

**Business and Politics in the Muslim World
Global Election Reports
Weekly Report
December 23, 2009 to December 30, 2009**

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Presentation on December 30, 2009**

Week # 99

This report is about the presidential and national assembly elections in Honduras and Namibia held on November 26, 2009.

1. Elections in Namibia

Contents-----Page#

1. Introduction-----4

- **History**
- **Geography**

2. Politics-----7

3. Elections in Namibia-----8

4. Elections 2009-----15

- **Background**
- **Parties**

5. Polling-day----- 17

- Procedure
- Observers

6. Results-----18

- Presidential elections
- National Assembly elections

7. Post-poll Phase-----20

- Delay controversy
- Accuracy controversy
- Preliminary statement by the NID on the 2009 national and presidential elections
- Post-election Analysis

8. Sources-----29

Republic of Namibia

Capital (and largest city)	Windhoek 22°34.2'S 17°5.167'E / 22.57°S 17.086117°E / - 22.57; 17.086117
Official languages	English
Recognized regional languages	Afrikaans, German, Oshiwambo
Government	Republic
- President	Hifikepunye Pohamba
- Prime minister	Nahas Angula
Independence	from South Africa
- Date	21 March 1990
Area	
- Total	825,418 km ² 318,696 sq mi
- Water (%)	Negligible
Population	
- 2009 estimate	2,171,000
- 2008 census	2,088,669
- Density	2.6/km ² 6.8/sq mi
GDP (PPP)	2008 estimate
- Total	\$13.653 billion
- Per capita	\$6,611
GDP (nominal)	2008 estimate
- Total	\$8.835 billion
- Per capita	\$4,278

1. Introduction

Namibia, officially the Republic of Namibia, is a country in Southern Africa whose western border is the Atlantic Ocean. It shares land borders with Angola and Zambia to the north, Botswana and Zimbabwe to the east, and South Africa to the south and east. It gained independence from South Africa on 21 March 1990 following the Namibian War of Independence. Its capital and largest city is Windhoek .

Namibia is a member state of the United Nations (UN), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), the Commonwealth of Nations and many other international organizations. It has been given many names: the land of contrasts, the land God made in anger, the ageless land. For many years it was known only as South West Africa, but it adopted the name Namibia, after the Namib Desert. It is the second least densely populated country in the world, after Mongolia.

The dry lands of Namibia were inhabited since early times by Bushmen, Damara, Namaqua, and since about the 14th century AD, by immigrating Bantu who came with the Bantu expansion. It was visited by the British and Dutch missionaries during the late 18th century. It was also visited by Dorsland trekkers (A.K.A.-Junker Boers) in 1879, but became a German Imperial protectorate in 1884. In 1920, the League of Nations mandated the country to South Africa, which imposed their laws and apartheid policy.

In 1966, uprisings and demands by African leaders led the United Nations to assume direct responsibility over the territory, changing the name to Namibia in 1968 and recognizing South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as official representative of the Namibian people in 1973. Namibia, however, remained under South African administration during this time. Following internal violence, South Africa installed an interim administration in Namibia in 1985. Namibia obtained full independence from South Africa in 1990 (with the exception of Walvis Bay - a city that remained under South African control until 1994)

Namibia has a population of 2.1 million people and a stable multiparty parliamentary democracy. Agriculture, herding, tourism and mining of precious stones and metals form the backbone of Namibia's economy. Approximately half the population live below the international poverty line of U.S. \$1.25 a day, and the nation has suffered heavily from the effects of HIV/AIDS, with 15% of the adult population infected with HIV in 2007.

History

The dry lands of Namibia were inhabited since early times by Bushmen, Damara, Namaqua, and since about the 14th century AD, by immigrating Bantu who came with the Bantu expansion. The first Europeans to disembark and explore the region were the Portuguese navigators Diogo Cão in 1485 and Bartolomeu Dias in 1486, still the region was not claimed by the Portuguese crown. However, like most of Sub-Saharan Africa, Namibia was not extensively explored by Europeans until the 19th century, when traders and settlers arrived, principally from Germany and Sweden.

Namibia became a German colony in 1884 to forestall British encroachment and was known as German South-West Africa – apart from Walvis Bay, which was under British control. From 1904 to 1907, the Herero and the Namaqua took up arms against the Germans and in the subsequent Herero and Namaqua genocide, 10,000 Nama (half the population) and 25,000 to 100,000 Herero (three quarters of the population) were killed. South Africa occupied the colony during World War I and administered it as a League of Nations mandate territory.

Following the League's suppression by the United Nations in 1946, South Africa refused to surrender its earlier mandate to be replaced by a United Nations Trusteeship agreement, requiring closer international monitoring of the territory's administration. Although the South African government wanted to incorporate 'South-West Africa' into its territory, it never officially did so, although it was administered as the de facto 'fifth province', with the white minority having representation in the whites-only Parliament of South Africa.

In 1966, the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) military wing, People's Liberation Army of Namibia, a guerrilla group launched a war of independence, but it was not until 1988 that South Africa agreed to end its administration of Namibia, in accordance with a United Nations peace plan for the entire region. Transition for independence started in 1989 but it was only on 21 March 1990 in which the country officially claimed full independence. Walvis Bay was ceded to Namibia in 1994 upon the end of Apartheid in South Africa.

Geography

A map of Namibia, based on radar images from The Map Library

At 825,418 km² (318,696 sq mi), Namibia is the world's thirty-fourth largest country (after Venezuela). After Mongolia, Namibia is the least densely populated country in the world (2.5 inhabitants per square kilometre (6.5 /sq mi)).

The Namibian landscape consists generally of five geographical areas, each with characteristic abiotic conditions and vegetation with some variation within and overlap between them: the Central Plateau, the Namib Desert, the Great Escarpment, the Bushveld, and the Kalahari Desert. Although the climate is generally extremely dry, there are a few exceptions. The cold, north-flowing Benguela current of the Atlantic Ocean accounts for some of the low precipitation.

Towns

The capital and largest city, Windhoek, is in the centre of the country. It is home to the country's Central Administrative Region, Windhoek Hosea Kutako International Airport and the country's railhead. Other important towns are:

Walvis Bay, sea port, international airport, railhead

Oshakati, main business centre in the North, railhead

Otjiwarongo, main business centre in Central-North, rail junction

Lüderitz, sea port, railhead

Gobabis, farming centre

Keetmanshoop, railhead

Tsumeb, mining

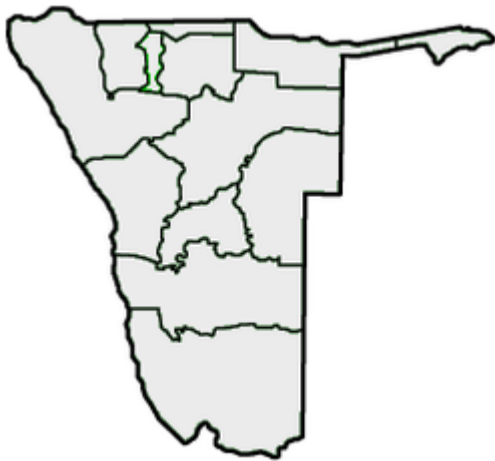
Swakopmund, Tourism (Ex German Colonial town)

Rundu,

Katima Mulilo

2. Politics

The politics of Namibia takes place in a framework of a presidential representative democratic republic, whereby the president of Namibia is elected to a five-year term and is both the head of state and the head of government, and of a multi-party system. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the bicameral Parliament, the National Assembly and the National Council. The judiciary is independent of the executive and the legislature. The management of the rule of law and the observance of basic human rights in Namibia are constantly scrutinized. The bi-annual "Namibia Law Journal" provides a forum for legal practitioners and academics to comment on and discuss issues of legal importance as an indispensable tool for the development of law and the maintenance of the rule of law in Namibia.



Karas
Caprivi
Otjozondjupa
Omusati
Oshana
Oshikoto
Ohangwena
Hardap
Kunene
Erongo

Omaheke

Khomas

Okavango

In 2008, Namibia ranked 6th on the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, out of 48 sub-Saharan African countries. The Ibrahim Index is a comprehensive measure of African governance, based on a number of different variables which reflect the success with which governments deliver essential political goods to its citizens. Currently Namibia prepares for the Presidential and the National Assembly elections to be held on 27 and 28 November 2009. The Electoral Commission of Namibia has published a "Handbook for Election Observers in Namibia" to enable observers (and party agents) to professionally observe the Presidential and National Assembly Elections 2009, the Regional Councils and Local Authorities Elections 2010 and subsequent By-Elections.

Regions and constituencies

Namibia is divided into 13 regions and subdivided into 107 constituencies.

3. Elections in Namibia

Description of government structure:

- Chief of State: President Hifikepunye POHAMBA
- Head of Government: Prime Minister Nahas ANGULA
- Assembly: Namibia has a bicameral Legislature consisting of the National Council with 26 seats and the National Assembly with 72 seats.

Description of electoral system:

- The President is elected by plurality vote to serve a 4-year term.
- In the National Council 26 members are elected by indirect vote to serve 6-year terms*. In the National Assembly, 72 members are elected through a closed-list proportional representation system to serve 5-year terms and 6 members are appointed Head of government.**

* Two members are chosen from each of the 13 regional councils by members of those councils.** There are 13 multi-member constituencies corresponding to Namibia's regions. The President may appoint up to 6 additional, non-voting members.

