



**REPORT OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT
COMMUNITY PARLIAMENTARY FORUM (SADC-PF) ELECTION
OBSERVATION MISSION (EOM) TO THE AUGUST 2022 GENERAL
ELECTIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA**

BY

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Abbreviations:

CNE	-	National Electoral Commission of Angola
CSO	-	Civil Society Organizations
EOM	-	Election Observation Mission
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technology
SADC-PF	-	Southern Africa Development Community Parliamentary Forum

1. INTRODUCTION

The Southern Africa Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF) is a Regional Inter-Parliamentary Forum for national Parliaments of SADC Member States and was established by the SADC Summit in 1997 as a consultative and deliberative body in accordance with Article 9 (2) of the SADC Treaty. It is currently composed of fifteen (15) National Parliaments, namely Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo , Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Following an invitation by the National Electoral Commission (CNE) of the Republic of Angola, the SADC-PF, constituted an Election Observation Mission (EOM) to observe the 24th August 2022 Angolan General Elections.

This was the 52nd Election Observation Mission deployed to SADC Member States since 1999 when the SADC-PF started observing elections. In the case of Angola, this was the second time that SADC-PF is observing the country's elections having previously observed the 2012 elections. The Mission had a total of twenty-three (23) members comprising Members of Parliament from six (6) of the fifteen (15) SADC-PF National Parliaments, namely, Madagascar, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The Mission was supported by staff of SADC-PF National Parliaments and officials from the SADC-PF Secretariat.

2. COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATION

The delegation from the National Assembly of Namibia consisted of Hon. Paula Kooper, MP, and was accompanied by Mr. Andreas Shivute, Chief Parliamentary Clerk.

3. TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE SADC PF MISSION

The terms of reference for the SADC-PF's Election Observation Mission to the August 2022 Angolan General Elections were guided by the *SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections* (2015), *SADC Model Law on Elections* (2018), *African Charter for Democracy, Elections and Governance* (2007), *SADC Protocol on Gender and Development* (2008), including other regional and international election instruments.

4. PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

This Report presents the SADC-PF Mission's observations, findings and recommendations in the belief that it will serve to strengthen the democratic electoral practices in the SADC Region. The comprehensive final report was tabled during the SADC-PF Plenary Assembly in December 2022 in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo.

5. TRAINING AND ORIENTATION WORKSHOP

The SADC-PF Election Observation Mission commenced with a Training and Orientation Workshop for the MPs and staff members which took place from 18th to 19th August 2022 in Luanda. The workshop familiarized the Forum's Mission with Angola's political and electoral context as well as SADC-PF's methodology for Election Observation.

6. OBSERVATION METHODOLOGY

SADC-PF Election Observation Mission followed a multi-pronged observation methodology which included the following:

- 5.1. familiarization with the relevant sections of the country's constitution and legal framework for elections;
- 5.2. analysis of relevant election documents such as polling station maps and manuals on voting procedures;
- 5.3. engagement with and attendance at political campaign rallies;
- 5.4. monitoring of the coverage of political party campaigns and those of candidates by the conventional and social media; and
- 5.5. interface with other international Election Observation Missions in order to exchange information on the elections.

The above methodology enabled the Mission to gather comprehensive information on the electoral process in the country.

7. MISSION DEPLOYMENT

The SADC-PF Election Observation Mission was divided into four (4) Teams which were deployed from 20th to 25th August 2022. Two teams were deployed in Luanda as Teams 1 and 2. Teams 3 and 4 were deployed in Uige and Zaire respectively as indicated hereunder. The Teams observed the pre-polling, polling and post-polling activities in the regions of respective deployment.

