THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE







Advancing Democracy Worldwide

Republic of Liberia National Elections

October 11, 2005 November 8, 2005

ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION FINAL REPORT

Republic of Liberia National Elections October 11, 2005 November 8, 2005

Election Observation Mission Final Report



The International Republican Institute

1225 Eye Street, N.W. Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20005 www.iri.org

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Executive Summary

The International Republican Institute (IRI) deployed international delegations to observe Liberia's October 11, 2005, presidential and legislative elections and the November 8, 2005, presidential run-off election. The elections were found to be well administered, organized, credible and peaceful.

During both elections, IRI deployed nine teams of delegates to observe election activities. In the October 11 election, observers were deployed to eight of 15 counties¹. For the November 8 run-off, observers were deployed to seven counties². IRI's delegations witnessed a generally orderly, calm and violence-free process. Polling officials appeared to be well-trained, and took their duties seriously. Voters turned out in large numbers, and remained relatively calm, despite long waits. Domestic observers, from political parties and civil society organizations, were present in significant numbers. The vote count was well executed, and observers accepted the results at nearly all polling stations.

The National Elections Commission (NEC) conducted the elections under difficult circumstances. Mandated by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) to conduct elections under significant time constraints, the NEC also was tasked with the revision and establishment of electoral laws, drafting and adoption of numerous electoral guidelines and making procedural and administrative adjustments, often on short notice. The NEC operated with minimal constitutional precedent and many NEC officials administered the elections with little prior experience. The NEC was flexible and consultative throughout the electoral process, which included formulating procedures for the creation of electoral districts (despite a lack of census data), making provisions for internally-displaced persons to vote and responding to administrative, logistical and legal challenges on the ground.

The NEC enjoyed financial, technical and administrative support from the international community, particularly the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). UNMIL was tasked with such critical tasks as transporting election materials to otherwise inaccessible areas of the country via helicopter, hiring and paying NEC poll workers and transmitting election results by email to the national data center.

¹ Bomi, Bong, Grand Bassa, Grand Cape Mount, Grand Gedah, Margibi, Montserrado, Lofa and Nimba counties.

² Bong, Grand Bassa, Grand Gedah, Margibi, Montserrado, Lofa and Nimba counties.

I. Introduction

After 25 years of turmoil and 14 years of civil war, the 2005 elections were a turning point for the people of Liberia. Liberia's slide into conflict, poverty and corruption began in 1980 with a military coup led by Samuel Doe, which overthrew a democratically elected government. Following Doe's coup, civil war broke out and Doe was ousted by rebel leader Charles Taylor in 1989. Taylor's regime proved corrupt, autocratic and murderous, which ultimately led the International Criminal Court to indict him for crimes against humanity. In an attempt to escape prosecution, Taylor fled into exile in 2003 and the National Transitional Government of Liberia was established. The new government, with support from the international community called for presidential, parliamentary and local elections in October of 2005.

To assist Liberia's political parties prepare for the elections, IRI opened an office in Monrovia and focused on political party capacity building. IRI was instrumental in facilitating the creation of a political party code of conduct, training party poll-watchers and organizing Liberia's first presidential debate. IRI also sent a delegation to assess the voter registration process in May 2005, and participated in a campaign monitoring assessment organized by the National Democratic Institute and Carter Center in September 2005.

To observe voting for the first round and the run-off elections, IRI fielded two separate election observation delegations. In each round, observers were deployed throughout Liberia. Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Constance Newman, former U.S. Representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights Richard S. Williamson and IRI Executive Vice President Judy Van Rest served as IRI delegation leaders during the October observation mission. The November observation mission was led by former U.S. Ambassador Charles Twining, Ugandan Member of Parliament Margaret Otim and IRI Senior Vice President Georges Fauriol. Teams were deployed two days before Election Day in order to meet with local stakeholders and assess the political and security atmosphere. Election Day activities included monitoring the opening of polls, voting, closing of polls and vote counting.

This report summarizes the pre-election, Election Day and post-election findings of IRI's election observation mission and make recommendations on aspects of Liberia's electoral system that may need to be reviewed.

October 2005 Election Observation Delegation

Ambassador Richard S. Williamson

Former U.S. Representative United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Constance Berry Newman Former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs U.S. State Department

The Honorable Maimuna Adaji Member of Parliament Nigeria, Kwara State

Donald Bogue

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Command Audio Corporation

Geoffrey S. Connor Attorney, Jackson Walker, LLP Founder, Texas Global, LLP

Nicolas Cook Specialist on African Affairs U.S. Congressional Research Service

Eric Dell

Chief of Staff and Counsel Office of Congressman Joe Wilson South Carolina

Dr. Kwesi Jonah Acting Director, Governance Center Institute for Economic Affairs Ghana

Dr. J. Peter Pham Director William R. Nelson Institute for Public Affairs James Madison University **Gregory Simpkins**

Professional staff member U.S. House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations

Richard J. Wall Managing Partner O'Donnell Waiss, Wall and Meschke

The Honorable Noah Wekesa Member of Parliament Kenya, Kwanza constituency

IRI Staff

Judy Van Rest Executive Vice President

Jeffrey Krilla Regional Director Africa Programs

Shawn Beighle Director Information Technology

Victoria Cherwon Resident Program Officer Sudan

Amelia May Program Officer

Anne Marie Mullen Publications Manager

Giovanni Ruffini Assistant Program Officer **Tim Taylor** Resident Country Director Angola

Matthias Naab Resident Country Director Nigeria

Bon Van Duker Remote Operations Facilitator

Alex Younoszai Applications Developer

November 2005 Election Observation Delegation

Charles Twining Former U.S. Ambassador Cameroon and Cambodia.

Honorable Margaret Ateng Otim Member of Parliament Uganda

Kassim Sule Afegbua Director General National Democratic Party of Nigeria

Robert F. Krill Retired Diplomat and Instructor in Public Diplomacy Foreign Service Institute

Dr. Kwesi Jonah Acting Director, Governance Center Institute for Economic Affairs Ghana

Robert Lloyd Professor of International Relations and Chair of the International Studies & Languages Division Pepperdine University

Nesbit ''Marty'' Ryall Former Chairman Arkansas Republican Party

Jason C. Roe Chief of Staff Office of Congressman Tom Feeney Florida

David Woodruff Manager of Government and Industry Relations Volkswagen of America, Inc.

IRI Staff

Georges A. Fauriol Senior Vice President

Paul Fagan Deputy Director Africa Programs

John S. Cavanaugh Resident Program Officer Macedonia

Lisa Gates Press Secretary

Samuel Imende Program Assistant

Yomi Jacobs Senior Resident Program Officer Nigeria

Volodymyr Kozoriz Accountant

Mojoyin Onijala Program Assistant

Robina Namusisi Resident Program Officer Uganda

Ranca Tuba Resident Program Officer Angola

II. Pre-Election Period

A. Electoral Framework and Support

After 14 years of civil war and 25 years of political upheaval in Liberia, the CPA was signed in Accra, Ghana in August 2003, between the former government of Liberia, and two rebel groups, Liberians United for Reconstruction and Development (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL). The agreement laid the foundation for the October 11, 2005, presidential and legislative elections, and the presidential run-off election by calling for national elections to be held "no later than October 2005." The CPA further mandated that the elections conform to United Nations standards, required the revision of existing electoral law and the reconstitution of the NEC.

As a result of the CPA, the seven members of the NEC were appointed by the Chairman of the Liberian Transitional Government and approved by the National Transitional Legislative Assembly (NTLA) in April 2005. The commissioners were responsible for the regulation and administration of the 2005 elections, including regional oversight, civic education, poll-worker training, budgeting and liaising with political party representatives. Internal NEC meetings were not open to the public. NEC programs and policies were implemented by 18 Election Magistrates, who were appointed by the NEC and responsible for voter education, hiring and training poll-workers, making logistical plans and tabulating election results in their districts. In total, the NEC had more than 230 full-time staff.

The Electoral Reform Law of 2004, presented to the NTLA and passed in December 2004, established the legal framework for the 2005 elections. The law specified changes to the electoral system, suspended certain constitutional provisions and established the macro framework for the 2005 election of the president, senators and representatives. The law also limited campaign expenditures, outlined how internally displaced persons (IDP) would vote, articulated voter eligibility requirements and referenced the delineation of electoral districts.

After the passage of the Electoral Reform Law, the NEC drafted and established guidelines for various election-related activities, such as voter registration, publication of the voting roster, the campaign timeframe, district delineation, the registration of independent candidates and political parties, and the establishment of political party coalitions and alliances. Campaign finance regulations, complaints procedures, dispute and appeal processes, polling day administration and ballot tallying procedures were also codified. Regulations were drafted and made publicly available at every stage of the electoral process.

