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The application of closed list proportional representation in Angola and Mozambique: A case study of the impact of electoral system in democratization.

Casimiro, Jose Maria

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APPENDICES: Appendix 1 - LEGALISATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

ACRONYM	NAME	PRESIDENT	DATE OF REGISTRATION
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola	Jose Eduardo dos Santos	25 July , 1991
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola	Jonas Malheiro Savimbi	14 April, 1992
FDA	Forum Democratico Angolano	Jorge Rebelo Pinto Chicoti	14 April, 1992
PAJOCA	Partido da Alianca Juventude Operarios e Camponeses de Angola	Miguel Sebastiao(Tetembwa)	14 April, 1992
PSD	Partido Social Democrata	Bengui Pedro Joao	14 April, 1992
PRD	Partido Renovador Democratico	Luis dos Passos da Silva Cardoso	16 April, 1992
PRS	Partido de Renovacao Social	Eduardo Cuangana	23 April, 1992
CNDA	Convencao Nacional Democratica de Angola	Paulino Pinto Joao	30 April, 1992
PNDA	Partido Nacional Democratico de Angola	Geraldo Pereira Joao da Silva	8 May, 1992
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola	Alvaro Holden Roberto	20 May, 1992
PDA	Partido Democratico Angolano	Antonio Alberto Neto	20 May,1992
PDPA	Partido Democratico Pacifico de Angola	Antonio Kunzolako	20 May, 1992
PDP-ANA	Partido Democratico para o Progresso da Alianca Nacional Angolana	Mfulupinga N'landu Victor	22 July, 1992
PAL	Partido Angolano Liberal	Ipanga Pio Samus Kapenda	27 July, 1992
FPD	Frente para a Democracia	Francisco Filomeno Vieira Lopes	27 July, 1992
PLD	Partido Liberal Democratico Angolano	Analia Victoria Pereira Simeao	27 July, 1992
MDIA-PCN	Movimento de Defesa dos Interesses dos Angolanos-Partido de Consciencia Nacional	Isidoro Kiala	27 July, 1992
PSDA	Partido Social Democratico Angolano	Andre Milton Kilandamoko	28 July, 1992
PDLA	Partido Democratico Liberal de Angola	Honorato Landu	29 July, 1992
PRA	Partido Reformador Angolano	Rui Caldeira	29 July, 1992
UDA	Unificacao Democratica Angolana	Eduardo Milton Sivi	29 July, 1992
PAI	Partido Angolano Independente	Adriano Parreira	29 July, 1992
UND	Uniao Nacional para Democracia	Sebastiao Rogerio Suzama	25 August, 1992
PACIA	Partido Angolano Conservador da Identidade Africana	Alvaro Afonso Moneza	25 August, 1992
UNLDDA	Uniao Nacional para Luz da Democracia e Desenvolvimento de Angola	Miguel Muendo	25 August, 1992
UNDP	Uniao Nacional Patriotica para Democracia	Jose Ferreira Sopas Junior	18 November, 1992
UNPD	Uniao Nacional Para Democracia e Progresso	Pedro da Conceicao	7 January, 1993
PPDA	Partido Progressista Democratico de Angola	Francisco Lele	1 April, 1993

Source: General Directorate of Elections in Angola-White Book About Peace Process, pp. 93-94.Fig. 2

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Appendix 2 - **LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES**

(Supreme Court-5 August 1992)

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

1. Alvaro Holden Roberto	F.N.L.A.
2. Analia Victoria Pereira Simao	P.L.D.
3. Andre Milton Kilandamoko	P.S.D.A.*
4. Antonio Alberto Neto	P.D.A.
5. Daniel Julio Chipenda	P.N.D.A.
6. Honorato Landu	P.D.L.A.
7. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi	U.N.I.T.A.
8. Jose Eduardo dos Santos	M.P.L.A.
9. Jose Manuel Miguel	P.S.D.**
10.Luis dos Passos Cardoso	P.R.D.
11.Mfulupinga Lando Victor	P.D.P.-A.N.A
12.Rui Caldeira Victoria Pereira	P.R.A.
13.Simao Cacete	A.D.-Coligacao

* Withdrew later

** Later replaced by Bengui Pedro Joao

Source: General Directorate of Elections in Angola-White Book About the Peace Process, p. 103.