Population:

- Population: 2,108,665 (July 2009)

Past elections

- Presidential - November 27, 2009
- Parliamentary - November 27, 2009
- Presidential - November 15, 2004
- Parliamentary - November 15, 2004
- Parliamentary - December 1, 1999
- Presidential - November 30, 1999

Namibia elects on national level a head of state - the president - and a legislature. The president is elected for a five year term by the people. Parliament has two chambers. The National Assembly has 78 members, elected for a five year term, 72 members elected by proportional representation and 6 members appointed by the president. The National Council has 26 members, elected for a six year term in double-seat constituencies (regions). Namibia is a democratic but one party dominant state with the South-West Africa People's Organization in power. Opposition parties are allowed, but are widely considered to have no real chance of gaining power.

- **1989 Constituent Assembly**
- **Party - Votes - Seats (72)**
 - South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) - 57,33% - 41
 - Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) - 28,55% - 21

- United Democratic Front (UDF) - 5,65% - 4
- African Christian National (NPF) - 3,53% - 3
- Federation Convention of Namibia (FCN) - 1,56% - 1
- Namibia National Front (NNF) - 0,80% - 1
- **Previous National Assembly Results**
 - **1994 - 1999 - 2004**
 - Party Votes Seats (72) - Votes Seats (72) - Votes Seats (72)
 - South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) - 73,89% - 53 76,15%
- 55 - 75,83% - 55
 - Democratic Tunhalle Alliance (DTA) - 20,78% - 15 - 9,48% - 7 - 5,14% -
4
 - Congress of Democrats (COD) - n/a - n/a - 9,94% - 7 - 7,27% - 5
 - United Democratic Front (UDF) - 2,72% - 2 - 2,93% - 2 - 3.60% - 3
 - Democratic Coalition of Namibia (DCN) - 0,83% - 1 - n/a - n/a - n/a - n/a
 - Monitor Action Group (MAG) - 0,82% - 1 - 0,67% - 1 - 0,85% - 1 National
Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) - n/a - n/a - n/a - n/a - 4,15% - 3
 - Republican Party (RP) - n/a - n/a - n/a - n/a - 1,96% - 1
- **Presidential Election Results**
 - **1994 - No of votes - % of votes**
 - Sam Nujoma (Swapo) - 370 452 - 76,34%
 - Mishake Muyonga (DTA) - 114 843 - 23,66%
 - **1999**
 - Sam Nujoma (Swapo) - 414 096 - 76,82%
 - Ben Ulenga (COD) - 56 541 - 10,49%
 - Katuure Kaura (DTA) - 52 752 - 9,79%
 - Justus Garoeb (UDF) - 15 635 - 2,90%
 - **2004**
 - Hifikepunye Pohamba (Swapo) - 625 605 - 76,44%
 - Ben Ulenga (COD) - 59 547 - 7,28%
 - Katuure Kaura (DTA) - 41 905 - 5,12%
 - Kuaima Riruako (NUDO) - 34 616 - 4,23%

- Justus Garoeb (UDF) - 31 354 - 3,83%
- Henk Mudge (RP) - 15 955 - 1,95%
- Kosie Pretorius (MAG) - 9 378 - 1,15%

Constituent Assembly

Namibia, once a German colony and then occupied by neighbouring South Africa for a large part of the twentieth century, officially achieved independence on the March 21, 1990. In 1989, after a long and bitter liberation struggle, Namibia voted in, as stipulated under United Nations Resolution 435, a Constituent Assembly tasked with drawing up a new constitution for the country. Despite fears that the process would bring violence and instability after regional struggles, the elections ran smoothly and peacefully.

The main liberation movement, known as the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo), won the election with 57,33% of the vote and 41 seats in the Assembly. This figure was lower than initially expected from the forecasted Swapo landslide victory. The party was still, however, able to achieve an outright majority of the vote. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), an alliance consisting of small ethnic-based political parties led by the white community, came in second place with 28,55% of the vote and 21 seats. The United Democratic Front won 5,65% of the vote and 4 seats.

Swapo, with the majority of seats in the Constituent Assembly, drafted a new constitution based on democratic principles that made provision for multiparty elections the following year in 1990. The draft constitution also created an executive president restricted to serve a maximum of two terms of five years.

National Assembly

On the March 21, 1990, Namibia became independent as the Constituent Assembly became the National Assembly, with Sam Nujoma as the country's first President. Nujoma embarked on a policy of national reconciliation between all groups in Namibian society. Economically, he promoted the free market and encouraged growth in the private sector and advanced foreign investment. The country's first post-independence presidential and parliamentary election took place in 1994 and saw Swapo increase its

majority in the National Assembly to 53 seats with 73,89% of the vote at the expense of the DTA, which only secured 15 seats. Nujoma retained his position as the country's President. Nujoma used his second term as President to secure himself another ruling term, despite only being constitutionally allowed to run for two. Nujoma argued that he had initially been chosen by the Constituent Assembly, and had only once been elected by popular vote. On these grounds, Nujoma was able to secure a third term as a special case and the constitution remained unchanged.

By the 2004 election, Nujoma handed over Swapo's presidential candidacy to his ally, Hifikepunye Pohamba, who managed to maintain the party's dominance over the National Assembly, gaining 75,83% of the vote and 55 seats. Since coming into power, Pohamba's policies have remained consistent, relative to those of his predecessor. Pohamba has also stressed the importance of regional trade and has been an advocate of regional integration and cooperation through organisations such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development, as well as the Southern African Customs Union. This is a result of Namibia's reliance on its neighbours for trade, specifically South Africa, with over 80% of Namibia's imports originating in the country. Further, many of Namibia's exports are destined for the South Africa market or pass through in transit. To illustrate the scope of Namibia's reliance on South Africa, the country is part of the Common Monetary Area together with Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa. This means that the South African rand is legal tender in Namibia, but not vice versa. Consequently, the Namibian currency is heavily tied to the rand and therefore provides little room for an independent monetary policy. One of Pohamba's major challenges has been for the country to become more self-reliant to stimulate local industry, as well as to diversify its trading patterns so as to not be overdependent on South African goods and services.

Electoral System

Namibia is a multiparty democracy with a three-tier governing structure. An executive president rules for a period of five years, being allowed to serve a maximum of two terms. The Namibian constitution has established a bicameral Parliament and provides for general elections every five years. The first tier of the Parliament is that of the National Assembly that consists of 72 seats where members are elected on a party list system with

proportional representation. The second tier is that of the National Council consisting of 26 seats with members elected from within popularly elected Regional Councils elected on a six-year basis. The governing structure in Namibia is subject to checks and balances by the country's judicial structure consisting of the Supreme Court, the High Court and the lower courts.

Swapo and Opposition Politics

Recent times have seen exciting development in Namibian politics with the emergence of a breakaway party, known as the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP), the political stage in Namibia has taken on a competitive edge. Emerging from Swapo itself, the RDP is a breakaway faction formed in 2007 under former Swapo members Hidipo Hamutenya (commonly known as "HH") and Jesaya Nyamu. The newly formed party is predicted by analysts to replace the Congress of Democrats (COD) as the official opposition. Swapo, meanwhile, has been accused of numerous corruption scandals in recent times. A factor that is predicted to have an impact on the new generation of voters known as the "born-frees", born after the liberation struggle. With Transparency International labelling Namibia among the world's most corrupt countries, younger voters are reportedly estranged from the ruling party. This is compounded by the staggering unemployment rate of the youth, estimated at 60%. This is a factor that the RDP has picked up on and has subsequently focused its door-to-door campaign on younger urbanised voters.

Presidential elections 2004

Summary of the 15 and 16 November 2004 Namibian presidential election results		
Candidates – Parties	Votes	%
Hifikepunye Lucas Pohamba - South West African People's Organization	625,605	76.44
Ben Ulenga - Congress of Democrats	59,547	7.28
Katuutire Kaura - Democratic Turnhalle Alliance	41,905	5.12

Kuaima Riruako - National Unity Democratic Organization	34,616	4.23
Justus Garoëb - United Democratic Front	31,354	3.83
Henk Mudge - Republican Party	15,955	1.95
Kosie Pretorius - Monitor Action Group	9,378	1.12
Total (turnout 84.4 %)	818,360	100.0
Source: African Elections Database		

Parliamentary elections 2004

Summary of the 15 and 16 November 2004 National Assembly of Namibia election results

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
South West Africa People's Organization		75.1	55
Congress of Democrats		7.2	5
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance		5.0	4
National Unity Democratic Organization		4.1	3
United Democratic Front		3.5	3
Republican Party		1.9	1
Monitor Action Group		0.8	1
Appointed members			6
Total (turnout 84.4 %)		100.0	78
Source: Electoral Commission of Namibia			

4. Elections 2009

Background

Namibia became an independent country in 1990, after years of a power struggle between South Africa, the United Nations (UN) and the black Marxist separatist movement South West African People's Organization (SWAPO).

SWAPO's Samuel Nujoma was elected president. He would go on to get re-elected in 1994 and 1999, after introducing constitutional amendments to allow him to run for office. To this day, Namibia has remained an autocracy, ruled only by two presidents.