With significant input from the UNMIL legal division, as well as consultants from the European Commission and IFES, the NEC drafted the rules and guidelines that determined the implementation of the election. During this part of the process, stakeholder consultation and input was limited. However, the NEC should be commended for its efforts during the electoral district delineation exercise. Due to a lack of reliable census data this exercise was necessary to determine district boundaries for the House of Representatives and was subject to significant input from political parties, local government officials and community leaders. The original

NEC proposal for electoral districts was later put aside in favor of a formula more acceptable to the political parties.

While the NEC maintained final oversight and management authority for the elections, the commission was greatly supported by UNMIL's electoral division. In accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1509, UNMIL provided legal, logistical and technical assistance throughout the electoral process. UNMIL's electoral division operated 18 regional offices, co-located in cities with NEC offices. Regional UNMIL support included emailing county poll results to the main tabulation center in Monrovia, paying poll-workers and transporting necessary election materials and equipment in UN vehicles.

In addition to UNMIL, the NEC was supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through its implementing partner, IFES. IFES provided budgetary, legal and technical expertise to the NEC. The European Commission and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) also provided support to the NEC. Overall, significant financial support was donated by the international community to develop and distribute voter education materials, procure election materials, distribute salaries for poll-workers and rehabilitate offices³.

B. Candidate Registration, Voter Education and Campaigning

Unprecedented excitement and enthusiasm for the 2005 elections resulted in a large number of candidates and parties registering. Twenty-one political parties registered, 219 candidates contested 30 senate seats, 543 candidates contested 64 house seats and 22 individuals sought the presidency. Notably, the revised electoral law suspended the constitutional provision requiring residency, allowing individuals who lived outside Liberia during the civil war to run for office.

With significant logistical assistance from the international community, voter registration was generally handled satisfactorily. Liberia's approximately 190,000 IDPs presented a significant registration challenge, but by election day 71 percent of IDPs had returned to their home counties to vote. Those who remained in the IDP camps were permitted to vote for the presidency, but not for parliamentary candidates.

Massive voter education projects were undertaken to counter high illiteracy and the population's unfamiliarity with the electoral process. Voters needed to be informed on where and how to register and vote. The NEC, in partnership with domestic and international organizations, embarked on a large-scale voter education campaign. The difficulty of the effort was compounded by the inaccessibility of many areas of the country. Of the more than 1,420 precincts, 273 were considered inaccessible sites by the NEC. Polling sites with this designation required UN helicopter transport to distribute and recover voter-education and election materials. Delivery of those supplies could still require more than a day's hike from the drop-off point to the location of the polling precinct.

³ Amounts committed during the 2005 election cycle were: National Transitional Government of Liberia, \$4 million; UNMIL, \$4.4 million; USAID/IFES, \$2.5 million; UNDP, \$580,000; European Commission, \$3.5 million. UNMIL figure excludes funds expended for logistical support.

Additionally, the NEC certified more than 130 civil society organizations to conduct voter education throughout Liberia. However, a significant percentage of the organizations never received funding. The NEC, UNMIL electoral division and several civil society groups maintain that voter education was a success given financial and other impediments, while political parties and other stakeholders found the exercise superficial, concentrated in urban centers and failing to effectively impact the majority of the highly illiterate rural population.

In terms of campaigning, much of it was centralized due to extremely difficult travel conditions outside Liberia's urban centers. As a result, many campaigns were not launched until two weeks prior to Election Day in many remote areas of Liberia. Compounding matters, the campaign period was limited to six weeks, which hindered the ability of the parties to communicate their platform in rural areas.

Media voter education efforts were similarly limited. Print media in Liberia has a very small circulation, with most of it focused in and around Monrovia. However, since most Liberians get information from radio broadcasts, UNMIL's radio service served as an effective conduit of information to the electorate. UNMIL made its facilities and broadcasts available to all parties contesting the elections.

C. Campaign Period Complaints and Appeals

Before the October 11, 2005, elections there were four cases before the Supreme Court challenging NEC rulings. The two most important cases were brought by the political party Coalition for the Transformation of Liberia (COTOL) and by independent candidates:

- While two senate seats were contested in each county, original NEC procedures allowed voters only one vote for senate. COTOL challenged this procedure in the Supreme Court, arguing that voters were entitled to two votes, one for each senate seat. The court overruled the NEC in favor of COTOL. NEC complied with the court ruling and allowed voters to mark the senatorial ballot twice and choose up to two candidates. The ruling required a significant voter re-education campaign, necessitated re-training of polling staff and required the NEC to provide an informational insert on the senatorial ballot days before the election.
- Another Supreme Court ruling overruled the NEC's rejection of Councilor Marcus Jones's and three other contenders' nomination to contest elections. This decision was reached after the ballots for the October 2005 elections had been printed. A re-printing of the ballots would have caused a postponement of the election and violated the CPA mandate to conduct the election by the end of October. To avoid a postponement of the election, the candidates were invited to Abuja, Nigeria, by the International Contact Group on Liberia to negotiate a settlement. All candidates agreed not to pursue their cases and the election proceeded as scheduled.
- D. Campaign Finance Reporting Compliance

The NEC issued its Campaign Finance Regulations in July 2005. The regulations stipulated reporting requirements and schedules for parties and candidates and specified proper accounting procedures. Candidates were to establish campaign committees to report on contributions and expenditures 10 days before an election and 15 days after an election. The NEC would then make the documents available to the public.

Fewer than 31 percent of the candidates filed the required pre-election disclosures for the October 11 elections and fewer than 18 percent of the candidates filed post-election disclosures. For the presidential run-off, the Unity Party (UP) filed both required reports, while the Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) did not file either report. While the NEC had authority to impose penalties on candidates for not filing the required reports, including the withholding of certificates to take their seats or imposing fines, it has proven unable or unwilling to enforce the campaign finance regulations. On December 19, 2005, the NEC issued certificates of election to all legitimate winning candidates, including those who had not filed their campaign finance disclosure reports.

III. Election Period

A. Pre-Election Meetings, October 2005 elections

IRI observations throughout Liberia in the days prior to the elections were positive. In meetings with stakeholders prior to the election, observers learned that political parties, civil society and NEC officials were optimistic that the elections would be conducted in an open and transparent manner. Observers who met with United Nations Civilian Police, UNMIL and Liberia National Police (LNP) representatives found that security preparations were well under way and that security forces did not expect any large-scale violence.

The leaders of IRI's delegation met with the standard-bearers and party officials of the several contesting political parties including CDC's George Weah, UP's Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the National Patriotic Party's Roland Massaquoi, and COTOL's Chairman Isaac Mannah. The meetings provided an opportunity for open exchange between candidates and delegates on the eve of the elections. The candidates did not express significant concerns about electoral malfeasance, believing the elections would be relatively open and transparent. Their confidence derived largely from the participation of numerous international organizations in election preparation and monitoring, including IRI, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, IFES, the UN Development Programme, and above all, UNMIL. The presence of these international monitoring groups, they felt, would ensure that the electoral process would be sufficiently transparent.

IRI delegates also met with local officials throughout the country prior to the elections, including media representatives, religious leaders and local government officials. All expected the elections to be conducted with little difficulty, with the exception of logistical concerns attributable to inaccessible roads.

B. Election Day, October 11, 2005

IRI observers throughout the country noted that voters turned out in large numbers, with many voters arriving at polling precincts hours before the opening of polls at 8:00 a.m. This led to long lines for voters waiting to cast their ballots. Election materials were well distributed, and observers generally did not find any shortages of critical supplies to conduct the voting. While opening proceedings started slowly, NEC officials appeared well trained. Only a few of the polling places where IRI observers were present did not open on time. Once the polls opened, polling officials processed voters according to NEC guidelines and training. As officials became more accustomed to their duties, voters were processed more quickly.

While many voters did not appear to be aware of the Supreme Court decision to allow voters to mark the senatorial ballot twice, polling officials seemed to have been informed on the change in procedure and were able to explain the adjustment to voters. Party poll-watchers and civil society monitors were present at all polling places IRI observers visited.

Security measures were appropriate, with at least one officer from the LNP and one soldier from UNMIL present at most precincts. Security coverage seemed sparser in rural areas, but

observers generally found security preparations to be adequate. IRI observers noted the absence of any incident of intimidation or violence.

Closing and vote-counting procedures were properly followed in all polling places where IRI observers were present. In only a few instances did poll workers have difficulty reconciling the ballots. Many of those problems were due to ballots having been moved to other polling places within the precinct during the day. The count was generally conducted in an orderly fashion, and observers did not witness any conflicts over the final count. Domestic observers received a copy of the final tally-sheet and did not raise any objections regarding the procedure.

Local observers had previously received training and guidelines on how to identify improper procedures from the international monitoring organizations which allowed them to reach their own quantitative conclusion on the legitimacy of the vote counting process. As well, IRI observers met and interviewed local observers, including party representatives, all of whom expressed satisfaction with the transparent nature of the process.

