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RECENT ELECTION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC  
(PART I)

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Y 4. F 76/1:EL 2/2/PT. 1

Recent Election in the Dominican Re...

HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MAY 24, 1994

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



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# RECENT ELECTION IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (PART I)

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TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1994

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE,  
*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2:50 p.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Robert G. Torricelli (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. TORRICELLI. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Last Monday, voters in the Dominican Republic went to the polls in an attempt to strengthen their 28-year-old democracy. By many accounts the elections were an extraordinary success. Observers reported record voter turnout in levels in excess of 90 percent. Indeed, the turnout was so heavy that election officials worked diligently to keep polls open an extra 3 hours to accommodate the extraordinarily large numbers of voters.

There are, however, continuing allegations of irregularities. When the vote count was stopped last Thursday with 223 of the 9523 precincts remaining, President Balaguer, the incumbent President, was ahead of his closest challenger, Pena Gomez, by only 1 percent, or some 29,590 votes.

Pena Gomez has claimed that many of the 200,000 eligible Dominicans, many of whom are known to be supporters of the opposition, were deprived of their right to vote through manipulation of the voter list. The claim has received some support by other observers.

The question now is what if anything needs to be done to rectify the situation. The Central Elections Board's announcement over the weekend that it will conduct a recount is encouraging, but a recount would be of little comfort to those who might have been denied their chance to vote in the first instance.

Among the additional remedies that may be necessary is the possibility of new elections in some regions if indeed there were irregularities that are supported in fact.

We have asked three witnesses to appear before the subcommittee today to share their views of the conduct of the election and to offer their advice on what U.S. policy should be. Two of those witnesses served as international observers in the Dominican Republic, our former colleague and leader of the National Democratic Institute delegation, Steve Solarz, and the Director of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Richard Soudriette. Mr.

Solarz will be accompanied by Patrick Merloe, Senior Associate for Electoral Processes at NDI.

Our third witness, Rafael Marte, the former president of the Federation of the Dominican Associations of New Jersey. He will be able to offer us a perspective from the Dominican community in the United States.

Events in the Dominican Republic have taken on increased importance in the United States because of the country's role in the crisis in Haiti. This committee as well as the Clinton administration will continue to keep, obviously, a very close eye on this matter in the coming days.

And the United States must be careful not to take actions that will threaten widespread civil unrest in the Dominican Republic. We do not want to precipitously reach any judgment as to what occurred in the Dominican Republic or indeed what policies might be pursued.

Indeed, it is also not our intention to involve ourselves in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, simply as people who have great affection for the Dominican people, a great respect for their democracy, to ensure that as friends that the process has credibility and a new democratic government in the Dominican Republic has credibility, et cetera.

With that in mind I want to thank our witnesses for being here with us today for this inquiry into the unfolding situation in the Dominican Republic, and to again caution that we do not prejudge what policies may evolve. We are not here to doubt the Dominican Government or to interfere in their internal affairs, simply to take a look at unfolding events.

I would like to first welcome again Steven Solarz before this committee, our highly respected former colleague, to welcome him back. This is his first chance to testify before this subcommittee since leaving the committee, so it is a pleasure to have him as a former colleague and as a friend.

Steve, you are welcome. Please—the committee looks forward to hearing your remarks.

I would like first if I could, however, to ask Mr. Smith if he has any comments he would like to share.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me join you in welcoming our very distinguished panel. This is an especially great occasion to welcome Steve Solarz, one of our most able and certainly one of our most articulate members of this panel, and perhaps even the entire Congress. He is missed. And, I say that as a Republican who at times did some battle with Mr. Solarz, but very often found that his views and his persuasive ability could carry the day. And it is very, very good to have him back, and to know that he is still out there pursuing the agenda and doing so in a very, very honorable way.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Whose mother lives in my congressional district, so I know all about Steve's activities.

Mr. SMITH. So, in case you haven't heard it before, Steve, now that you are not here on a day-to-day basis, I have always respected you very, very much. When you said something your word was your bond and you always did it in the most gentlemanly of ways.



First of all, Mr. Chairman, the Presidential election that was held on May 16 was marked by high voter turnout, but sadly, it was marred by a list of irregularities in the electoral process and alleged fraud.

The preliminary returns were showing incumbent President Balaguer winning by a very narrow margin, as you pointed out, over his closest challenger, Dr. Pena Gomez. As we all know, this election may be contested in certain areas or there may be revoting as the Central Election Board moves to grapple with these issues in the coming weeks.

Some of the allegations, and I have read the observer reports, include citizens holding voter cards not being allowed to vote due to irregularities in the official voter list. There was the allegation that state resources may have been used for partisan campaign purposes. There was the allegation that as many as 200,000 people had not received their new identity cards and thus were unable to participate in the election. And there is the allegation that large numbers of voters who had their identity cards were not permitted to vote because their names did not appear on the voter lists used by officials at the polling places.

Mr. Chairman, this hearing was called together very quickly, and I appreciate the willingness of our distinguished panel to respond as they did, ever mindful of the fact, as the observers pointed out in their statement, that they went to the Dominican Republic not to "supervise the elections or to certify the integrity of the process," because "ultimately, it is the Dominican Republican people who must judge the elections" for themselves.

Without further ado, I do look forward to the statements by our panel.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Menendez.

Mr. MENENDEZ. I just want to very briefly say I want to commend you for holding this hearing so soon after these issues have been raised, and more particularly commend you for the framework in which you have described them.

It would be of concern in terms of an action in which we would seek to prejudge and/or, in fact, interfere in the national sovereignty of another country, particularly at a most precipitous time in the history of Hispaniola with what is going on in its neighboring country of Haiti.

This is a crucial time for the Dominican Republic, not only in terms of its own history, but also in terms of the history of the island and where it goes from here.

I am concerned about the questions that have been raised, but I am also concerned about understanding the underlying—persons who raise them and underlying their concerns or are these partisan issues raised by multiple sides. What is the truth and veracity of some of these issues? What are the interests of some of those who raise these issues? What are the irregularities claimed by multiple parties? Is it true that, in fact, each party was represented at electoral schools throughout the country and signed off on the votes as taken on that day?

These and many other questions, I am sure, will be asked, and hopefully answered today, Mr. Chairman. And we look forward to hearing it because as one of the countries that has a record of de-

mocracy within the hemisphere we want to make sure that it is preserved and enriched and that hopefully this hearing will contribute to that.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Solarz, welcome. I think you have now been adequately praised and welcomed from all perspectives, in a bipartisan, thorough basis. It was my intention to first see you reappear before the Asia Subcommittee, which is what, if you will permit me, should have happened. It did not.

But we are very proud to have you here, knowing that this is the beginning of a continuing service to the Congress in a new capacity. Please proceed.

I want each of our witnesses to know that we have a window here in votes that will probably last about an hour and 15 minutes, and then there will be a series of them. So with the cooperation of each of the witnesses, if you could keep your analyses as brief as possible to allow time for questions, and then we would not be interrupted by votes.

Steve.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE STEPHEN J. SOLARZ,  
FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS, LEADER OF NATIONAL  
DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELE-  
GATION TO THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**

Mr. SOLARZ. Muchas gracias, El Jefe, para su introduccion.

Mr. TORRICELLI. De nada.

Mr. SOLARZ. I also want to thank Mr. Smith for his very kind comments.

And I can tell Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen that based on her observation she is probably now at least one vote ahead in her campaign for reelection. I will report to my mother that you are aware of her presence.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I hope that my formal statement can be included in the record.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Without objection, we will enter it in the record.

What I would also like the staff to do is take each of the formal statements and have them distributed today to every member of the committee with a cover letter, so people can see the analyses as the situation is unfolding in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. SOLARZ. Let me make a few very brief preliminary observations and then get right to the heart of the matter that has resulted in your decision to call this hearing, which I must say, Mr. Chairman, I think speaks very well of you and the other members of the subcommittee in the sense that you have moved expeditiously to deal with a problem that could have profound consequences for the future of democracy in the Caribbean and also for some vital American interests in the hemisphere.

Our delegation, the delegation sent to the Dominican Republic by the National Democratic Institute, consisted of 26 members from 10 countries around the world, including such Latin luminaries as Virgilio Godoy, the Vice President of Nicaragua, and Fidel Chavez Mena, who is known, I think, to many members of the subcommittee as the former Foreign Minister and Presidential candidate of the Christian Democratic Party in El Salvador.

I think that all of us were deeply moved by what we witnessed on election day in the form of literally thousands and thousands of Dominicans peacefully lined up and waiting to vote when the polls opened at 6 in the morning, many of whom had arrived there in order to be able to vote early, as early as 3 or 4 in the morning.

And I think that we all felt that above all else we had an obligation to keep faith with the millions of Dominicans who very much wanted to participate in an honest election and to play a role in the legitimate determination of the destiny of their own country.

During the course of election day our observers fanned out to, I think it was 9 different regions around the country. We covered the most heavily populated provinces, and then on the following day spent several hours sharing the observations which each team had accumulated during the course of election day itself.

And, in essence, Mr. Chairman, there were two main problems which emerged on election day itself which were a source of very great concern to the delegation, both of which had to do with the general problem of disenfranchisement, by which we mean the phenomena of thousands and thousands of Dominicans who came out to vote on election day, who showed up at the polls with their identification cards, or so-called cedula, whose names, by and large, appear to have shown up in the list of voters that had previously been distributed to the political parties whose observers were present at each polling place but whose names for some strange reason did not show up in the list of voters which had been given to the election officials in each polling place, as a result of which under Dominican election law these people were not entitled to vote.

Early in the morning of May 16, when it became apparent to the opposition that thousands and thousands of voters were being disenfranchised in this fashion they submitted a joint appeal to the Junta Centrale, the Central Election Board in the Dominican Republic, asking them to set aside the rule that prohibited anyone from voting whose name was not on the official list in order to permit individuals to vote if they had a valid identification card and if their names appeared on at least two of the opposition party voting lists, which had been given to the opposition parties by the Central Election Board itself.

By two in the afternoon, when we had not yet heard of any decision by the Central Election Board, the leaders of the OAS and NDI delegations met with the president of the Junta Centrale. The head of the IFES delegation, who was supposed to join us was delayed, I think because of traffic, but we took the liberty of speaking in his name as well since we had discussed this among ourselves in advance, and we urged the Central Election Board, in the interest not only of justice but of an electoral process that would not only be honest but be seen to be honest, to accede to this request on the part of the opposition, pointing out that their proposal had a built-in safeguard against fraud in the sense that no one would be permitted to vote unless they not only had a cedula but their names appeared on at least two of the opposition party lists.

The polls were scheduled to close at 6 p.m., and at approximately 6:12 p.m. the Junta Centrale announced that it was acceding to the

request of the opposition parties, and in order to accommodate them the polls would be kept open for another 3 hours.

It will come as no great surprise to the subcommittee to find out that this order was intermittently and ineffectually implemented. It never reached many of the polling places. In others the local officials were unwilling to implement it because they had already started to count the votes. In any case, thousands and thousands of those who had been previously turned away had already gone home or couldn't be found or weren't able to avail themselves of this opportunity.