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PARTIES' CANDIDATES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

1. **Coalition-AD** (Democratic Angola)
   FPD (Front for Democracy);
   MDIA-PCN (Movement for the Defence of Angolan Interests-
   -Party of National Consciousness);
   PAL (Angolan Liberal Party);
   PDPA(Pacific Democratic Party of Angola);
   UDA(Angolan Democratic Union)

2. **CNDA** (National Democratic Convention of Angola)
3. **FDA** (Angolan Democratic Forum)
4. **FNLA** (National Front for the Liberation of Angola)
5. **MPLA**(People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
6. **PAI**(Angolan Independent Party)
7. **PAJOCA**(Alliance of Young Workers and Peasants of Angola)
8. **PDA**(Angolan Democratic Party)
9. **PDLA**(Liberal Democratic Party of Angola)
10. **PDP-ANA(**Democratic Party for Progress of the Angolan National Alliance)
11. **PLD**(Angolan Liberal Democratic Party)
12. **PNDA**(National Democratic Party of Angola)
13. **PRA**(Angolan Reformist Party)
14. **PRD** (Democratic Reformist Party)
15. **PRS**(Social Reform Party)
16. **PSD**(Social Democratic Party)
17. **PSDA**(Angolan Social Democratic Party)
18. **UNITA**(National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

Source: General Directorate of Elections in *Angola-White Book About Peace Process, pp.103-104.*

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Appendix 3 - ELECTORAL RESULTS – NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

PARTY	NACIONAL CONSTITUENCY n.° de Deputies	PROVINCIAL CONSTITUENCY n.° de Deputies	TOTAL
PRD	1	0	1
PAJOCA	1	0	1
PAI	0	0	0
PDLA	0	0	0
PSDA	0	0	0
FNLA	3	2	5
PDP-ANA	1	0	1
PRA	0	0	0
CNDA	0	0	0
PNDA	1	0	1
PDA	0	0	0
FDA	1	0	1
AD-COLIGAÇÃO	1	0	1
MPLA	70	59	129
PRS	3	3	6
UNITA	44	26	70
PSD	1	0	1
PLD	3	0	3

Source:*Angola-The White Book*, p.106.

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Appendix 4 – **COMPOSITION OF THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL-MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COUNCIL**

1-Dr C.P. CAETANO DE SOUSA-President of the National Electoral Council.
2-Dr. Onofre Dos Santos-Director General of the Elections
3-Eng. Paulo Kassoma-Minister of Territorial Administration
4-Dr. Domingos Culolo-Appointed by the Head of State
5-Dr. Luis Gonzaga Wawuti-Appointed by the Head of State
6-Eng. Jos Severino – Appointed by the Head of State
7-Rev. Augusto Chipesse-Appointed by the Head of State
8-Dr. Manuel Francisco de Assis-Magistrate
9-Ambassador Luiz de Almeida-Representative of the National Media Council
10-Green Emanuel Bruno Jovelino-Representative of the National Media Council
11-Joao de Almeida Martins-Representative of **MPLA**
12-Justino Victorino Saizumbo- Representative of **PRS**
13-Dr. David Mendes-Representative of **PAJOCA**
14-Mateus Francisco-representative of **PNDA**
15-Dr. Mateus Joao Pedro-Representative of **PDA**
16-Dr. Victorino Domingo Hossi-Representative of **UNITA**
17-Dr. Pedro Berry-Representative of **FNLA**
18-Francisco Domingos-Representative of **FDA**
19-Antonio F. Pereira-Representative of **PSDA**
20-Alexandre Agostinho Sousa e Santos-Representative of **PLD**
21-Simao Macazo-Representative of **PDP-ANA**
22-Dr. Manuel Cafranca Antonio-Representative of **PRD**
23-Victorino Nzingo-Representative of **CNDA**
24-Garcia Sumbo-Representative of **PDPA**
25-Dra. Maria de Vasconcelos-Representative of **AD-Coligacao**
26-Martinho dos Santos Pedro-Representative of **PSD**
27-Antonio Albino Manzamba-Representative of **PRA**
28-Agostinho Benguela Junior-Represenative of candidate **Jonas Savimbi**
29-Silva Simao Mateus-Representative of candidate **Luis dos Passos**
30-Benjamin da Silva-Representative of candidate **Holden Roberto**
31-Emanuel da Conceicao-Representative of candidate **Simao Cacete**
32-Dr. Justino Pinto de Andrade-Representative of candidate **Daniel Chipenda**
33-Dr. Reis Junior-Representative of candidate **Jose Eduardo dos Santos**
34-Antonio Zola-Representative of Candidate **Alberto Neto**
(Source:*Angola White Book*, pp.97-98).