Despite the general success of the October 2005 election, IRI observers did note some opportunities for improvement:

- Materials did not always arrive on schedule, such as the ballot stickers that informed voters how to mark the senatorial ballot. This situation forced some improvising on the part of the presiding officers at precincts.
- Long waits to vote were commonplace, sometimes requiring UNMIL and LNP security officers to restore order due to unruly crowds.
- A significant procedural concern witnessed throughout the day was the frequent level of assistance that polling officials provided voters who appeared confused by the number of candidates listed on the ballot. While polling officials often assisted voters, it remains unclear if any polling officials influenced the vote of those who requested assistance⁴. Both domestic and political party observers raised concerns about the level of assistance provided in certain cases, including allegations of polling officials telling voters where to mark their ballot.
- C. Pre-Election Meetings, November 2005 election

While polarized campaigning before the presidential run-off election raised tensions around the country, the outlook for the election remained positive. In meetings with civil society representatives, UNMIL electoral and security representatives, the two contesting political parties (CDC and UP) and local and national leaders, observers noted that all stakeholders expected a smooth and peaceful election process.

UNMIL noticeably stepped up its security presence around the country in the days prior to the election. Political rallies, while enthusiastic and impassioned, were devoid of violence. With the

⁴ The NEC subsequently barred poll workers from assisting voters in the November run-off election.

rainy season coming to a close, election administrators were less concerned about logistical problems than they had been in the previous round.

D. Election Day, November 8, 2005

The long lines that had characterized the previous election were absent in the second round. Voters opted to vote later in the day, rather than queue up early in the morning. While turnout remained strong (61 percent), it was lower than the first round (74 percent). Most polling precincts where IRI observers were present opened on time. NEC staff demonstrated that they were competent, well trained and took their duties seriously.

New NEC procedures stating that polling officials were not to assist voters were thoroughly adhered to in all polling places observed by IRI. Voters requiring assistance were now required to bring friends or family members to help them with voting. In some cases voters were confused when NEC staff did not explain voting procedures to them, and at least in one case a voter left the polling station in frustration.

Observers noted that at least one observer from each of the two contesting parties was present at each polling place. Party representatives generally conducted themselves well and observers noted very few incidents in which party representatives became intrusive or aggressive. There seemed to be a significant decline of civil society monitors at the polls, compared to October 11.

Despite the increase in tensions and negative rhetoric between the contesting parties prior to the run-off election, observers investigated two security concerns – a stabbing in Nimba County on Election Day and rioting by 200 Liberians in Zwedru in Grand Gedeh County the day after the election. The stabbing in Nimba was one of four later confirmed by UNMIL.

Closing and vote counting procedures were completed much more quickly in the November election. Observers reported counting was nearly two hours shorter than in the first round of voting. There was only one incident in which observers noted a dispute in the vote count. Closing and counting procedures were orderly and transparent, and all party monitors but one signed the tally sheets in polling locations where IRI observers were present.

Again, IRI observers did note some areas for improvement:

- In some polling locations, sample ballots had been placed inside the polling both. Some of the sample ballots had been marked in favor of one candidate. When this issue was brought to the attention of polling officials, poll workers promptly removed the sample ballots.
- At multiple polling precincts the presiding officer was observed saying the CDC party slogan, "shine your eyes" to voters as they entered the polling sites.
- E. Election Day Complaints, Appeals and Fraud

Thirty official complaints were filed with the NEC following the October 11, 2005, elections. The nature of the complaints were diverse, including complaints that official election results deviated from the complainant's own data, and allegations that presiding officers at polling places induced voters to vote for certain candidates, that observers were not able to witness the counting procedure properly and that NEC officials had manipulated the results in favor of one candidate.

Of these complaints, eight were dismissed because the complainant failed to appear. Eight other cases were dismissed on the basis that the complaints encompassed criminal misconduct, which is beyond the NEC's jurisdiction. In those cases, complainants were advised to pursue the issue with the Ministry of Justice.

The NEC did determine that fraud had occurred in Gbarpolu County. After the county Magistrate had been transferred to Montserrado County because of his relation to one of the candidates, several of the key positions in the regional administration shifted. As a result, the County Coordinator became the Acting Assistant Magistrate, in which position he was responsible for transferring the vote count from the polling place tally sheets to official worksheets so that the results could be emailed to the central tabulation center in Monrovia. The Assistant Magistrate changed the results on the worksheet from multiple polling places during reporting, resulting in falsified information being sent to Monrovia by the UNMIL election support officer. Safeguards in the central tabulation center software caught the changes. As a result, the fraud was investigated, the offender handed over to the Ministry of Justice, and the correct election results released.

One of the candidates in the contest for a seat in the House of Representatives was found to have fraudulently registered as a candidate. The candidate failed to register to vote, and thus registered as a candidate with his father's voter registration card. The fraud was not discovered by the NEC until the candidate won the election and his opponents filed a complaint. The complaint was filed outside the prescribed time limit and was therefore not part of the official complaints procedure. However, the NEC ruled the case serious enough to merit a special hearing. The NEC disqualified the winning candidate and ruled that a special election would be held for that seat at a later date.

Following the November 8, 2005, run-off election, the CDC filed a number of complaints alleging widespread fraud and bias in the NEC. The party presented evidence on inconsistencies in tally sheets and statements by various witnesses. Unlike the hearings after the October elections, these hearings were well attended by the media, political party representatives, observers and other interested parties. After a month of hearings, the complaints filed by the CDC were dismissed, and the CDC appealed to the Supreme Court.

IV. Findings and Recommendations

The Liberian elections were conducted in an efficient, orderly and effective manner. The results of the elections are credible and Liberians – in particular NEC staff, poll-workers, political parties, the media and civil society organizations – should be commended for their efforts. The NEC staff and other stakeholders should, however, identify those weaknesses that detracted from the elections process and seek remedies for those problems. IRI has identified some areas of weakness and offers the following recommendations.

Finding 1: The political party and civil society observers who were present at the polls on Election Day added greatly to the transparency of the election.

Recommendation 1: This kind of stakeholder involvement should be expanded to the electoral process at large. Political parties should be given the opportunity to better monitor the decision-making process within the NEC, and there should be a regular forum where their input can be heard. This could be accomplished by institutionalizing the Inter-Party Consultative Committee (IPCC) to allow parties to provide feedback to the NEC on its policies, or by making the NEC a body composed of actual political stakeholders to allow the various stakeholders to monitor each other.

Oversight and transparency should not be limited to the highest echelons of decision making at the NEC. Transparency should be increased for the appointment of the Regional Magistrates of Elections. The NEC should set clear guidelines for the criteria of these posts and allow for local stakeholder input on appointments.

Finding 2: The elections were supported by the international community both financially and technically. Operational aspects of the elections relied on the resources deployed by the United Nations. These resources included helicopters, vehicles and information technology.

Recommendation 2: The NEC, in anticipation that significant international support may not be available for its future elections, should invest heavily in the training of its permanent staff. This training should extend to all areas of its operations, with particular attention to operations and logistics, where the capacity of the NEC may have been weakest.

Finding 3: The dispute resolution process for the elections was slow and cumbersome. Further, the complaints hearings were presided over by NEC's own staff, raising the possibility of conflicts of interest.

Recommendation 3: The NEC should consider implementing administrative procedures that would make the hearings less time consuming, and setting up a separate body that would hear electoral disputes, to avoid the appearance of conflicts of interest.

Finding 4: The rainy season poses considerable logistical hurdles for the conduct of elections.

Recommendation 4: A change of the election date to the dry season would reduce the difficulties of organizing elections, improve campaign opportunities and increase voter access to their polling precincts.

V. IRI in Liberia

After working in Liberia before the 1997 elections, IRI returned in early 2003 and began work to open an office and political party resource center. Those efforts were part of its programming aimed at political party capacity-building in preparation for the then-scheduled 2003 elections. When the country's civil war reached Monrovia in May 2003, IRI staff was forced to leave Liberia.

Despite postponing activities in Liberia, IRI remained heavily engaged in raising awareness of Liberia's situation. IRI conducted roundtable discussions on Liberia's peace process and also began its Liberian Leadership Series by hosting presentations by Liberian government and opposition leaders on several occasions. Through this series, IRI provided a forum for visiting Liberian political leaders to share their views with the interested public.

IRI resumed work in May 2004, re-opening its office and resource center. The resource center provides political parties with access to computers, photocopiers, reference materials and other resources required to effectively carry out their activities. IRI worked with political parties in the lead up to the 2005 elections to implement voter-oriented, effective campaigns. With IRI's assistance, 18 political parties signed the Political Party Code of Conduct to govern their behavior during the campaign and its aftermath.

Post-election, IRI continues to strengthen the political parties by providing training on organizational development, strategic planning, caucus development and coalition building. As county-level elections in Liberia continue, IRI holds campaign training as appropriate. Additionally, IRI continues to conduct voter research in advance of these by-elections.

