cautious steps towards sustainable peace, now more than two years since the signing of the CPA. Since then, the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and Government of Sudan (GoS) have achieved several of the notable milestones set forth in the CPA. In July 2005, they inaugurated the power-sharing Government of National Unity (GoNU), while establishing the semi-autonomous Government of South Sudan (GoSS). At the same time, they agreed to a transitional legal framework, ratifying the Interim National Constitution (INC). In December 2005, the South ratified its own governing charter, the Interim Constitution of South Sudan (ICSS) and, later, constitutions for each of Southern Sudan's ten states.

At the same time however, the dividends of peace have been slow to reach the citizens of Sudan and public confidence in the CPA remains low, setting the stage for two upcoming political events established by the peace agreement: the country's first democratic parliamentary elections in 2009, and -the culmination of Sudan's transitional period- a referendum on Southern secession in 2011.

The failure to implement critical measures of the CPA and difficulties within the GoNU has been largely overshadowed by the ongoing conflict in Darfur. Although many issues remain unresolved, this transitional period represents the beginning of a new, more hopeful chapter in Sudan's history. NDI has been working with different groups of Sudanese society to help strengthen the participation of under-represented groups in the peace process, support the development of a new legal governing framework, and encourage civic dialogue as the country enters the post-conflict era.

II. Argentinean Context

On the national level, on October 28th , 2007 Argentina elected the executive power (President and Vice-President) and legislature members. Voting is mandatory for citizens between 18 and 70 years of age, with some few exceptions (illness, distance from voting center, etc)

The President and Vice-President are elected in one ballot, for a four-year term, by direct popular vote, using a runoff voting system: there must be a second round if no candidate receives more than 45% of the affirmative valid votes, or more than 40% of the affirmative valid votes with a difference of 10 percentage points from the runner up. Before the 1994 Constitutional reform, an Electoral College elected both the President and Vice-President.

The National Congress (*Congreso Nacional*) has two chambers. The Chamber of Deputies (*Cámara de Diputados de la Nación*) has 257 members, elected for a four-year term in each electoral district (23 Provinces and the Federal Capital) by proportional representation using the D'Hondt method, with half of the seats renewed every two years in all districts. The Senate (*Senado de la Nación*) has 72 members, elected for a six-year term in three-seat constituencies (23 provinces and the Federal Capital) for a six year term, with two seats awarded to the winning party or coalition and one seat to the runner up party or coalition.

One-third of the constituencies are renewed every two years. Argentina held national presidential and legislative elections on October 28th 2007. Several local elections for provincial governors (separate from the national ones) took place during the year. For the national elections, each of the 23 provinces and the Federal Capital are considered electoral districts. Cristina Fernández obtained 44.92% of the votes with 23 percentage points difference with the runner up. She therefore satisfies the second rule, and has won the presidency without the need for a second round.

After the October general elections, the current Argentinean situation presents important political opportunities but also some risks. The main opportunity consists in translating the fast recovery and political stability into sustainable economic and social development. This would represent a significant break with the country's recent history of slow growth, recurrent crisis and increasing social exclusion. The Kirchner administration has by and large maintained the broad popular support it created during the presidential period.

Strong economic growth, the recovery of social conditions, progress towards the restructuring of the public debt, actions on historically sensitive domestic issues such as human rights, have contributed to the administration's popularity. However, there are some factors that may erode these conditions. During the next years this picture may change. Inflation is the main worry for the majority of the population, particularly the classes with fewer resources that suffered the most the constant rising of prices, especially of food products.

The high international prices of these primary products are strongly pulling the local values up. Even though it is a problem to be considered, some opposition candidates are overreacting and spreading rumors about a possible inflationary explosion. The controversy around inflation numbers and how they are measured did not help to clarify the real situation of prices. In this regard, rebuilding trust on

the INDEC (the official statistical agency) will be a major test for the following executive.

Another sensitive topic is the energy situation. The country is producing energy at capacity. During the past few months, several main factories had to temporarily stop production due to the lack of electrical power. The government's decision to cut energy to industries instead of households (something to avoid in an electoral year) heavily impacted production, causing losses. Even though, the current political administration has started to build new sources of energy (two nuclear plants and other hydroelectric complexes) these won't be ready until the beginning of 2009.

Last election

On October 28th Argentina elected president and a vice-president and also 24 national senators, 130 national deputies, 9 provincial governors and around 300 provincial legislators, 27,092,192 of Argentines voted at 73,771 polling stations distributed around the country in 12,241 voting centers; 37,661 polling stations were for the feminine vote and 36,094 for masculine citizens.

The Electoral National Code provides the basic procedures and principles of the electoral system. The system's last major change was made in 1994 in the Constitutional Reform when, among other changes, the Electoral College (similar to the American system) was replaced by the "ballotage" (run-off concept) system. In the run-off election, the two candidates who received the most votes in the first election compete and the one that gets the most valid votes is elected.

One feature of Argentina's elections is that, like in Australia, Peru and Ecuador, it is compulsory to vote. Voting is considered not only a right but also a duty that every citizen must fulfill. In a case where a citizen decides not to vote and the absence is not properly justified within 60 days (justifications can be, among others, official medical certifications or being more than 500 km away from the corresponding voting centre) he or she is punished with a fine. The electoral justice is responsible of enforcing this aspect of the law. However, this fine is hardly enforced as seen in the last electoral processes. Approximately a quarter of the electorate does not show up to vote. The highest turnout was in 1983, with the return of democracy, when around 84% of the citizenship voted.

The President's party recorded a solid victory in the 2007 election of October. The Government nevertheless faces important political and social challenges, including restoring citizen trust in governance and Argentine institutions.

III. Relevance to the Sudanese Process

Argentina (which has a similar extension and population as Sudan) offers an example of a state in a transition from a dictatorship to the consolidation of a federal and democratic government, including human rights discussions, strong women participation and diversity of political voices at the parliament. The Argentine system has demonstrated to be representative and republican based on its constitution and on the autonomy of the different powers.

The Argentinean proportional system was created to allow the representation of all interests and opinions at parliamentary level. It was also aimed to prevent the making of artificial parliamentary majorities; to support the negotiation of majorities and the political commitment between different social forces; to prevent extreme political changes; to enable new political trends to have parliamentary representation and to be able to avoid the consolidation of one dominant party-system. This model made possible to build a strong civic culture among the Argentinean society during the last 24 years.

Although it is not considered to be as modern or technologically advanced as other systems in the region, the Argentinean electoral system has not been the object of any significant suspicion of fraud during the last two decades. Furthermore, the weakness of the voters' registration list (which is considered to be obsolete) is an interesting issue to observe, because it hasn't been an important obstacle to construct a solid consensus on the electoral institutions and citizen participation. The public trust on the Argentinean system goes beyond a technological matter and has its roots in the perception of transparency. It is also based on a broad literate and well-informed population. Although the last elections presented some important problems as crowded voting centers, lack of participation by the citizenship and other different complaints, no political actor has denied the results.

CHAPTER 2

Main activities

The Study Mission was organized based on academic lectures, round tables, conferences, field visits and question and answers sessions designed to address the aims of the Study Mission. The activities were conducted by some of the most renowned political leaders, civil servants, officials and scholars specialized on the subject of political and electoral issues in Argentina. The lectures, round tables and conferences offered a historical, geographic, economic, legal and practical framework of reference that facilitated a more informed and valuable exchange with officials and practitioners throughout the mission. Electoral issues were the main focus. Each section offered different but complementary information about Argentina's Electoral System in terms of legislation, principles, citizenship participation, gender, etc.