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Appendix 5 - **ANGOLAN ELECTORAL STATISTICS**

CONSELHO NACIONAL ELEITORAL
DIRECÇÃO-GERAL DAS ELEIÇÕES

APURAMENTO DEFINITIVO – PONTO DE SITUAÇÃO ÀS 18:30 HORAS DO DIA 14/10/92

ELEIÇÕES LEGISLATIVAS

	Cabinda	Zaire	Uige	Luanda	K. Norte	K. Sul	Malanje	Lunda N.	Benguela	Huambo	Bié	Moxico	K. Kubango	Namibe	Huila	Cunene	Lunda S.	Bengo	Total Nacional	
Mesas apuradas	19	92	426	915	165	425	386	180	632	521	429	151	179	110	550	201	98	100	5579	%
PRD	56	742	4048	5106	526	2177	2820	1076	4418	3399	2404	1715	793	572	3687	557	615	582	35293	0,89
PAJOCA	29	1579	1729	2488	585	600	670	354	1526	913	528	544	241	176	1134	211	231	386	13924	0,35
PAI	30	445	976	1381	135	376	446	251	1259	966	657	362	290	123	899	133	154	124	9007	0,23
PDLA	11	262	993	1309	227	552	906	480	559	319	192	376	111	106	794	344	357	127	8025	0,20
PSDA	12	506	1102	2238	317	620	1056	713	501	251	147	483	185	137	1037	327	323	262	10217	0,26
FNLA	209	20053	13292	30883	2929	2983	2783	2274	3100	1361	839	1931	533	759	3698	1006	995	5114	94742	2,40
PDP-ANA	7	288	854	6351	136	358	415	326	365	172	78	220	60	93	508	113	134	130	10608	0,27
PRA	11	241	826	1062	169	568	629	565	539	238	134	350	97	113	651	169	248	109	6719	0,17
CNDA	5	244	1020	4193	211	485	541	527	510	273	165	433	113	137	817	220	250	93	10237	0,26
PNDA	8	190	1261	1216	319	820	1031	885	640	264	168	597	167	211	1319	534	481	170	10281	0,26
PDA	37	167	842	2069	192	520	533	501	430	632	173	390	105	125	749	179	296	74	8014	0,20
FDA	66	111	654	3817	286	650	697	1288	862	400	203	381	142	159	1528	213	467	114	12038	0,30
AD-COLIGAÇÃO	25	350	2313	5082	1568	3851	2898	2245	2700	1111	630	1368	599	812	5228	1540	1163	683	34166	0,86
MPLA	7448	20240	136167	531294	102213	220086	185935	77694	181730	61146	36598	66344	26693	42458	245952	90233	37309	54586	2124126	53,74
PRS	58	548	6039	5188	900	3363	4127	18673	5433	4593	2572	6264	1214	656	5437	1473	22811	526	89875	2,27
UNITA	1544	16353	79277	140959	6658	61099	26201	8844	260655	289283	204930	27290	87808	15374	100219	4714	2681	13747	1347636	34,10
PSD	11	472	2436	2901	374	1687	1429	636	5355	8064	3052	1125	968	375	3281	280	279	363	33088	0,84
PLD	28	1131	8645	4328	748	5303	5130	1246	15869	20722	12790	3264	2616	1314	8987	712	541	895	94269	2,39
Votos Válidos	9595	63922	262474	751865	118493	306098	238247	118578	486451	394107	266260	113437	122735	63700	385925	102958	69335	78085	3952265	100,00
Votos Nulos	63	748	2816	7996	1690	3345	6387	1135	8671	13000	14403	2063	2420	1590	8311	1800	2188	1394	80020	1,81
Votos Brancos	290	8040	46363	37652	8416	38257	28509	16278	35471	28673	24824	5143	4875	8520	58750	10575	10477	7177	378290	8,58
Total Votantes	9948	72710	311653	797513	128599	347700	273143	135991	530593	435780	305487	120643	130030	73810	452986	115333	82000	86656	4410575	
Total Registados	16079	80166	318131	854981	137962	369150	327337	141545	567825	467811	354537	137798	133161	84918	509167	148528	87451	91921	4828468	
Total de Abstenção	6131	7456	6478	57648	9363	21450	54194	5554	37232	32031	49050	17155	3131	11108	56181	33195	5451	5265	417893	
% de Abstenção	38,13	9,30	2,04	6,72	5,79	5,81	16,56	3,92	6,56	6,85	13,83	12,45	2,35	13,08	11,03	22,35	6,23	5,73	8,65	