VI. Appendices

A. Preliminary Statement, October 12, 2005



The International Republican Institute

Suite 700 1225 Eye St., NW Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 408-9450 (202) 408-9462 FAX www.iri.org

For Immediate Release October 12, 2005

IRI's Preliminary Statement on Liberia's Elections

Monrovia, Liberia – After 25 years of turmoil and 14 years of civil war, yesterday's election was a victory for the Liberian people and an important step towards finding the reconciliation and opportunity that the Liberian people deserve.

The International Republican Institute's (IRI) election observation delegation has collectively observed more than 50 national elections worldwide and monitored more than 90 polling sites throughout Liberia including one camp for internally displaced persons. While the results of the Liberian elections are still preliminary, IRI observation teams found the October 11 elections to be peaceful, with an overwhelming turnout among Liberian registered voters. Liberians stood in long lines for hours in an orderly and respectful way before casting their votes for the future.

IRI observers witnessed Liberian election officials as well-trained, knowledgeable, professional and serious-minded in the execution of their responsibilities. Voting at many sites began late due to a delay in delivery of ballots and other voting supplies. However, polling station proceedings were overall orderly, methodical and in compliance with election laws. The National Elections Commission (NEC) should be commended for addressing problems by issuing a midmorning Election Day statement to accommodate the exceedingly long lines of Liberians patiently waiting to vote, and to alleviate confusion over marking ballots. Despite this, IRI observers did note that many voters had not been educated about the voting process and that NEC officials at times went behind voting booths to explain the voting process, which runs contrary to election procedure.

IRI observed that the large numbers of observers from political parties and civil society at every polling station were critical to the transparency and legitimacy of this election and public trust in the process. In particular, the counting process at election stations was done meticulously and

adhered to NEC procedures, allowing ample transparency for the many domestic and international observers and contributing to the public confidence.

The presence of the United Nations Mission in Liberia and Liberian National Police, which have contributed to stability nationwide, provided confidence of security for voters.

IRI's delegation does express some concern regarding reports from civil society groups that money or other inducements had been offered to secure votes prior to Election Day. However, IRI saw no evidence of such transactions.

IRI observation teams note that in the coming days during which the tally will be finalized, it is important for all candidates to work towards inclusion and avoid disruption to enable the Liberian people to move towards a possible run-off election.

Everyone with an interest in a brighter future for Liberia should be encouraged by the step taken by the Liberian people to build a sustainable democracy. IRI looks forward to fielding another election observation team to observe the transparency of the election process should a run-off occur.

IRI's delegation was led by IRI board member Ambassador Richard S. Williamson, former U.S. state department representative for special political affairs to the United Nations; and Constance Berry Newman, former assistant secretary of state for African affairs. Other delegates were The Honorable Maimuna Adaji, member of parliament of Nigeria for Kwara State; Donald Bogue, chairman and chief executive officer, Command Audio Corporation; Geoffrey S. Connor, attorney, Jackson Walker, LLP, and founder, Texas Global, LLP; Nicolas Cook, specialist on African affairs, U.S. Congressional Research Service; Eric Dell, chief of staff and counsel, Office of Congressman Joe Wilson (SC-2); Dr. Kwesi Jonah, acting head, Governance Center at the Institute for Economic Affairs in Ghana; Dr. J. Peter Pham, director, William R. Nelson Institute for Public Affairs, James Madison University; Gregory Simpkins, professional staff member, U.S. House Subcommittee on Africa, Global Human Rights and International Operations; Richard J. Wall, managing partner, O'Donnell Waiss, Wall and Meschke; and The Honorable Noah Wekesa, member of parliament of Kenya for Kwanza constituency.

IRI staff also served as monitors and assisted in the mission. IRI staff was led by Judy Van Rest, executive vice president of IRI, Jeffrey Krilla, regional director for IRI's Africa division and Xav Hagen, country director for Liberia.

In May 2004, IRI established an office in Liberia to provide capacity building and other resources to political parties to prepare them for the October 11 elections. Earlier this year, IRI fielded a pre-election assessment mission to observe the progress of voter registration and the overall election environment.

IRI has monitored more than 160 elections worldwide since 1983.

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B. Preliminary Statement, November 9, 2005



The International Republican Institute Suite 700 1225 Eye St., NW Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 408-9450 (202) 408-9462 FAX www.iri.org

For Immediate Release November 9, 2005

IRI's Preliminary Statement on Liberia's Election

Monrovia, Liberia – Following a successful first round of elections in October, yesterday's runoff marked a major turning point in Liberia's democratic future. As citizens of the oldest independent republic in Africa, Liberians once again showed their determination to participate in the democratic process by casting their ballots for a new Liberia.

The International Republican Institute's (IRI) election observation delegation monitored more than 170 polling places in Bong, Grand Bassa, Grand Cape Mount, Grand Gedeh, Lofa, Margibi, Montserrado and Nimba counties.

Under extraordinary circumstances, the National Elections Commission (NEC) executed a runoff election 28 days after the country's historic October 11 elections. IRI's delegation witnessed an orderly and peaceful process, one that reflects Liberia's commitment to build a democracy. IRI's observers again saw election officials who were serious-minded, professional and recognized the importance of the task before them. Officials clarified key procedural instructions that resulted in a measurable improvement in secrecy of the ballot.

Party agents from the competing parties were at all polling places visited by IRI observers. Independent observation groups were also present in many of the polling stations IRI visited. These large numbers were critical to the transparency and legitimacy of the election and should dispel any allegations of cheating.

Once again, the presence of the United Nations Mission in Liberia and of the Liberian National Police contributed to stability and security on Election Day.

While these accomplishments mark a significant step forward for Liberia, a successful election is one step in creating a viable democracy. This election is the beginning of a long process, and all Liberians will need to come together to rebuild their country.

Although not affecting the election outcome, IRI's delegation took note of a few procedural issues that should be addressed to ensure clarity in voting procedures. Intended as a voter education tool, sample ballots sometimes were posted inside the voting booths and were marked for specific candidates. To their credit, presiding officers quickly removed the documents when they became aware of the problem. Although party agents played an important role in the process, there were more agents than the regulation allows in several polling places. These issues were minor and should not take away from the tremendous work by the NEC, the thousands of dedicated poll workers, and their partners.

IRI congratulates both candidates for the critical role they played in guiding their supporters to act responsibly and refrain from violence. IRI encourages them to continue. The international community must sustain its support of the Liberian people and their efforts to build a democracy. IRI staff will continue to monitor the count, and will issue a full report of its findings. In the coming months, IRI will maintain its work with political parties and newly elected officials to strengthen democracy in Liberia.

IRI's delegation was led by Charles Twining, former U.S. ambassador to Cameroon and Cambodia. Other delegates were Honorable Margaret Ateng Otim, member of the Ugandan parliament; Kassim Sule Afegbua, director general of the National Democratic Party of Nigeria; Robert F. Krill, retired diplomat and instructor in public diplomacy at the Foreign Service Institute; Kwesi Jonah, acting head of the Governance Center at the Institute for Economic Affairs in Ghana; Robert Lloyd, professor of International Relations at Pepperdine University and chair of the International Studies & Languages division; Nesbit "Marty" Ryall, former chairman of the Arkansas Republican party; Jason C. Roe, chief of staff to Congressman Tom Feeney of Florida; and David Woodruff, manager of government and industry relations for Volkswagen of America, Inc.

IRI staff also served as monitors and assisted in the mission. IRI staff was led by Georges A. Fauriol, senior vice president of IRI, Paul Fagan, deputy director for IRI's Africa division and Xav Hagen, country director for Liberia.

In May 2004, IRI established an office in Liberia to provide capacity building and other resources to political parties to prepare them for the October 11 elections. Earlier this year, IRI fielded a pre-election assessment mission to observe the progress of voter registration and the overall election environment and participated in a mission that observed the campaign period. IRI monitored the first round of elections. Delegates found the October elections to be "an important step towards finding the reconciliation and opportunity that the Liberian people deserve." Now that the November 8 election has concluded, IRI takes this occasion to wish Liberia full success.

IRI has monitored more than 160 elections worldwide since 1983.