Province Covered	Team Members	Country
Luanda	Team 1 1. Hon. Speaker Adv Jacob Francis Nzwidamilimo Mudenda – Mission Leader 2. Ms. Betty Zulu – Staff 3. Mr. Cleopas Gwakwara – Staff 4. Ms. Martha Mushandinga – Staff	Zimbabwe Zambia Zimbabwe Zimbabwe
Luanda	Team 2 1. Hon. Dought Ndiweni – Deputy Mission Leader 2. Hon. Ramarosa Emiline Rakotobe 3. Mr. Frank Mike Nyamahowa – Staff 4. Mr. Andreas Shivute – Staff	Zimbabwe Madagascar Zimbabwe Namibia
Uige	Team 3 1. Hon. Jerónima Agostinho -Team Leader 2. Hon. Victor Lumayi 3. Mr. Jaime Ezequiel Numaio – Staff	Mozambique Zambia Mozambique
Zaire	Team 4 1. Hon. Paula Kooper -Team Leader 2. Hon. Nkhensani Kate Bilankulu 3. Mr. David Zimunhu – Staff 4. Ms. Zanele Mazibuko – Staff	Namibia South Africa Zimbabwe South Africa

8. AREAS OF OBSERVATION

The Mission's areas of Election Observation were as follows:

- 8.1. The adherence to the Constitution and legal framework regarding the Electoral process;
- 8.2. The integrity of the Voters' Roll;
- 8.3. Adequacy of Civic and Voter education;
- 8.4. Participation of women as voters, candidates and election officials;
- 8.5. Participation of youth as voters, candidates and election officials;
- 8.6. Preparation and distribution of voting materials;
- 8.7. Adequacy and location of polling stations and related logistics;
- 8.8. Vote counting and tallying of the results at the Polling Stations;
- 8.9. The effective use of information and communication technologies (ICT);
- 8.10. The effectiveness of conflict resolution mechanisms;
- 8.11. Fair and equitable media coverage of parties, candidates and election-related events;
- 8.12. The conduciveness of the Political and Campaigning Environment;

- 8.13. Professionalism of the security services;
- 8.14. Political party and campaign funding;
- 8.15. Best practices from the Angola's General Election;
- 8.16. Areas for improvement; and
- 8.17. Overall Mission Assessment of the entire electoral process.

In carrying out its election mandate in the above areas of observation, the Mission was guided by the principles of impartiality, comprehensiveness, transparency, inclusiveness and objectivity.

9. MISSION FINDINGS

9.1. The Constitutional and Legal Framework

- 9.1.1. The Mission established that the constitutional and legal framework governing elections in the Republic of Angola is based on the following instruments:
 - 9.1.1.1. Constitution of the Republic of Angola 2010;
 - 9.1.1.2. Organic Law on the General Elections – Law No. 36/11 of December 2021;
 - 9.1.1.3. Organic Law on the Organization and Functioning of the National Electoral Commission - Law No. 12/12 of 13 April 2012;
 - 9.1.1.4. Electoral Observation Law – Law No. 11/12 of March 2022; and
 - 9.1.1.5. Electoral Code of Conduct – Resolution No. 7/12 of March 2012.
- 9.1.2. In addition, there is also supplementary legislation governing various electoral issues such as citizenship, political parties, political party financing and media, namely:
 - 9.1.2.1. Nationality Law – Law No. 2/16 of April 2016;
 - 9.1.2.2. Political Parties Act – Law No. 22/10 of December 2010;
 - 9.1.2.3. Press Law – Law No. 1/17 of 2017;
 - 9.1.2.4. Organic Law of the Angolan Media regulatory Authority – Law No. 2/17 of 2017; and Electoral Regulations published by the CNE.
- 9.1.3. The Mission noted that Articles 52 and 53 of the Constitution of the Republic of Angola provides for citizens' rights to take part in political life and public affairs of Angola. Furthermore, Articles 54 and 55 guarantee citizens' rights to vote for political representatives of their choice and to form political associations and/or parties.
- 9.1.4. Accordingly, the Mission was convinced that the Constitution and the legal framework governing elections in the Republic of Angola creates a conducive environment for the conduct of democratic, credible and transparent elections.