Source:*Instituicoes Politicas e Sistemas Constitucionais nos Paises Africanos de Expressao Portuquesa*, pp.654-655.

Appendix 6 - **PORTFOLIOS OFFERED BY THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT TO UNITA**

1. Portfolios at the Central Government

(i) **Ministers**

1 - Minister of Geology and Mining

2 - Minister of Commerce

3 - Minister of Health

4 - Minister of Hotels and Tourism

(ii) **Deputy Ministers**

1 - Deputy Minister of Defence

2 - Deputy Minister of Home Affairs

3 - Deputy Minister of Finance

Appendix 5 – **PORTFOLIOS OFFERED BY THE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT TO UNITA**

1. Portfolios at the Central Government

(i) **MINISTERS**

1 - Minister of Geology and Mining

2 - Minister of Commerce

3 - Minister of Health

4 - Minister of Hotels and Tourism

(ii) **DEPUTY MINISTERS**

1 –Deputy Minister of Defence

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2 - Deputy Minister of Home Affairs

3 - Deputy Minister of Finance

4 - Deputy Minister of Agriculture

5 - Deputy Minister of Public Works

6 - Deputy Minister of Social Reinsertion

7 - Deputy Minister of Mass Media

iii) **AMBASSADORS**

1 - Angolan Ambassador to Canada

2 - Angolan Ambassador to Mexico

3 - Angolan Ambassador to India

4 - Angolan Ambassador to Cape- Verde

5 - Angolan Ambassador to Poland

6 - Angolan Ambassador to UNESCO

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2. PORTFOLIOS AT THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION LEVEL

(i) PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

1 -Governor of Uige
2 -Governor of Lunda-Sul
3 -Governor of Kuando-Kubango

ii **DEPUTY PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS**

1 -Deputy Governor of Luanda
2 -Deputy Governor of Bengo
3 -Deputy Governor of South-Kwanza
4 -Deputy Governor of Benguela
5 -Deputy Governor of Huambo
6 -Deputy Governor of Bie
7 - Deputy Governor of Huila

3. **PORTFOLIOS AT THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION LEVEL**

(i) **Municipal Mayors**

1 – Mayor of Caimbambo
2 -Mayor of Camacupa
3 - Mayor of Gonguembo
4 - Mayor of Cassongue
5 - Mayor of Cueca
6 - Mayor of Huambo
7 - Mayor of Ecunha
8 - Mayor of Gambos
9 - Mayor of Lubalo
10-Mayor of Luquembo
11-Mayor of Leua
12-Mayor of Camucuio
13-Mayor of Mucaba
14-Mayor of Quitexe
15-Mayor of Catabola
16-Mayor of Chitembo
17-Mayor of Cuimba
18 - Mayor of Luchazes
19 - Mayor of Londuimbale
20 - Mayor of Bembe
21 - Mayor of Ganda
22 - Mayor of Quiculungo
23 - Mayor of Quilenda
24 - Mayor of Calai
25 - Mayor of Ingombotas
26 - Mayor of Cuito Cuanavale
27 - Mayor of Banga
28 - Mayor of Caluquembe
29 - Mayor of Puri
30 - Mayor of Quela