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C. Election Results, October 11, 2005 Elections



Republic of Liberia NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 11 OCTOBER 2005 ELECTION RESULTS



Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election (Ordered by Votes Obtained) Updated 20 Oct 2005 1:54p

3,070 of 3,070 Polling Places Reported

| Presidential Candidate | Vice-Presidential Candidate | Political Party | Votes | % |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-----------|--------|
| WEAH, George Manneh | JOHNSON, J. Rudolph | Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) | 275,265 | 28.3% |
| JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Ellen | BOAKAI, Joseph Nyuma | Unity Party (UP) | 192,326 | 19.8% |
| BRUMSKINE, Charles Walker | WARD, Amelia Angeline | Liberty Party (LP) | 135,093 | 13.9% |
| TUBMAN, Winston A. | SULUNTEH, Jeremiah Congbeh | National Democratic Party of Liberia (NDPL) | 89,623 | 9.2% |
| SHERMAN, Harry Varney Gboto-Nambi | FANIA, John Kollehlon | Coalition for Transformation of Liberia (COTOL) | 76,403 | 7.8% |
| MASSAQUOI, Roland Chris Yarkpah | PAYGAI, SR., Q. Somah | National Patriotic Party (NPP) | 40,361 | 4.1% |
| KORTO, Joseph D. Z. | BARCLAY, JR., James Kollie | Liberia Equal Rights Party (LERP) | 31,814 | 3.3% |
| KROMAH, Alhaji G. V. | RUSSELL, SR., Emmanuel Mac | All Liberian Coalition Party (ALCOP) | 27,141 | 2.8% |
| TIPOTEH, Togba-Nah | DAHN, Marcus S. G. | Alliance for Peace and Democracy (APD) | 22,766 | 2.3% |
| TUBMAN, William Vacanarat Shadrach | WILLIAMS, Gario Isaac | Reformed United Liberia Party (RULP) | 15,115 | 1.6% |
| MORLU, John Sembe | DEMEN, Joseph Omaxline | United Democratic Alliance (UDA) | 12,068 | 1.2% |
| BARNES, Milton Nathaniel | HARRIS, Parleh Dargbeh | Liberia Destiny Party (LDP) | 9,325 | 1.0% |
| TOR-THOMPSON, Margaret J. | MARSH, SR., J. Rudolph | Freedom Alliance Party of Liberia (FAPL) | 8,418 | 0.9% |
| WOAH-TEE, Joseph Mamadee | BROH, I., Samuel Washington | Labor Party of Liberia (LPL) | 5,948 | 0.6% |
| CONNEH, Sekou Damate | SALI, Edward Yarkpawolo | Progressive Democratic Party (PRODEM) | 5,499 | 0.6% |
| FARHAT, David M. | GBOLLIE, Saah Ciapha | Free Democratic Party (FDP) | 4,497 | 0.5% |
| KIEH, JR., George Klay | TOKPA, Alaric Kormu | New Deal Movement (NDM) | 4,476 | 0.5% |
| JALLAH, Armah Zolu | SAMMY, SR., Isaac G. | National Party of Liberia (NPL) | 3,837 | 0.4% |
| KPOTO, Robert Momo | SINGBE, Sylvester Bondo | Union of Liberian Democrats (ULD) | 3,825 | 0.4% |
| KIADII, George Momodu | MCGILL, Washington Shadrack | National Vision Party of Liberia (NATVIPOL) | 3,646 | 0.4% |
| DIVINE, SR., Samuel Raymond | MAMU, SR., Jacob Gbanalagaye | Independent | 3,188 | 0.3% |
| REEVES, Alfred Garpee | SHERIF, Martin Mohammed Njavola | National Reformation Party (NRP) | 3,156 | 0.3% |
| | | Total Valid Votes | 973,790 | 100.0% |
| | | Invalid Votes * | 38,883 | |
| | | Total Votes | 1,012,673 | |

* Invalid votes account for 3.8% of total votes.



Republic of Liberia NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 11 OCTOBER 2005 ELECTION RESULTS



Presidential and Vice-Presidential Election by County Updated 20 Oct 2005 1:54p

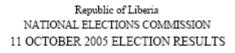
Votes Obtained by Candidates

| | Votes Obta | inea by Ca | andidates | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Bomi | Bong* | Gbarpolu | Grand Bassa* | Grand Cape Mount | Grand Gedeh | Grand Kru | Lofa | Margibi* | Maryland | Mont- serrado* | Nimba | River Cess | River Gee | Since | TOTAL |
| Polling Places Reported | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| BARNES, M. (LDP) | 429 | 1,572 | 229 | 1,290 | 256 | 67 | 95 | 528 | 1,001 | 284 | 2,129 | 1,017 | 170 | 147 | 111 | 9,325 |
| BRUMSKINE, C. (LP) | 911 | 6,914 | 477 | 38,498 | 946 | 311 | 806 | 2,130 | 12,302 | 1,455 | 45,375 | 18,160 | 5,505 | 911 | 392 | 135,093 |
| CONNEH, S. (PRODEM) | 215 | 990 | 78 | 600 | 105 | 60 | 59 | 523 | 411 | 205 | 1,400 | 607 | 62 | 108 | 76 | 5,499 |
| DIVINE, SR., S. (Ind) | 111 | 640 | 75 | 364 | 52 | 14 | 50 | 230 | 287 | 106 | 748 | 390 | 41 | 54 | 26 | 3,188 |
| FARHAT, D. (FDP) | 162 | 573 | 59 | 1,033 | 110 | 37 | 32 | 205 | 332 | 100 | 1,174 | 440 | 128 | 86 | 26 | 4,497 |
| JALLAH, A. (NPL) | 154 | 505 | 459 | 219 | 53 | 23 | 62 | 191 | 232 | 79 | 1,448 | 315 | 21 | 36 | 40 | 3,837 |
| JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, E. (UP) | 9,114 | 10,353 | 6,291 | 4,032 | 2,531 | 522 | 1,052 | 13,161 | 16,419 | 4,389 | 110,740 | 7,990 | 1,611 | 2,595 | 1,526 | 192,326 |
| KIADII, G. (NATVIPOL) | 111 | 939 | 53 | 244 | 169 | 16 | 30 | 182 | 222 | 118 | 1,011 | 440 | 29 | 28 | 54 | 3,646 |
| KIEH, JR., G. (NDM) | 84 | 512 | 132 | 483 | 40 | 124 | 116 | 247 | 300 | 63 | 951 | 1,144 | 159 | 78 | 43 | 4,476 |
| KORTO, J. (LERP) | 62 | 375 | 46 | 116 | 39 | 18 | 34 | 176 | 185 | 56 | 586 | 30,054 | 7 | 36 | 24 | 31,814 |
| KPOTO, R. (ULD) | 49 | 508 | 18 | 75 | 53 | 28 | 18 | 1,202 | 126 | 28 | 822 | 833 | 8 | 34 | 23 | 3,825 |
| KROMAH, A. (ALCOP) | 730 | 1,385 | 193 | 212 | 183 | 241 | 28 | 9,059 | 761 | 83 | 13,408 | 764 | 13 | 40 | 41 | 27,141 |
| MASSAQUOI, R. (NPP) | 521 | 9,369 | 136 | 536 | 496 | 30 | 99 | 3,690 | 5,871 | 101 | 9,249 | 9,967 | 130 | 81 | 85 | 40,361 |
| MORLU, J. (UDA) | 214 | 371 | 54 | 162 | 55 | 11 | 13 | 7,365 | 371 | 53 | 2,994 | 355 | 9 | 22 | 19 | 12,068 |
| REEVES, A. (NRP) | 89 | 425 | 192 | 130 | 548 | 15 | 44 | 299 | 185 | 53 | 722 | 333 | 20 | 28 | 73 | 3,156 |
| SHERMAN, H. (COTOL) | 2,688 | 5,117 | 1,332 | 1,726 | 16,336 | 248 | 1,237 | 3,869 | 2,558 | 1,358 | 17,684 | 19,985 | 306 | 1,596 | 363 | 76,403 |
| TIPOTEH, T. (APD) | 88 | 525 | 42 | 144 | 83 | 31 | 2,263 | 232 | 216 | 246 | 6,350 | 4,225 | 12 | 831 | 7,478 | 22,766 |
| TOR-THOMPSON, M. (FAPL) | 392 | 1,392 | 59 | 1,043 | 123 | 26 | 50 | 133 | 1,116 | 140 | 2,616 | 932 | 259 | 78 | 59 | 8,418 |
| TUBMAN, W. (RULP) | 905 | 3,730 | 792 | 774 | 202 | 49 | 132 | 2,428 | 1,862 | 1,374 | 1,608 | 1,004 | 54 | 152 | 49 | 15,115 |
| TUBMAN, W. (NDPL) | 3,008 | 43,348 | 1,548 | 2,819 | 288 | 406 | 628 | 2,402 | 10,792 | 8,333 | 10,105 | 5,057 | 152 | 604 | 133 | 89,623 |
| WEAH, G. (CDC) | 6,670 | 10,987 | 2,253 | 11,534 | 3,276 | 20,171 | 7,081 | 2,509 | 12,025 | 7,791 | 138,513 | 32,710 | 3,243 | 7,578 | 8,924 | 275,265 |
| WOAH-TEE, J. (LPL) | 200 | 2,077 | 92 | 303 | 54 | 392 | 80 | 132 | 722 | 178 | 1,092 | 459 | 37 | 73 | 57 | 5,948 |
| Total Valid Votes Invalid Votes Total Votes | 26,907 1,365 28,272 | 102,607 7,263 109,870 | 14,610 453 15,063 | 66,337 2,824 69,161 | 25,998 918 26,916 | 22,840 563 23,403 | 14,009 561 14,570 | 50,893 3,111 54,004 | 68,296 3,148 71,444 | 26,593 1,389 27,982 | 370,725 10,980 381,705 | 137,181 4,454 141,635 | 11,976 606 12,582 | 15,196 705 15,901 | 19,622 543 20,165 | 973,790 38,883 1,012,673 |
| Invalid Votes as % of Total Votes | 4.8% | 6.6% | 3.0% | 4.1% | 3.4% | 23,403 | 3.9% | 5.8% | 4.4% | | 2.9% | 3.1% | 4.8% | | 20,165 | 3.8% |



* County results include special poiling places for IDP's registered for county of origin but voting in Presidential election at IDP camp.