In the 1999 National Assembly elections, the country's four registered opposition parties finished with less than 10 per cent. Ben Ulenga of the Congress of Democrats (CoD) was second to Nujoma in the presidential ballot with 10.5 per cent of the vote.

In 2004, Nujoma declined to introduce a new constitutional change to run for a new term, and hand-picked Hifikepunye Pohamba as his successor to preside over SWAPO and run for that year's election.

Final official results of the 2004 ballot showed that Pohamba was elected president with more than 76.4 per cent of all cast ballots, and SWAPO retained its seat majority in the National Assembly, with 55 lawmakers.

Representatives from four political parties requested a recount, saying that the cited high turnout of 84.4 per cent was not credible and pointing to other irregularities. The Namibian High Court accepted the request and ordered a recount, but in the end the final tally remained unchanged.

Despite SWAPO being a black-power movement, Namibia is seen in Africa as a model of interracial cooperation, as the descendants of European settlers remain in the country and are deeply involved in economic activity.

Namibia's population of about 2.1 million is severely affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. As of 2007, the prevalence rate of the diseases stood at 15 per cent.

2009 President, National Assembly Election

Parties

SWAPO

The ruling SWAPO party set a goal of winning all 72 seats in the National Assembly and controlling the NA "until the second coming of Jesus Christ". At the SWAPO party congress in November 2007, current President Hifikepunye Pohamba was elected President of SWAPO and also received the party's nomination for President in 2009. SWAPO ended up winning 54 seats, a one-seat loss from the third National Assembly.

RDP

This was the first general election for the Rally for Democracy and Progress. The party's nominee for President was Hidipo Hamutenya, a former government minister of SWAPO. The RDP was considered the main opposition to the ruling SWAPO. It gained eight seats in the National Assembly and became the Official Opposition.

NUDO

On 16 October 2009, the National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) was the first political party to officially submit their candidate, Kuaima Riruako, for President.

An official statement in SWAPO's website states: "The SWAPO PARTY and its Presidential Candidates will always maintain a hundred percent election victory and respectfully go to state house now and till the judgment day." It also says that the party expects to win all 72 seats in the National Assembly and govern the country "until the second coming of Jesus Christ, amen."

On Oct. 16, the opposition National Unity Democratic Organisation (NUDO) presented Kuaima Riruako as its presidential candidate. The party's administrative secretary, Theo Uahongora, declared: "This is an indication that Nudo is ready and is not going for any coalition as was being reported."

Riruako was a presidential candidate in the 2004 election, receiving just 4.23 per cent of the vote.

On Sept. 30, Jesaya Nyamu, secretary-general of the Rally of Democracy and Progress (RDP) party, declared: "There are those in our society who want to play the tribe and race cards to the detriment of our fledging nation. What we need is to reclaim the dream of

1990, where we seek to close the chasms of racism, colonialism and tribalism. We need a new government to do this— because after four elections and 20 years of trying good policies, are in place—implementation has been bad."

Political Players

President: Hifikepunye Pohamba - SWAPO

Prime minister: Nahas Angula - SWAPO

The president is elected for a five-year term by popular vote.

Legislative Branch: The Parliament has two chambers. The National Assembly has 78 members, elected to five-year terms; 72 members are elected by proportional representation and six members are appointed by the president. The National Council has 26 members, elected to six-year terms in two-seat constituencies representing the country's regions.

5. Polling-day

Procedure

Though the country plans to buy electronic voting machines from India sometime in 2009, the Electoral Commission assured the National Assembly that they would not be used in the 2009 elections.

Voting took place on Nov. 27 and Nov. 28. No major problems were reported. The opposition parties issued a statement which pointed to discrepancies in the list of voters and indelible ink to mark fingers that could be washed off, adding, "We believe our concerns have been proved genuine and surely this may compromise the outcome of the election."

Final results gave an overwhelming mandate to SWAPO, with Pohamba receiving three out of every four votes cast in the presidential ballot, and the party securing 54 of the 72 seats in the National Assembly.

Observers

The National Society for Human Rights' observer status was withdrawn by the electoral commission, which said it was "not impartial". The organization said it would approach the High Court to contest the decision; the court later ordered the commission to reinstate the organisation

Results

Hifikepunye Pohamba was re-elected as president of Namibia with 611,241 votes, more than six times as many as Hidipo Hamutenya, his nearest rival and former foreign minister, received.

6. Results

Summary of the 27-28 November 2009 Namibian presidential election results			
Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Hifikepunye Pohamba	SWAPO	611,241	75.25
Hidipo Hamutenya	RDP	88,640	10.91
Katuutire Kaura	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance	24,186	2.98
Kuaima Riruako	NUDO	23,735	2.92
Justus Garoëb	United Democratic Front	19,258	2.37
Ignatius Shixwameni	All People's Party	9,981	1.23
Henry Mudge	Republican Party	9,425	1.16
Benjamin Ulenga	Congress of Democrats	5,812	0.72
Usutuaije Maamberua	SWANU	2,968	0.37
David Isaacs	Democratic Party of Namibia	1,859	0.23
Frans Goagoseb	Namibian Democratic Movement for Change	1,760	0.22
Attie Beukes	Communist Party of Namibia	1,005	0.12
Rejected ballots		12,363	1.52

Total (turnout)	812,233	100.00
Source: Electoral Commission of Namibia		

Summary of the 27 and 28 November 2009 National Assembly of Namibia election results

Parties	Votes	%	Seats	+/-
South West Africa People's Organization	602,580	74.29	54	-1
Rally for Democracy and Progress	90,556	11.16	8	+8
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance	25,393	3.13	2	-2
National Unity Democratic Organization	24,422	3.01	2	-1
United Democratic Front	19,489	2.40	2	-1
All People's Party	10,795	1.33	1	+1
Republican Party	6,541	0.81	1	—
Congress of Democrats	5,375	0.66	1	-4
South West Africa National Union	4,989	0.62	1	+1
Monitor Action Group	4,718	0.58	0	-1
Democratic Party of Namibia	1,942	0.24	0	—
Namibian Democratic Movement for Change	1,770	0.22	0	—
National Democratic Party	1,187	0.15	0	—
Communist Party of Namibia	810	0.10	0	—
Appointed members				
Valid votes	800,567	98.70		
Invalid votes	10,576	1.30		
Total (turnout %)	811,143	100.0	72	—

7. Post-Poll Phase

A presidential and parliamentary election was held on 27–28 November 2009 in Namibia. It was the fourth general election since independence and the fifth democratic election. Voting ended on 28 November and official election results, released on 4 December, showed that Hifikepunye Pohamba and his SWAPO Party were re-elected, each with over 75% of the vote. Prior to the election, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was widely expected to score a landslide victory, with the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP) considered SWAPO's biggest challenger. Fourteen political parties competed for seats in the National Assembly of Namibia, and twelve candidates ran for the Presidency.

Delay controversy

Final results were announced on 4 December, the longest delay between voting and the publication of results of any Namibian election (6 days). The Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) blamed the delay on a recent amendment to the Electoral Act which had caused "logistical nightmares [they had] never experienced before" and a "cumbersome" verification process. The ECN had received criticism from political parties, civil societies and the general public for the delay. Following publication of the results, 8 of the 13 opposition parties stated that they did not accept the results and were instructing their lawyers to challenge the ECN in court "for contravening the electoral law of the country". Electoral observers have pronounced the polls to be free and fair but recommended that the ECN speed up the counting process and free up access to the media for all parties.

Accuracy controversy

The accuracy of the results of this election has been questioned, not only by the defeated opposition parties but also by the Namibian Society of Human Rights (NSHR). The voters roll was the main subject of contention, having contained 1 181 835 entries at the time of first publication six weeks prior to the election but shrinking to 820 305 entries

within a matter of days. Also the voter turnout has been questioned as there were a number of constituencies that had a turnout of over 100%, on top of the list Windhoek East with 191%, Okatyali with 189%, and Ohangwena with 175%. Further "minor" concerns were people being allowed to vote on behalf of someone else, voters asked to disclose their political affiliation at polling stations, and people allowed to vote twice.

Preliminary statement by the NID on the 2009 national and presidential elections

The Namibia Institute for Democracy has observed the recent national and presidential elections through the deployment of close to 300 domestic observers countrywide. The NID's findings were informed by reports received from these observers, who were trained by the NID throughout 2009 to observe the pre-election, election and post-election phase in a non-partisan manner. The NID conducted its activities in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Namibia and the Principles for Election Management, Monitoring and Observation in the SADC Region.

The enthusiasm of Namibians to vote during the two-day polling process in an orderly and peaceful manner, the wide deployment of national and international observers who had free access to polling stations during polling and counting and the professional non-partisan manner in which the Namibian Police and security forces conducted their duties were commendable, and contributed to a peaceful, free and fair polling process.

Unfortunately, problematic issues relating to the often inept performance of some ECN officials, problems with the voters roll and the system of counting and verification of ballots, exacerbated by the large number of tendered ballots, led to the announcement of the final election results only a week after polls closed. This casts a shadow over what otherwise could have been exemplary elections and may now lead to the non-acceptance of results by the biggest opposition political parties, which is regrettable. Logistical and organisational deficiencies of the ECN in organising the elections are a matter of concern.