9.2. **The National Electoral Commission of Angola (CNE)**

- 9.2.1. The Mission noted that Article 107(1) of the Constitution provides for the establishment of an independent electoral commission with a clear mandate. Other issues of the Electoral Commission of Angola (CNE) are laid out in the Organic Law on General Elections (2011). It is noted that CNE is composed of seventeen (17) Commissioners and its Chairperson is a judge appointed by the Superior Council of the Judiciary. The other sixteen (16) Members of the Commission are appointed by the National Assembly as proposed by the parties and coalition of political parties represented in Parliament on a proportional basis. The Observation Mission was pleased that the CNE is decentralized to provincial and municipal levels for accessibility to the electoral stakeholders.
- 9.2.2. The Observation Mission also noted the stakeholders' concern that the appointment of Commissioners on political proportionality in the National Assembly may undermine the impartiality and independence in the management of elections and resolution of electoral disputes.
- 9.2.3. The Mission was informed that the CNE had registered fourteen million three hundred ninety-nine thousand three hundred ninety-one (14,399,391) voters, established thirteen thousand two hundred twelve (13,212) polling stations, and twenty-six thousand four hundred forty-three (26,443) voting streams (voting tables). It was also responsible for collating election materials including ballot papers which were timely dispatched to all voting centres. The CNE also trained election officials and conducted voter education thereby attesting to its preparedness to conduct the elections.
- 9.2.4. In spite of confirming its preparedness to successfully conduct the elections, various stakeholders, including political parties, expressed reservations about CNE's capacity to conduct credible elections. The stakeholders' concerns include the following:
- 9.2.4.1. The alleged inclusion of the names of deceased voters on the Voters' Roll;
 - 9.2.4.2. Limited numbers of local and international observers by the law which reduced access to the four corners of the country because of its vastness;
 - 9.2.4.3. The slow pace of the accreditation of observers;
 - 9.2.4.4. Limited communication between CNE and stakeholders which stakeholders felt would stifle timely access to critical electoral information;
 - 9.2.4.5. Inadequate information regarding the election results management system and the attendant processes; and

9.2.4.6. The Voters' Roll was not availed thirty (30) days in advance before the election as provided for by the Law.

9.3. Civic and Voter Education

The Mission was informed that CNE, CSOs, political parties, and other stakeholders carried out civic and voter education to prepare the voters for the August 2022 Angolan General Elections. Considerable voter education was also carried out through mass and social media. The Electoral Code of Conduct in terms of Article 25 also enjoins the traditional authorities of Angola to provide voter education to their communities in a balanced and apolitical manner. Consequently, it would appear that many Angolan citizens received voter education and were ready to vote accordingly.

9.4. Role of Security Services

The Mission noted that Police officers were deployed at most of the polling stations visited and conducted themselves professionally.

9.5. Participation of Women and the Youth

The mission was informed by the political parties that there was youth and women participation in the electoral process. However, the Mission was not provided with the relevant party lists to validate the information. As far as the deployment of electoral officials is concerned, it was observed that both women and youth were deployed as electoral officials by the CNE.

9.6. Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

The CSOs informed the mission that they usually participate in civic and voter education during elections but due to reduced donor funding which is the main source of their financing they did not adequately undertake civic and voter education. The CSOs' participation as local observers was constrained by the decision to limit their number as local observers during the General Elections.

9.7. Media Coverage of the Electoral Process

The Mission noted that Article 73 of the Organic Law on General Election (2011) confers upon political parties and candidates for the General Election, the right to use public radio and television services for political broadcasts during the official campaign period.

There were complaints that the public media was biased in its coverage by giving more coverage to the ruling party while opposition parties received limited and negative coverage. However, stakeholders acknowledged that the situation

improved with the allocation of free airtime for political broadcasts to political parties.