Senate Election - Top 3 Candidates per County as of 23 Nov 2005 12:47p

| County Po | olling Places Reported | s Candidate | Votes | % |
|------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|-------|
| Bomi | 98 of 98 | LANSANAH, Lahai Gbabye (NDPL) | 5,403 | 12.2% |
| | | DEVINE, Richard Blamah (COTOL) | 5,198 | 11.7% |
| | | JOHNSON, Sando Dazoe (NPP) | 4,523 | 10.2% |
| Bong | 309 of 309 | HOWARD-TAYLOR, Jewel Ceaineh (NPP) | 50,452 | 28.4% |
| | | SIAKOR, Franklin Obed (Ind) | 35,422 | 20.0% |
| | | KERMUE, Melee I. L. (NPP) | 14,742 | 8.3% |
| Gbarpolu | 61 of 61 | TORMETIE, Samuel Sumo (NRP) | 4,693 | 22.2% |
| | | NAATEHN, SR., Daniel Flomo (UP) | 3,016 | 14.3% |
| | | WESSO, A. Kanie (Ind) | 2,230 | 10.6% |
| Grand Bassa | 250 of 250 | FINDLEY, Gbehzohngar Milton (Ind) | 25,036 | 21.2% |
| | | INNIS, SR., Nathaniel K. (LP) | 20,949 | 17.7% |
| | | WHITFIELD, JR., John F. (Ind) | 12,618 | 10.7% |
| Grand Cape Mount | 82 of 82 | MASSALAY, Abel Momolu (NPP) | 12,415 | 28.9% |
| | | MOMO, James Kormah (NPP) | 6,955 | 16.2% |
| | | PAASEWE, Varney (COTOL) | 6,738 | 15.7% |
| Grand Gedeh | 73 of 73 | NYENABO, Isaac Wehyee (NDPL) | 8,331 | 19.6% |
| | | SANDY, William Cheyety (COTOL) | 6,537 | 15.4% |
| | | GAYE, Alphonso G. (UP) | 5,091 | 12.0% |
| Grand Kru | 47 of 47 | WOTORSON, Cletus Segbe (COTOL) | 3,528 | 16.3% |
| | | NELSON, Blamoh (APD) | 3,175 | 14.6% |
| | | DOE, J. Sawoloday (LP) | 2,119 | 9.8% |
| Lofa | 215 of 215 | KUPEE, Sumo G. (COTOL) | 13,325 | 15.4% |
| | | KANNEH, Fomba (ALCOP) | 11,096 | 12.8% |
| | | JOE, Saa Philip (CDC) | 7,123 | 8.2% |

| County | Polling Places Reported | i Candidate | Votes | % |
|-------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|-------|
| Margibi | 229 of 229 | JAH, Clarice Alpha (LP) | 22,726 | 19.1% |
| | | KAINE, Roland Cooper (CDC) | 15,215 | 12.8% |
| | | DENNIS, William E. (UP) | 10,756 | 9.0% |
| Maryland | 106 of 105 | BALLOUT, JR., John Akel (UP) | 7,147 | 15.0% |
| | | MUSU-SCOTT, Gloria Maya (UP) | 6,933 | 14.6% |
| | | JEFFY, Paul R. (LP) | 4,479 | 9.4% |
| Montserrado | 937 of 937 | FREEMAN, Joyce Musu (CDC) | 86,008 | 13.3% |
| | | BRENT, Hannah G. (CDC) | 80,331 | 12.4% |
| | | UREY, Clemenceau Blayon (UP) | 70,137 | 10.8% |
| Nimba | 411 of 411 | JOHNSON, Prince Yormie (Ind) | 81,820 | 33.8% |
| | | DOLO, Saye-Taayor Adolphus (COTOL) | 42,229 | 17.4% |
| | | KOAH, Evans ∀aye (Ind) | 34,828 | 14.4% |
| River Cess | 42 of 42 | BANNEY, Jay Jonathan (UP) | 4,378 | 21.2% |
| | | MOORE, George Dee (LP) | 2,983 | 14.4% |
| | | SAWMADAL, Arthur D.K. (NDM) | 2,655 | 12.8% |
| River Gee | 47 of 47 | CHERUE, Frederick Doe (COTOL) | 7,490 | 26.9% |
| | | JOHNSON, Isaac Nyenekartoe (COTOL) | 2,992 | 10.7% |
| | | WESSEH, Conmany B. (UP) | 2,856 | 10.3% |
| Since | 67 of 67 | NYENPAN, Mobutu Vlah (APD) | 9,165 | 29.8% |
| | | NAGBE, Joseph Nyenetue (APD) | 7,906 | 25.7% |
| | | BARTEE, Nathaniel Sniweah (COTOL) | 4,352 | 14.1% |



Republic of Liberia NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 11 OCTOBER 2005 ELECTION RESULTS



%

36.4% 23.9%

45.8%

19.3%

38.0%

32.6%

29.7%

26.5%

57.9%

10.7%

36.2%

18.3% 22.8%

21.9%

26.4%

15.1%

33.0%

16.1%

26.1%

21.4% 29.9%

19.3%

40.8%

22.7% 35.9%

24.2%

20.1%

16.1%

27.5%

20.7% 22.1%

18.8%

Votes

2,631

1,728 4,457

1,881

3,151

2,707

2,354

2,106

5,044

2,099

1,062

1,250 1,203

2,223

1,274

4,347

2,125

2,572

2,115

3,900 2,520

5,799

3,226

5,794 3,912

3,304

2,656

4,472

3,369

3,528 2,999

936

House of Representatives Election - Top 2 Candidates per Electoral District as of 23 Nov 2005 3:02p