THE STUDY MISSION AGENDA

The general conditions of the electoral competition were important aspects that needed to be evaluated when determining the relevance to the Sudanese Process. The activities were oriented to observe whether or not conditions of organizing credible, legitimate, free and fair elections were in place in the country. Some of the issues considered included:

- The constitutional and legal framework.
- The guarantees for fundamental freedoms and human rights.
- The right to freedom of association. Formation of political parties for purposes of electoral competition. The election of candidates and primaries.
- The Electoral Commission independence and impartiality. How it exercises its powers and performs its functions without fear, favor or prejudice.
- The importance that the security forces maintain a neutral role in the provision of election security. The country's general situation (possibilities of political violence) and government's security measures.
- The rules for political party funding.
- The voter's education (non-partisan, independent and coordinated).
- The equity of the use and access to public resources.

- The registration and identification of voters: its main characteristics (done without distinction or discrimination on the basis of gender, race, religion, region or ethnicity). Voters' register conformation in the Federal System.

Day 1

Thursday, 25th Sudan NDI Delegation's arrival, reception made by Representative Democracy NGO members and NDI Argentinean consultant Natalia Bernardoni and her assistant, Martín Tonelli.



Day 2

Friday, 26th

“General Aspects of the Argentine Electoral Process”

Welcome presentation for foreign electoral delegations made by university Professor of Constitutional Right and National Electoral Director of Argentina, Dr. Alejandro Tullio in the Government House (Pink House). The presentation was about the strengths and weaknesses of the Argentinean Electoral System. It also talked about what to expect during Elections Day (E Day).

“Main aspects of the organization of the General Electoral Command”

Presentation of the General Electoral Command by General Camponovo, ultimate responsible of the Electoral Security Device.

The presentation was about the responsibilities, functions and duties of the Armed and Security Forces before, during and after E Day. Visit to the Ministry of Defense. The GEC had 80,475 military forces designated to the operation and they used 7,902 different transport units.

“Political funding questions and methodology”

Meeting with different Political Parties representatives and campaign organizers.

The Parties representatives pointed out that political parties are vital for democracy as they are the main vehicles for political representation, for the organization of government and for maintaining democratic accountability. They explained that the parties fulfill multiple functions including linking the state and civil society, influencing the executive, formulating public policy, engaging in political recruitment, structuring electoral choices and facilitating coalitions. However, political parties in developing countries like Argentina are often weak, which decreases democratic competition and representation. The smallest ones have real problems of access to funding and media. The funding of political activities is a key issue for ensuring good governance and combating corruption. It is also a complex moral and legal issue. To support the institutionalization of political parties, donors must first understand the political, social and economic factors that prevent the establishment of strong party systems.

Day 3
Saturday, 27th

“Importance of Civil Society's participation in the Electoral Process”

Round table about the Argentinean NGOs participation in the Electoral Process. Invited organizations: *Poder Ciudadano*, *Democracia Representativa*, *Fundación Unidos del Sur*.

The representative of ***Poder Ciudadano*** NGO, Laura Alonso, pointed out that the Argentinean electoral code, from her point of view, is very anachronic and it hasn't been reformed since 1960. Poder Ciudadano transmitted a critical view about the transparency of the Argentinean electoral process. First of all, they said that there were important difficulties to obtain IDs. Secondly, they explained that the Argentinean system had a lot of problems when the differences between the first and second candidate were minimal. They also emphasized the lack of control on political parties funding. They mentioned their opinion about the lack of control of media during the political campaigns and the inequity in terms of access to public media (Canal 7). They also comment their view about the confusion between provisional and definitive electoral results among citizens on election day. Lastly, she expressed their concerns on the voters mistrust vis-à-vis the governmental involvement in the electoral process.

The representative of ***Fundación Unidos del Sur*** discussed the profusion of political parties (679 political parties in the last election) and all problems caused by this profusion. She also explained the capacitating building process that they give during this last election to auditors and representatives of main political parties. They also selected a group of NGOs to train on citizen's participation in electoral process..

Dr. Thomas Legler, political consultant of ***Democracia Representativa*** NGO, explained that although the Argentinean system has its flaws, it is considered one of the most solid systems of the region, vis-à-vis other experiences like the last elections in Haiti and Venezuela. For Dr. Legler, the main responsibility of the Civil Society Organizations consists in providing relevant suggestions aimed to improve the electoral process and not to destroy it.

He pointed out the importance of public system accountability related to the elections in front of the CSOs and the empowerment of citizenship to be effective. He developed the concepts of horizontal accountability, when the citizens participate in the decision making process and vertical accountability, when the citizens have access to accountability only through their votes..

Dr. Thomas Legler, speaking on behalf of Representative Democracy, focused his presentation on civil society and its contribution in the consolidation of democracies. As an example he explained DR's experience as electoral verifier in Santa Fe local elections that took place last September. This verification was

requested by the Provincial Government in order to prevent controversies and mistrusts. From Dr. Legler's point of view, Argentina needs a strong civic movement to consolidate its democracy. His presentation included a brief announcement about DR's observation work of the accessibility vote in the voting centers in the city of Buenos Aires, and the implementation of the electronic vote during E Day in the province of Buenos Aires.

"Counting and Transmission System"

Presentation by Mr. Jesús Gil of INDRA and the National Electoral Director, Dr. Alejandro Tullio. The exposition was about the complexity of the Electoral Process' logistics and the centralized automatic vote counting system. Both specialists explained the primary characteristics of the technological solution applied by Indra. They talked about the technology solutions that guarantee vote counting, record transmission, electoral information dissemination and data consolidation.

"Electoral Modernization"

All the invitees from different countries were mixed and divided into small groups. They discussed different items and concepts about Electoral Modernization during more than one hour. Indra Company proposed different round tables about the ultimate electoral technologies:

- **Electoral References 2007:** antecedents as the Andalusia Referendum, Spanish local elections (Madrid, Aragón, Canarias and Insular Cabildos, Cantabria Assembly, Castilla y León and France elections between other). This round table was also about the difference between the technology used in each case: E-counting, Web portal, classic transmission, etc.).
- **Technological Evolution and Electoral Capacity:** The automatization of the electoral processes as an important step into the search of the complete system optimization and transparency.
- **Citizen Information:** How to keep the citizenship well informed through the implementation of web sites with Flash animated maps, clear contents and organized references.
- **Data transmission:** Ways of information transmission: PDA (Personal Digital Assistance) and IVR (Intelligence Voice Recognition); Digital TV and SMS. All these tools look to maximize the quality and transparency of the electoral process data transmission.
- **Pre-Election Management:** Solutions that cover all activities that take place during the different phases of the election process. In the pre-election stage, our technology assists in fundamental tasks, from the drafting of the census or the assignment of polling stations to the development of the pre-election web site. Electoral roll solutions (voter registration, accreditation issuing); Election definition (District, voting center and polling station assignment and

candidacy and ballot management: registration and removal, ballot design and printing and quality control among other.

- **Voting Technology:** EPB (Electronic Poll Book) is a robust all-in-one palmtop computer that stores large volumes of voter registration records. It is used in lieu of traditional paper poll lists and provides a wider range of functionality and security. Paper Vote Plus (CIS scan voting system. Automatically processes ballots at precincts on Election Day and transmits its results to central tabulation after polls have been closed), E-Counting (a centralized system for instant vote counting that allows ballots to be counted automatically and generates reports and statistics to broadcast the results), Point & Vote (the voter can view the ballots on the touch screen and select from among the different available voting options. The system saves time and materials and simplifies the organization of the polling station, issuing the official report and automatically transmitting the results), I-Voting and IVR and SMS (SMS vote allows citizens to exercise their voting rights from wherever they are, while at the same time guaranteeing compliance with the essential principles of the electoral process).
- **Post-Election Solutions:** Before the conclusion of the election, it is necessary to complete certain tasks such as issuing the final vote count, disseminating the final data over the web, process auditing and liquidation to the participating groups. The solutions offered by Indra in the post-election phase include: Final Vote Count, a software that makes it possible to compare and, if necessary, modify the results of the vote count record with the provisional results sent to the totaling center on election night; Auditing Solutions Design, development, maintenance and management of the web site with the election results and Liquidation of the funds to political groups based on the results obtained.