Stakeholders also indicated that the social media had proved to be a vital alternative to mainstream media and was being used widely as a campaign platform by political parties and candidates as well as for information sharing by other electoral stakeholders. There were also some complaints regarding insults, hate speech and abusive language that was perpetrated through the social media.

9.8. The Political Environment

9.8.1. The Mission noted that eight political formations and their respective presidential candidates contested in the General Elections. The following seven (7) political parties and one (1) coalition vied for the two hundred twenty (220) seats in the National Assembly as follows:

- 9.8.1.1. People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA);
- 9.8.1.2. National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA);
- 9.8.1.3. The National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA);
- 9.8.1.4. Nationalist Party for Justice in Angola (P-NJANGO);
- 9.8.1.5. Humanist Party of Angola (PHA);
- 9.8.1.6. Social Renewal Party (PRS);
- 9.8.1.7. National Patriotic Alliance (APN); and
- 9.8.1.8. Broad Convergence for the Salvation of Angola - Electoral Coalition (Casa-CE).

9.8.2. Out of the eight (8) Presidential election candidates contesting the August 2022 elections, only one was female, Florbela Catarina Malaquias, who leads the Humanist Party of Angola (PHA). The Mission commended the courage of Ms. Florbela Catarina Malaquias to stand for elections among the majority of male Presidential candidates. Other women are encouraged to follow her example.

9.8.3. The Mission observed a generally peaceful and calm environment, before and during elections, as evidenced by unimpeded political campaigns. There was also a high degree of tolerance among political party supporters, and that political parties and candidates focused on substantive policy issues as opposed to targeting personalities. Representatives of the Political parties and candidates who met the Mission expressed commitment to promoting peace in the country during the election process.

9.9. Political Campaigns

The Mission was disturbed by some conflicting political messaging during campaigns by certain opposition parties encouraging their supporters to “vote and stay” within the premises of the Polling stations, whilst the ruling party urged its supporters to “vote and go home”. Such conflicting instructions had the potential to create confusion and tension amongst the voters, especially within the vicinity of polling stations. However, it was observed that no voter loitered around the Polling Stations after casting their vote.

9.10. Funding of Political Parties

The Law on Financing of Political Parties (2012) provides for public funding of political parties with seats in the National Assembly on an annual basis. In addition to public funding, the law provides for the allocation of campaign funds to all registered political parties participating in general elections.

The Mission commends Angola for promoting equity by providing political funding during elections.

9.11. Polling Day Observations

The Mission’s four Teams visited a total of forty-eight (48) Polling stations in Luanda, Uige and Zaire where they were deployed. The following observations were made:

- 9.11.1. Most of the polling stations that were observed opened and closed at the stipulated times;
- 9.11.2. Polling stations had adequate voting materials, and these had been received on time;
- 9.11.3. Voters were required to present either their ID or voter’s card in order to be validated and issued with a voter’s slip which enabled them to proceed to cast their vote;
- 9.11.4. Copies of the Voters’ Roll were available at each polling station visited and were polling station based;
- 9.11.5. The use of biometric features and the indelible ink was meant to eliminate the possibility of multiple voting and ensured that only eligible voters were allowed to vote;
- 9.11.6. The use of ICTs and the lay out of the polling station enhanced the efficiency of the voting process.
- 9.11.7. Polling stations were accessible to people with disability.
- 9.11.8. Special voters like the elderly, people with disability and expecting mother were assisted and given priority.
- 9.11.9. Calm and peaceful atmosphere prevailed at all polling stations visited by the Mission’s Teams.

- 9.11.10. Party Agents witnessed the voting process. The agents expressed satisfaction with the electoral process.
- 9.11.11. The four polling officials designated to each Voting Table were allowed to vote at the polling stations where they were assigned and their votes were strictly secured.
- 9.11.12. The teams observed the counting of the ballot papers/votes as well as the packing and sealing of the ballots. The counting was transparent and took place under the watch of party agents and observers.