| County | District | Polling Places Reported | Candidate | Votes | % | County [| istrict ^F | Polling Places Reported | Candidate |
|-------------|----------|----------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Bomi | 1 | 33 of 33 | TYLER, Jenekai Alex (COTOL) BROWN, Jeru S. (NDPL) | 1,910 1,466 | 21.5% 16.5% | Grand Cape Moun | t 1 | 20 of 20 | BENSON, James Amsu (COTOL) PAASEWE, Charles Boima (LP) |
| | 2 | 35 of 35 | SIRYON, Haja Fata (NDPL) DAVIS, JR., Ballah K. M. (NDM) | 2,530 1,388 | 28.7% 15.7% | | 2 | 36 of 36 | DARBLO, SR., Matthew V. Z. (COTOL) QUAYE, SR., Philip Momoh (UP) |
| | 3 | 30 of 30 | COOPER, Tamue H. (CDC) DAVIS, Emest Gray (COTOL) | 2,530 1,649 | 30.8% 20.0% | | 3 | 26 of 26 | WARE, SR., Mohammed Abraham (COTOL) SONII, Mambu Mahamudu (Ind) |
| Bong | 1 | 48 of 48 | BARCLAY, Corpu G. (UP) LOMAX, Emmanuel A. (NPP) | 4,215 2,874 | 27.6% 18.8% | Grand Gedeh | 1 | 25 of 25 | GBIEOR, Rufus Wonblayon (NDM) WHYEE, Kai-Matthew (CDC) |
| | 2 | 58 of 58 | CORNEH, Adam Bill (NPP) BRIGGS, Molley (RULP) | 2,354 2,147 | 16.1% 14.7% | | 2 | 27 of 27 | PENNUE, Zoe Emmanuel (Ind) SAYDEE, Goldy William (LP) |
| | 3 | 50 of 50 | BONDO, G. Samuel K.S. (LP) COOPER, Viola Nyamah (COTOL) | 4,899 4,436 | 30.7% 27.8% | | 3 | 21 of 21 | FARLEY, Kai G. (CDC) BOWAH, Patrick G. (ALCOP) |
| | 4 | 52 of 52 | MULBAH, George Sylvester (NPP) YALLAH, Henry Wailee (NDM) | 3,261 3,161 | 18.6% 18.0% | Grand Kru | 1 | 21 of 21 | SLOPADOE, Gbenimah Balu (APD) SARKOR, Isaiah Moboe (UP) |
| | 5 | 59 of 59 | MULBAH, Tokpah J. (CDC) ZACKPAH, Adolphus Besman Gborgar (Ind) | 6,193 3,639 | 32.0% 18.8% | | 2 | 26 of 26 | BLAMOH, George Wesseh (COTOL) BROWNE, James G. (LP) |
| | 6 | 42 of 42 | JUAH, Edwin Tokpa (NDM) FLOMO, James C.R. (COTOL) | 4,214 2,879 | 28.9% 19.7% | Lofa | 1 | 53 of 53 | KPARKAR, Eugene Fallah (LP) NYUMALIN, SR., F. Sakila (Ind) |
| Gbarpolu | 1 | 21 of 21 | QUIAH, Gbondojever S. (NRP) LAMIN, Gertrude Tene (UP) | 1,373 1,153 | 32.6% 27.3% | | 2 | 57 of 57 | KAMARA, Vaforay Alhaji Musa (ALCOP) NGOMBU, Prince Sao (UP) |
| | 2 | 17 of 17 | SARNOR, Armah (LP) SARNOR, Momo Gornah (UP) | 810 785 | 19.1% 18.5% | | 3 | 49 of 49 | JALLABAH, Malian Kanneh (ALCOP) SHERIFF, Boakai Mohammed (PRODEM) |
| | 3 | 23 of 23 | YARSIAH, SR., Dickson Temo (UP) KOMAH, Roland Flomo (NDPL) | 2,668 1,584 | 44.4% 26.4% | | 4 | 56 of 56 | KOLLIE, Moses Yarkpazuo (COTOL) HOWARD, Beyan D. (LP) |
| Grand Bassa | 1 | 66 of 66 | PAGE, SR., Samuel Dornaworlo (LP) SPILLER, Austine Wreemongar (COTOL) | 3,621 3,295 | 24.0% 21.8% | Margibi | 1 | 64 of 64 | NUQUAY, Emmanuel James (Ind) SONII, Dao Ansu (COTOL) |
| | 2 | 73 of 73 | HODGES, Vinicius Sona (LP) CEE, John Siahn (NPP) | 4,188 3,338 | 26.0% 20.7% | | 2 | 53 of 53 | LACKIE, Ansu Washington (UP) DENNIS, Joseph S. (UDA) |
| | 3 | 60 of 60 | SUNDAYGAR, Edward Bueh (LP) JACKSON, Eric B. (FDP) | 3,178 2,994 | 20.2% 19.0% | | 3 | 56 of 56 | GBOLLIE, Saah Richarid (NPP) MULBAH, Henry Zayzay (FDP) |
| | 4 | | SMITH, Gabriel B. (LP) NASSER, Etta Summarmah Kpui (UP) | 8,099 2,746 | 47.8% 16.2% | | 4 | | CHIDERYOU, Flasher Garjuan (Ind) WRIGHT, George S. (LP) |



Republic of Liberia NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 11 OCTOBER 2005 ELECTION RESULTS



House of Representatives Election - Top 2 Candidates per Electoral District as of 23 Nov 2005 3:02p

| County | District | Polling Places Reported | 8 Candidate | Votes | % |
|-------------|----------|----------------------------|---|--------|-------|
| Maryland | 1 | 44 of 44 | SAYDEE, David Gwiah (APD) | 3,102 | 34.2% |
| | | | WAH, G. Glomah (UP) | 2,073 | 22.8% |
| | 2 | 34 of 34 | CHAMBERS, Bhofal (UP) | 2,601 | 29.4% |
| | | | WILSON, Nathaniel C. (NDPL) | 1,771 | 20.0% |
| | 3 | 28 of 28 | BINEY, James Pobee (NPP) | 4,278 | 53.3% |
| | | | THOMPSON, Alfred Thowone (COTOL) | 1,471 | 18.3% |
| Montserrado | 1 | 68 of 68 | ENNOS, Alomiza M. (CDC) | 11,104 | 41.9% |
| | | | MAMBU, Prince V. (UP) | 3,618 | 13.6% |
| | 2 | 66 of 66 | NEUFVILLE, Rufus Dio (CDC) | 11,765 | 47.1% |
| | | | KORTIE, David Ernest (UP) | 4,309 | 17.3% |
| | 3 | 70 of 70 | MURRAY, Kettehkumuehn Earl (CDC) | 5,398 | 19.1% |
| | | | JARBOI, Tarnue (UP) | 4,490 | 15.9% |
| | 4 | 69 of 69 | WOLOKOLIE, Dusty Lawrence (UP) | 7,424 | 27.0% |
| | | | KAILONDO, SR., George Bobby (CDC) | 6,970 | 25.4% |
| | 5 | 59 of 59 | SNOWE, JR., Edwin Melvin (Ind) | 14,210 | 59.3% |
| | | | LAWRENCE, Augustus Alexander (LP) | 2,885 | 12.0% |
| | 6 | 63 of 63 | DORBOR, Kuku Younger (LP) | 6,816 | 28.8% |
| | | | NORMAN-SIEBU, Keturah B. (UP) | 4,851 | 20.5% |
| | 7 | 61 of 61 | FALLAH, Thomas Pangar (CDC) | 4,741 | 19.9% |
| | | | MULBAH, Joseph Godfray (NRP) | 4,281 | 18.0% |
| | 8 | 68 of 68 | KOOMEY, Dave (CDC) | 5,739 | 21.3% |
| | | | SNOH-BARCON, Nyenekon Beauty (UP) | 5,266 | 19.5% |
| | 9 | 70 of 70 | TANDANPOLIE, SR., Moses Saah (CDC) | 6,335 | 23.1% |
| | | | KAMARA, Nerissa Finda (UP) | 4,789 | 17.4% |
| | 10 | 68 of 68 | TEAH, Regina Sokan (CDC) | 10,910 | 41.9% |
| | | | CORNEH, Abraham Vamuyah (NPP) | 3,856 | 14.8% |
| | 11 | 65 of 65 | BARCLAY, Elmond Tatius (CDC) | 7,795 | 32.0% |
| | | | PELENAH, Jenkins Dah-Nunmah (COTOL) | 4,041 | 16.6% |
| | 12 | 64 of 64 | FORH, Edward S. (CDC) | 10,021 | 41.9% |
| | | | BARCLAY, SR., Ebenezer Chea (APD) | 3,236 | 13.5% |
| | 13 | 75 of 75 | LYNCH, Victoria (CDC) | 3,876 | 17.9% |
| | | | COOPER, I, Stephen Faithful (Ind) | 3,075 | 14.2% |
| | 14 | 71 of 71 | HOLDER, Richard I. A. (Ind) | 3,194 | 16.7% |
| | | | GEORGE, SR., Lawrence Ashton-Sackie (NPP) | 2,883 | 15.0% |

| County | District | Poiling Places Reported | Candidate | Votes | % |
|------------|----------|----------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------|
| Nimba | 1 | 59 of 59 | KARWAY, Francis Luogon (UP) WEANQUOI, George Flumo (LERP) | 5,005 4,846 | 25.5% 24.7% |
| | 2 | 57 of 57 | FARNGALO, Martin M. (COTOL) WOLEH, Samuel G. Z. (LP) | 11,152 5,760 | 57.0% 29.4% |
| | 3 | 65 of 65 | DUNAH, Worlea-Saywah (NDM) DOE, Daniel Zlankerwon (COTOL) | 10,045 3,379 | 45.8% 15.4% |
| | 4 | 54 of 54 | KIDAU, Nohn Rebecca (COTOL) MAWEAHN, Francis N. (LP) | 7,694 3,744 | 46.5% 22.6% |
| | 5 | 59 of 59 | FLINDOR, Jackson Saye (CDC) JOHNSON, David Madean (COTOL) | 7,292 4,844 | 35.7% 23.7% |
| | 6 | 54 of 54 | MANEH, David Saye (UP) TUAZAMA, SR., Paul Duo (COTOL) | 4,835 4,582 | 25.3% 24.0% |
| | 7 | 63 of 63 | GAYE, Edwin Power (Ind) ZARLEE, David N. (NPP) | 4,403 3,554 | 22.8% 18.4% |
| River Cess | 1 | 19 of 19 | MITCHELL, Ronald Alexander (Ind) GLASSCO, Idamay Dehconwulu (CDC) | 1,338 999 | 23.9% 17.8% |
| | 2 | 23 of 23 | MASSEH, Jerry Bowier (UP) HARVEY, JR., John F. (LP) | 1,338 989 | 22.0% 16.2% |
| River Gee | 1 | 18 of 18 | BARDYL, Charles K. (CDC) DARBEH, Hixenbaugh Kear (COTOL) | 2,975 1,834 | 50.3% 31.0% |
| | 2 | 13 of 13 | SEAH, Elijah Flahn (APD) FORPOH, JR., George Tee (COTOL) | 1,481 1,431 | 33.0% 31.9% |
| | 3 | 16 of 16 | TOE, Albert S. (LP) TARLESSON, Josephus N. (LDP) | 1,418 916 | 29.2% 18.9% |
| Sinoe | 1 | 21 of 21 | BARH, Nelson Wah (UDA) JELLY, SR., A. Kai (NATVIPOL) | 1,941 1,427 | 31.4% 23.1% |
| | 2 | 20 of 20 | DAVIES, James Timothy (APD) JARTEH, Priscillia G. Kargeor (NRP) | 1,625 1,019 | 26.2% 16.4% |
| | 3 | 26 of 26 | KANMOH, Jefferson Seykonmuh (APD) NYENPAN, D. Wisseh (CDC) | 2,328 1,655 | 33.3% 23.7% |