So our first concern with the problem of disenfranchisement had to do with the magnitude of the disenfranchisement, and it was the view of our observers that it was so substantial that even though we could not scientifically quantify it there was a unanimous feeling on the part of the delegation of observers representing the NDI that it was entirely possible that it could have affected the actual outcome of the election itself.

And we came to this conclusion at a time when we didn't know yet what the unofficial margin would be. But I have no hesitation whatsoever in saying that if we had known at the time it would be in the vicinity of 29,000 votes we would not have retreated one iota from that conclusion.

Our second main concern, Mr. Chairman, insofar as the problem of disenfranchisement was concerned had to do with the pattern of disenfranchisement. Since it was the view of those of our observers who witnessed this problem of disenfranchisement to begin with, and I should say parenthetically that this did not happen all over the country. In a number of the regions and provinces and municipalities, such as, for example, the National District in Santo Domingo where I was an observer on election day it wasn't a serious problem at all. But in approximately half a dozen of the provinces or regions it was, according to our observers, a very serious problem, and it was their view that a substantial majority of those who were disenfranchised, who were deprived of the right to vote even though they showed up and they had the identification cards and their names appeared on the lists of the opposition parties, a substantial majority of those people appeared to be supporters of the opposition, and it was therefore the conclusion of our delegation that while we could not absolutely preclude the possibility that the pattern of the disenfranchisement was due to some kind of inexplicable human or mechanical error that there was real reason to believe that the pattern of this disenfranchisement was indicative of a deliberate effort to tamper with the electoral process. And we, of course, called on the Junta Centrale to determine what the reason for this was and to see what steps could be done to deal with its consequences.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, and I am sure after my colleagues finish their testimony you will have some questions and we can go into this in more detail. Let me just share a few thoughts about what we think might be done at this stage of the process.

In essence, what our delegation has recommended is that the opposition, which is most concerned obviously, about what happened on election day, attempt to pursue its grievances through the proc-

esses and procedures that have already been established for dealing with this kind of situation.

And I am pleased to say that so far that is exactly what they are doing. Mr. Pena Gomez, the leader of the opposition party that came closest to winning the election, assured us that he would attempt to resolve this through peaceful means and through the established processes and procedures.

And we also very much hope that the Junta Centrale will respond to the allegations of irregularities and fraud driven primarily by considerations of justice rather than by considerations of partisanship.

It is our view that it will be essential for the opposition to demonstrate by evidence that the magnitude of the irregularities combined with the pattern was of such a nature that it, in fact, could have affected the outcome of the election. And that strongly suggests the desirability, perhaps the necessity, of a conclusive demonstration by the opposition that more than 29,000 individuals were disenfranchised.

I think we have to keep in mind that in any election, and what the president of the Junta Centrale himself referred to as the "latitude of underdevelopment," there will be as there is in our country an inevitable number of irregularities, and perhaps even a little bit of chicanery.

To have a totally pristine election is simply not a realistic possibility there or anywhere else. And it would be unrealistic simply on the basis of a showing that there were some irregularities, or even some chicanery, to call a new election. Because if that was the criteria they would have to have one perpetual election in the Dominican Republic.

But if the opposition can demonstrate that substantially more voters were disenfranchised than the margin by which the apparent winner appears to have won, then they will be in a very strong position to ask the Junta Central to take such steps as may be necessary in order to effectuate the will of the Dominican people. And I would be pleased in the question period to talk to you about what some of those options might be.

So I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity.

I am pleased to see that you have been joined by another one of my old and very good friends, Mr. Gejdenson, who I have been reading about lately in the press, and as a result of which I am now induced to provide some help to his efforts to remain here.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Don't believe everything you read.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Solarz appears in the appendix.]

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Soudriette, welcome. Thank you very much for offering your testimony today.

#### **STATEMENT OF RICHARD SOUDRIETTE, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank you and the members of the committee for convening this hearing.

I concur with the sentiments that all of you have expressed that the Dominican Republic is a country that is intertwined with that

of the United States. I think it is important to recognize that basically after Santo Domingo the second largest Dominican city is New York. So there is a very direct relationship between the United States and the Dominican Republic, and so what goes on there has to concern the United States as well as all the other countries in the hemisphere.

I am particularly interested in the Dominican Republic because I had the honor of serving as Director of the Peace Corps in Santo Domingo from 1983 to 1985, and during that time it was my pleasure to have the opportunity to travel across the country, visiting all of the provinces and really getting to know the Dominican people, who are wonderful and famous for their hospitality.

Presently, I serve as a director of a nonprofit, nonpartisan foundation called the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. It was founded in 1987 under the leadership of the first Chairman of the Board, F. Clifton White, for the purpose of providing assistance and support to emerging democracies in the area of electoral systems. Additionally we also engage in monitoring of elections around the world.

Since we were established we have participated in and worked in over 70 countries around the world. Presently our Chairman of the Board, Charles Manatt, is overseeing and is continuing to provide the kind of leadership for the Foundation to enable us to accomplish our mission.

With regard to the Dominican Republic, the Foundation, or IFES as it is better known, was invited by the Junta Centrale Electoral of the Dominican Republic to observe the recent elections on May 16. We were also invited to participate along with other groups such as my colleagues from the National Democratic Institute, the Organization of American States, and the Center for Electoral Promotion and Assistance (CAPEL), based in San Jose, Costa Rica.

My purpose in appearing before you today is to share with you the observations of the 20-member observer team that we fielded during the recent elections. This team was headed by our chairman, Mr. Manatt, and it included some of the most prestigious election, senior election officials from the hemisphere from countries such as Ecuador, El Salvador, from Canada, and we also had a large contingent who participated from the Electoral Commission in Puerto Rico. Additionally, we had civic education leaders, academics, and we had a number of constitutional lawyers who participated.

While in country we organized our team so that we were able to observe in all of the provinces—in 12 of the provinces of the country. The focus of our mission was more on election administration issues, and especially as they related to guaranteeing the transparency of the vote.

I concur with the statements that were made by the members of the committee, and also Congressman Solarz, with regard to the impressive way the Dominicans turned out and demonstrated their commitment to democracy. In fact, I would dare say that the Dominican Republic set an example that all other countries in the world should follow in terms of encouraging the citizens to get out and exercise their right to vote.

The turnout was historic in proportion. Approximately 1 million more Dominicans voted in the 1994 elections than participated in the last ones that were held in 1990. So it really does demonstrate their deep commitment to democracy, and it also enhances the responsibility of all of the members of the international community and especially the observer team with regard to providing whatever support to encourage the democratic process.

Basically, the members of our team for the most part reported that in the city of Santo Domingo there did not appear to be major problems other than ones that are normally associated, mainly logistical problems such as late opening of the polls and some problems with regard to large numbers, large lines and how people were admitted to polling centers so that they didn't become overcrowded.

There was a little bit of confusion also with regard to the placement of some of the voting tables, and some citizens were confused about exactly where they were supposed to vote. So these were the kinds of problems that basically were encountered.

One word that I think should be offered is as an example of the interest of the Dominican people. I know personally what I saw on election day, and we began at 5:30 in the morning to witness the preparation for the polls. The polls opened at 6. They were supposed to have closed at 6 p.m. and in the end they actually wound up officially closing at 9 p.m.

What we witnessed was a people who really found out what the mechanics of the voting process were all about, and people came, they showed up, they basically knew what to do, they knew what the process was, and also I think word must also be mentioned about the work of the Dominican poll workers.

This time, in comparison with 1990, the number of voting tables, or mesas, was dramatically increased. In 1990 it was around 6,600. This time it was almost 10,000 voting tables, and those officials that worked at those tables spent long, hard hours and generally seemed to do a fairly good job, on the basis of the reports of our observer team.

With regard to the problems that have arisen and the discussion with regard to irregularities that potentially can tarnish and lessen the impact of the overwhelming will of the Dominican people in terms of turning out at the polls, the biggest problem that our team discovered was exactly the one that Congressman Solarz just mentioned.

Our teams early in the morning began to call in and report that in certain cities, not in every city, but in certain cities—in fact, we recorded a list of at least 10 cities around the country including Santiago, which is the second largest city, that there were instances of people who showed up to vote in good faith, they had their voting card, but for some reason they did not appear on the official lists that the officials were provided by the Junta Centrale Electoral.

In many instances they did appear on the list that were provided by the party poll workers, and this is a particular issue that our organization is continuing to look at closely to determine why—how this could happen. But apparently there was a problem in terms of the configuration of the lists that the polling officials used at the

tables. Those were set up in alphabetical order. The list that was given to the political parties, it was given to them Wednesday prior to the elections, for some reason that list was configured on the basis of the number of the identity card, or the cedula, and in many instances our teams reported that somewhere in the neighborhood of 8 to 10 people per table in many of these 10 cities reported that they were not able to vote.

We immediately made contact with our colleagues. And again I want to say a special word of thanks to Congressman Solarz and all the folks from the National Democratic Institute as well as the people from the Organization of American States. We all felt that it was very important that we collaborate very closely, and so it became evident that the only solution to this particular problem was to allow people who had a card to vote if their name appeared on at least two of the party lists. This was a solution that was not only one apparent to the international observers, but I think it should be mentioned, again to the credit of some of the Dominican officials in the local election offices, they decided that was the best solution and they took that decision and implemented that decision before the official announcement was made by the Junta Centrale Electorale from Santo Domingo.

Nevertheless, although that did happen in the city of Santiago at approximately 4 o'clock in the afternoon, unfortunately, by the time the Junta received visits not only by the international visitors—observers, but also a delegation from the church, who has been very active in promoting the Pact of Civility that they got all of the parties to sign, and they also went to the Junta and urged them to revise the procedure and allow people to vote if they had a valid cedula and they were on at least two party lists.

That decision was finally made. Unfortunately, it was made so late in the day that the actual announcement of it did not take place until 10 minutes after 6, which did tend to create some confusion.

Nevertheless, based on our debriefing session, our observers in the field who witnessed this particular problem said that those individuals who were still waiting to vote greeted the announcement with great enthusiasm. In the city of Porto Plata there were approximately 500 people that were waiting in line, and they burst into applause when this announcement was made by Junta Centrale Electorale.

It also did have a calming effect. There was concern that there might be civil unrest in several cities. And in fact, several of our observers called and asked us to get in contact with the Junta Centrale to make sure that the message got out that people could still vote. So, obviously, when that announcement and that decision was made it did have a positive effect.

There was also another problem with regard to the situation that was brought to our attention of approximately 20 individuals that we were made aware of who had cedula but who the number of the cedula did not correspond to the number of the cedula and the name of the person in the system, in the computer system at the Junta Centrale Electorale. We have not been able to determine how widespread that particular problem is.



As I mentioned, there were about 20 cases of that that were brought to our attention. That is also something that we are looking into and hope to be able to determine how widespread that was.

Bottom line with regard to the election is, as you are aware, it is extremely close. I just spoke with representatives from the Organization of American States in Santo Domingo, at noon, who advise me that negotiation have been underway all morning long, being conducted by Monsignor Agripino Nunez, who is the person who headed this Pact of Civility between the parties, and the recognition is that in spite of all the problems in terms of trying to get an adequate resolution of this, of the problems related to the election, that it is very important, as you all have so rightly mentioned, that the ultimate solution to this has to be taken by the Dominicans themselves.