9.12. Conflict Resolution Mechanism

- 9.12.1. Angola's law provides for a hierarchical electoral conflict resolution mechanism, which prescribes that conflicts be registered and resolved at the following:
 - 9.12.1.1. Municipal Electoral Commission;
 - 9.12.1.2. Provincial Electoral Commissions; and
 - 9.12.1.3. National Electoral Commission through to the Constitutional Court, which is the final court of appeal on electoral disputes in that order.
- 9.12.2. The Mission is of the view that the conflict resolution mechanism in place is legally and operationally adequate and conforms to established regional and international standards.

10. BEST PRACTICES FROM THE AUGUST 2022 ANGOLA GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Mission observed the following good practices from the August 2022 Angolan General Elections. It is hoped that the best practices would be sustained and be emulated across the SADC Region:

- 10.1. Angola's Constitution and its electoral laws sufficiently provide for the effective management of the country's elections;
- 10.2. The existence of a comprehensive legally enforceable Electoral Code of Conduct and the general observance of the same by contesting political parties and relevant stakeholders is critical for conducting elections in a peaceful manner;
- 10.3. Maintaining a calm and peaceful political and campaign environment as experienced in Angola, is important for the voters to freely exercise their electoral rights;
- 10.4. The funding for political parties represented in Parliament and the campaign funding received by registered political parties is critical in creating equity in the political and electoral process;
- 10.5. Timely provision of adequate elections materials is commendable and worth emulating;
- 10.6. The deployment of the Police and their professional conduct at polling stations is pivotal for the maintenance of a peaceful electoral environment;

- 10.7. CNE's voter verification at the point of voting and the use of ICTs for the same is commendable and it should be continued to ensure that only the duly registered voters do vote;
- 10.8. The adequate laying out of polling stations and provision of requisite signage enhances their identification and accessibility by voters;
- 10.9. The provision of speedy resolution of electoral disputes as provided for Angola's laws is laudable; and
- 10.10. The decentralization of CNE which makes the Commission easily accessible to the voters and stakeholders is an imitable practice.

11. AREAS FOR IMPROVEMENT

The Mission considered the following areas for improvement in the management of elections:

- 11.1. The Mission recommended that the Voters' Roll be audited and published within the legally prescribed thirty (30) days ahead of an election;
- 11.2. There is need to have an updated Voters' Roll during every election;
- 11.3. The CNE should be consistent in the way it applies voting procedures at all polling stations (for example, whether a voter who has an uncertified copy of Identity Document is eligible to vote);
- 11.4. More needs to be done to ensure that there is fair and equitable media coverage by the public media;
- 11.5. There is need to review the law placing limitation on the number of accredited observers in order to ensure adequate coverage of the whole country given its vastness;
- 11.6. The CNE should design and implement a robust stakeholder engagement framework for information sharing; and
- 11.7. In order to enhance the CNE's impartiality and independence, urgent consideration should be given to review the law prescribing the composition of the CNE, which currently proportionally draws commissioners from Political Parties that are represented in Parliament.

12. MISSION'S OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE AUGUST 2022 ANGOLA GENERAL ELECTIONS

- 12.1. Based on its overall findings on the Angola electoral processes, the Mission was satisfied that there existed a conducive and peaceful environment in which the Elections were conducted, and that the electoral process has met the minimum conditions for peaceful and democratic elections. This accorded the people of Angola the opportunity to freely express their will in voting for the Presidential candidates and political parties of their choice.

13. CONCLUSION

- 13.1. In conclusion, the SADC-PF Election Observer Mission expresses its gratitude to the good cooperation received from other Election Observation Missions and encourage that this cooperation in future be harnessed to enhance the coordination of the deployment of Missions particularly in instances where observers are limited.
- 13.2. The SADC-PF Election Observer Mission to the August 2022 Angola General Elections commends the people of Angola and all the stakeholders for the mature and tolerant manner in which they conducted themselves during the elections.


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Hon. Paula Kooper, MP

3/4/23
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Date