The NID will, however, discuss options and solutions to areas of concern as detected by its observers with the ECN and other relevant stakeholders at an opportune time. The relatively low voter turnout in some constituencies is a matter of concern, which the NID will investigate further in 2010 through the conduct of a study on voter motivation. The ruling party was able to confirm its two-thirds majority and Namibia therefore remains in the category of a "dominant party state". Given the fact that the Rally for Democracy and Progress [RDP] was for the first time competing in general elections with other parties, the election result, which has elevated the party to the strongest opposition force, places the pressure on the party to deliver on promises made to earn its status as official opposition and not fade into early insignificance.

An accurate and complete assessment of any election must take into account all aspects of the process, and no election can be viewed in isolation from the political context in which it takes place. Among the factors that will be considered to be included into the NID's final and detailed elections observation report due in January 2010 are issues such as the legal framework for the elections, the ability of citizens to seek and receive sufficient and accurate information upon which to make political choices, the ability of political competitors to organize and reach out to citizens in order to win their support, the conduct of the mass media in providing coverage of candidates and issues, the freedom that citizens and political competitors have to engage in the political and electoral process without fear of intimidation, violence or retribution for their choices, the conduct of the voter registration process, the right to stand for election, the conduct of voting, counting, transmission and announcement of results, the handling of election complaints and the installation to office of those duly elected. It should also be noted that no electoral framework is perfect, and all electoral and political processes experience challenges.

Post-election Analysis

Introduction

Elections conducted in Namibia over November 27, 2009, and November 28, 2009, were generally considered free and fair by the international community. Three African observer missions declared the election transparent and, despite a slight delay in the results, deemed the process to have run smoothly. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) reports that the election was characterised by a peaceful, tolerant, yet enthusiastic, political atmosphere.

Opposition parties, however, have condemned the election process as being manipulated to favour the ruling party, the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo). Members of the opposition have criticised the electoral process for taking too long to process the results after the election date.

Consequently, a group of eight opposition parties have put a case together to challenge the legitimacy of the results. The opposition groups argue that there were major operational discrepancies in the electoral process, specifically conducted by the Namibian Electoral Commission. They point to Swapo having a major influence on the commission and say that it has violated electoral laws set out by the constitution. Major opposition parties that have rejected the poll include the Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP), The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) and the Congress of Democrats (COD).

Presidential Election Results

The Presidential election reflects the continued dominance of Hifikepunye Pohamba on the Namibian political landscape. Pohamba was re-elected with 75,25% of the vote, which is a slight decrease from the 76,44% he achieved in the 2004 vote, but, nevertheless, a resounding victory for the Swapo candidate. The candidate from the newly formed RDP party, Hidipo Hamutenya was second with 10,91% of the vote. Katuuire Kaura, from the DTA, achieved 2,98% of the vote. Ben Ulenga from the COD, achieved 0,72%.

The country's presidential elections were characterised by Pohamba's sheer dominance of the poll, as well as Hamutenya's emergence as a major player in Namibian politics. Being

the candidate from the Swapo breakaway party, the RDP, Hamutenya made slight inroads into Pohamba's vast majority, gaining roughly 1% from the incumbent President. A majority of Hamutenya's support is derived from the previous support of the DTA candidate, Kaura, whose poll percentage dropped from 5,12% in 2004, to 2,98% in the most recent poll. The biggest loser was that of Ulenga, from the COD, whose support dropped from 7,28% in 2004, to 0,72% in the latest elections.

From this evidence, the emergence of a new political party and, subsequently, a new presidential candidate did little to detract from Pohamba and Swapo's massive support base. However, the emergence of Hamutenya has done a lot to unify opposition support, at the expense of previously prominent opposition parties such as the DTA and the COD.

National Assembly Results

Following a similar pattern to that of the presidential election results, the parliamentary vote reflects Swapo's dominance of the National Assembly with 74, 29% of the vote, translating into 54 seats out of 72. The RDP was the main gainer with 11, 16% of the vote and eight seats. The DTA lost its remaining two seats in the Assembly, effectively removing it from the National Assembly. The United Democratic Front lost a seat, as did the Monitor Action Group. Similar to the presidential election, the biggest loser was the COD, which lost four seats and is left with a single seat, thus seriously curtailing its political influence in the Assembly. Overall, Swapo has held onto its two-thirds majority in the Assembly and therefore maintained its ability to change the constitution.

Future Challenges

It is unlikely that the coalition of eight parties protesting the election results is to have any success. With the SADC and the broader international community recognizing the election result, and declaring the process free and fair, the results are unlikely to be reviewed.

With Pohamba and Swapo firmly in power, government policy is unlikely to change. The incumbent regime is likely to continue with policies that aim to steer the country out of recession. The Swapo-led government is most likely to encourage regional trade to improve export earnings. They are expected to continue their prudent macroeconomic

policies to encourage public spending. The government plans to provide social safety nets to combat rising unemployment and poverty exacerbated by the global financial crisis. According to the Swapo party manifesto, the key issues of education, job creation and combating HIV/Aids have been identified as major challenges to the country. They aim to improve public infrastructure not only to upgrade the networks and systems to deal with these issues, but also to provide employment and therefore assist in the task of poverty alleviation.

2009 Presidential Election Results

2009 Presidential Election Results											
Region	Cons-tituency	Rejected Ballots	A. Beukes	B. Ulenga	David Isaacs	F.Goa-goseb	Henry Mudge	H. Hamu-tenya	H. Pohamba	I.Shix-wameni	J. Gaoroeb
Caprivi											
	Kabbe	64	3	15	4	2	18	223	3026	4	10
	Katima Mulilo Rural	106	4	28	4	4	21	476	2857	12	18
	Katima Mulilo Urban	134	6	74	2	6	70	1433	5252	38	20
	Kongola	30	4	25	10	4	139	603	1242	24	5
	Linyati	75	5	27	8	11	71	1237	2620	10	14
	Sibinda	48	3	82	3	1	35	1382	1329	13	5
Erongo											
	Arandis	37	5	55	9	10	333	774	2565	9	641
	Daures	74	6	35	8	16	35	356	1043	5	1528
	Karibib	83	10	127	7	17	86	904	2415	43	1161
	Omaruru	38	6	36	5	5	76	630	1740	29	586
	Swak-opmund	120	12	143	31	19	395	3180	10995	57	1497
	Walvis Bay Rural	87	4	63	12	5	60	1666	9125	100	343
	Walvis Bay Urban	112	9	70	13	11	173	2236	13041	90	379
Hardap											
	Gibeon	148	28	136	205	207	198	736	1692	21	56
	Mariental Rural	273	47	276	41	41	301	823	2425	30	83
	Mariental Urban	58	10	70	50	22	209	1109	2362	39	199

	Rehoboth Rural	102	16	42	22	674	19	332	19	52	1114
	Rehoboth Urban East	84	17	64	12	52	289	1214	2703	42	141
	Rehoboth Urban West	27	18	22	9	5	51	883	574	34	18
	Karas										
	Berseba	113	35	120	160	10	62	850	1632	5	49
	Karasburg	123	35	168	300	22	189	1093	5380	228	72
	Keetmanshoop Rural	171	19	113	59	10	136	1225	1313	11	36
	Keetmanshoop Urban	72	12	44	189	13	237	1782	2906	39	32
	Luderitz	111	7	55	27	7	54	1315	5704	33	19
	Oranjemund	49	4	41	15	3	50	743	3913	80	46
	Kavango										
	Kahenge	192	32	48	5	5	40	235	8432	821	22
	Kapako	157	39	48	12	9	52	146	5455	743	26
	Mashare	124	15	27	10	3	33	124	3485	947	13
	Mpungu	135	4	25	3	1	37	125	5859	97	5
	Mukwe	202	28	72	17	14	84	343	6227	661	62
	Ndiyona	228	30	41	10	6	65	283	4743	762	26
	Rundu Rural East	130	17	23	5	5	54	122	2902	732	5
	Rundu Rural West	280	26	74	14	8	118	509	7803	1152	45
	Rundu Urban	109	7	45	2	4	46	427	3971	667	14
	Khomas										
	Katutura Central	119	15	128	39	25	69	2422	3895	24	559
	Katutura East	110	7	110	13	30	86	2354	5238	24	775
	Khomasdal North	198	21	113	25	17	134	2986	6463	64	221
	Moses //Garob	479	9	74	11	20	71	1383	15472	85	128
	Samora Machel	213	10	90	26	28	93	2203	11846	42	496
	Soweto	131	8	65	15	20	47	1664	4731	15	198
	Tobias Hainyeko	171	3	78	8	7	163	1629	12344	505	139
	Windhoek East	98	16	191	15	19	631	4921	9716	109	198
	Windhoek Rural	158	40	181	47	118	408	1817	4242	83	304