There have been a number of steps that are being taken. Tomorrow a recount will begin of all of the actas, which are the tally sheets from all of the tables, and the proposal has been to do this on a hand by hand basis, and that is something that is going to take some time.

But also it should be pointed out that is not an unusual procedure. That is actually provided for in the electoral law, to do this recounting. But it has taken on increased, added importance because of the events surrounding the election.

The other question is they are also looking into trying to study the situation with regard to the lists, and the specific cases that have been brought not only to our attention, but also to the church, related to those individuals who had a card but who were not on the official lists. And there were discussions underway today with the Junta Centrale Electorale to go in and really look at those to determine how widespread the problem was and potentially how many persons could have been disenfranchised.

So, to sum up, I just would like to say that it is a shame that the election in the Dominican Republic has been clouded with charges of possible fraud and irregularities, but I think the most important thing is that at this time that we are very careful in making any judgments or pronouncements, that we carefully examine all the evidence before any final decisions and judgments are made, and above all keeping in mind the important issue of sovereignty, it is important that we all recognize that ultimately the solution to these problems must rest in the hands of the Dominican people.

Thank you.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you very much.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Marte, the perspective of the Dominican community in the United States is obviously important to us, and your feelings and what it is you have gathered from people in the community is something we would very much like to hear. So we welcome you to the committee.

**STATEMENT OF RAFAEL MARTE, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE  
FEDERATION OF DOMINICAN ASSOCIATIONS OF NEW JERSEY**

Mr. MARTE. Thank you, Mr. Congressman.

First of all, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity of coming here today before the committee and to express the concern of the Dominican community living in the United States.

My name is Rafael Marte, for the record. I reside in North Arlington, New Jersey. And I have been living in the United States for 20 years, which means I left my country when I was 14 years old. However, my concern for what take place there is like if I would have left yesterday. This feeling is taking place among the Dominicans living throughout the United States.

The only way that we could really show physically how concerned the Dominicans are in the United States is if we look at the long distance carriers and check their phone bills, and we realize that the phone calls made from the date of the election to the present time is really outrageous.

Let it be for the record that the information that I have gathered, talking to people, making phone calls to the Dominican Republic, might coincide with some of the information already testified before the committee.

On May 16, the people of the Dominican Republic held their ninth consecutive national election since the establishment of the democratic system following the downfall of the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo. This past election, however, demonstrated once again how fragile the democratic electoral system is.

Numerous reports, which have already been mentioned here, have been alleged that the Central Electoral Board, controlled by the ruling party, has engaged in illegal acts that violated the basic principles of free, fair and democratic elections.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Chairman, if I could interrupt? I just get the feeling that Mr. Marte is giving the impression that he represents the Dominicans living in the United States. It says representing New Jersey Dominican community.

I just worry about folks who purport to be representing an entire community with a certain political slant. You, perhaps, are representing an organization or you perhaps are representing yourself.

Mr. MARTE. Well, I am sorry. It was my mistake not to mention—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. But I am not sure that with a statement like—

Mr. MARTE [continuing]. That I am the former President—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. The ruling party has engaged in illegal acts that violated the basic, I am not sure that we can really truly say that Mr. Marte, as nice an individual as he is, represents the New Jersey Dominican community. I know that he does not represent the south Florida Dominican community.

Perhaps he represents the entire Dominican community in New Jersey. The three of you might be better able to state whether he does or does not. But let's say what does he represent.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Being from New Jersey, we afford him certain liberties.

Your point, however, is well-taken, and it should be clear to any of those who would listen today that we recognize that in a very large and varied community there are indeed many voices.

The committee was contacted by representatives, indeed, of several political parties in the Dominican Republic who sought to be here today. It was my belief that in respect to the processes of the Dominican Government and the sovereignty of the country this should not become a forum for Dominican political parties.

I did, however, think that it made sense that we hear something of the voices of the Dominican community. As you have noted, they are varied voices.

In going forward therefore, Mr. Marte, let me simply express the hope that we can strike a balance. That some impressions of the community are shared, as best you can, not simply on behalf of your own views, but the larger community, recognizing that it is not our interest here today in causing problems for the Dominican Government or prejudging the situation, but simply in this forum to assure that there is some voice of the community heard.

I recognize that gives you a delicate and a balanced assignment, but please do it the best that you can.

And Ms. Ros-Lehtinen's comments are, of course, noted in the record.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Because I believe that having just quickly read part of the statement, and I am looking forward to listening to the rest of it, I am not sure that this is what we would call balanced, in your phrase, at all.

But I abhor electoral fraud. I am certainly not justifying them. However, I do believe that sometimes there is a certain partisan edge attached to such allegations.

Mr. MARTE. OK. Perhaps it was my mistake not to say that this is only allegations, and based on those allegations, that is where the concern of the Dominicans residing outside of the Dominican Republic might be as well—

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Some Dominicans.

Mr. MARTE. Right. OK. Some of these irregularities have been mentioned before by the two witnesses. I will not mention exactly. However, I feel that based on the information provided so far, some of the problems that have been very clear. In the sense of the report, information gathered by the press and people involved in what is taking place in the Dominican Republic, we could see that in some of the provinces, for example, mentioned before in my report, that in the province of La Altagracia the number of registered voters were only 49,554. However, there were allegations that 58,427 people voted. This means that the number of voters exceeded the number of registered voters.

One of the allegations mentioned in this report is that racial discrimination played an important factor in the election there. In the province of San Pedro de Macoris, where most of the Dominican baseball players come from, darker skinned Dominicans were routinely denied the right to vote alleging that they were Haitians.

If we take into consideration all these irregularities, and given the unofficial result that the incumbent President has a narrow margin of less than 1 percent, we can easily observe that if we correct these multiple irregularities the result of the election of May 16 will have a different result.

I would say that I am here speaking on behalf of the Dominicans who reside throughout the United States, mostly in the North-

east—to make that correction—and I am afraid that if we do not clear—if we do not have free and fair elections in the Dominican Republic and respect the will of the Dominican people, the living conditions in the Caribbean country could continue to worsen, leading to, perhaps, a number of unwilling refugees into Puerto Rico, which could become a bridge to come into the United States seeking for a better life.

It is, perhaps—our concern is that if we call for a recount, which is already going to be done tomorrow, and also mention that if the tally sheets, as Mr. Soudriette mentioned before, of all voting stations, now it is very important that the doubt in the Dominican residents can be eliminated by really observing a recounting of the ballots in the presence of international observers.

The main concern why we are here today is just to give democracy a chance and have a government, whoever it will be, whether Mr. Balaguer or Dr. Pena Gomez, to have an opportunity to govern the country without any doubt as to who was the winner of the election.

I feel very strongly that if we have a recount of the vote with strict supervision all those doubts can be eliminated from the Dominican people.

I really would like to thank every one of you for the interest that you have shown in resolving this matter peacefully. It is my understanding that—at first I didn't mention that there was no affiliation to any particular party involved, whether the opposition or the ruling party. However, the Dominican community in New Jersey and in the metropolitan area is very concerned as to what is taking place in the Dominican Republic. I feel very strongly that if we let the process work the result can be beneficial to all Dominicans living there and here as well.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Marte appears in the appendix.]

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Marte.

I want members of the community to know that, in fact, this hearing was put together on several days' notice because of the unfolding situation. But indeed, if there is a reason in the future to revisit the issue, we will ensure that all members of the Dominican community in the United States representing different perspectives get an opportunity to participate.

Thank you very much for your testimony.

Much now rests in the credibility of the Central Election Board, how it is they look at the results and what it is they prescribe. From your contact with that Board, I would appreciate your view and your confidence in their capacity to deal with the problem, their objectivity and the degree to which they are representative, since we are now so dependent upon them in these next few days.

Mr. Solarz.

Mr. SOLARZ. That is a very good question, Mr. Chairman, and one which I asked myself when I was in Santo Domingo. In the immediate aftermath of the election when it had already become clear that there were widespread irregularities and that the opposition was almost certain to conclude that the election had been stolen, I asked one of the leading diplomats in the country and one of the leading figures in the church whether they thought it would be possible for the opposition to get justice from the Junta Centrale

Electorale, because I told them that I would personally find it very difficult to urge someone to utilize a process and procedure if I felt there was no hope that justice would be done, assuming they had a case that would justify in one form or another an action that might change the results of the election. And I was told by both of these gentlemen that in their view it was not inconceivable that justice could be done.

As you may know, there are five members of the Junta Centrale Electorale, three of whom are associated with the government, two of whom are associated with the opposition. Four years ago, as I understand it, all the members of the Junta Centrale came from the government.

But there was a feeling on the part of people who are somewhat more familiar with the personalities involved than I am that it was possible. That if the opposition can conclusively demonstrate that the magnitude and character of the disenfranchisement was such that it probably exceeded the margin by which Mr. Balaguer had won, that some kind of appropriate remedial action might be taken. And on that basis, I felt entirely comfortable in urging Mr. Pena and his followers to utilize the established procedures because—

Mr. TORRICELLI. But is that in fact the burden that has to be met? You know, in an election that is decided by 29,000 votes you could almost conclude that the margin of victory could be produced by a series of late buses.

Is the burden not instead—goes to the intent of whether indeed mistakes that occurred—polls that opened late, inefficiencies, registration cards that were not excepted—there must be a pattern and a clear intention of disenfranchisement, not simply that the numbers are sufficient to make a difference.

Mr. SOLARZ. Well, my guess is you want to take both into account. Let's take one hypothetical example. Supposing it was determined that the number of people who were deprived of the right to vote numbered 10,000. And let's further hypothesize that it was determined that these people were deliberately deprived of the right to vote as the result of some kind of partisan manipulation.

And let's further determine—hypothesize that you concluded that every one of the 10,000 would have voted for Mr. Pena. Under those circumstances I might insist or ask that those who were responsible for this manipulation be held accountable and brought to justice if it violated Dominican law.

But insofar as the election itself is concerned, if that is the most that could be shown I would not be uncomfortable with a conclusion from the Junta Centrale that that by itself would not have affected the outcome of the election.

Furthermore, you can't assume, even if more than 29,000 were deprived of the right to vote, that every one of them would have voted for Mr. Pena. Some probably would have voted for Mr. Bosch. Possibly some of them would have voted for Mr. Balaguer as well.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Now, on the issue of the independence and credibility of indeed the Central Election Board there may be a tendency of all of us to withhold judgment on their operations until we see the outcome of their decision. I think what matters is that before we know what they prescribe, whether from your contacts

with them you are convinced of their impartiality, their objectivity, and their capability.

Mr. SOLARZ. I wish I could tell you that I am convinced of their impartiality and objectivity. I simply cannot on the basis of my dealings with them, which by and large were not by any means unpleasant, which were cooperative. Some of them, I thought, were highly professional. But I cannot tell you that I am absolutely confident of their impartiality.

What I can tell you is that I am confident that there is a sufficient possibility that justice will be done that I think it would be wise on Mr. Pena's part and the part of his followers to proceed on the assumption that the Junta Electorale, or at least a majority of its members, will act fairly and impartially.