(ii) Deputy Mayors
1 - Deputy Mayor of Dande

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2 - Deputy Mayor of Baia Farta
3 - Deputy Mayor of Buco Zau
4 - Deputy Mayor of Mavinga
5 - Deputy Mayor of Samba Caju
6 - Deputy Mayor of Golungo Alto
7 - Deputy Mayor of Waco Kungo
8 - Deputy Mayor of Cahama
9 - Deputy Mayor of Bailundo
10 - Deputy Mayor of Catchiungo
11 - Deputy Mayor of Caconda
12 - Deputy Mayor of Viana
13 - Deputy Mayor of Cuchi
14 - Deputy Mayor of Cazenga
15 - Deputy Mayor of Cuilo
16 - Deputy Mayor of Cangandala
17 - Deputy Mayor of Caombo
18 - Deputy Mayor of Alto Zambeze
19 - Deputy Mayor of Namibe
20 - Deputy Mayor of Macocola
21 - Deputy Mayor of Uige
22 - Deputy Mayor of Tomboco
23 - Deputy Mayor of Balombo
24 - Deputy Mayor of Cassinga
25 - Deputy Mayor of Longonjo
26 - Deputy Mayor of Amboim
27 - Deputy Mayor of Andulo
28 - Deputy Mayor of Mussende
29 - Deputy Mayor of Lubango
30 - Deputy Mayor of Dala
31 - Deputy Mayor of Malange
32 - Deputy Mayor of Bula Atumba
33 - Deputy Mayor of Chinguar
34 - Deputy Mayor of Cuvelai
35 - Deputy Mayor of Lobito

(iii) **DISTRICT MAYORS**

1 - District Mayor of Terra Nova
2 - District Mayor of Cassequel
3 - District Mayor of Demba Chio
4 - District Mayor of Tabi
5 - District Mayor of Cuilo Futa
6 - District Mayor of Songo
7 - District Mayor of Caxinga
8 - District Mayor of Ngola Luige
9 - District Mayor of Luemba
10 - District Mayor of Quihuhu
11 - District Mayor of Lufico
12 - District Mayor of Quiquiemba
13 - District Mayor of Sanga
14 - District Mayor of Pambangala

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15 - District Mayor of Quissengue
16 - District Mayor of Quienha
17 - District Mayor of Botera
18 - District Mayor of Chila
19 - District Mayor of Chingongo
20 - District Mayor of Chicuma
21 - District Mayor of Calima
22 - District Mayor of Cacoma
23 - District Mayor of Cambandua
24 - District Mayor of Caiuera
25 - District Mayor of Caieie
26 - District Mayor of Soma Cuanza
27 - District Mayor of Cassamba
28 - District Mayor of Muangai
29 - District Mayor of Luma Cassai
30 - District Mayor of Luangue
31 - District Mayor of Capaia
32 - District Mayor of Calepi
33 - District Mayor of Cutenda
34 - District Mayor of Galangue
35 - District Mayor of Cafima
36 - District Mayor of Mucope
37 - District Mayor of Lupiri
38 - District Mayor of Savate
39 - District Mayor of Maue
40 - District Mayor of Cucio
41 - District Mayor of Umpulo
42 - District Mayor of Monte Belo
43 - District Mayor of Cuima
44 - District Mayor of Chiaca
45 - District Mayor of Chivaulo
46 - District Mayor of Tempue
47 – District Mayor of Quimboa
48 - District Mayor of Cambamba
49 - District Mayor of Cuilo
50 - District Mayor of Mucusso
51 - District Mayor of Bolonguera
52 - District Mayor of Iava Catabola
53 - District Mayor of Dinge
54 - District Mayor of Cutuile
55 - District Mayor of Munhango
56 - District Mayor of Massangano
57 - District Mayor of Kunjo
58 - District Mayor of Dala Cachibo
59 - District Mayor of Vicungo
60 - District Mayor of Songue
61 - District Mayor of Cateco Cangola
62 - District Mayor of Bimbe
63 - District Mayor of Canata
64 - District Mayor of Bangalas

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65 - District Mayor of Quissanje
66 - District Mayor of Calussinga
67 - District Mayor of Cainde
68 - District Mayor of Bolongongo
69 - District Mayor of Luinga
70 - District Mayor of Quindeje
71 - District Mayor of Quingombe
72 - District Mayor of Ninda
73 - District Mayor of Gamba
74 - District Mayor of Cassanje
75 - District Mayor of Cucumbi

Source:*http://embaixadadeangola.org/acordos.htm*

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APPENDIX 7 - **QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION) HANDED-OVER IN ANGOLA:**

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MA THESIS THEME: "**THE NATIONAL LIST OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (PR) ELECTORAL SYSTEM APPLIED IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND ITS POLITICAL IMPACT UPON EMERGING DEMOCRACIES'**

One of the characteristic features of the Proportional System is that each party must present a list of candidates to the electorate. In other words, each party prepares and manages the party list with the names of its candidates to the National Assembly. The voters cast their votes to their party. And the parties are allocated their seats in the National Assembly in proportion to the general votes obtained across the national territory.