	Windhoek West	163	32	234	49	24	690	6266	10121	65	229
Kunene											
	Epupa	55	5	9	7	1	21	343	2430	6	10
	Kamanjab	117	9	67	5	9	66	241	1238	12	863
	Khorixas	159	4	42	4	7	24	249	1909	5	2617
	Opuwo	190	4	78	22	16	18	758	3053	12	50
	Outjo	195	21	76	16	25	167	652	2064	44	880
	Sesfontein	76	0	26	5	3	7	233	1098	4	1115
Ohang-wena											
	Eenhana	66	2	14	1	2	22	477	7546	6	4
	Endola	75	4	10	2	2	30	930	8635	2	4
	Engela	112	3	30	0	1	27	750	7908	4	7
	Epembe	75	1	8	0	0	23	164	6039	0	3
	Ohang-wena	342	2	28	0	2	49	1354	9824	6	2
	Okongo	116	2	6	0	1	33	643	9596	12	6
	Omulonga	118	7	15	0	0	38	406	10314	6	4
	Omundaungilo	34	0	4	0	0	16	136	5904	1	3
	Ondobe	88	3	11	1	1	34	528	9524	6	4
	Ongenga	89	4	24	0	0	25	534	8222	7	8
	Oshikango	127	5	25	3	2	34	1321	11522	8	13
Omaheke											
	Aminuis	73	5	26	19	115	106	281	1218	8	63
	Epukiro	29	2	8	5	4	15	258	1217	1	7
	Gobabis	115	25	75	26	298	284	1244	3602	117	372
	Kalahari	147	16	37	19	83	208	368	1796	25	137
	Otjinene	45	3	12	0	1	7	138	929	3	6
	Otjombinde	39	6	8	2	8	9	310	1140	4	13
	Steinhausen	138	14	49	15	104	96	552	2050	37	150
Omusati											
	Anamulenge	64	1	3	2	1	18	63	6909	2	4
	Elim	66	1	63	1	0	6	68	5269	0	1
	Etayi	147	4	14	3	2	31	336	13442	9	6
	Ogongo	126	0	13	1	0	19	64	7474	3	2
	Okahao	123	1	6	0	3	16	70	7598	3	6
	Okalongo	263	3	26	1	2	25	164	12480	8	7
	Onesi	58	3	14	2	1	9	63	5819	5	4
	Oshikuku	59	1	8	0	0	12	56	4867	1	2
	Otamanzi	43	2	9	0	0	16	36	5708	1	1

	Outapi	148	3	20	7	1	37	169	14758	8	6
	Ruacana	54	1	11	1	1	10	179	4387	7	7
	Tsandi	103	3	8	1	0	25	96	11950	7	4
Oshana											
	Okaku	138	2	37	3	1	27	492	8719	18	6
	Okatana	104	2	53	1	1	11	234	7257	4	2
	Okatjali	15	2	3	0	0	3	66	1695	2	0
	Ompundja	27	2	2	0	0	2	62	2513	3	1
	Ondangwa	297	6	60	4	7	59	1561	14047	22	30
	Ongwediva	338	2	51	0	2	38	1446	12593	7	11
	Oshakati East	131	3	45	5	1	32	809	11408	8	14
	Oshakati West	207	2	117	3	3	28	810	10816	6	2
	Uukwiyu	60	1	10	1	0	12	114	4644	3	1
	Uuvudhiya	23	0	17	1	0	14	77	2450	3	23
Osh- ikoto											
	Eengodi	48	1	6	1	0	14	128	4043	4	1
	Guinas	114	14	107	15	15	63	493	3938	48	123
	Okankolo	80	0	12	1	1	19	130	7078	3	3
	Olukonda	56	3	15	1	4	16	247	5751	8	5
	Omuntele	31	2	9	0	2	14	60	6665	7	2
	Omuthiy- agwiipundi	95	1	42	1	1	31	444	10782	11	15
	Onayena	59	3	6	0	0	10	73	6347	3	1
	Oniipa	68	2	17	2	1	19	453	9197	4	3
	Onyaaya	78	2	9	4	0	17	159	8332	8	8
	Tsumeb	69	9	136	9	9	121	1131	5203	158	352
Otjoz- ondjupa											
	Grootfontein	136	23	131	22	22	210	1719	6415	271	177
	Okahandja	129	11	72	10	12	158	1375	4899	66	634
	Okakarara	96	6	17	2	10	16	353	1815	36	24
	Omatoko	71	5	48	11	19	85	514	2168	25	94
	Otavi	107	18	138	29	33	135	1186	3850	110	167
	Otjiwarongo	102	13	95	15	26	347	2226	6586	75	821
	Tsumkwe	63	13	22	19	5	65	375	1802	69	33
Foreign Missions	n.a.	3	3	6	0	1	15	163	876	1	4

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**Republic of Honduras
Republic of Honduras**

Contents-----	Page#
1. Introduction-----	32
• History	
• Geography	
2. Politics-----	34
3. Elections in Namibia-----	38
4. The Honduran general election, 2009	
• Primaries	
• Campaigning	
• Pre-election polls	
5. Polling-day-----	41
• Procedure	
• Observers	
6. Results-----	43
• Presidential elections	
• National Assembly elections	
7. Post-poll Phase-----	45
• Result analysis	
• International Response	
• Election Analysis	
• Summary	
8. Summary-----	49

Republic of Honduras

Capital (and largest city)	Tegucigalpa 14°6'N 87°13'W / 14.1°N 87.217°W / 14.1; -87.217
Official languages	Spanish
Ethnic groups	90%Mestizo 7%Amerindian 2%Black 1% White
Government	Constitutional republic
- President	Roberto Micheletti (Interim)
- President-elect	Porfirio Lobo Sosa
- Vice President-elect	María Antonieta de Bográn
Independence	
from Spain	15 September 1821
- from the Mexican Empire	1 July 1823
- from the Republic of Central America	31 May 1838
Area	
- Total	112,492 km ² 43,278 sq mi
Population	
- August 2009 estimate	7,810,848 ²
GDP (PPP)	2008 estimate
- Total	\$32.779 billion
- Per capita	\$4,275

1. Introduction

Honduras is a republic in Central America. It was formerly known as Spanish Honduras to differentiate it from British Honduras (now Belize). The country is bordered to the west by Guatemala, to the southwest by El Salvador, to the southeast by Nicaragua, to the south by the Pacific Ocean at the Gulf of Fonseca, and to the north by the Gulf of Honduras, a large inlet of the Caribbean Sea. Its size is just over 112,000 km² with an estimated population of almost 8,000,000. Its capital is Tegucigalpa. About a third of the population of the country live on less than US\$ 2 per day.

History

Archaeologists have demonstrated that Honduras had a rich, multi-ethnic prehistory. An important part of that prehistory was the Mayan presence around the city of Copán in western Honduras, near the Guatemalan border. A major Mayan city flourished during the classic period (150–900) in that area. It has many carved inscriptions and stelae. The ancient kingdom, named rtyu, existed from the fifth century to the early ninth century, with antecedents going back to at least the second century. The Mayan civilization began a marked decline in the ninth century, but there is evidence of people still living in and around the city until at least 1200. By the time the Spanish came to Honduras, the once great city-state of Copán was overrun by the jungle, and the surviving Ch'orti' were isolated from their Choltian linguistic peers to the west. The non-Maya Lencas were then dominant in western Honduras.

On his fourth and the final voyage to the New World in 1502, Christopher Columbus reached the Bay Islands on the coast of Honduras. Columbus landed near the modern town of Trujillo, in the vicinity of the Guaimoreto Lagoon. After the Spanish discovery, Honduras became part of Spain's vast empire in the New World within the Kingdom of Guatemala. Trujillo and Gracias were the first city-capitals. The Spanish ruled the region for approximately three centuries.

Spain granted independence to Honduras along with the rest of the Central American provinces on 15 September 1821. In 1822 the United Central American Provinces decided to join the newly declared Mexican Empire of Iturbide. The Iturbide Empire was overthrown in 1823 and Central America separated from it, forming the Federal Republic

of Central America, which disintegrated in 1838. As a result the states of the republic became independent nations.

Silver mining was a key factor in the Spanish conquest and settlement of Honduras. The American-owned Barger Mining Company was a major gold and silver producer but shut down its large mine at San Juancito in 1954.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Honduras joined the Allied Nations on 8 December 1941. Along with twenty-five other governments, Honduras signed the Declaration by United Nations on 1 January 1942.

In 1969, Honduras and El Salvador fought what would become known as the Football War. There had been border tensions between the two countries after Oswaldo López Arellano, a former president of Honduras, blamed the deteriorating economy on the large number of immigrants from El Salvador. From that point on, the relationship between the two countries grew acrimonious and reached a low when El Salvador met Honduras for a three-round football elimination match as a preliminary to the World Cup. Tensions escalated, and on 14 July 1969, the Salvadoran army launched an attack against Honduras. The Organization of American States negotiated a cease-fire which took effect on 20 July and brought about a withdrawal of Salvadoran troops in early August.

Contributing factors in the conflict were a boundary dispute and the presence of thousands of Salvadorans living in Honduras illegally. After the week-long football war, many Salvadoran families and workers were expelled. El Salvador had agreed on a truce to settle the boundary issue, but Honduras later paid war damage costs for expelled refugees.

Hurricane Fifi caused severe damage while skimming the northern coast of Honduras on 18 September and 19, 1974.

Melgar Castro (1975–78) and Paz Garcia (1978–82) largely built the current physical infrastructure and telecommunications system of Honduras.