And if it turns out that they don't, if an overwhelming case is made for some remedial action and the Junta Centrale operating clearly on the basis of purely partisan considerations rejects it, then I think they will have to consider other alternatives.

But it would be a mistake, Mr. Chairman, at this point to conclude that there is no hope whatsoever of justice and therefore they shouldn't bother to participate in what could turn out to be a charade.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Soudriette. Or Mr. Marte.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Mr. Chairman, just as a point of order, to follow up on what Congressman Solarz has said, in 1990 the Junta Centrale Electorale had three members and they were all three from the governing party, the Reformista Party. The present make-up of the Board is five members, as he mentioned, three from the governing party, one from the Party de Revolucionaria Dominicana, which was Pena Gomez, and one as the Parte de Liberale Dominicano.

Mr. TORRICELLI. And are they appointed by the party or do they just happen to be members of the party.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. No, they—each party was designated to have—

Mr. TORRICELLI. So it is their own choice.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Their own choice; yes.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Marte, what is your analysis of the operations of the Board?

Mr. MARTE. OK. I feel personally that if the Board really give the opportunity to international observers to watch the process of counting all the doubts that right now have been implanted in the Dominican people, because you are talking about both candidates right now which are heading the elections. Joaquin Balaguer and Pena Gomez both have over 1 million votes cast already, and counted.

So, if we leave the process the way it is and just proclaim either one as the winner there will be so many doubts in so many people, and by really—clearly the process will leave the Dominican people with the certainty.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Soudriette, do we know in fact whether international observers will be part of the recount process as they were with the original observer missions?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. All I know is that one of the members of our team has been specifically asked to return.

Mr. TORRICELLI. To return.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. And he is the gentleman that basically served as the computer adviser to all three of our observer teams.

Mr. TORRICELLI. See, this issue of the popular press carrying a number of 200,000 people that may have been disenfranchised. Is there anyone who would speak to, in fact, whether you think that number has credibility?

Mr. SOLARZ. I will comment on that, Mr. Chairman. And let me just say in response to Mr. Marte's observation that while I think the Junta Centrale is to be commended for its relatively prompt willingness to agree to a recount on an acta-by-acta basis, clearly in the presence of watchers from the opposition parties, hopefully with the presence of international observers, that this is not really the main problem.

There may well have been some mistakes in counting. I know there are some allegations of fraud in the counting. But the main problem, as we understand it, has to do not so much with how the votes were counted but how they were cast, or more importantly, how they weren't cast. ;.

And I do not believe that a recount by itself no matter how fair it may be is going to satisfy the concerns of the Dominican people who are primarily concerned by the magnitude of the disenfranchisement, and that is the issue that will have to be addressed.

And let me say there is a way to do that. And as of this hearing my impression is that the Junta Centrale has not yet agreed upon a procedure for doing it. But the easiest way to do it would be to take the official voter lists that were held by the officials on election day to determine who is eligible to vote.

And as I understand it, those official lists were returned together with the ballots to the municipal juntas, so presumably they are available for each and every one of the almost 10,000 polling places around the country.

To take those lists and systematically compare them on a polling place-by-polling place basis with the lists of voters that had been given to the political parties. And by doing that one will be able to establish a universe of individuals whose names do not appear on the official list but whose names do appear on the list that had been given to the political parties.

Mr. TORRICELLI. For the purpose of looking for a pattern or intention?

Mr. SOLARZ. Well, that would go a long way toward determining the magnitude of the disenfranchisement.

Mr. TORRICELLI. I think that is exactly the point. If out of 3 million people who have voted, an extraordinary 90 percent participation, if 200,000 did not get the opportunity to vote and they appear to have randomly been the victims of different problems in different communities, that is one thing.

If indeed we are finding that in selected towns where the opposition had particular strength for rather transparent reasons they were rejected at the polls, then we are talking about a problem of a different magnitude.

Mr. SOLARZ. I agree with that, Mr. Chairman. Let me also say I think you have to look at both magnitude and pattern. In other words, if you had 200,000 people that were randomly

disenfranchised and you have a margin of victory of 29,000, I think you have got a pretty good case for a new election or a supplementary election in which those people can vote. The closer you get to the 29,000 figure with the magnitude of the disenfranchisement, the more important the pattern becomes. And if you combine both substantial magnitude and a clear pattern of disenfranchisement—

Mr. TORRICELLI. Well, isn't it likely the 29,000 number is going to get reached?

Mr. SOLARZ. Well, at this point it is impossible to say. But I can tell you what our very rough estimate was, and I want to emphasize here that this is not a scientifically precise estimate. There is no way it would stand up in a court of law. But we obviously felt the need to calculate, if only for ourselves, some rough measure of the magnitude of the disenfranchisement, and the figures we came up with—and I would be happy, if you would like, to go into the methodology, but the figures we came up with were a low, I believe, of around 47,000 and a high of around 77,000. And as I say, it could very easily have been more, and it could very easily have been less.

Mr. TORRICELLI. You have no opinion on the question of whether or not you at least anecdotally saw a geographic pattern to them?

Mr. SOLARZ. Oh, there clearly was a pattern in the sense that the disenfranchisement seemed to be largely confined to roughly 6 provinces around the country. As Mr. Soudriette and I both pointed out, it was not a problem in the National District in Santo Domingo out of which a third of the vote comes. In a number of other provinces there were not serious problems.

But in six of them there appears to have been widespread disenfranchisement. And in the others there was some but it was very, very limited.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Well, first, let me thank you for your testimony. I want to yield to Mr. Smith.

In concluding, for my own part let me simply say first, questioning the credibility of any national election of a sovereign country is a serious affair. It is not to be done so lightly.

There is a considerable burden of proof on establishing a pattern, and indeed a level of abuse, that would constitute a substantive difference in the election.

It is possible that that burden could be met in this case. But I would hope that we would all approach this cautiously and indeed await all the available evidence.

We should be mindful of the fact, living in a country where the President of the United States was chosen by probably 25 percent of the eligible voters who constituted his majority, that no matter which of the two leading candidates won in the Dominican Republic, they were probably the choice of larger than 40 percent of the eligible voters.

The elections in themselves are an extraordinary accomplishment because of the number of people who were enfranchised. That does not excuse if there was a pattern to violate people's basic rights, but it should give all of us pause in passing some judgment.

Finally, I say with some hesitation but indeed out of necessity, there are going to be some who are going to find an obvious accom-



modation of Dominican and American interests in the coming days, if the burden is met and these elections are questioned. That is, the United States is at the moment very dependent upon the Government of the Dominican Republic in enforcing the expanded embargo on Haiti.

The Dominican Government has enormous influence over whether or not the policies of this administration succeed with regard to Haiti. The passing of judgment on these elections and the fulfillment of certain requests from the Dominican Government with regard to Haiti could make for a rather transparent accommodation. Nothing could further undermine the interest of the U.S. Government. The democracy of the Dominican Republic is just as important as the democracy of Haiti.

I know the Clinton administration would never countenance such an arrangement. It should not be offered. It should not be discussed. It should not even be considered.

Each nation's democracy is critical for its own people, and I know the people in the administration and, I trust, the Government of the Dominican Republic will also be cautious that there be no such suggestion that one policy accommodate the other.

Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And I thank the panel for their fine answers to the questions as well as for their testimony.

Steve—Congressman Solarz, in looking at the NDI report it makes the point that more than 200,000 cedulae were not distributed by election day, and also that large numbers of perspective voters with identity cards were turned away because their names did not appear on the official list.

What was the source—because it does say reportedly—of that 200,000 figure? Because that coupled with that second assertion would seem to suggest a threshold far in excess of the 29,000.

Mr. SOLARZ. To much can be made, Mr. Smith, of the 200,000 figure in the sense that much of that was attributable to people who simply didn't bother to pick up their identity cards.

In other words, we have many people throughout our country—I know they certainly existed in my old district of blessed memory, they probably even exist in yours—who are perfectly eligible to register to vote but they never bother to show up.

And in the Dominican Republic there were a certain number of people, and maybe because they were real, maybe because they were out of the country, maybe because they had become cynical or alienated, maybe because they were apathetic, maybe for the same reasons that a lot of people in our country don't bother to register, didn't go to get their cedulae.

So, it wasn't because they were prevented from doing so in many instances, but because for whatever the reason they chose not to do so.

Personally, I was far more concerned by the fact that there were many people who had gotten their cedulae who did go to the polls to vote but who were unable to vote because their names were not on the official voter list, where they presumably should have been.

Now, let me tell you this. The Saturday night before the election we met with one of the officials of the Junta Centrale and we said what are your main concerns, and at that time there had been a lot of talk about the existence of an alternative computer. This was a myth which had achieved the level of an excepted fact, and there was going to be some extraordinary sophisticated computer manipulation whereby votes would be falsely tallied on the backup computer and then somehow plugged into the real computer, and that would override the real results.

But I think we pretty much satisfied ourselves through a security check by a computer expert brought in by IFES that that was not going to happen.

But this fellow from the Junta Centrale told us that his main concern was that lots of people might show up on election day with cédulas, I.D. cards, but whose names wouldn't be in the official list. And he said, but so far none of the political parties have expressed any concern about that.

The reason I think they had not expressed any concern was that at the time the main concern, other than this backup computer, was that fraudulent or forged cédulas would be given out and that people would show up to vote with fake I.D. cards, and it was felt that the additional requirement that your name be on the official voter list was a prudent check against the more likely form of fraud.

It then turned out that the real problem was, as this fellow had anticipated, it would come in the form of people who did have cards but whose names wasn't on the list. Now, at that point I was trying to figure out how would it be possible for someone who got an I.D. card, the information for which was punched out by the computer, not to have their name on the computer-generated official voter list.

And I do not exaggerate when I tell you that in the space of a half an hour I must have asked this question a dozen different times trying to get at it from a variety of different angles, and I don't know whether it was a failure of communication, whether it was the inadequacy of the translation, whether it was due to an inability or perhaps even an unwillingness to explain how this could have happened, but I finally, you know, threw up my hands in frustration because I couldn't get a lucid answer or explanation.

And to this day I don't understand how it could have happened. You know, I could have understood if 10 or 20 or 50 or even 200,000 people showed up to vote, their names aren't on the list, and it turns out they are randomly distributed across the political spectrum. You know, mistakes happen.

But what is very difficult to understand is the fact that the great majority of those who showed up to vote with their cards who were denied the right to vote appeared to have been supporters of the opposition. And that is why we concluded that there was a real possibility, not necessarily a certainty but a real possibility, that there was a deliberate effort to tamper with the electoral process.

By whom? We did not know. How? We couldn't exactly be sure. But certainly something which deserved serious investigation.

Mr. SMITH. Let me ask this of anyone on the panel who would like to answer it.

According to the standard used by the Central Election Board, and assuming a voter is properly registered in an area, would that be sufficient proof, if it turns out they didn't vote, to suggest that perhaps they were disenfranchised? Or, would an affidavit or some kind of statement have to be made in order to indicate that they intended or tried to vote but were barred?

As we all know, people do register but then sometimes for whatever reasons, personal or otherwise, they do not vote. That could even happen in large areas where there is, for some reason, a lack of motivation.

What kind of additional check or balance will be employed, do you think, by the Junta Centrale to ensure that these people genuinely were disenfranchised?