“Comparative electoral Systems”

Activity organized by the NGO Poder Ciudadano.

An introduction was made by its Executive Director Laura Alonso about fundamental issues to consider when designing an electoral system. The need to have the better intentions when introducing a reform, however the effects might be terrible to democracy. The importance of identifying some socio-political and historical conditions that might affect or might be affected by a new or reformed electoral system. When an electoral system is “biased” might produce disproportional effects which affect negatively democracy and its quality. Electoral systems orient attitudes and electoral results. Socio-political and historical conditions and the diverse combination of electoral systems’ components vary from country to country, however they might be considering when designing a reform. Mrs. Alonso detailed the components of electoral systems: allocation of electoral districts, types of candidacies, voting procedures and the formulas that convert votes into seats.

Finally, Mrs. Alonso pointed out the benefits of the proportional representation formula: it facilitates representation of all interests and opinions at parliamentary level; prevents the constitution of artificial parliamentary majorities; facilitates the negotiation of majorities and the political commitment between different social forces; prevents extreme political changes reflects social change and the emergence of new political trends and also it prevents the consolidation of a dominant party system.

Day 3
Sunday, 28th

Elections Day - Observation

Field Visits

On October 28, Election's Day (E Day) the Study Mission was split in three groups in order to observe different voting centers placed on diverse socioeconomic contexts. The focus of the observation was limited to: the political climate; the development of each face of E Day; the compliance of the rules; the administration; balloting and counting procedures and the transmission of the final results.

Group A: Félix Ulloa, Franco Sánchez, Jemma Tareda Kumba, Akon Akok Bol, Albertina Piterbarg, Patricia Scolari, Miguel Mariani and translator. The National Ministry of Interior fixed this circuit. The delegates visited different middle-class voting centers placed in the North of Greater Buenos Aires suburban milieu (Martinez and Vicente López neighborhoods). The delegation was well received by the crowd that was waiting to vote outside the voting center.

The delegates could observe that although everybody appeared to know how to vote, the voting time for each voter was very slow. Everybody seemed to take his/her time to make a decision. The voting center had long lines, crowded with old people, pregnant women and small children. The climate was tense but not violent. People were angry and tired and they expressed their concerns and distrustfulness to the delegates.

There was inadequate information within the voting sites about where exactly the citizens should vote. Also, the absence of poll workers caused delays in starting the process at some voting sites (practically all centers visited started one hour and a half after the official opening time).

The delegates were invited to go into one of the voting rooms. They could appreciate the big amount of ballot papers from different parties that were producing all the confusions and delays.

Nevertheless, all these problems that occurred during E Day in the voting centers visited by this group, did not dramatically affect the exercise citizens' rights.

Group B: Walid Hamid, Priscilla Joseph Kuck Makuak, Natalia Bernardoni, Sandra Cesilini, Peter Dugan and translator. This group visited the slum of Villa Tranquila, Southern Area of Buenos Aires and also different electoral centers in the City of BA.

The reception of mission members in each of the electoral centers observed by this group was very good. The delegates were deeply interested in the social conditions of voters, and also in public policies addressed to solve the needs of the most vulnerable groups. They saw a peaceful reality and all the people at the centers contributed to show them the locals and shared all the information available.

The difficulties observed did not affect the exercise of the rights of the citizens. These problems included inadequate information within some of the voting places about where exactly to vote; the absence of poll workers, the delays due to this absence (practically all centers opened the voting process one hour and a half after original set time) and a very poor distribution of space in some voting centers (as observed in southern area in the center of Avellaneda).

Group C: Deng Biong, Hon. David May, Thomas Legler, Martin M. Tonelli.

This group went to the north of Buenos Aires city, to a rural area. They visited a little place called Lima, a rural area with 5500 inhabitants. They went to the public school No. 7, where saw many people doing lines to go into the electoral centers.

They also visited public school No. 9, Juan B. Alberdi. There, as in the previous school, they found long lines. The group contacted the authorities of the Frente Para la Victoria (incumbent party). Mr. Sebastian Maggio gave access to the establishment in order to be able to see how the poll centers were shaped, who were their authorities, how voters present their national identity document, the verification process by the poll officials, the sealed envelopes, etc.

Mr. Maggio explained and guided members of the Mission Study into various stages of the electoral process carried out in the establishment visited. After visiting the school, the delegates went to Zárate city, an important urban center of 130,000 inhabitants. The delegates visited the Jose Manuel Estrada Institute. The delegates could observe how the voters were looking for their voting data in registers fixed on the walls. It also allowed to them to go inside a dark room where the delegates observed the ballots, calling the attention of the large number of candidates, as well as the ballot format and composition (mostly written without logos or photographs).

The delegates were invited to lunch a very tasty “asadito” (Argentine barbecue) On this moment they talked about their impressions and the translation into practical of everything "heard and studied" during the days before.

After lunch, they did a little "Zarate Sightseeing", visiting downtown, the river Parana de las Palmas, bridge Zárate-Brazo Largo and the neighborhood of Smithfield.

End of E Day

After the end of the end of E Day, the DINE offered a cocktail for the international delegations in the Palacio del Correo. There were working the data center and the press center.

The Sudanese delegates were invited to visit the data center. Each one of the more of 7 thousand polling stations generated two telegrams with the results´ numbers. The post-office company “Correo Argentino” delivered these telegrams into the 40 data centers distributed all over the country. The telegrams figures were uploaded into two different databases. If when compared, the information of the two databases was the same, the results were instantly added to the final numbers.

Later, part of the delegation visited the so-called “bunker” of the elected President, Mrs. Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. There was a climate of festivities and the delegates could observe the celebration of the followers of the elected president. They also talked to the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Rafael Bielsa.

Day 4 Mon, 29th

“Political Parties and Electoral Funding”

Activity organized by Poder Ciudadano NGO.

Case study: official publicity and monitoring of the media in the 2007 presidential campaign. Speaker: Laura Alonso.

“The role of women in Argentine politics”

Round table coordinated by Lic. Sandra Cesilini with Lic. Isabel García (National Women Council) and Dr. Nelida Archenti (Poder Ciudadano).

The specialists explained the gender situation in Argentinean politics from different points of views: one from the governmental side, another from an NGO and another form the socioeconomic and cultural context. The main issues treated:

- The legal reforms introduced in Argentina as a consequence of the 1994 constitutional reform are considered to represent a significant advancement in the promotion and protection of women.

- This reform gave constitutional status to the principal treaties and covenants on human rights, particularly the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
- The National Constitution now guarantees real equality of opportunities and treatment and, through the CEDAW, other specific rights such as freedom of choice in reproductive issues.
- Gender balance in political participation has increased since 1991, when a law established a 30 percent quota for women in electoral lists. In October 2007 elections, the percentage of women in the House of Representatives reached more than 35% percent, up from 14 percent more than in 1993.
- While the law is not obligatory at the provincial level, currently 18 out of 24 provinces apply the quota system, with positive results.
- The participation of women in senate is more than 40 %, but their participation in commissions follows traditional lines: women are represented in high numbers in the social and family commissions where men are concentrated in the commissions for industry, customs revenues, mining, energy, defense and foreign relations. Women comprise 20 percent of judges at the national level and 33 percent at the state level. Only nine percent of ambassadors are women. But in the year 2007, more than 70 % of the voters selected a woman.
- The types of quota system were also discussed. The zebra system and the simple quota system, the assigned seats models. Also the professionals made a comparison between the Argentinean and the South African system.
- The panelists recognized that there still exist in Argentina important gender-based differences. Some of the most striking differences were described in the area of health, especially reproductive services: despite popular acceptance, like illegal abortions are thought to be one of the major causes of Argentina's relatively high maternal mortality rate. This situation has serious consequences as family structure, gender roles and education levels are strongly inter-linked and combine to perpetuate poverty.