In 1979, the country returned to civilian rule. A constituent assembly was popularly elected in April 1980 and general elections were held in November 1981. A new constitution was approved in 1982 and the PLH government of Roberto Suazo assumed power. Roberto Suazo won the elections with a promise to carry out an ambitious program of economic and social development in Honduras in order to tackle the country's

recession. President Roberto Suazo Cordoba did launch ambitious social and economic development projects, sponsored by American development aid. Honduras became host to the largest Peace Corps mission in the world, and nongovernmental and international voluntary agencies proliferated. During the early 1980s, the United States established a continuing military presence in Honduras with the purpose of supporting the Contra guerillas fighting the Nicaraguan government and also developed an air strip and a modern port in Honduras. Though spared the bloody civil wars wracking its neighbors, the Honduran army quietly waged a campaign against Marxist-Leninist militias such as Cinchoneros Popular Liberation Movement, notorious for kidnappings and bombings, and many non-militants. The operation included a CIA-backed campaign of extrajudicial killings by government-backed units, most notably Battalion 316.

In 1998, Hurricane Mitch caused such massive and widespread loss that former Honduran President Carlos Roberto Flores claimed that fifty years of progress in the country were reversed. Mitch obliterated about 70% of the crops and an estimated 70–80% of the transportation infrastructure, including nearly all bridges and secondary roads. Across the country, 33,000 houses were destroyed, an additional 50,000 damaged, some 5,000 people killed, 12,000 injured – for a total loss estimated at \$3 billion USD.

The 2008 Honduran floods were severe and around half the country's roads were damaged or destroyed as a result.

In 2009, a constitutional crisis culminated in a transfer of power from the president to the head of Congress. Countries all over the world condemned the action and refused to recognize the new government.

2. Politics

Honduras has five registered political parties: National Party (Partido Nacional de Honduras: PNH); Liberal Party (Partido Liberal de Honduras: PLH); Social Democrats (Partido Innovación y Unidad-Social Demócrata: PINU-SD), Social Christians (Partido Demócrata-Cristiano de Honduras: DCH); and Democratic Unification (Partido Unificación Democrática: UD). PNH and PLH have ruled the country for decades. In the last years, Honduras has had five Liberal presidents: Roberto Suazo Córdova, José Azcona del Hoyo, Carlos Roberto Reina, Carlos Roberto Flores and Manuel Zelaya, and

two Nationalists: Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero and Ricardo Maduro. The elections have been full of controversies, including questions about whether Azcona was born in Spain, and whether Maduro should have been able to stand, given he was born in Panama.

In 1963, a military coup was mounted against the democratically elected president Ramón Villeda Morales. This event started a string of Military Governments which held power almost uninterrupted until 1981 when Suazo Córdova (LPH) was elected president and Honduras changed from a military authoritarian regime.

In 1986, there were five Liberal candidates and four Nationalists running for president. Because no one candidate obtained a clear majority, the so-called "Formula B" was invoked and Azcona del Hoyo became president. In 1990, Callejas won the election under the slogan "Llegó el momento del Cambio" (English: "The time for change has arrived"), which was heavily criticized for resembling El Salvador's "ARENAs" political campaign.[citation needed] Once in office, Callejas Romero gained a reputation for illicit enrichment, and has been the subject of several scandals and accusations. It was during Flores Facusse's mandate that Hurricane Mitch hit the country and decades of economic growth were eradicated in less than a week.

Government ministries are often incapable of carrying out their mandate due to budgetary constraints. In an interview with Rodolfo Pastor Fasquelle, Minister of Sports & Culture and one of three 'super ministers' responsible for coordinating the ministries related to public services (security and economic being the other two), published in Honduras This Week on 31 July 2006, it was related that 94% of the department budget was spent on bureaucracy and only 6% went to support activities and organizations covered by the mandate. Wages within that ministry were identified as the largest budget consumer.

President Maduro's administration "de-nationalized" the telecommunications sector in a move to promote the rapid diffusion of these services to the Honduran population. As of November 2005, there were around 10 private-sector telecommunications companies in the Honduran market, including two mobile phone companies. As of mid 2007, the issue of tele-communications continues to be very damaging to the current government. The country's main newspapers are La Prensa, El Heraldo, La Tribuna and Diario Tiempo. The official newspaper is La Gaceta.

A Presidential and General Election was held on 27 November 2005. Manuel Zelaya of the Liberal Party of Honduras (Partido Liberal de Honduras: PLH) won, with Porfirio Pepe Lobo of the National Party of Honduras (Partido Nacional de Honduras: PNH) coming in second. The PNH challenged the election results, and Lobo Sosa did not concede until 7 December. Towards the end of December, the government finally released the total ballot count, giving Zelaya the official victory. Zelaya was inaugurated as Honduras' new president on 27 January 2006. Zelaya precipitated a national crisis by trying to hold a non-binding national referendum to ask the Honduran people: "Do you agree that, during the general elections of November 2009 there should be a fourth ballot to decide whether to hold a Constituent National Assembly that will approve a new political constitution?" This possible Assembly then might or more likely might not have proposed constitutional changes to term-limits – as the military and the Supreme Court deemed possible – and other more likely, unrelated and legal constitutional changes.

2009 Honduran political crisis

2009 Honduran constitutional crisis

The 2009 Honduran constitutional crisis is an ongoing constitutional crisis. President Manuel Zelaya had attempted to hold a "non-binding referendum" on the 28th of June on the desire of Hondurans to have a fourth ballot box in the upcoming November elections, which would then ask if the Honduran people wished to form a Constitutional Assembly in the term of the newly elected president. The Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling that had found a prior referendum based on the same issue unconstitutional and had prohibited it. The Supreme Court had not made any determination of the final, non-binding poll, having instead made the legal claim that any attempt by Zelaya to poll on any matter, in any way, to be illegal. Zelaya decided to proceed on the referendum, basing his decision on the Law of Citizen Participation, passed in 2006. Zelaya dismissed the head of the military command, General Romeo Vásquez Velásquez, for disobeying an order to hold the poll, but the Supreme Court ordered his reinstatement. The Supreme Court then ordered the military to detain Zelaya. The army arrested Zelaya at his home in the early morning of 28 June 2009, the date of the scheduled vote; Zelaya was held in an airbase outside Tegucigalpa before being flown to San José, Costa Rica. Zelaya has been

denied reentry into the country on several occasions. According to the constitution, it is illegal to deny access into the country for any Honduran citizen. Roberto Micheletti, the former President of the Honduran Congress and a member of the same party as Zelaya, was sworn in as President by the National Congress on the afternoon of Sunday 28 June for a term that ends on 27 January 2010.

To date, no single country in the world has recognized the de facto government as legitimate; all members of the UN condemned the removal of Zelaya as a coup d'état. Some Republican Party members of the U.S. Congress have voiced support for the new government. On 21 September 2009, Zelaya illegally returned to Honduras and entered the Brazilian embassy. The de facto government disrupted utility services to the embassy and imposed a curfew in an attempt to maintain order in the area when Zelaya's supporters protested around the embassy. The following day, in Decree PCM-M-016-2009, it suspended five constitutional rights: personal liberty (Article 69), freedom of expression (Article 72), freedom of movement (Article 81), habeas corpus (Article 84) and freedom of association and assembly. It closed a radio and a television station. The decree suspending human rights was officially revoked on 19 October 2009 in La Gaceta.

Departments and municipalities

Departmental division of Honduras

Honduras is divided into 18 departments. The capital city is Tegucigalpa Central District of the department of Francisco Morazán.

Atlántida

Choluteca

Colón

Comayagua

Copán

Cortés

El Paraíso

Francisco Morazán

Gracias a Dios

Intibucá

Islas de la Bahía

La Paz

Lempira

Ocotepeque

Olancho

Santa Bárbara

Valle

Yoro

4. Elections in honduras

Description of government structure:

- Chief of State: President José Manuel ZELAYA Rosales *
- Head of Government: President José Manuel ZELAYA Rosales
- Assembly: Honduras has a unicameral National Congress (*Congreso Nacional*) with 128 seats. * The Interim President is Roberto MICHELETTI.

Description of electoral system:

- The President is elected by plurality vote to serve a 4-year term.
- In the National Congress (*Congreso Nacional*), 128 members are elected through an open-list proportional representation system to serve 4-year terms.*** There are 18 constituencies corresponding to the 18 departments. Seats are apportioned to each department in proportion to population. Where the district magnitude is one, the election is by plurality.

Past elections

- Legislative - November 29, 2009
- Presidential - November 29, 2009
- Presidential - November 27, 2005
- Legislative - November 27, 2005

- Presidential - November 25, 2001
- Legislative - November 25, 2001

Honduras elects on national level a head of state – the president – and a legislature. The President of Honduras is elected for a four-year year term by the people by a simple majority of valid votes (nulls and blanks excluded). The unicameral National Congress (Congreso Nacional) has 128 members (diputados), elected for four year term by proportional representation to represent the country's various departments. Honduras' presidential elections are held on the last Sunday of November of the election year. Registration and voting is mandatory. The last presidential elections occurred on November 29, 2009.