Mr. Soudriette.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Well, as you mention, the use of staining ink is one that is—it is a practice that is widely used in countries all around the world basically as a check to ensure that people have only voted once.

In the particular case in the Dominican Republic, I personally was able to observe a case of a person who was vehemently arguing that he should be allowed to vote, and was pointing his finger at the president of the voting table, and I happened to look at his finger and it was about as pink as it could get, because that was the color of the staining ink. So obviously they were well taken in their concerns about allowing that person to be able to vote, and so they didn't allow him too. That was one of the checks.

On the other hand, the situation with regard to staining ink is something that as is the case with all kinds of systems that there is always somebody that is going to try to test the system. But that was one of the measures that was used.

Mr. SMITH. How do you go back now and figure out if people were actually disenfranchised, though?

Mr. SOLARZ. Well, I think there is a way to do it. My own view, Mr. Smith, is that if someone has a cedula which is unpunched, because if you voted the election officials were supposed to punch a little hole in your I.D. card where it says 1994, and then there is another space for 1998.

If you have a cedula that hasn't been punched, if your name is not in the official party list but it is in the—the official list of voters but is in the list given to the parties, I would consider it a rebuttable presumption that that individual intended to vote.

And, if someone can show that they were in the hospital at the time, they weren't in the country at the time, I would say that the presumption has been overcome.

Furthermore, there is another test you can apply. Let's assume a comparison of the list of the official voters to the list given to the parties demonstrates there are 50,000 people who were on the party list but not on the official list. You had roughly an 85 percent turnout. I don't think it would be illegitimate to assume that of this universe of 50,000 that had been so identified 85 percent would have voted. I don't think you can assume 100 percent would have voted. Then on the basis of evidence that can be submitted—affidavits and testimony—the Junta Centrale can reach some conclusions about what the pattern of that vote might have been.

So I think there are ways of getting at this which will enable a reasonable judgment to be made both about the magnitude of the disenfranchisement and the pattern, and then looking at both of those together I think it will probably be fairly clear to most people what justice requires.

And let us hope under those circumstances that the junta does what is just. And, indeed, what is just under those circumstances may well be to ratify the preliminary results. But if justice seems to suggest that the results were or likely could have been distorted by this problem, then one would hope they would come to some other conclusions.

And in making that decision one very hopeful aspect of the situation is the work of the Civility Commission to which Mr. Soudriette has referred, which I gather is intimately involved in the process, which has the participation of representatives of the leading political parties, and which is working closely with the Junta Centrale. I am sure they will be encouraging both the opposition and the Junta Centrale to get to the bottom of this whole affair and to make a decision in the best interest of the country based not on what is best for one party or another but what the cause of justice itself requires.

Mr. MARTE. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, Mr. Marte.

Mr. MARTE. I would like to make an explanation. The main concern is also the doubt that the Junta Centrale Electorale created in the people. The voting lists provided by the Junta Centrale to the parties were different from the final list that the officials were using at the time of the election.

Let me make an example. If a voter goes to vote and his name is not on the list, however the name was listed on the previous list given to the delegates of other candidates, the person was not allowed to vote because his name was not there.

There are allegations also that were mentioned that many names were included on the official list and not notified to the opposition parties. That created doubts, by the voters, as to what was taking place. One of the concerns that the Junta Centrale Electorale had created some people. This is why all these allegations have been taking place.

And if we give the opportunity to the Junta Centrale Electorale to explain and to allow—maybe the discrepancy is not enough, as Mr. Solarz mentioned, to make a difference in the result of the election. But most important is to clarify all those doubts so everybody could be peacefully, I would say, you know, resolved.

Mr. SMITH. Just so I am clear on one point. Would the onus to demonstrate the appearance of fraud rest exclusively with the opposition, or does the Junta Centrale have the ability to independently suggest that they themselves feel there is sufficient evidence to go forward, perhaps with new balloting in certain areas?

Mr. SOLARZ. Well, I think as a practical matter the onus does fall on the opposition here to challenge the results, and it is the obligation of the Junta Centrale to consider their complaints.

Let me say that so far, as I understand it, the Junta Centrale has not yet agreed to a procedure which would make it possible to compare the official list of voters to the list of voters given to the

parties, which would be the single most effective and expeditious way of determining the universe of those who were presumptively disenfranchised, and I very much hope that they will agree to such a procedure.

I would have to say that if they didn't it would raise the most profound questions about the integrity of the process and the determination on the part of the Junta to clarify the single biggest cloud hanging over the honesty of the election itself.

So, I am hopeful that a procedure will be worked out here, and that will go a long way toward, you know, helping to clear the air one way or the other about whether the results do in fact reflect the will of the Dominican people or whether they have been distorted.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Soudriette.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. I might add also that in addition to the opposition parties also the participation by this Commission of Civility, and specifically Monsignor Agripino Nunez, who is the rector of the Catholic University in Santo Domingo, is playing a very important role. And just this morning—well, at noon, I spoke with the officials at the OAS and they indicated to me that there had been meetings that had been going on all morning long between this Commission and the members of the Junta. So I think that there is good reason to believe at least they are making an effort also with regard to trying to resolve this particular issue related to the list.

Mr. SMITH. One final very brief question. During the campaign it was reported in the *Washington Post* that Dr. Pena said, or promised, that the four corners of the country would burn if he were cheated out of victory. Are you confident there are sufficient safeguards now in the process that he can be assured that this kind of tragic scenario won't unfold?

Mr. SOLARZ. I wasn't present when this statement was allegedly made, if it was made. I know it was reported in the press.

What I can tell you is that I had several conversations with Mr. Pena Gomez, and I came away from those conversations absolutely convinced that he was determined to work through the established procedures and to discourage those in his country who might be inclined to go to the streets and to take matters into their own hands. And I had the impression that was also the view of his vice Presidential candidate.

I was very pleased to receive those assurances. As you might imagine, our delegation encouraged him to act on that basis.

You know, some concerns, Mr. Smith, I must tell you had been expressed by some people in the country about the impact of our findings, and there was even some thought that perhaps in the interest of tranquility that we should refrain from sharing our observation with the Dominican people and the international community. I am pleased that in spite of our preliminary report that the situation has remained calm.

I would like to believe that to some extent our willingness to report what we observed may have encouraged Mr. Pena Gomez and his followers to act through the existing procedures in a peaceful fashion by giving them the feeling that their anxieties and their concerns were shared by the international community.

In any case, questions have been raised since then in the Dominican Republic about the impartiality of our delegation. Mr. Martinez, I think, asked the question pregnant with implications at the beginning of the hearing when he asked what are the interests of those who make these allegations. Very good question.

I can only speak for our delegation, and I tell you with absolute and total sincerity we had one motivation and one motivation only, and that was to be faithful to our mandate—to tell it like we saw it, and to observe this process independently, objectively and honestly, and then to share whatever conclusions we reached with the Dominican people and the international community.

I mean I have to say that if Ken Wallach, the president of NDI, when he invited me to lead this delegation had said to me, "Listen, Solarz, if you and your fellow observers find that it is an honest election, by all means report it. If you find that there has been a little bit of fraud but the margin of victory is so great that the fraud didn't affect the outcome, by all means report that as well, even including the fraud. That is OK. But if you should find that the magnitude of the irregularities and the possible existence of fraud may have actually affected the outcome of the election itself, not necessarily that it did but that it might have, under those circumstances in the interest of tranquility, we want you to keep your mouth shut and say nothing," I would have said, "Mr. Wallach, thank you very much, but get someone else to participate in this charade because I am not there to play games."

And I think that to the extent that the spread of democracy around the world, even in the latitudes of underdevelopment, is one of the most encouraging phenomena of the last several years. It rests on the faith of people in these countries that change can be brought about through peaceful means through democratic elections, and their faith in that process depends to some extent on the phenomena of these observer delegations coming from countries all over the world to monitor the electoral process in their nations.

If they believe that the observers will refrain from reporting fraud when they think it may exist, their faith in the integrity of the observer missions will diminish and their willingness to participate in these elections will decline as well.

So, I think we were faithful to our mandate. Doesn't mean we were right. Maybe we were wrong. But we called it the way we saw it.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. I just want to also add, having lived in the Dominican Republic in 1984 when there were massive food riots that took place all across the country, and as Director of the Peace Corps—my responsibility was to make sure that all of our volunteers were safe—I recognize that the potential of violence is one that is real and it is one that I think everybody has to keep in the back of their mind.

On the other side of it, I would totally concur with the statements of Congressman Solarz. Mr. Manatt and myself both met with Pena Gomez. He expressed exactly the same point of view; that it was his opinion that he had to work through the process and that he was going to do everything in his power to encourage his followers to do the same.

And I think in spite of the tension, and there is a tension in Santo Domingo, people have been a little bit reluctant to go out at night. But on the positive side there also has been restraint. And I think that all the Dominican people are to be commended for the fact that I think they are all trying to work through a peaceful resolution of the difficulties.

Mr. SOLARZ. Mr. Smith, let me just offer you one final observation, since you referred to a statement that was allegedly made by Mr. Pena Gomez about the country burning. Mr. Pena Gomez was also accused during the course of the campaign of participating in voodoo ceremonies.

Mr. SMITH. That was by his opponent, right?

Mr. SOLARZ. Yes. I can only tell you that the only voodoo I observed in the Dominican Republic was on election day.

I have no indication as to the veracity of the accusations against him or to the allegations by him.

Mr. SMITH. Nor do I, other than press reports which is why I wanted to raise it. And the hope would be, and I know this would be fully backed by every Member of Congress, that the respect for all those participating in those elections would be greatly enhanced if everyone acted with restraint. No one wants to see any violence or killings or anything of that sort.

Mr. Soudriette.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. I just wanted to add for the record that we met with Pena Gomez as we did with all of the other political parties and major candidates.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. That is my last question. I yield back.

Mr. MENENDEZ. [presiding] Mr. Solarz, let me just very—first of all, it is Menendez not Martinez. And secondly, I regret that my pregnant question caused you to feel that you had to answer it. If you know as I know representing many Dominicans in my congressional district, you will have as many views on the subject and as many interests raised—as a matter of fact, the chairman was commenting to me when he asked me to finish off the rest of the hearing that we have as many people angry at us who didn't get to participate today to say their views of what they believe is the appropriate set of circumstances. So that is what I meant.

Secondly, the fact of the matter is, however, that I think it is fair to say that I received an enormous number of phone calls when this hearing was put together, and as the chairman said, it was just a very short period of time in which it was put together.

But I think, just for the record, it is fair to say since Dominican politics is more volatile than our own here certainly in this country that, in fact, it is fair to say that no one here on the panel has participated, other than observing, of course, so that we can assuage all of the audience here, as well as others, as it may be reported, has participated in any political activity or fund-raising activity or election politics?

Is that fair to say? And this way we can cleanse the proceedings so that we cannot have to listen to all the speculation afterwards.

Mr. SOLARZ. It is certainly the case with me—

Mr. MENENDEZ. I have no doubt of that.

Mr. SOLARZ [continuing]. Mr. Menendez. But let me also add one other thing.