After the dissertations, Sudan delegates were invited to explain the gender reality in their country. The comparison had two main points: a) The socioeconomic context (i.e. Sudan has more than 80% of the population in rural areas while Argentina has less than 10 %), including religious differences and b) Their new electoral law will contain a quota system that follows the South African scheme, not the Argentinean one.

“Strength and weaknesses of the electoral system in Argentina”

By Professor Miguel De Luca, Political expert, Professor and Academic Secretary of Political Sciences Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires.

Professor De Luca explained how the so-called “Party Machines” of Buenos Aires province work. He pointed out that these machines are mostly leaded and dominated by a single person or a very small group. When in Government, this person usually is the Governor; whereas in opposition, it is incarnated by a single party boss (also called “caudillo”) or a small group of leaders. He also described how these machines are based on Patronage, Pork Barrel and “Clientelismo”. In Buenos Aires province the public employees are the 20% of the work force and the 70% of provincial Revenue goes towards salaries. The main problem is that bosses need resources to maintain control that’s why these machines are also very expensive for the citizenship.

Day 5
Tue 30th

Private meeting with the National Electoral Director, Dr. Alejandro Tullio and the Judge of the National Electoral Chamber Dr. Santiago Corcuera.



Dr. Tullio and Dr. Corcuera discussed the differences between the executive and judicial branch during elections. They also explained the federal system and its implications.

The National Constitution of 1994 sets Argentina has a federal, republican and representative form of government. He also talked about the electoral law and the political parties’ law. He also explained the impact of federalism inside the political parties, as well as the connection between the central parties and the allies in case of coalitions. He described that the law recognizes the existence of political parties first at a province level, then it needs to be legitimated in at least five provinces, and finally the party can ask to be recognized at national level.

The Executive branch is vested in one citizen, the President elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. The president and the vice-president, who may be re-elected (although only two terms can be consecutive), are chosen by the runoff voting system. If the candidate formula with the largest number of votes does not attain either at least forty-five percent of the vote in the first round of voting (or at least forty percent of the vote and a ten percent lead over the formula arriving in second place), a second round is held between the two formulas with the largest number of votes.

The National Congress, which is composed by two chambers, exercises the Legislative branch: the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. 257 members directly elected for a four-year term of office compose the Chamber of Deputies; nevertheless, half the seats are renewed every two years. Each one of Argentina’s twenty-three provinces plus the City of Buenos Aires are an electoral constituency.

Chamber seats are distributed among the constituencies in proportion to their population.

Parties and electoral alliances submit their lists of candidates. The lists are closed, so electors can't choose individual candidates in or alter the order of such lists. Electors cast a ballot for a single list. The seats in each constituency are apportioned according to the largest average method of proportional representation (PR), conceived by the Belgian mathematician Victor D'Hondt in 1899. However, in order to participate in the allocation of seats, a list must receive at least three percent of all valid votes cast in the constituency. The Senate's 72 members are directly elected for a six-year term of office, but Senate elections are held every two years for one-third of the seats. Each province and the City of Buenos Aires choose three senators: the party or electoral alliance with the largest number of votes receives two seats, and the party or electoral alliance in second place obtains one seat.

“Different aspects of the Argentinean electoral process”

Round table. Moderator: Santiago Mariani, President of DR. Participants: Dr. Retjman Farah, Dr. Ignacio Goñi and profesor Javier Varani.

“Public Control System. Strength and weaknesses of the Argentine State”

Dr. Retjman Farah spoke about Public Control in Argentina. According to him, the main problem for the Justice branch related to the Argentinean parties is that there are too many parties and too many actors to control. Approximately, nine million citizens are registered members of different parties. He also mentioned the fact that the electoral Justice has not an independent budget, and did not have an autonomous timetable. In Argentina control seems to be absent in his view and public control must have consequences. The role of CSOs to enforce control is critical.

“Legal Frame of the Electoral Argentine System: jurisprudence, electoral law and National Electoral Code” by Dr. Ignacio Goñi. Detainees in prisons vote for the first time in 2007 election. Dr. Goñi explained this case. The implementation of the vote in prison is, according to Dr. Goñi, a clear demonstration of a big political evolution. There are 20.000 prisoners without a sentence nowadays in Argentina. Due to a collective action of CELS (an NGO specialized in Human Rights) the Supreme Court's permitted the detainees to vote.

“The case of the province of Buenos Aires and the distribution of seats. Councilmen without votes”, by Javier Varani. He presented the case of the electoral law in the province of Buenos Aires and how it affects proportionality. The proportionality rule aims to an equilibrium between seats and governance. This is affected in the case of Buenos Aires. As a direct consequence of the law, out of 1020 members of municipal councils to govern in 134 municipalities in the Province of Buenos Aires, 15 % of them are favored by the law provisions and gain a seat without votes.

“Communication and elections: evaluation of the different campaigns and strategies of communication of the electoral system”

Meeting with Graciela Romer.

NDI and DR representatives and consultants assisted to an exchange of points of view about the last election with Mrs. Graciela Romer. She offered a general overview on elections and political parties in Argentina and she said that this election wasn't totally normal, in general in all elections it exists 3 or 4 % of anomalous situations. She mentioned the lack of volunteers to be in charge of the polling stations as a worrying factor. She also analyzed the continuity that Mrs. Kirchner represents, in a framework without political parties. She asked whether they (Kirchner and Mrs. Kirchner) would govern together as a major challenge of this new political situation.

The electorate has confirmed the economic continuity more than a political strategy. There will be adjustments but the general policy thrust will remain based on a competitive and changing exchange rate, policies will be industrialist as well as pro agrarian exports. Fiscal surplus will be retained as they ensure autonomous policy making. There will also be some adjustment of prices and utility tariffs, but foreign owned utilities will continue to be closely regulated. The same is true of subsidies, some will come and some will go, some will go up and some may go down. Pragmatism will prevail. Mrs. Kirchner is keen on a degree of agreement with both business and labor but without a system of political parties a scenario of high political volatility could be expected.

CHAPTER 3

Brainstorm and Debrief Sessions

To maximize the participants' learning process, NDI and DR scheduled brainstorming and debriefs sessions in different moments of the study mission as well as a final debrief session at the very end of the Study Mission. This session was meant to wrap up all that was learned and examine what had or not worked out during the mission.

The final debrief session was led by Félix Ulloa and Franco Sánchez. They proposed an analysis of lessons learned and next steps. This session was made up of several sections: a final debrief conducted by Félix Ulloa (focusing on the comparisons between different models in LAC and in Africa), an oral debrief by each participant (each were asked to share their thoughts about the initiative and what they had learned), and a final word by NDI members, DR and Consultants.

Dr. Félix Ulloa explained the electoral experience in El Salvador and developed a schema that NDI uses in order to help the design of a new Electoral Law. He also explained how to arrive to a political compromise in post conflicts society as it happened in El Salvador. He pointed out that there exist two main steps: a) Election Bill Law and b) Technical aspects of the electoral system, including electoral authority, political party system and citizen polls and ID.

According to Dr. Ulloa, there are several electoral systems to take on account and he recommended a compilation made in the book edited by IDEAS). Dr. Ulloa analyzed that the principal problem in Sudan is the lack of an electoral registration system and the lack of ID for the citizens. He also discussed the pros and cons of the ID system in Ecuador, Mexico and Argentina.