The winning candidates are considered to be those who have been placed in numerical or alphabetical order from their respective lists. Hence, the candidates who are likely to be elected are those whose position order is as nearer as to the top of their party lists.

The proportional system is also known by its inclusiveness nature namely on the representation of minority parties. And for countries such as Angola and Mozambique, **PR** tends to create sustainable steps towards a true process of pacification and democratisation.

a. How can be characterised in general the first electoral process held in Angola in 1992, under the national list of Proportional Representation electoral system after 17 years of armed conflict?

b. What difficulties were encountered or faced for the 1991 Bicesse Accords to be effectively and efficiently applied, namely with regard to the assembly, demobilisation, disarmament of troops and their social reinsertion?

c. How did people face the role of the Electoral National Commission, in terms of organisation of the first ever general elections in Angola, with regard to the voting registration, programme of the civic education of the citizens for voting, electoral campaign and the counting of the electoral results?

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d. What was the meaning of the first multiparty elections held in Angola in 1992?

e. In your understanding, did the voting process reflect the free choice of the voter? To what extent did the process of voting contribute to the mechanism of conflict management in Angola?

f. Furthermore, in your understanding, did the voter make an intentional choice, that is, independent choice, or the voter cast his or her vote under pressure being influenced by his or her ignorance, illiteracy or fear?

g. Could it be said that the voting process in Angola was influenced by ethnic factors?

h. What legal instruments and institutions were in place prior and during the electoral campaign that may have facilitated the emergency of the other minority political parties for their participation into the national electoral process?

i. In a comparative study of the elections outcomes in Angola and Mozambique, some academic theorists specialised on the elections such as Lijphart and Reynolds indicated that those two Lusophone countries had two different outcomes. Angola faced a post-electoral crisis and Mozambique had a peaceful transition, in spite of the fact that those two countries had chosen the same **PR** electoral system choice.In this context, what comparisons can be drawn from the experiences of Angola and Mozambique, within the ambit of their respective electoral processes, vis-à-vis, democracy and the construction of the democratic and law-abiding state?

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Appendix 8 - **QUESTIONNAIRE (PORTUGUESE VERSION) HANDED-OVER IN ANGOLA:**

QUESTIONÁRIO SOBRE O TEMA DE DEFESA DA TESE PARA O MESTRADO DISTRIBUIDO EM ANGOLA: " **O SISTEMA ELEITORAL-LISTA NACIONAL DE REPRESENTAÇÃO PROPORCIONAL- APLICADO EM ANGOLA E MOÇAMBIQUE E O SEU IMPACTO POLÍTICO NAS DEMOCRACIAS EMERGENTES**"

Um dos traços característicos do sistema proporcional é de que cada Partido deve apresentar uma lista de candidatos ao eleitorado, por outras palavras, cada Partido prepara e gere a lista partidária com os nomes dos seus candidatos a Assembleia Nacional. Os eleitores votam para o seu Partido, e aos Partidos é-lhes atribuido os lugares a Assembleia Nacional em proporção à sua média geral de votos em todo o território nacional. Os candidatos vencedores são retirados das listas com base na ordem numérica ou alfabética das listas dos seus respectivos Partidos. Assim, os candidatos que tendem a ser eleitos são aqueles que, tanto quanto possível, encabeçam as listas dos seus Partidos. O sistema proporcional também é conhecido pela sua natureza de inclusividade, nomeadamente, na representação de Partidos minoritários, e para os países saídos de conflitos armados, como Angola e Moçambique, tende a criar passos seguros para um verdadeiro processo de pacificação e democratização.

1. Como pode ser caracterizado na sua generalidade o primeiro processo eleitoral realizado em Angola, em 1992, sob a lista fechada de Representação Proporcional, após 17 anos de conflito armado?