I gather since my departure from the Dominican Republic there has been some allegations that I am on the payroll of President Aristide and have received monthly retainers or reimbursements from him, I think of \$10,000 or \$15,000 or some such sum. Let me just say for the record that I never received a cent from President Aristide or anyone associated with him or his government, or any government in Haiti, in my life, and have no intention of soliciting such sums in the future.

Mr. MARTE. And I would like to let it be for the record that I have not participated in any campaigning for neither party involved in the election in the Dominican Republic.

Mr. MENENDEZ. So now that we have cleansed—and, Mr. Soudriette I assume is the same, right?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Yes.

Mr. MENENDEZ. So now we have cleansed the record that no one has done any fund-raising or political activities all those phone calls that I got can be answered.

Let me ask you this. Does the Junta Centrale Electorale have the ability to identify party affiliation? Do they have party affiliation in the Dominican Republic as we know it here where you are affiliated to the Democratic or Republican Party or otherwise?

Mr. SOLARZ. I don't believe they have lists of registered voters the way we have here, but the way our observers made that identification on election day was by the statements the disenfranchisees made of themselves. They self-identified themselves as supporters of Mr. Bosch's party or Mr. Pena Gomez's party. In some instances I gather there were people who identified themselves as supporters of the government.

But my impression is the only credible way to do that is to ask the people themselves.

Mr. MENENDEZ. When you say supporters of the government, I assume you mean the supporters of Mr. Balaguer's party.

Mr. SOLARZ. Yes.

Mr. MENENDEZ. With reference to—but there is no party affiliation other than the statements of individuals saying to whoever is the election person at that table challenging or being the official for that party saying I am part of your party and I am not allowed to vote. Is that basically—

Mr. SOLARZ. That is right. The list didn't indicate party preference.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Let me ask you this. Is this new? Is this election—is this a new computer system that was used for this election? Is this an old system? Has this been used in the past? Is there issues of that involved here as well?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. This is a totally new system, and, in fact, in some ways the Dominican Republic has tried to achieve in a very, very short period of time something that a number of other countries around the hemisphere are looking at, which is mainly the unification of the Civil Register, which is the record of birth certificates, and previously the cedula, or the identity card, was issued on the basis of those records. In addition to the cedula, they also maintained a separate voters list, and there was a separate voter I.D. card.



The Dominican Congress, in 1992, mandated that there would be a unification of the two systems, so they would wind up producing a combination cedula/voter I.D. card that would be one document that could serve a variety of purposes. And from a cost effectiveness standpoint, it makes a lot of sense because it is very, very expensive to go through this process—approximately \$5 per card. So the cost effectiveness of unifying makes sense.

They went through a process last year that began in February where people were told, and basically by announcements on television, radio and newspaper, both by the Junta, but also by the political parties, telling people that on a specified day in February they were to go to the voting table where they had traditionally voted in order to check the list and to make sure that the information on them was correct. If it wasn't, they had to fill out a form.

For example, if they weren't carried on the Civil Register or there was some information that was incorrect, they had to fill out a new form.

All of these forms were all gathered and in—I believe it was in June they purchased a new computer system, IBM system, and they processed all these forms, and it was basically upon the basis of that that they began—

Mr. MENENDEZ. June of this year?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. June of last year.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Oh, June of last year.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. 1993.

Mr. MENENDEZ. June of this year, we haven't hit there yet.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. The forms were gathered in February but it wasn't until I think May or June that they actually had the equipment installed and they started processing the information.

Then beginning in September they organized a series of activities that were set up region by region to basically have people come in, make sure that the information was correct, then their picture would be taken and they would be issued a—well, the information would all be prepared on a blank. They checked that information and then they had to come back in order to finish their photo and pick up their completed I.D. card.

This is a process that began in September of 1993 and it lasted all the way up until—well, the giving out of cards, because you had to go back and pick—you had to physically pick up your card, and that lasted all the way up until Saturday, May 14.

Mr. MENENDEZ. So it is a very elaborate system, it sounds like. Was the system ahead of them in terms of their ability to deal with it, or were they in sync?

Sometimes we end up with technology and the use of it and it is ahead of us and it sometimes cause us problems, although it is meant to be in fulfillment of the greater sanctity of the election process. I am wondering if that is part of the issue here as well.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. In all honesty, it was a very ambitious undertaking.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Could it have been too ambitious in the context of the time of this election?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Considering the timeframe, it was extremely ambitious, and I think your point is well-taken that that obviously could have been a factor.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, that leads to my next question. Here we have final voting in most States, we have final voting lists which are the lists we use on election day, but there is a period of time given to us prior to that election.

You refer—all the witnesses, the Congressman, and yourselves refer to a list that was given to political parties prior to the election and then a list that was used on election day in which supposedly there is a question of—major issue of names on the party list not being on the election day list.

Is that correct? Is my understanding of that—

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. Yes.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Now, under Dominican law, which is the list that is valid, the election day list or the list that was issued to the parties?

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. According to electoral law, the list that was used at the voting table—

Mr. MENENDEZ. On election day.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE [continuing]. On election day, was the list that should have been used.

Mr. MENENDEZ. So, in that respect, we have what we call pe-remptory challenges here where we get people who get blacklisted because they haven't voted in x period of time, they have moved or what not. Is that the process in which peoples' names from the party list versus the voting list on election day is the issue, or what is it?

Mr. SOLARZ. No one knows why the names that are on the party list could not be found on the official list. There are lots of theories and one can join in the speculation. But at this point nobody knows for a fact what accounted for it.

Mr. MENENDEZ. In your written testimony, Congressman Solarz, you said that 3 of the 107 municipalities nullified the elections in their localities. Could that not have been, if, in fact, this was as widespread as is purported by some, the actions taken by those electoral tables in all of those municipalities or in any electoral table where they felt, in fact, that was the case?

My understanding is that they signed, that all parties signed and then sent this to the Junta Centrale. If that is the case, and three did choose, according to your statement on page 3, to nullify it, why did others not seek to nullify it, having that power?

Mr. SOLARZ. It is a good question, and unless one interviewed the officials for the other municipalities one would not know for sure. I think this action was considered quite extraordinary, and others, I gather, were not inclined to take it.

I think the real issue, Mr. Menendez, if I may say so, is what action, if any, will the Junta Centrale take if a demonstration can be made that because of the magnitude and the pattern of the disenfranchisement something needs to be done.

And obviously, this will be a Dominican decision to make in a Dominican context. But there are, obviously, a number of possibilities. One would be to order a new election throughout the whole country. Another would be to order a new election in those provinces or municipalities where the problem of disenfranchisement was most egregious. A third possibility might be to have a supple-

mentary election in which only those who were disenfranchised the first time would be able to vote in this supplementary election.

And if, in fact, the official voter lists are still available, and if the party lists are still available, it would at least be technically possible to establish a procedure for a supplementary election in which only those who were deprived the first time would be entitled to vote a second time.

But whether that option was chosen or some other option I haven't mentioned was chosen would be obviously up to the Junta Centrale. One would hope, however, that if the conclusion is that the outcome of the election could very easily have been influenced by the magnitude of the irregularities, and perhaps even illegalities, that some action will be taken to give the Dominican people to work their will under circumstances where the conclusion can be accepted by the great majority of the people.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Yes, Mr. Soudriette.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. I did want to mention that during the course of the day there were several local juntas that did take the decisions to respond and resolve this particular problem of people not being on the official list. In the city of Santiago, which is the second largest city in the Dominican Republic, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the local—the municipal junta there, they made the decision to go ahead and respect and allow people to vote if they had the cedula but if their names appeared on at least two of the party lists.

And I understand that that also did happen in some other localities, but I am not sure exactly which ones at this point. But Santiago is a pretty significant factor in this given the size.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Let me just ask this one final question, just for information. My understanding is the election was extended by agreement of the parties to 3 hours, and I read somewhere else 2 hours. They extended it 3 hours. And during those 3 hours do we know how many more people voted?

Mr. SOLARZ. We don't for a fact. But we do know based on the reports of our observers that the implementation of this directive was intermittent and largely ineffectual. And the conclusion we reached was that the great bulk of those who had been disenfranchised earlier in the day did not end up voting during the extended hours either because they had already gone home or they couldn't be found or the local polling place refused to permit them or for some related logistical reason, although there were some who did take advantage of this opportunity and vote during the extended period.

Mr. MENENDEZ. One last question, which doesn't go to the heart of the issue, but for our colleagues who, hopefully, will be reading this transcript. My understanding is that, for example, the NDI is there as part of U.S. appropriations for democratic initiatives or partly subsidized by that. Maybe not this particular instance, but generally speaking. And democracy funding has been dropped in the 1995 foreign assistance appropriations legislation that is now pending before the House.

As persons who are concerned about observations and to be able to testify firsthand as you have today, do you think that that is good policy?

Mr. SOLARZ. I think it would be truly unfortunate if the requested levels of funding for the democracy programs were significantly reduced. If anything, we should be spending more rather than less.

The work of observer delegations in the Dominican Republic I think were essential in creating a climate in which people felt that there were real opportunities for peaceful change through a democratic political process.

I think the larger national interest of our country would be poorly served by the decline in the number of democracies around the world. Indeed, together with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, the single most encouraging international development of the last several years has been the extent to which democracy has swept across the Western Hemisphere, significant parts of Africa, key countries in Asia, and certainly Eastern Europe and parts of the former Soviet Union, and we have a vital national interest in sustaining and supporting that development.

My impression, Mr. Menendez—and I apologize for mispronouncing your name the first time around. My impression is that we ought to be doing even more than we are doing, and the amounts that are being requested are a pittance in comparison to what we are spending on defense and other international programs.

So, if what happened in the Dominican Republic is any example, I think it indicates that the money that is being spent is being well spent and is serving important American interests and values.

Mr. SOUDRIETTE. I think I would concur totally with what Congressman Solarz has said, and would add that if the United States as the leading democracy sends a message that we are curtailing our support for democracy initiatives, that sends a message, well the work is done and we don't need to worry about it any more.

The fact is that, yes, there has been a wave of democracy that has spread around the world, but the difficult part is institutionalizing it and making sure that it takes root. So I think that the support that the Congress and the United States has given to democracy initiatives has played a very important part and has really served as a leader for many other countries and many other multi-lateral institutions like the U.N. and the European Community.

So I would discourage any effort to diminish this. And thank you for all of your support for democracy programs.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Well, I want to thank all of the panelists on behalf of the chairman and the committee for your testimony today. It certainly was insightful for us to hear.

I know that the chairman expressed his concern to me to relate to the audience at large that we will be continuing watching the developments that happen with a keen eye, interested in that certainly democracy is preserved and that, in fact, people in terms of their democratic rights to vote are preserved as well, and we look forward to pursuing this in the days ahead.

And with that this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:39 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

# APPENDIX

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OPENING STATEMENT  
CHAIRMAN ROBERT G. TORRICELLI  
HEARING ON DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ELECTION  
MAY 24, 1994

Last Monday, voters in the Dominican Republic went to the polls in an attempt to strengthen their 28-year-old democracy. By many counts, the elections were a success. Observers reported record voter turnout levels of near 90%. Indeed, the turnout was so heavy that election officials worked diligently to keep polls open an extra three hours to accommodate the large number of voters.