Dr. Ulloa proposed a cycle to install a new electoral system: 1) political parties, their rules and funding restrictions; 2) Civic education; 3) Elections calendar. A critical role was underlined for the logistics, materials, voting centers, distribution, logistics, electoral offices, etc. The Sudanese elections have to be in accordance with the stability and governance principles; the selection of the best system has to be done thinking on reality, a considerable amount of real politick and transparency.

After Dr. Ulloa's exposition, Franco Sánchez pointed out the needs of new issues inclusion and how to lobby on the presidential power in order to obtain more guarantees. He explained all the electoral steps during the Election Day and the technological challenges in countries with big rural areas and with lack of infrastructure

Héctor Vanolli, speaking on behalf of DR, talked about public trust and electoral system and the relationship between technology and transparency.

Political party's representatives and access to information is a crucial aspect to build public trust.

Time was also given, at the very end, for participants to answer a series of questions that could help the Institute assess the degree of success of this initiative, identify areas in need of improvement and future steps. (See questionnaire in Annex 3) It should be noted that participants requested a lot more time than anticipated to answer these questions and decided to end it after coming back Sudan.

Translation

The fact that presentations were mostly conducted in Spanish to an audience of English speakers added a new set of challenges requiring the participation of three consecutive translators at all times: The result was highly effective.

Absence of an NDI office

While organizing this initiative, NDI-Sudan had to content with the additional challenge of not having a local NDI partner to help in the design of the program and logistical details, for that reason NDI prepared TORs for contracting intellectual and logistic support, DR was selected based in previous experience in electoral observations and the demonstrated capacity of the proposed team to carry out all the activities requested (since the logistic side to the round table and conferences organization)

OBSERVATIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Group Demonstrated Interest** – Most participants began asking numerous questions during Q&A sessions right from the start. On several occasions, presenters made comments to express their surprise at the degree of interest and knowledge demonstrated through these questions. Although at time repetitive, in the end, most questions proved of quality. The 'quality' of this group and their degree of interest might have also something to do with the selection process.
- **Group Size** – The small size of the group was ideal to facilitate dialogue, the gender equity in the selection of the group was also interested and didn't affect the size (3 and 3) the profiles of the participants were different (from public health background to private companies experience).
- **Brainstorming / debrief** – As mentioned above, these proved effective if not essential. Time should always be allocated to these several hours long sessions (partly NDI led/ partly DR led). This should be feasible especially during meals.

- **Written Materials** – Short documents were prepared, translated into English and distributed prior to the academic lectures at the beginning of the trip. Having them distributed earlier, along with additional documents on electoral system have been even more beneficial. More materials should be made available upon request after the initiative, but unfortunately not all translated.
- **Local partner design and implementation of the program** – In the absence of an NDI office in Argentina NDI-Sudan decided to contract an institution with the knowledge/expertise, capacity, and high-level contacts required to ensure the success of this multi-sighted and complex initiative. Once the parameters and goals of the study mission were set by NDI, the DR quickly designed an agenda, which in the end, not only fit the needs and interests of the group, but gave them privileged/unique access to all numerous prestigious institutions and opinion leaders in Argentina. The access offered by the National Electoral Direction (DNE) and the quality of the overall program and lectures proved to fit with the Sudanese needs. From a programmatic point of view the alliance between the NDI and DR was therefore a definite success. From a logistical point of view, it rested entirely on DR behalf.
- **Go local, Go practical** – One clear lesson learned from this initiative was the importance of incorporating exchanges with the “real people” as they did during field visits. Sudanese responded to individuals and institutions they felt they could be related to. Visits of large national institutions were essential but more accessible, practical interlocutors should compliment them as well. Also sometimes the extension of the sessions conspired against the concentration, and at the end in the learning process.

NEXT STEPS

The delegates of Sudan gave their opinions on the difficulties for deciding certain very important steps for Sudan. The participants pointed out different key aspects and lessons learned during the visit. They also highlighted some questions that remained unsolved.

- They discussed if it was possible or not to take the South Africa electoral model as a complete guide for the Sudanese new legislation and process.
- They considered that, in order to become near the Argentinean system and model, Sudan would need subsidies from the international cooperation.
- They insisted on the importance of an urgent implementation of civic education oriented to literacy in Sudan.
- They pointed out the importance of differentiate and understand similitude and differences between North and South Sudan population.

- They emphasized the need of promoting political parties committees in order to deal with severe conflicts and to develop the system transparency. The main requirement about political parties was about the need of law modifications. The discussion was centered in the possibility of including changes to political parties rules in the electoral law.

- The mission delegates appreciated the inclusion of political parties representatives in the electoral polls and they were thinking about proposing a similar system in Sudan.

- The political agreement signed after war had to be translated in the new constitution.

- This period has to be considered as a transitional period where the discussions on definitive law has to be made in different steps

- Sudan will have six direct elections and one indirect, members of SPLM has to decided if it is better to present a simultaneous electoral process or, as the Argentine experience showed, it is better for provincial elections to be separated of national one in order to control the central government influence.

- The SPLM wanted to move to a new model, but the current government continues to defend the religious model. The constitutional text would have to be absolutely clear. The delegates considered very dangerous to have vague provisions. The regulations that could be made after the new constitution process ends could be very risky and could go out of democratic control.

- The delegates highlighted the need of prepare and implement a very professional census.

- They also expressed their concern about the technology to be implemented and the architecture chosen for the system. They considered this issue one of the main challenges because it would be the basis of the transparency of the whole electoral process.

- They talked about the role of the international community at the very preliminary steps, i.e. with new identification cards the process can start with international help, even before having the new constitution and the international cooperation could help to implement this process.

- The delegates considered the importance of giving written notes with suggestions to political leaders, explaining what things has to be included in the law and what things could be considered not relevant at this moment.

- They remarked the importance of one agreement about the Election date. They also considered the possibility of having elections on two different dates (one for provincial elections and another for the national election).

- The delegates discussed the need of decentralizing conflict resolution. They also took into account the possibility of having a national institution that could intervene, new electoral justice branch.

- Has to be put in place a task force, taking the Initial task force to Khartoum as a pilot experience. The SPLM elections management force has to be in place before elections.

- The Sudanese delegation pointed out the importance of an electoral law for refugees and they debate the role of ACNUR, in terms of refugee's registration. According to the delegates, there are two classes of refugees: the ones that were forced to leave their homes and the ones that wanted to migrated Sudan needs a law for voters out of the Sudanese territory.

OPINION OF THE DR TEAM MEMBERS

All the members were invited to explain what do they learn with the experience and what do they think the Sudanese delegation learned. Each of these opinions are strictly personal.

SANTIAGO MARIANI (DR President)

The Study Mission represented another concrete step in the Sudanese effort to build its own democracy. Our interaction with the public officials that came to Argentina was an enriching experience. We all felt very proud and happy for the opportunity to contribute with their endeavor and commitment.

ALBERTINA PITTEBARG (DR Coordinator of the Mission)

The main lesson learned of the Sudanese Study Mission in Argentina is that building intercultural bonds between developing countries is an important step on the way of writing or reforming electoral systems. We are not "home alone", and to be able to travel and observe different electoral systems in different environments enriches our perception and capacity of making comparisons and analysis. It also strengthens our democracies.

As the Coordinator of the Study Mission on behalf of Democracia Representativa NGO, I'm very proud of having been able to offer to the delegation a program integrated to the main Latin American electoral representatives, invited by the National Electoral authorities. We could share the agenda with the UNIORE members that include the protocols of Tikal and Quito, and which Executive Secretariat is CAPEL. This was a fundamental key-aspect to deeply understand that the delegates were involved in the highest electoral level

possible. They had access to the Defense Ministry and to the counting center managed by INDRA company. They also could make an important networking with electoral specialists from all over the world.