D. Election Results, November 8, 2005 Run-Off Election



Republic of Liberia NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION 8 NOVEMBER 2005 ELECTION RESULTS



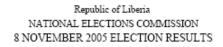
President/Vice-President Runoff Election

Updated 15 Nov 2005 9:15a 3,070 of 3,070 Polling Places Reported

| Presidential Candidate | Vice-Presidential Candidate | Political Party | Votes | % |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------|
| JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Ellen | BOAKAI, Joseph Nyuma | Unity Party (UP) | 478,526 | 59.4% |
| WEAH, George Manneh | JOHNSON, J. Rudolph | Congress for Democratic Change (CDC) | 327,046 | 40.6% |
| | | Total Valid Votes Invalid Votes * | 805,572 20,144 | 100.0% |
| | | Total Votes | 825,716 | |

* Invalid votes account for 2.4% of total votes.







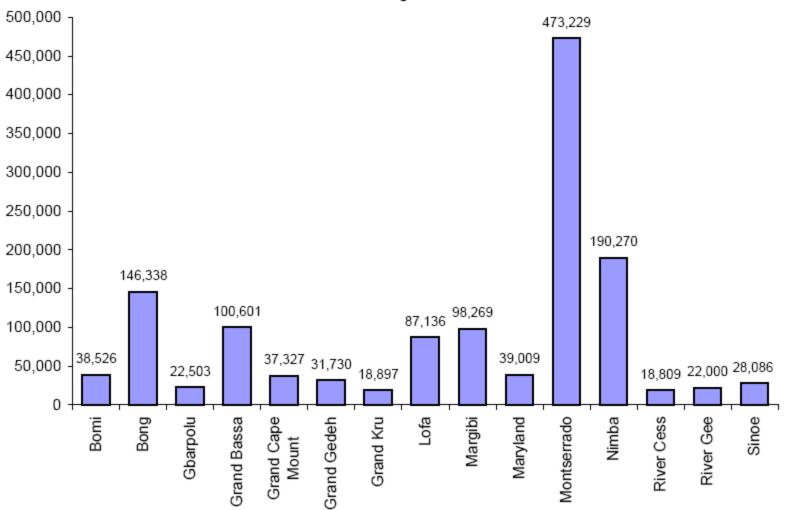
President/Vice-President Runoff Election by County Updated 15 Nov 2005 9:15a

| | Votes Obta | ained by Ca | andidates | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------|--------|----------|----------|-------------------|---------|---------------|-----------|--------|---------|
| | Bomi | Bong* | Gbarpolu | Grand Bassa* | Grand Cape Mount | Grand Gedeh | Grand Kru | Lofa | Margibi* | Maryland | Mont- serrado* | Nimba | River Cess | River Gee | Sinoe | TOTAL |
| Polling Places Reported | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, E. (UP) | 17,082 | 53,608 | 9,666 | 29,238 | 11,378 | 800 | 2,093 | 26,875 | 42,739 | 11,647 | 189,739 | 75,003 | 3,842 | 2,826 | 1,990 | 478,526 |
| WEAH, G. (CDC) | 6,394 | 22,808 | 2,611 | 14,389 | 7,095 | 21,670 | 7,562 | 17,733 | 13,742 | 9,480 | 158,367 | 22,276 | 3,970 | 6,297 | 12,652 | 327,046 |
| Total Valid Votes | 23,476 | 76,416 | 12,277 | 43,627 | 18,473 | 22,470 | 9,655 | 44,608 | 56,481 | 21,127 | 348,106 | 97,279 | 7,812 | 9,123 | 14,642 | 805,572 |
| Invalid Votes | 574 | 2,368 | 344 | 1,796 | 725 | 313 | 250 | 1,546 | 1,688 | 706 | 6,254 | 2,847 | 282 | 204 | 247 | 20,144 |
| Total Votes | 24,050 | 78,784 | 12,621 | 45,423 | 19,198 | 22,783 | 9,905 | 46,154 | 58,169 | 21,833 | 354,360 | 100,126 | 8,094 | 9,327 | 14,889 | 825,716 |
| Invalid Votes as % of Total Votes | 2.4% | 3.0% | 2.7% | 4.0% | 3.8% | 1.4% | 2.5% | 3.3% | 2.9% | 3.2% | 1.8% | 2.8% | 3.5% | 2.2% | 1.7% | 2.4% |

E. Voter Registration Data

Summary

| Total Registered Voters: | 1,352,730 |
|--|--------------------|
| Females: Males: | 676,390 676,340 |
| Females as Percent of Total: Males as Percent of Total: | 50% 50% |
| Average Age: | 35 |
| IDP's: | 61,189 |
| IDP's as Percent of Total: | 5% |



Total Registered Voters

F. List of Political Parties



31



G. Accredited Domestic Observer Groups

The List of Observers Accredited by the NEC (as of 13, October)

| | Domestic Organizations | Number of ID/ badges issued |
|------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | Click the Organization for links to its Statement on 2005 Liberia Elections | |
| 1. | Amnesty International Liberia | 16 |
| 2. | Association of Disabled Female International (ADFI) | 27 |
| 3. | Association of Evangelists of Liberia (AEL) | 50 |
| 4. | Campaign Monitoring Coalition (CMC) | 39 |
| 5. | Civic Campaign for Democratic Empowerment | 7 |
| 6. | Civil Society Movement of Liberia | 60 |
| 7. | Coalition for Democracy (CODEL) | 53 |
| 8. | Collaboration of Churches – Bong | 138 |
| 9. | Committee for Peace and Development Advocacy (COPDA) | 15 |
| 10. | Concerned Christian Community | 20 |
| 11. | Concerned to save humanity in Liberia | 10 |
| 12. | Elim Foundation for Humanity Inc. | 10 |
| 13. | Economic Council of West African States | 21 |
| 14. | Equip Youth | 76 |
| 15. | European Federation of Liberian Association (EFLA) | 8 |
| 16. | Foundation for Democracy in Liberia (FDL) | 30 |
| 17. | Human Rights Monitoring | 4 |
| 18. | Islamic Da-WAH Agency (IDA) | 4 |
| 19. | Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) | 136 |
| 20. | Liberia Council of Churches (LCC) | 247 |
| 21. | Liberia Democracy Watch | 5 |
| 22. | Liberia Girl Guide Association | 50 |
| 23. | Liberia Needy Women and Children Organization | 15 1 |
| 24. | Liberia United for Peace and Democracy Liberia Youth Network | 10 |
| 25. 26 | | 41 |
| 26. 27. | Lutheran Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Programme Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) | 22 |
| 27. 28. | Mano River Relief and Development Network | 13 |
| 28. 29. | National Committee for Elections Monitoring (NACEM) | 1302 |
| 29. 30. | National Human Right Center of Liberia (NHRCL) | 60 |
| 30. 31. | National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections (NAYMOTE) | 5 |
| 32. | Observe Liberia Vote | 30 |
| 33. | Overcoming Violence Through Evangelism and Reconciliation | 10 |
| 33. 34. | Overcoming Violence Through Evangelism and Reconciliation | 10 |
| 35. | Oxfam GB Liberia | 30 |
| 36. | Progressive Action for Change (PAC) | 80 |
| 37. | Project Aid Liberia Inc. (PAL) | 15 |
| 38. | Refugee Development | 5 |
| 39. | Resource Center for Community Empowerment and Integrated Development | 172 |
| 40. | Search for Common Ground/Talking Drums | 120 |
| 41. | The Concerned Mandingo Society of Liberia (COMASL) | 100 |
| 42. | The Liberia Cause (TLC) | 20 |
| 43. | The Liberian Cause | 20 |
| 44. | The Triumphant Transformation Children Outreach Ministries | 10 |
| 45. | United Liberia Rural Women | 120 |
| 46. | United Minority Rural Women | 120 |
| 47. | West African Civil Society Forum (WASF) – Liberia | 33 |
| | | |

| 48. | Woman-Child Alert | 13 |
|-----|---|----|
| 49. | Women and Children Development Association of Liberia | 80 |
| 50. | Women in Development | 30 |
| 51. | YMCA of Liberia | 40 |
| 52. | Youth Aid Education Health and Development | 30 |
| | | |

TOTAL