However, these elections have also been marred by allegations of irregularities and fraud. When the vote count was stopped last Thursday with 223 of 9,528 precincts remaining, President Joaquin Balaguer, the 87-year-old incumbent, was ahead of his closest challenger, Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, by only 1 percent, or 29,590 votes. Pena Gomez has claimed that as many as 200,000 eligible Dominicans, many of whom are known to be supporters of the opposition, were deprived of their right to vote through manipulation of the voter lists. That claim has been echoed by some international observers.

The question now is what, if anything, needs to be done to rectify this situation. The Central Elections Board's announcement over the weekend that it will conduct a recount is encouraging, but a recount may not matter if 200,000 citizens were improperly denied the right to vote. Among the additional remedies that may be necessary are new elections in regions where irregularities were most frequent.

We have asked three witnesses to appear before the Subcommittee today to share their views of the conduct of the election and to offer their advice on what the response of the United States, and the international community, should be.

Two of those witnesses served as international observers in the Dominican Republic: our former colleague and leader of the National Democratic Institute delegation, Steve Solarz; and the director of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Richard Soudriette. Mr. Solarz will be accompanied by Mr. Patrick Merloe, Senior Associate for Electoral Processes for NDI.

Our third witness is Mr. Rafael Marte, the former President of the Federation of the Dominican Associations of New Jersey. He will be able to offer us the perspective of the Dominican community in the United States.

Events in the Dominican Republic have taken on increased importance in the United States because of that country's role in the crisis in Haiti. While the Dominican Republic's enforcement of international sanctions against the Haitian military and the conduct of its elections are not directly related, there will clearly be an effort by some in this country to link the two. Indeed, the Reverend Jesse Jackson has already suggested extending the Haitian embargo to the Dominican Republic if the border is not sealed and the elections are not deemed free and fair.

This committee, as well as the Clinton Administration, will continue to keep a very close watch on the outcome of this matter. The United States must be careful not to take actions that will threaten widespread civil unrest in the Dominican Republic, but we also have an interest in answering questions that remain about the conduct of the elections.

I am eager to hear from our witnesses about their experiences during the election and their thoughts on how we might arrive at a fair conclusion.

**STATEMENT BY STEPHEN J. SOLARZ  
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS  
OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
MAY 24, 1994**

Mr. Chairman, I am Stephen J. Solarz, a former member of the House of Representatives from the 13th District of New York from 1974-1992 and a former member of the House Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee. I first would like to thank you for this opportunity to address the Subcommittee and to see many of my friends and former colleagues on this occasion.

I am here today to speak on behalf of a 26-member international observer delegation that I led to the May 16 elections in the Dominican Republic. The delegation was organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which, as you know, has developed an international reputation for objectivity and professionalism in organizing such delegations. Patrick Merloe, NDI's Senior Associate for Elections Processes, is seated next to me. Mr. Merloe also was a member of the delegation and will be happy to answer any questions you may care to ask.

Our delegation included elected officials, elections experts and regional specialists from Europe, the Middle East, Central America, North America and South America. Dr. Virgilio Godoy, Vice President of the Republic of Nicaragua, and Dr. Fidel Chavez Mena, President of the Christian Democratic Party and former Foreign Minister of El Salvador, were among the delegation's members. A list of the members of the delegation and a copy of our Preliminary Statement of May 18, 1994 are submitted for the record.

The primary purposes of the delegation were to demonstrate the international community's continued support for the democratic process in the Dominican Republic and to provide the international community with an objective assessment of the May 16 elections. We also sought to learn from the Dominican people about the nature of the electoral process and its implications for the further development of the Dominican Republic's democratic institutions.

This was NDI's second international observer delegation to the Dominican Republic. NDI observed the 1990 polling as part of a joint delegation with the Carter Center of Emory University. That delegation was led by former President Jimmy Carter.

For the 1994 electoral process, NDI sent a five-member international delegation to the Dominican Republic from April 19-23 to assess the pre-election environment and preparations for the elections. In addition, there has been a continuous NDI staff presence in the country since May 2, which is now following up upon the delegation's activities. NDI also has worked in close communication with other international observer delegations that monitored the May 16 elections.

The delegation's mandate included the examination of three distinct aspects of the election process: the campaign; election-day proceedings; and the tabulation of results. It is important to note that the tabulation of results and the resolution of electoral complaints have yet to be completed. NDI will continue to monitor developments and will issue a detailed report at a later date.

The delegation arrived in the Dominican Republic on Thursday, May 12. During our stay we met with government and election officials, leaders of the major political parties, representatives of the Catholic Church and Pontifical Catholic University, journalists and others involved in the electoral process in Santo Domingo and in nine other regions around the country. On election day, members of the delegation visited polling stations and municipal electoral boards in rural and urban areas throughout the nation and also monitored activities at the Central Electoral Board (JCE).

The regions observed by the delegation included: Barahona; Comendador; Puerto Plata; La Romana; San Francisco de Macoris; San Juan; San Pedro de Macoris; Santiago; La Vega; and the Santo Domingo area. These regions and the routes chosen by the delegation's teams were coordinated with the observer delegations sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS) and the International Foundation for electoral Systems (IFES).

I must stress that the delegation was deeply impressed by the enthusiasm of the Dominican people in seeking to vote on election day. Thousands of prospective voters lined up beginning hours before the 6:00 a.m. scheduled opening of the polls. Large numbers of voters turned out and endured long waits in the voting process.

The delegation also noted a number of positive developments in the Dominican electoral process following the 1990 elections. These developments are noted in our Preliminary Statement of May 18. In addition, the contesting political parties were able to communicate with the electorate through the news media, rallies and other avenues leading up to the May 16 elections.

A Pact of Civility was signed by most of the major presidential candidates and formally witnessed by a commission of prominent Dominican leaders (the Civility Commission), in which the candidates promised to respect the official electoral results and refrain from declaring victory prematurely. Monsignor Agripino Nuñez and the Civility Commission have been continually engaged in the election process and are even now addressing issues that have been raised following the elections.

Notwithstanding these and other positive developments noted in the delegation's Preliminary Statement of May 18, a number of features of the electoral process were marred by serious problems and irregularities, which caused deep concern for the delegation. Among the most serious of those delineated in the Preliminary Statement of May 18 were the following.



1) The delegation noted with regret the serious incidents of violence that resulted in a number of deaths during the election campaign.

2) There were numerous reports of difficulties in voters obtaining their new identity cards (cedulas) and in correcting mistakes in the cards which they received. Reportedly, this resulted in more than 200,000 cedulas not being distributed by election day. This problem could have prevented a significant number of prospective voters from exercising their franchise. A number of Dominican actors expressed concern with regard to measures taken to protect the remaining cedulas from potential misuse.

3) There were problems at polling sites (mesas electorales) in adding the results entered onto tally-sheets (actas), which created problems with entering mesa-by-mesa tabulations into computers at the Municipal Electoral Boards (JMEs). This created delays in consolidating national results and raised questions about the effectiveness of the JCE's computerized tabulation process.

4) The delegation also registered its serious concern over the large number of prospective voters who came to the polls with their new identity cards (cedulas) but who were turned away without being permitted to vote because their names did not appear on the official lists of voters used by election officers at the polling places. The Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) claim that the names of most of these disenfranchised individuals were registered on the list provided to the parties by the JCE at an earlier date. These two parties further claim that a disproportionate number of those disenfranchised individuals identified themselves to party delegates at the affected mesas as PRD or PLD supporters.

Under JCE regulations, previously agreed to by the parties, such persons could not vote. The JCE recognized this problem of disenfranchisement on election day. In response to a request by the opposition parties lodged in the late morning of election day, and following expressions of support by all the international delegations and by the Civility Commission, the JCE issued a resolution that extended the close of voting from 6:00 to 9:00 p.m. and permitted the affected individuals to cast tendered ballots (votos observados). This action was close to the parties' request, which called for extending voting hours and allowing affected persons to cast regular ballots.

The JCE's resolution was released to the country approximately ten minutes after the polls closed, which substantially negated its impact. Members of the delegation observed that a large number of mesas apparently did not receive notice of the JCE's resolution until well after it was issued. By the time official notice arrived, some of these mesas had started the vote count and refused to permit the affected individuals to vote.

In three of the 107 municipalities, these circumstances led the Municipal Electoral Boards (JMEs) to nullify the elections in their localities. These municipalities included Banica, Comendador and El Llano, all in the province of Elias Piña. The Municipal Electoral Board

of Comendador stated in its resolution annulling elections in its jurisdiction that the voter registry of the political parties and the registry used by the electoral officials "contained different entries" and that the percentage of people who did not have the opportunity to exercise the right to vote was "highly significant." The representatives of all political parties, including the ruling party, signed this resolution along with the president of the Municipal Electoral Board (JME).

The delegation itself observed sufficient a number of instances of disenfranchisement to cause serious concern. This problem was particularly evident to our observer teams in areas in and around Barahona, Comendador, La Vega, Puerto Plata, San Francisco de Macoris and Santiago. Moreover, the number of the disenfranchisement cases which members of the delegation noted appeared largely to affect opposition parties. Members of the delegation observed this phenomenon by witnessing instances: where disenfranchised voters approached opposition party agents at the mesas and announced their intention of voting for such parties; and where opposition party agents showed lists of disenfranchised party supporters to observers and party agents from the ruling party and/or mesa election officials agreed that the numbers of disenfranchised persons and their distribution among the parties on these lists were accurate.

The delegation did not rule out the possibility that the disenfranchisement took place due to clerical or human error. The delegation noted that the pattern of the disenfranchisement, however, suggests the real possibility that a deliberate effort was made to tamper with the electoral process.

It remains impossible at this time to specify the exact number of individuals who were deprived of the opportunity to vote because of these circumstances. Nor is it possible to quantify how many of those persons would have voted for a particular candidate. It also is not possible to determine at this time that the number of votes affected by these circumstances and other irregularities will exceed the margin by which the elections are won, once the official results are determined. The delegation concluded that nevertheless, the disenfranchisement, given its magnitude and distribution, could have affected the outcome of this close electoral contest.

Given these circumstances, the delegation urged the appropriate Dominican authorities to investigate the nature and extent of this problem in order to establish (a) why so many individuals obtained cédulas but were not on the official voter lists, (b) who may be responsible for the phenomenon, and (c) what steps are necessary to correct this situation. The delegation recognized that the Civility Commission was working to establish a mechanism to remedy this situation.

NDI is aware that the responsibilities of the delegation did not end with the issuance of a preliminary statement. At the same time NDI recognizes that the appropriate Dominican authorities must exercise their responsibilities to resolve electoral problems. NDI has maintained close cooperation with the other international delegations in the post-election period. IFES also was active in the immediate post-election period. The OAS deserves particular praise for their ongoing activities following the elections.

NDI has maintained communication with the JCE and the Civility Commission to learn of steps being taken in the post-election period and to offer any appropriate assistance. NDI has requested that all political parties supply it with documentation to substantiate their electoral complaints. NDI representatives continue to meet with political parties and to follow complaints. In addition, vote-count information from a number of polling places (mesas) collected by the delegation was compared by a delegation computer expert to the count for those mesas recorded in the JCE's central computer. Also, slightly over half of mesa counts in the JCE's computer were reviewed to determine whether they contained more votes than registered voters. This analysis did not reveal any significant anomalies; however, these were not comprehensive nor scientifically drawn samples.