2. Que dificuldades foram encontradas ou vividas para que os Acordos de Paz de Bicesse Paz de 1991 fossem efectiva e eficazmente aplicados, nomeadamente, no que diz respeito ao acantonamento, desmobilização, desarmamento e inserção social?

3. Como foi encarado o papel da Comissão Nacional das Eleições, na organização das primeiras eleições gerais no país, nomeadamente , no recenseamento eleitoral, programa de educação cívica dos cidadãos para o acto eleitoral, campanha eleitoral e o apuramento dos resultados eleitorais?

4. Que significado tiveram as primeiras eleições multipartidárias que se realizaram em Angola, em 1992?

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5. No seu entender, o processo de votação reflectiu a escolha livre do eleitor/eleitora? Até que ponto o processo de votação terá contribuido para o mecanismo de gestão de conflitos em Angola?

6. Ainda no seu entender, terá o eleitor/eleitora feito uma escolha intencional, de forma independente, ou terá votado sob pressão, tendo sido influenciado/a pela sua ignorância, analfabetismo ou medo?

7. Poderá dizer-se que o processo de votação em Angola terá sido influenciado por factores étnicos?

8. Quais foram os instrumentos jurídicos e instituiçoes vigentes antes e durante a campanha eleitoral que terão facilitado a emergência de outros partidos políticos minoritários na participação do pleito nacional eleitoral?

9. No estudo comparado dos resultados das eleições em Angola e Moçambique, alguns teóricos académicos especializados na matéria de eleições, como Lijphart e Reynolds, afirmam que aqueles dois países de expressão de língua oficial Portuguesa tiveram desfechos diferentes. O primeiro enfrentou uma crise pós-eleitoral e o segundo, uma transição pacífica, apesar de ambos terem escolhido o mesmo sistema eleitoral. Neste sentido, que comparações podem ser feitas entre as experiências de Angola e Moçambique, no âmbito dos seus respectivos processos eleitorais, vis-à-vis, a democracia e a construção do Estado democrático e de direito?

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Appendix 9 - **QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION) HANDED-OVER IN MOZAMBIQUE:**

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MA THESIS THEME: "**THE NATIONAL LIST OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (PR) ELECTORAL SYSTEM APPLIED IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND ITS POLITICAL IMPACT UPON EMERGING DEMOCRACIES'**

One of the characteristic features of the Proportional System is that each party must present a list of candidates to the electorate. In other words, each party prepares and manages the party list with the names of its candidates to the National Assembly. The voters cast their votes to their party. And the parties are allocated their seats in the National Assembly in proportion to the general votes obtained across the national territory.

The winning candidates are considered to be those who have been placed in numerical or alphabetical order from their respective lists. Hence, the candidates who are likely to be elected are those whose position order is as nearer as to the top of their party lists.

The proportional system is also known by its inclusiveness nature namely on the representation of minority parties. And for countries such as Angola and Mozambique, **PR** tends to create sustainable steps towards a true process of pacification and democratisation.

a. How can be characterised in general the first electoral process held in Mozambique in 1994, under the national list of Proportional Representation after 17 years of armed conflict?

b. What difficulties were encountered or faced for the 1992 Roma Peace Accords to be effectively and efficiently applied, namely with regard to the assembly, demobilisation, disarmament of troops and their social reinsertion?

c. How did people face the role of the Electoral National Commission, in terms of organisation of the first ever general elections in Mozambique, with regard to the voting registration, programme of the civic education of the citizens for voting, electoral campaign and the counting of the electoral results?

d. What was the meaning of the first multiparty elections held in Mozambique in 1994?

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e. In your understanding, did the voting process reflect the free choice of the voter? To what extent did the process of voting contribute to the mechanism of conflict management in Mozambique?

f. Furthermore, in your understanding, did the voter make an intentional choice, that is, independent choice, or the voter cast his or her vote under pressure being influenced by his or her ignorance, illiteracy or fear?

g. Could it be said that the voting process in Mozambique was influenced by ethnic factors?

h. What legal instruments and institutions were in place prior and during the electoral campaign that may have facilitated the emergency of the other minority political parties for their participation into the national electoral process?

i. In a comparative study of the elections outcomes in Angola and Mozambique, some academic theorists specialised on the elections such as Lijphart and Reynolds indicated that those two Lusophone countries had two different outcomes. Angola faced a post-electoral crisis and Mozambique had a peaceful transition, in spite of the fact that those two countries had chosen the same **PR** electoral system choice.
In this context, what comparisons can be drawn from the experiences of Angola and Mozambique, within the ambit of their respective electoral processes, vis-à-vis, democracy and the building of the democratic and law-abiding state?