Honduras has a two-party system, which means that there are two dominant political parties: the Liberal Party of Honduras (PLH) and the National Party of Honduras (PNH). The other three registered parties, which all produce a candidate for the Presidential election, are the Democratic Unification Party (PUD), the Christian Democratic Party of Honduras (DC) and the Innovation and Unity Party (PINU)

2005 Presidential election

Summary of the 27 November 2005 Honduras presidential election results		
Candidates and nominating parties	Votes	%
José Manuel Zelaya Rosales - Liberal Party of Honduras (Partido Liberal de Honduras)	999,006	49.9
Porfirio Lobo Sosa - National Party of Honduras (Partido Nacional de Honduras)	923,243	46.2
Juan Ángel Almeyda Bonilla - Democratic Unification Party (Unificación Democrática)	29,754	1.5
Juan Ramón Martínez - Christian Democratic Party of Honduras (Partido Demócrata Cristiano de Honduras)	27,814	1.4
Carlos Sosa Coello - Innovation and Unity Party (Partido	20,093	1.0

Innovación y Unidad)		
Valid Votes Total	2,000,1908	100.0%
Null	133,351	6.1%
Blank	55,139	2.5%
Total	2,190,398	55.1%
Registered voters	3,988,605	
Source: TSE Honduras government election website		

2005 Parliamentary election

Summary of the 27 November 2005 National Congress of Honduras election results	
Parties	Seats
Liberal Party of Honduras (Partido Liberal de Honduras)	62
National Party of Honduras (Partido Nacional de Honduras)	55
Democratic Unification Party (Partido de Unificación Democrática)	5
Christian Democratic Party of Honduras (Partido Demócrata Cristiano de Honduras)	4
Innovation and Unity Party (Partido Innovación y Unidad)	2
Total votes: 1,833,710 (turnout 45.97 %)	128
Registered voters: 3,988,605	

5. The Honduran general election, 2009

The Honduran general election, 2009 was held in Honduras on 29 November 2009, including presidential, parliamentary and local elections. Voters went to the polls to elect: A new President of Honduras to serve a four-year term starting January 27, 2010.

128 members to serve a four-year term in the National Congress.

Representatives in municipal (local) governments.

The possibility of having a "fourth ballot box" at the 29 November election regarding the convocation of a National Constituent Assembly constituted a major element of the 2009 Honduran constitutional crisis.

Primaries

Internal party elections were held on 30 November 2008. Only the Liberal Party and National Party participated in these elections, since the smaller parties lack significant factions. They were supervised by the official electoral body, and the 48 hour ban on the sale of alcohol which accompanies all official elections was also imposed over that weekend.

Campaigning

Preceding the planned November elections, the 2009 Honduran constitutional crisis (ouster of president Manuel Zelaya) occurred, bringing the legitimacy of the elections into doubt.

A "fourth ballot box" had been proposed to be included in the 29 November election. A non-binding poll about whether or not to include this fourth ballot box had been planned for 28 June 2009, and constituted a major element of the 2009 Honduran constitutional crisis.

Campaigning by candidates took place, in principle for the three months prior to 29 November, in the context of the conflict between the de facto government, the de jure government, and resistance to the de facto government, mostly coordinated by the National Resistance Front against the coup d'etat in Honduras.

Nearly one month of this campaign period was covered by the Micheletti de facto government Decree PCM-M-016-2009, signed on 22 September 2009 and rescinded on 19 October 2009. The decree suspended five constitutional rights: personal liberty (Article 69), freedom of expression (Article 72), freedom of movement (Article 81), habeas corpus (Article 84) and freedom of association.

Pre-election polls

A pre-election poll held 23–29 August 2009 by COIMER & OP showed a relative majority (41%) who would not declare a voting preference or would not vote in favour of any of the six candidates. By mid-October this had dropped to a minority (29%) according to a CID-Gallup poll. Porfirio Lobo's support increased from 28% in August to 37% in October, and Elvin Santos' support increased from 14% to 21%. According to the two polls, Carlos H. Reyes' support dropped from 12% to 6%, while the other three candidates increased from 1–2% support in August to 2–3% in October. A popularity rating question in the COIMER & OP August poll, concerning positive, average and negative opinions towards presidential candidates and other prominent people, found that Porfirio Lobo had more negative than positive popularity (34% versus 30%), as did Elvin Santos (45% versus 19%) and the de facto President Roberto Micheletti (56% versus 16%) and César Ham (20% versus 16%). Carlos H. Reyes had more positive than negative ratings (25% versus 14%), as did de jure President Manuel Zelaya (45% versus 26%).

polling organisation,	date	poll details	Candidate						
			Porfirio Lobo	Bernard Martínez	Felicito Ávila	Elvin Santos	César Ham	Carlos Reyes (withdrew 9 Nov)	(other response)
CID-Gallup	13–19 October 2009	national; 1420 people	37%	2%	2%	21%	3%	6%	29%
COIMER & OP	23–29 August 2009	national; 1470 people	28%	1%	1%	14%	2%	12%	41%
CID-Gallup	30 June–4	national; 1204	42%	–	–	37%	–	–	–

	July 2009	people							
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5. Election day

Over thirty thousand security personnel were involved in running the election, including 12,000 military, 14,000 police officers and 5000 reservists. Mayors were requested by the army to provide lists of "enemies" of the electoral process in order to "neutralise" them.

Amnesty International protested to the Honduran de facto government about the violation of habeas corpus on 28 and 29 November. One of the people who were disappeared was Jensys Mario Umazor Gutierrez, last seen in police detention early on the morning of 30 November. Amnesty International (AI) stated that no courts, including the Supreme Court, were available to receive a petition for habeas corpus. AI also referred to two men arrested under terrorism charges and beaten, and 14 minors detained under decree PCM-M-016-2009 for having been gathered in groups of more than four persons, and later freed without charges. AI also said that human rights organizations in Honduras "suffered attacks and acts of intimidation".

Observers from the European Union said that the elections were characterized by "enthusiasm, democracy and transparency".

6. Results

Presidential election

The candidates of the two main political parties are former presidential candidate Porfirio Lobo Sosa of the National Party and former vice-president Elvin Santos of the Liberal Party. The trade union leader and Garifuna leader, Bernard Martínez Valerio is the Innovation and Unity Party (PINU) candidate. Martínez is the first black presidential candidate in the history of Honduras, according to PINU. Another trade union leader Carlos Humberto Reyes, one of the coordinators of the Frente Nacional de Resistencia Contra el Golpe de Estado en Honduras, was an independent candidate for the election

until he formally withdrew in order not to legitimise the coup d'etat and what he and his supporters perceived would be fraudulent elections.

The table below shows all six continuing and withdrawn candidates, in the order published by the Supreme Electoral Tribunal.

Candidate	Party/Independent
Porfirio Lobo Sosa	National Party
Bernard Martínez	Innovation and Unity Party-Social-Democracy (PINU)
Felicito Ávila	Christian Democrat Party (CD)
Elvin Santos	Liberal Party
César Ham	Democratic Unification Party (PUD)
Carlos H. Reyes	Independent (withdrew 9 November on grounds of alleged election illegitimacy and fraud)

National Assembly Elections Results

Porfirio Lobo Sosa, popularly known as Pepe Lobo, of the opposition conservative National Party was elected to succeed Micheletti. Early reports gave Lobo over 50% of the popular vote, with Elvin Santos the closest opponent with around 35%. While some regional nations did not accept the election as valid, others including the United States have supported its legitimacy. While exiled President Manuel Zelaya called for a boycott of the election, turnout ranged from around 30% in poorer areas to 70% in more wealthy communities. Lobo previously served in the Honduran Congress. He has hinted that charges against Zelaya will be dropped.

Candidate	Party	Votes	%	Result
Porfirio Lobo Sosa	PN	1,212,846	56.56	President
Bernard Martínez	PINU	39,950	1.86	
Felicito Ávila	PDC	38,391	1.79	
Elvin Santos	PL	816,874	38.1	
César Ham	PUD	36,399	1.70	
Valid votes		1,980,724	100.00	
Null votes		92,534	4.03	
Blank votes		61,086	2.66	
Total votes		2,298,080 (100% of ballot boxes counted)		
Registered voters		~4.6 million	49.96%	

Despite few outside legal observers, the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) were there as American observers. The IRI supported the projections of 61% from the interim government and the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. The NDI has so far not commented on their projection of the vote turnout, however have commented on an independent, local Honduran observer, the Hagamos Democracia who put the turnout on 48%. The NDI commented that they had a low margin of error on what percentage of the votes were allocated to the candidates as they had successfully projected the vote's outcome: 56 percent for Lobo and 38 percent for Santos. He also said a 48 percent turnout would be consistent with a trend of increasing abstention in Honduras. Turnout was 55 percent in the 2005 election that brought Zelaya to office, 10 percentage points lower than in the previous election. Official turnout was revised down to 49% which is a decline on the 55% 2005 election turnout.

7. POST-POLL Phase

Result analysis

Honduras held a general election on Sunday November 29. These elections are regularly scheduled elections, held at the conclusion of the four-year term started in 2005. However, in June 2009, the Honduran military overthrew Liberal President Manuel Zelaya, elected in 2005, for attempting to change the Constitution allowing him to run for another term (and holding a referendum on that). Under the military's interpretation of the Constitution, the President of Honduras is forbidden to go to the people on an amendment to the constitution (Article 374). He was overthrown and replaced by the President of Congress, Robert Micheletti, also a member of the Liberal Party, but opposed to Zelaya. Despite talks that they might be delayed or cancelled, the military and Micheletti let the elections go ahead.