TOMAS LEGLER (DR Consultant)

The Sudanese study trip to Argentina was a wonderful trip to advance South-South cooperation. Instead of being presented the stylized U.S. model of democracy, the Sudanese delegation learned first hand about the challenges of constructing and consolidating democracy in a developing area context, from one of Latin America's more established democracies.

SANDRA CESILINI (DR Consultant in Gender and general support in report writing)

The Sudanese team demonstrated us how the people can rebuilt the sense of trust in democracy after a war. We learned how to prepare a complete legal change in a country that had the trauma of a civil war. As Argentines, we expect to continue our contribution to Sudan in the future.

MIGUEL MARIANI (DR Logistics Coordinator)

The objective was over accomplished; the study mission was organized with multiple interest focus. Maybe, would be better to split the delegation into 2 groups, in order to be less stressful and more respectful of the Sudanese habits (shorter labor time).

ANNEX 1. GLOSSARY.

This annex was prepared by the translation team

English	Español
(Federal) electoral judge	Juez electoral
1 challenger / Del partido: Political party agents	1 fiscal
Election officers:	Autoridades electorales/ del comicio:
1 inspector	1 presidente
2 clerks (of elections)	2 secretarios/asistentes
2 judges (of elections)	2 vocales
2 –round system	Doble vuelta
Absentee voting / absentee ballot	Voto postal
analysts/ invigilators	Veedores
Ballot paper	Papeleta electoral (boleta)
ballot papers	Boletas
bill/ draft	Proyecto de ley
Branches of government	Los tres poderes
By-laws	Estatutos
Campaign manager	Jefe de campaña
Central tally room	Salón / sala de cómputos
constituencies/ voting districts	Distrito electoral
Constituency	Votantes en (cada distrito)/distrito electoral
Constituent body	Cuerpo electoral
Constitutional Convention Delegates	Convencionales Constituyentes
Disputed vote upon doubt as to the voter's identity	Voto impugnado
Disputed/contested vote	Voto recurrido
Disqualified/spoilt vote/ballot	Voto nulo/anulado
Districts and sub-districts	Distritos y circunscripciones
Districts//voting/electoral precincts//constituencies	Distritos electorales
Eject a challenger	Expulsar a un fiscal
Election records	Registros/ documentación electoral/es
Election/electoral courts	Justicia electoral
Election/vote/polls	Comicios
Elections	Acto electoral / comicial / eleccionario
Electoral act / electoral law	Ley electoral
Electoral Board or Board of canvass	Junta electoral
electoral fight/ contest	Contienda electoral
electorate	Electorado
electoral college	Colegio electoral
Exit polls	Encuestas a boca de urna
Final tally	Escrutinio final
Go to the polls	Ir a las urnas
Head of the state	Jefe de Estado
House Speaker / Speaker of the house.	Presidente de la Cámara de Diputados
Internal party elections	Internas
Judicial Council	Consejo de la Magistratura o Concejo
Majority leader	Presidente del bloque mayoritario
Ministro de relaciones exteriores	Ministry of foreign affairs
Minority leader	Presidente del bloque minoritario
Municipal convention delegates	Estatuyentes

National Electoral Code	Código electoral nacional
Nominating committee	Comité de candidaturas
Official ballot	Boleta oficializada
Open primaries	Internas abiertas
Party ticket	Fórmula
Political party agents	Fiscales de los partidos
polling centres	Lugar de votación
Polling officer or official / Teller	Escrutador
Polling places	Centros de votación
polling stations	Mesas de votación
polling votes	Votos emitidos
public offices	Cargos públicos
Reckon	Cálculos de votos
Registered voters/electors	Votantes empadronados
Running mate	Compañero de fórmula
Slate (US)	Lista de candidatos
Split-ticket voting	votación por lista incompleta
State election commissioner	Comisionado electoral del estado/
Straight-ticket voting	votación por lista completa
Tally sheet	Acta de escrutinio
Tally votes	Contar votos
The recount (of votes)	La verificación
The supplies of the elections	Los útiles del comicio
To count the votes, the ballots	Hacer un escrutinio
to feature/ present candidates	Postular candidatos
To fix a vote	Hacer fraude en un comicio
To reckon	Hacer los cálculos después de la votación
To spoil a vote	Anular un voto
Turnout at the polls / voter's turnout	Concurrencia a las mesas
universal suffrage	Sufragio universal
Vote counting / Polling / to poll	Escrutinio / recuento
Voter	Elector
voters`register / list	Padrón electoral
Voting room	Cuarto oscuro
win/attract votes	Atraer/captar votos

ANNEX 2. BIOS LOCAL MEMBERS OF STUDY MISSION

I. Representative Democracy



Santiago Mariani. Argentinian. He has a degree in International Relations from the Salvador University. He has taken part in more than 20 electoral observations deployed in Latin America as a consultant for the Organization of the American States. As part of his undergraduate studies, he attended for a four-month period to the Miami University in the United States as a student of the International Student Exchange Program (ISEP) and he attended the course "International Management" in the Wirtschaftsuniversität of Austria. In 1997 he was selected to take part in the XVII student-model of the OAS' General Assembly representing Canada. His performance as chief of the delegation was recognized with the award to the Best Delegate of the General Committee and the delegation received the "Edgar Maya Award". In 1998, Austin College invited him to be a part of the delegation that represented the United States in the United Nations' General Assembly Model for students. The performance of the delegation was rewarded with the "Outstanding Award". In 2002 he decided to found, along with other Argentinians, the Civil Association "Democracia Representativa" to help to consolidate the democratic system in Argentina. In 2004 he received a scholarship from the Carolina Foundation to participate in the VI Edition of the Master in Political Action and Civil Participation in Spain.



Thomas Legler. He is a professor of International Relations at the Iberoamerican University of Mexico's City. Previously he taught at Mount Alison University, Victoria University and Toronto University. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the York University. As specialist in Latin-American politics and development, he investigated the promotion and defense of democracy in the Americas with the support of the Canadian Council for Political Science and Research. He is the author of the book *Intervention Without Intervening? The OAS Defense and Promotion of Democracy in the Americas* (2006) as well as one of the editors of the text *Promoting Democracy in the Americas*. He participated as an Electoral Observer in several organized by the OAS and the Carter Center in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Venezuela.



Héctor A. Vanolli. Argentinian, delegated and representative of the Carter's Center in Venezuela. He was a special adviser for the OAS in the 2004 Venezuelan elections and he acted as the technical assistant of the UN in Mexican elections in 1994. Among other positions, he worked for several years as the Specialist in the Unit for the Promotion of Democracy of the OAS, acting as Chief of Mission (Mission of Electoral Observation in Nicaragua), Attached Chief of Mission (Guatemala) and General Coordinator of the Democratic Values and Political Management Program (Guatemala). He holds a Master in International Relations and Communication from the University of Boston, United States (1989). Bachelor of Communications from the University of Salta (1985). He was distinguished by the Ford Foundation (1987-89), the Fullbright Foundation (1987-89) and as a Friend of the American Society of Newspapers Publishers (USA, 1986).



Albertina Piterbarg. Argentinian. Bachelor of Arts with specialization in Latin-American Literature (Buenos Aires University) and Master in Journalism (University of San Andrés). She attended workshops about Latin-American political history in the University New School of New York. With more than six years of experience in the international ambience, she was part in 2002 of the OAS' observers team Electoral Observation Mission deployed in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, among others. Moreover, she participated in the *First Internal Workshop of Ratification and Training on Electoral Criteria* of the OAS. In the presidential elections in Venezuela 2006 she acted as the Responsible in charge of the deployment OAS' mission, coordinating more than 120 international observers. Also, she was the subcoordinator and the logistical responsible for the training and deployment of 47 observers for the Civil Verification Mission of the Elections in Santa Fe in September 2007, carried out by Representative Democracy.