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Appendix 10 - **QUESTIONNAIRE (PORTUGUESE VERSION) HANDED-OVER IN MOZAMBIQUE:**

QUESTIONÁRIO SOBRE O TEMA DE DEFESA DA TESE PARA O MESTRADO DISTRIBUÍDO EM MOÇAMBIQUE : " **O SISTEMA ELEITORAL-LISTA NACIONAL DE REPRESENTAÇÃO PROPORCIONAL- APLICADO EM ANGOLA E MOÇAMBIQUE E O SEU IMPACTO POLÍTICO NAS DEMOCRACIAS EMERGENTES**"

Um dos traços característicos do sistema proporcional é de que cada Partido deve apresentar uma lista de candidatos ao eleitorado, por outras palavras, cada Partido prepara e gere a lista partidária com os nomes dos seus candidatos a Assembleia Nacional. Os eleitores votam para o seu Partido, e aos Partidos é-lhes atribuido os lugares a Assembleia Nacional em proporção a sua média geral de votos em todo o território nacional. Os candidatos vencedores são retirados das listas com base na ordem numérica ou alfabética das listas dos seus respectivos Partidos. Assim, os candidatos que tendem a ser eleitos são aqueles que, tanto quanto possível, encabeçam as listas dos seus Partidos. O sistema proporcional também é conhecido pela sua natureza de inclusividade, nomeadamente, na representação de Partidos minoritários, e para os países saídos de conflitos armados, como Angola e Moçambique, tende a criar passos seguros para um verdadeiro processo de pacificação e democratização.

1. Como pode ser caracterizado na sua generalidade o primeiro processo eleitoral realizado em Moçambique, em 1994, sob a Lista fechada de Representação Proporcional, apos 17 anos de conflito armado?

2. Que dificuldades foram encontradas ou vividas para que os Acordos de Paz de Roma de 1992 fossem efectiva e eficazmente aplicados, nomeadamente, no que diz respeito ao acantonamento, desmobilização, desarmamento e inserção social?

3. Como foi encarado o papel da Comissão Nacional das Eleições, na organização das primeiras eleições gerais no país, nomeadamente , no recenseamento eleitoral, programa de educação cívica dos cidadãos para o acto eleitoral, campanha eleitoral e o apuramento dos resultados eleitorais?

4. Que significado tiveram as primeiras eleiçoes multipartidárias que se realizaram em Moçambique, em 1994?

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5. No seu entender, o processo de votação reflectiu a escolha livre do eleitor/eleitora? Até que ponto o processo de votação terá contribuido para o mecanismo de gestão de conflitos em Moçambique?

6. Ainda no seu entender, terá o eleitor/eleitora feito uma escolha intencional de forma independente ou terá votado sob pressão, tendo sido influenciado/a pela sua ignorância, analfabetismo ou medo?

7. Poderá dizer-se que o processo de votação em Mocambique terá sido influenciado por factores étnicos?

8. Quais foram os instrumentos jurídicos e instituições vigentes antes e durante a campanha eleitoral que terão facilitado a emergência de outros partidos politicos minoritários na participação do pleito nacional eleitoral?

9. No estudo comparado dos resultados das eleições em Angola e Moçambique, alguns teóricos académicos especializados na matéria de eleições, como Lijphart e Reynolds, afirmam que aqueles dois países de expressao de língua oficial Portuguesa tiveram desfechos diferentes. O primeiro enfrentou uma crise pós-eleitoral e o segundo, uma transição pacífica, apesar de ambos terem escolhido o mesmo sistema eleitoral. Neste sentido, que comparações podem ser feitas entre as experiências de Angola e Moçambique, no âmbito dos seus respectivos processos eleitorais, vis-à-vis, a democracia e a construçao do Estado democrático e de direito?

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