There are two major parties in Honduras, the conservative National Party, which nominated former President of Congress and defeated 2005 candidate Porfirio Lobo Sosa; and the officially liberal Liberal Party, in practice centre-left with members ranging from people like Micheletti to people like Zelaya who hang out with Chavez. The Liberal Party nominated Elvin Santos, Vice President under Zelaya until December 2008. Carlos Reyes, a vocal opponent of the military coup, was initially supposed to run but dropped out calling the elections a sham and fraud. In addition, Zelaya, from the Brazilian Embassy, called on voters to abstain. Other candidates included Bernard Martínez of the centre-left Innovation and Unity Party (PINU), the Christian Democrat Felicito Ávila and César Ham of the left-wing Democratic Unification Party (PUD).

Porfirio Lobo's was mostly focused on bread-and-butter issues, the internationally popular theme of 'change' and also restoring Honduras' position in the world after the coup. He has also stressed national unity. With his rhetoric of change and ending Honduras' recent international pariah status as well as the abstention of die-hard Zelaya supporters, Pepe Lobo was heavily favoured going into last Sunday's vote.

Here are the results with around 62-66% of the vote tallied.

Porfirio Lobo (PN) 55.91%

Elvin Santos (PL) 38.16%

Bernard Martínez (PINU) 2.21%

Felicito Ávila (PCD) 1.92%

César Ham (PUD) 1.81%

Turnout is reported to be around 60-63% by the authorities, which would make this a strong victory for Pepe Lobo and an important defeat for Zelaya, who himself was elected in a 2005 ballot marked by only 46% turnout. However, Zelaya and his supporters have claimed that the 60-63% is in fact the abstention rate, and not the turnout.

With around 23 of the 128 seats in Congress left to assign, the PN has 58 seats against 37 for the PL. The PINU has 5, the PCD 2 and the PUD 2. In 2005, the Liberals had secured 62 seats, three short of an overall majority (65 seats).

Lobo will become President, and Zelaya's already dim chances at a comeback have almost entirely faded, his supporters have even given up any hope of restoring him. In addition, Lobo will probably drop all charges against Zelaya in an effort at national unity and restoring international support for the country.

Election Analysis

Democracy Loses the Honduran Election

After five months of political deadlock in Honduras, conservative cattle rancher Porfirio Lobo seems to have lifted the country out of crisis. Lobo, who shares neither the left-leaning ideology nor the cowboy hat touted by ousted President Manuel Zelaya, handsomely won Sunday's presidential election in Honduras with 55 percent of the vote. Despite the relative dearth of foreign observers present to see the vote, it seems clear that Hondurans turned up in decent numbers, that the election was largely devoid of violence, and that it more or less met international standards. Already, a

group of countries led by the United States, Honduras's most vital ally and trade partner, has announced that they will recognize Lobo's victory. They are no doubt relieved to find a seemingly quiet exit from months of political disarray.

Given the harsh and unanimous international condemnation that met the June 28 coup, this turn of events should be counted as a great victory for Roberto Micheletti, the de facto president of the country since then. Unfortunately, the plaudits end there. This is not a win for Honduras, and it's certainly no shining day for democracy.

The problem is not that countries recognized the election. Recognizing it is better than not recognizing it, which would have been the surest way to prolong this sorry episode. The real problem is that the apparent success of the election lets the orchestrators of the coup get away scot-free after casually kicking out an elected official. It is one thing to convince the international community to turn a blind eye to a crass deposition of a legitimate president; it is quite another to achieve that without paying any price whatsoever for it. The coup team has now accomplished both. And so the shortcomings of the Honduras's rotten political system have simply been crystallized.

Instead, the elusive prize of international legitimacy for the new Honduran government should have been conferred after a meaningful process of national dialogue -- a process including the *zelayistas* (and Zelaya himself). Even better, international favor could have been conditioned on an effort to rethink a surreal constitution that leaves the country vulnerable to future democratic breakdowns. Or perhaps a serious introspection among the Honduran elite about the introduction of social reforms of the sort that are desperately needed in a country afflicted by the pervasive poverty and obscene inequalities that make Zelaya-style populism an irresistible temptation. Lobo paid lip service to these lofty goals upon proclaiming his victory, but now that the threat of international isolation has been removed, it's unlikely that anything will come of it.

The Honduran political elite are reading this outcome as an unconditional victory and, above all, as a license to return to politics as usual, as though nothing had happened. That will mean a return to the usual tooth-and-nail fight between factions of the well-heeled oligarchy -- each cheered on by segments of the impoverished populace -- for

the spoils of a weak state. With such a political style and such a lack of political leadership -- both made obvious in this episode -- it is no wonder that Honduras is dead last on the fight against corruption in Central America, according to the figures just released by Transparency International.

To be sure, this is no vindication of Zelaya, an irresponsible politician who is as much a part and a product of the Honduran elite as anyone. The ousted president played his hand poorly: His unsurpassed ability to ramble confirmed all the prejudices about him, and his racking up miles in Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez's plane proved a dead-end route to regaining the presidency. Zelaya will go down in history as the single biggest culprit in his own coup. He was right about one thing (revising the Honduran constitution) but for the wrong reasons (he wanted to tamper with term limits and re-election clauses). He doesn't have a political future other than as a *cause célèbre* at all the future jamborees organized by Chávez and his Bolivarian colleagues.

8. Summary

Hundreds of people made a noisy drive-by protest in Tegucigalpa on 1 December to symbolise their rejection of the elections and to claim that the turnout estimates of over 60% were inaccurate. Zelaya's aide Carlos Reina called for the elections to be cancelled. In early November 2009, Dagoberto Suazo of the National Resistance Front against the coup d'Etat in Honduras asked for the international community to continue to refuse to recognise the planned 29 November elections. Marvin Ponce, a member of Congress from the Democratic Unification Party, said that it was not possible to hold the elections in the aftermath of the coup d'etat. Bertha Oliva of COFADEH criticised the United States government for stating that Honduras could hold "free elections in less than three weeks" when "Hondurans [were being] subjected to arbitrary arrest, the closure of independent media, police beatings, torture and even killings by security forces". Oliva claimed that it was not possible to have an election campaign when the right to freedom of assembly, freedom of movement and press freedom were absent. She called for elections to be delayed until at least three months after human rights and democracy are restored.

On 6 November 2009, following the failure of Micheletti and Zelaya to together create a "unity cabinet", Zelaya called for a boycott of the 29 November election.

On 9 November 2009, following a national meeting of leaders of the National Resistance Front against the coup d'etat, presidential candidate Carlos H. Reyes declared the withdrawal of his candidacy, on the grounds of not legitimising the coup d'etat and fraudulent elections. At the time of Reyes' withdrawal, the Honduran newspapers El Tiempo and La Tribuna showed Reyes' right hand in a plaster cast due to an injury sustained during his 30 July beating by Honduran security forces under the control of the de facto Micheletti government. At least 30–40 candidates from various parties and independent candidates, including at least one National Party candidate, Mario Medrano in San Manuel, Cortés, also withdraw in protest. Mario Medrano stated that he withdrew his candidature in order not to legitimise the coup d'etat, that this was independent of party membership, and that anyone elected could be removed [if the coup d'etat remained legitimate].

International Response

Controversy

Organisations and individuals in Honduras, including the National Resistance Front against the coup d'Etat in Honduras, Marvin Ponce of the Democratic Unification Party, and Bertha Oliva of Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos en Honduras, and internationally, including Mercosur, President Cristina Kirchner of Argentina and the Union of South American Nations, said that elections held on 29 November under Micheletti would not be recognize.

Mercosur declared on 24 July 2009 that it would not recognise the results of the planned November elections or any other elections organised under Micheletti. President Cristina Kirchner of Argentina stated, "We must condemn any benevolent coup attempt, that is, when through a civilian-military coup legitimate authorities are ousted followed by attempts to legalize the situation by calling new elections. This would be the death kiss for the OAS democratic charter and turning the Mercosur democratic charter in mere fiction". On 10 August, the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) also declared that it would not recognise the results of elections held while the de facto Micheletti

government remained in power. On 17 August, President Felipe Calderón of Mexico, together with Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, made a similar statement. On September 3, the US State Department issued a statement revoking all non-humanitarian assistance to Honduras and said, of the November 29 elections "At this moment, we would not be able to support the outcome of the scheduled elections".

The U.S. has since changed position and announced that it will recognize the results of the election as a part of the San Jose-Tegucigalpa Accord.

In the days preceding the elections, Israel, Italy, Colombia, Panama, Peru, Germany, Costa Rica and Japan also announced their intentions to recognize the results of the elections.

On 30 November at the 19th Ibero-American Summit in Estoril, Portugal the governments of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Spain, Uruguay, and Venezuela announced they are not recognizing the elections whereas Colombia, Costa Rica and Panama expressed they will while the rest of the members did not give any response.. On 8 December the five Mercosur member states once again ratified their decision of not recognizing the election of Porfirio Lobo.