Natalia Bernardoni. Lawyer. Mediator. Master in Conflict Resolution granted by Barcelona University. Master in European Mediation granted by Institute Universiter Kurt Bosch, Switzerland. Coordinator of the Institutional Mediation Project. BID Consultant, Honduras, Ministry of Work. Coordinator of Master in Mediation in Health Organizations at Barcelona University. Teacher at Professional Collage of Laws, Barcelona and Valencia. Spain



Martín M. Tonelli. Lawyer. Degree granted by the Social Science Faculty at Buenos Aires University(2000). Between 1998 and 2001 he made the planning, development, coordination and following of several social-politics-economics projects for Ibope Argentina S.A. (nowadays OPSM Investigación Social, Consultoría y Servicios S.A.), stressing among them those made at Ushuaia, Río Negro, Chubut, Mendoza, Buenos Aires, Santa Fe and Misiones. He is a professor at the Buenos Aires University since 2000 at Commercial Law Elements (CPC) and Corporations (CPO).



Sandra Cesilini. Argentinian. Candidate to doctorate, project of dissertation: "Patronage system and Social Movements arisen from the crisis of representation of the system of political parties", Salvador's University (2002-2006). Postgraduate course Social Sciences Research, City London University (1998-1999). Master in Methodology of the Scientific Investigation (a.b.d), Belgrano University (1984). Has a degree in Political Science, Salvador's University (1978-1982). She belongs to Argentinian Social Policies Association and to the Argentinian Society of Political Analyse. At this time, she is the coordinator of the study profile of genre of Argentina, JICA (Agency of Cooperation of the Japan). Technical coordinator Project of Education BID-province of Río Negro (Argentina), BID AR1043, in the frame of the technical assistance granted by the Ibero-American Organization of Education (OEI). Also, she is a free lance counsel for INYPSA, African World (Uruguayan ONG, specializing in African descendents, in topics of ethnicity and genre) and for ICEI (Italian ONG of cooperation to the development, in topics of genre and inclusion).

She has more than twenty-years experience in multilateral organizations, in the public sector as well as in counsels and European and Latin-American NGOS. Consultancies carried out in the ONG ICEI (Institute of Cooperazione Economica Internazionale) for the European Union and in African World for UNIFEM with emphasis on social inclusion and genre. Consultancies carried out for the company INYPSA in projects of social analysis. Incremental challenges for 10 years as specialist Senior in Social Development and Civil Society in the World Bank in the regional Office in charge of Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay.



Miguel Mariani. Argentinian. He has worked in Radio: AM 550 "Radio Colonia", AM 1070 Radio "El Mundo" y CADENA ECO. He has also written for several web sites.

He was an observer for the observation of San Luis - Municipal Elections 2007. He was a member of the Press Team for the Civil Verification Mission of the Elections in Santa Fe, in September 2007, carried out by Representative Democracy.

At the moment, he is Chief of the Commission of Press and Communication of Ciudades Lectoras.



Patricia Scolari. Argentinian. Has a degree in International Relations from Salvador´s University. Since 2006, she is part of Representative Democracy´s staff. She was an observer for the Civil Verification Mission of the Elections in Santa Fe in September 2007, carried out by Representative Democracy.

Speakers at the Conference



Dr. Aníbal Fernández. Lawyer and Accountant. He is the Interior Minister of the Argentine Republic.

In 1994, he was chosen Conventional Constituent of the Buenos Aires Province, occupying the presidency in the Convention Reformer of the Commission of Electoral Regime. Author and member informant of the Section Octave, Culture and Education.



Dr. Alejandro Tullio. Lawyer. He is the Director of the National Electoral Department (DINE – Dirección Nacional Electoral), from the Interior Ministry.

Also, he is the Dean of the Law Faculty at the Lomas de Zamora University.

Since 2000, he is the Associate Judge (Conjuez) of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Province of Buenos Aires.



Ambassador Magdalena Failace. Argentinian. University Bachelor of Arts and Teacher. At the present, she occupies the charge of Special Representative for Topics of the Woman in the International Ambience of the Chancellery. Also, she worked as an Assessor of the Commission of Education and Culture of the House of Representatives of the Nation (1988-1992). National Director of Sectorial Relations of the Department of Education (1993-94). President of the Council of the CERLALC (Regional Center of Promotion of the Book for Latin America and Caribbean), relying on UNESCO (1995-96). National Director of the Cultural Patrimony of the Secretariat of Culture of the Presidency (1997-99). Vice-president of the Argentinian Chapter of the Women's Forum of the Mercosur, from 1995. Adviser to the Secretariat of Economic Politics of the Department of Economy of the Nation. (from May, 2002 until May, 2003). Authoress of numerous publications of: education, political cultural, in particular regarding patrimony and topics of integration, social development and Mercosur. Coordinator of Culture of the Summit of the Americas (2005). Undersecretary of Culture of the Secretariat of Culture of Presidency (from June, 2003 until December, 2004). Coordinator of the Unit of

Special Projects for Culture of the Chancellery (from January, 2006 until June, 2006)



Gonzalo Paz. PhD Candidate from the George Town University. "Lecturer in International Relations", The Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University.

He is the Campaign Director of "Argentinos a Votar" ("Argentines to Vote").

Member of the Board Friends of Poder Ciudadano, an NGO built up in Washington D.C, whose target is to promote the education for the participation and a major commitment with the Argentina.

Miguel De Luca. PhD in Political Science from Facoltà di Scienze Politiche "Cesare Alfieri", Università degli Studi di Firenze (Florence), Italia, 2003.

Since April 2004, he is the Academic Secretary from the Political

Science Career, from Social Sciences Faculty, at Buenos Aires

University.

Also, he is a Professor of the Seminar "Governability, representation and control in the democracies of the Southern Cone", Career of Political Science, Social Sciences Faculty, Buenos Aires University.

He is the director of the project of investigation UBACyT "Institutions of government, political parties and electoral representation in the city of Buenos Aires (1983-2003)", Gino Germani Institute, Social Sciences Faculty, Buenos Aires University.

He is the author of several publications.

Mario Rejtman Farah. Argentinian. PhD in Law. Professor of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, and of the Faculty of Economic Sciences at the Buenos Aires University; of the School of Politics and Government at the San Martin National University; of the Faculty of Economic Sciences at the Litoral's University; and of the Mastery in Public Management at the National University of the Patagonia.

Ex-professor of grade and post grade at the Universities of the Salvador, Belgrano and Palermo, and at the Institute of the Foreign Service (ISEN) and in the National Institute of the Public Administration.

Consultant of the World Bank, of the Organization of the American States, of the Inter-American Bank of Development, of the Program of United Nations for the Development and of the Anticorruption Office of the Republic Argentina.

Ex-president of Civil Power (Poder Ciudadano), Argentinian Chapter of International Transparency. Academic jury for the Judges' selection in the Council of the Magistracy of the Nation and in the Council of the Magistracy of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires. Author of diverse publications.

Ignacio Goñi. Argentinian. Has a degree in Laws from the Buenos Aires University (2003). He has a postgraduate course in Damages Law from the Buenos Aires University (2004-2005) and at the moment he is studying the Second year of the Postgraduate course in Tax Law from the Buenos Aires University.

He is an external Consultant of the National Electoral Direction and Adviser of the Argentinian Nation Director Bank.

He has participated as an Observer of the American States Organization in the Mission of Electoral Observation in Guatemala, Presidential Elections 2007; he was Coordinator in the Mission of Electoral Observation in Nicaragua, Presidential Elections 2006; and Coordinator in the Mission of Electoral Observation in Nicaragua. Also, he has participated as Juridical Adviser in the Missions of Electoral Observation in Dominican Republic, Parliamentary Elections 2006; and in Venezuela, Parliamentary Elections 2005.

He has taken part in the Seminar of political parties and reduction of the poverty, realized by the National Democratic Institute in Washington DC, (October 16th - October 23rd, 2005). He is author of the work "Fragility and anemia in the electoral legislations of Latin America" (2007).

Javier Varani. He has a scholarship from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation in the International Seminar: "New Public Management. Lean State, Lean Government". International Academy for Leadership, Gummersbach, Germany.

Also, he has a scholarship from the Civility Institute (Institute for the promotion of the regional, provincial and municipal life). He is a member of the Programme "Civil Participation in

Local Governments”, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Municipalities of Tecoluca, Textistepeque and Santa Elena, Republic of El Salvador in seminars of Provincial and Municipal Public law, Municipal Finance and Promotion of the Community. Teacher of the same institution in the International Seminar “Development and Local Governments”. Asunción, Paraguay.

Consultant for local administrations of the INAP (National Institute of the Public administration).

Professor at the Lomas de Zamora University of “Municipal Competences and Organic Letters”; in Municipal Administration. He advised numerous municipalities in the reforms of Organic Municipal Letter.

Dr. Santiago Corcuera. He is a Judge from the National Electoral Chamber. He was the first judge of the National Electoral Chamber designated across the Council of the Magistracy.

He was part of the UN General Assembly Mission to Irak to designate the viability of free democratic elections in January 31st 2005.



Graciela Römer. She has a Degree in Sociology from Buenos Aires University (1972). Since 1988, she is the Director of “Graciela Römer y Asociados”, a Political Consulter and Public opinion Study.

Since 2004, she is the Director of Safe Ports in Argentina and

Paraguay, in the field of Governmental Relations, Research and

Communication. During 2001-2002, she was the Director of the

Laboratory of Regional Studies of Public opinion (LEROP), Social

Sciences Faculty-CEA, Buenos Aires University.

Since 2003, she is an Adviser of the Mastery of Market Research, and Public Opinion of the UCES (University of Business and Social Studies); and since 1998 she is Professor in the Center of Advanced Studies of Social Sciences of the Buenos Aires University.

In 2003, she advised the Presidential Campaign of Nestor Kirchner – Daniel Scioli (Partido Justicialista)

Among her wide career, she has done several investigations of public opinion and consultancy from Latin America, and also she is the authoress of several publications.

Isabel Garcia. She has a degree in Psychology. Master in Coordination of Groups.

Master in Systemic Approach of the Human Relations.

Master in Alternative Mediation / resolution of Conflicts - Pepperdine University, California, the United States.

She is a consuiter for the President of the National Woman Commission, of the Coordinating Advice of Political Social of Presidency of the Nation Coordinating 2006-2007 of Activities of Training in the Provinces of the National Council of the Woman 2007.

Coordinator of the Program: Pursuit of the development of the career of women in the National Public administration (1994-2002). Coordinator of the Program "the State and Woman" 1991-1993.

She has done several activities of investigation.

ANEX 3. STUDY MISSION MEMBERS



The Honourable Dr. Priscilla Joseph Kuch is the Chairperson of the Human Rights Committee in the Sudan National Assembly and serves as a member of the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC). She serves on the Interim National Council—the highest decision-making body—of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement. Dr. Priscilla is a medic by profession with a specialization in community medicine and she is an associate professor at the University of Bahr el Ghazal. She is known as an activist—working in the past with the Sudan Council of Churches and later contributing to the formation of both the New Sudan Council of Churches and Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS). She continues to advocate for Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) in northern Sudan and is currently involved in the Darfur peace process.

Dr. Priscilla has never voted in Sudan as protest to the electoral processes and ruling regimes. She recently observed elections in Scotland as part of a delegation from the NCRC sponsored by the British Development Agency (DFID).



Mr. Walid Hamid is the X for Organization and X for the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement, Northern Sector (responsible for the SPLM’s party work in the northern 13 states). He has been a member of the SPLM since 1990 and was involved in the Nuba Mountains (Southern Kordofan) Ceasefire in 2001 and in the Naivasha peace negotiation process. Mr. Hamid is a pilot by profession.

Mr. Hamid has never participated in elections in Sudan.



Franco P. Sanchez is NDI Resident Senior Program Manager. He has worked in Southern Sudan since May 2006 and previously managed NDI’s civic and voter education programs in Iraq. Franco holds a Doctor in Jurisprudence and is an Attorney at Law by profession. He is a specialist in Rule of Law, Conflict Resolution, Civic Education, judicial reform and anti-corruption. Prior to joining NDI, Franco served as the Advisor to the Ecuadorian Constitutional Committee (1992-1996) and the Constitutional Assembly (1998); Country Representative on Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (1998-2000); Special Assistant to the Attorney General of Ecuador (1998-2002). He has also worked as a University Professor and trainer on Political Science, Anti-corruption, Judicial and Constitutional Reform, Conflict Resolution and Democracy development.

Franco has observed elections around the world and is a registered voter in his home country, Ecuador



Susan Stigant is Senior Program Officer for Civic Engagement and Constitutional Development. She has worked for the National Democratic Institute Sudan program since September 2005. Susan worked previously on legislative development programs in South Africa, constitutional development processes in the Philippines and comparative federalism with the *Forum of Federations* from Ottawa, Canada. She holds a graduate degree in political science and conflict management. Susan has observed elections in South Africa, the United States and the recent referendum in Kenya, and is a registered voter in her home country of Canada.



Honourable Akon Bol is a Member of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA) and a member of the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC). In her capacity at the SSLA, she represents Aweil County, Northern Bahr el Ghazal State for the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). She serves on both the Legislative and Legal Affairs and Information and Culture Committees. Ms. Bol returned to Sudan in September 2006 from the United Kingdom where she had grown up and pursued her education. She is committed to contributing to the development of her country and welcomes this opportunity to know her family and her home. The anticipated 2009 elections will be the Honourable's first time to vote in Sudan and to participate in an election



Justice Deng Biong Mijak has been heading the SPLM Legal Drafting Committee responsible for the development of a draft National Elections Bill. He is Counsel General and Director for Research and Training at the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development, Government of Southern Sudan. Justice Biong completed his law degree from the University of Khartoum, where he was also a student activist as the Chair of the Law Society and a leader in the formation of the Student Union. He served in the SPLA from 1986 and was appointed a High Court Judge in SPLM-controlled Areas from 1995. Justice Biong has published research on customary law and the role of local authorities, including a comparative study on traditional systems of justice and alternative dispute resolution in Abyei Area, and he continues to chair the Customary Law Steering Committee. Justice Biong has not participated in elections.



Honourable Jemma Kumba is a Member of the Sudan National Assembly and the National Constitutional Review Commission. She has served on the Pan African Parliament since 2005 and was recently elected as the Deputy Chair for the Foreign Affairs and Regional Cooperation Committee.



The Honourable Dr. David Mayo is the Chairman Southern Sudan Reconstruction and Development Fund (SSRDF) and a Member of Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly representing Budi County, Eastern Equatoria. He also serves on the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC). Dr. David is a proud “federalist” and completed his doctoral studies at the University of Birmingham with a focus on federalism and political economy. He was a student activist, both in North America and the UK, until he returned to Sudan in January 2003 to participate in the peace process as part of the SPLM negotiation team. He was a member of the Governance Working Group on the Joint Assessment Mission and was involved in the drafting of Interim National Constitution in 2005. Dr. Mayo voted in last elections of the Addis Abba Peace in Sudan in 1982, serving as a polling officer.