The Civility Commission continues to work actively in the post-election period. It requested that the tally-sheets (actas) be reviewed and that a re-tabulation be undertaken to correct any inconsistencies in the JCE's tabulation process; at the same time, the Commission called for a careful investigation of irregularities in the election process.

The JCE announced on May 20 that a winner has not yet been declared in the election. This action may provide an opportunity to investigate and take appropriate steps to rectify problems. The JCE further has agreed that beginning Wednesday, May 25: 1) a review of the actas from all mesas will be conducted to verify that they correspond to those given on election day to the political parties and to correct mathematical errors in the actas; 2) a re-tabulation of the vote counts from the actas will be conducted to verify the accuracy of the computerized tabulation process; and 3) a comparison will be conducted of the official voter registry provided to each mesa and the lists provided to the political parties to determine discrepancies.

These are welcome actions. Moreover, throughout the post-election events to date, the political parties have consistently exerted efforts to settle their electoral disputes by peaceful means. They should be encouraged to continue to do so. As the delegation stressed, it is important for the Dominicans to resolve all electoral issues and problems that have arisen. The international community should provide encouragement for a positive resolution and should support steps toward this end.

The JCE has the responsibility to promptly and impartially investigate election complaints. At the same time, parties have the responsibility to adequately document complaints and to pursue their grievances by peaceful means. In calling for remedial actions, such as for new elections, parties must demonstrate that irregularities could have affected the results of the elections.

It is critical that both Dominican and international attention remain focused on the May 16 elections to determine whether actions agreed to are completed. I am reminded of events following the 1990 polling in the Dominican Republic, when former President Jimmy Carter and NDI jointly observed that contest. Following those disputed elections, President Carter and the observer delegation recommended a series of steps to resolve disputes before the vote counting was to be finalized. This process was agreed to by the JCE and the political parties. Shortly

after the observers departed the country, however, the dispute resolution process was halted and the vote count was completed.

There are some in the Dominican Republic who are now attempting to discredit the integrity of the NDI delegation and other international observer groups, as well as challenging the impartiality of individual observers. This campaign is being waged in newspapers and on television and radio. However, by any objective standard, this effort represents a smokescreen, deflecting attention from real problems associated with the electoral process and from positive actions being taken to resolve these problems.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, may I say that I am proud of the role played by NDI's delegation, which operated in keeping with the Institute's experience in monitoring more than 25 elections over the past eight years. Our delegation fulfilled its responsibility by reporting in a careful and objective manner on the electoral processes surrounding the May 16 elections in the Dominican Republic. Our Preliminary Statement of May 18 is the product of more than nine hours of debriefing sessions, the conclusion of which was the unanimous adoption of the Preliminary Statement.

In discharging our responsibilities, we worked in close cooperation with other international observer delegations from the OAS and IFES. As the statements of these delegations demonstrate, it is remarkable that so many observers reached similar conclusions.

Thank you very much. I will be pleased to answer any questions.



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**EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERED**

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD W. SOUDRIETTE, DIRECTOR  
INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS  
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MAY 24, 1994

RECENT ELECTIONS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

I would like to thank Congressman Torricelli and the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs for inviting me to appear before this committee to discuss a critical topic with profound impact on the development of democracy in our hemisphere, the recent elections in the Dominican Republic held on May 16, 1994. This topic is especially meaningful to me because I had the honor to serve as Country Director for the Peace Corps in the Dominican Republic from 1983 to 1985. During that period, I had the opportunity to travel to every province of the country and get to know the wonderful people of the DR.

Presently, I serve as the Director of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), a private, non-profit, and non-partisan election research and assistance organization. Since it was founded in 1987, IFES has provided technical assistance in the field of election administration in more than 70 countries around the world.

IFES was invited by the Junta Central Electoral (JCE- Central Electoral Board) of the Dominican Republic to observe the recent elections on May 16, 1994. We did so in collaboration with our other colleagues from the Organization of American States, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, and the Center for Electoral Assistance and Promotion (CAPEL) in San José, Costa Rica.

My purpose in participating in today's hearing is to share with you the observations of the IFES Election Observer Mission to the DR. The IFES team consisted of observers from nine countries and included senior election officials, leaders of civic education organizations, academics and constitutional lawyers and observed in twelve provinces of the country. The IFES mission focused attention on electoral administration issues and the transparency of the electoral process.

On May 16, 1994, the IFES mission was profoundly impressed by the Dominican people's support of the electoral process. The massive participation of the voters represents both an important example for other countries to follow and a significant step forward. The total turnout was historic in proportions, with more than 86% of the registered voters participating. One million more Dominicans participated in 1994 than in the last elections in 1990. The high turnout stands as testimony of the commitment of the Dominican people to democracy.

The members of the IFES delegation reported that in Santo Domingo, with the largest concentration of voters, aside from normal logistical problems such as tables opening late, there were no major problems on election day. IFES observers were extremely impressed with the fact that voters generally were aware of the mechanics of the voting process.

Additionally, in other areas of the country, IFES teams reported that in comparison with previous elections, there were improvements regarding distribution of election materials and training of the poll workers. Virtually all of the 10,000 voting tables or mesas had all of the necessary equipment and supplies such as ballots. This was a dramatic improvement over previous elections in the Dominican Republic when supplies were still being distributed on the day of the election. Observers also noted several other positive changes in relation to the 1990 elections such as the introduction of a unified identity card/voting card, replacement of the multiple-use ballot with a new three-ballot system, and the expansion of voting tables or mesas from 6,663 to almost 10,000.

The most serious problem discovered by IFES team members observing outside of Santo Domingo involved significant numbers of potential voters who arrived at their polling place with what observers reported appeared to be valid identity cards (cédulas), but who were not permitted to vote because their names did not appear appear on the official list used by polling officials at each voting table. Nevertheless, the names of many of these potential voters did appear on the lists provided to the representatives of political parties at each voting table. IFES observers witnessed these problems in a number of specific localities in Barahona, Galvan, El Seybo, Puerto Plata, San Francisco, Moca, San Juan de la Maguana, Vallejuelo, Santiago, and Montecristi. We are presently trying to determine how widespread this problem was and if there was any particular pattern to those individuals left off of the lists.

In reponse to this problem, IFES, along with the other international observer teams and the Dominican church leaders, urged the JCE to revise its procedures and allow individuals to vote if they had a valid identity card and if their names appeared on at least two of the lists of the political parties at each voting table. The JCE approved this change, and they also agreed to extend the voting hours from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. This decision by the JCE was well-received by the voters but was impossible to implement in various locations because the ballot boxes had already begun to be opened for counting and the surplus ballots had been annulled.

IFES is preparing a detailed report on the international observation of the May 16, 1994 elections. The report will include close examination of this problem with the voter lists as well as any other problems related to the recent election. IFES will offer observations and recommendations for the institutional strengthening of the Dominican electoral system.

At the present time, the election is extremely close, with Dr. Joaquín Balaguer of the Reformist Party slightly ahead of Dr. Peña Gómez of the Revolutionary Dominican Party. The counting of the tables was stopped with approximately 250 tables still to be counted. Tomorrow the JCE will begin the process of recounting the results of all of 10,000 tables. Additionally, they are in the process of delicate negotiations with the Commission of Resolution which was created as a result of the Pact of Civility that all of the political parties agreed to as a means of settling differences.

Presently, Monsignor Agrippino Núñez is working through this commission to achieve a favorable result that will result in respecting the wishes of the Dominican people at the ballot box. It is extremely important that we all recognize that while international observers working through the OAS can lend support, the ultimate resolution of the current situation involving the elections must rest in the hands of the Dominicans.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RAFAEL MARTE  
Representing New Jersey Dominican Community  
Before  
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC

On May 16th, the people of the Dominican Republic held their 9th consecutive national election since the establishment of the democratic system following the downfall of the dictatorship of Rafael Leonidas Trujillo.

This past election, however, demonstrated once again the fragility of the Dominican electoral system. Numerous reports have been alleged that the Central Electoral Board, controlled by the ruling party, has engaged in illegal acts that violated the basic principles of free, fair, and democratic elections.

The Dominican Republic today is in a state of political crisis which could subsume the nation into major chaos. The international observers, among which are the Organization of American States and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, concluded that there were many irregularities which violated the democratic right to vote of thousands of Dominican citizens.

Among these irregularities already detected and documented I will mention several of them this afternoon.

1) Tens of thousands of voters were excluded from the official list prepared by the Dominican Republic Central Election Board.

2) Tens of thousands were not permitted to vote after the Central Election Board reluctantly accepted the recommendations of both the parties and the international observers to extend the voting period for three more hours.

3) The voting list provided by the Central Electoral Board to the parties were different from the final official list prepared by the Central Electoral Board for controlling the election, despite the numerous claims made before the elections by the opposition parties to get final official lists.

4) Many names were irregularly included in the official final list without notifying the political parties. As a result thousands of irregular voters showed up at the voting stations and were permitted to cast their votes despite the protest of the delegates of the opposition parties.



5) Dislocation of names and their identification number were also a major factor in preventing citizens from voting.

6) Many persons illegally received two or more identification voting cards.

7) The municipal Electoral Board of Comendador, Bani, El Llano of the province of Elias Pina, voided the elections after discovering that the list of voters mainly included members of the official party -- The Partido Reformista Social Cristiano. The official act voiding the elections was signed even by the official representatives of the Partido Reformista Social Cristiano.

8) In many provinces such as San Cristobal, Monte Plata, La Altagracia, Espaillat, among others the number of voters exceeded the number of registered voters. For example, in the province of La Altagracia the number of registered voters is 49,554, however 58,427 people voted. This means that the number of registered voters was exceeded by 20,850.

9) Racial discrimination played a very important role in the election.

In the province of San Pedro de Macoris where most of Dominican Baseball players come from, dark skinned Dominicans were routinely denied the right to vote alleging that they were Haitians.

If we take into consideration all these irregularities and given the unofficial results that give the incumbent President Jocquin Balaguer, a narrow margin of 27,355, which represents a lead of less than one percent over his major opponent Jose Pena Gomez. We can easily observe that the correction of these multiple irregularities could change the final results of the May 18 election.

I am here speaking on behalf of thousands of Dominicans who reside throughout the United States, mostly in the northeast.

I am afraid that if we so not have free and fair elections in the Dominican Republic and the will of the Dominican people is not respected, living conditions in this Caribbean Country will continue to worsen, leading to another flotilla of refugees into Puerto Rico, which is used as a bridge to come to the United States in search of a better life.

If the actual conditions prevail we might have an illegal government. Today I come in front of you to ask that a fact-finding mission led by U.S. Representatives and members of Presidents Clinton's Administration, travel immediately to the Dominican Republic to demand from the Dominican Central Electoral Board the following:

- a) A recount of the ballots cast in the past election.
- b) The auditing of the tally sheet of all voting stations.
- c) Examination of all computer transactions and programs used to count the votes to determine the validity of the vote counting.
- d) Distribution of the voting list used by the Dominican Republic Central Electoral Board must be given to international observers and to all party delegates.

To conclude, if the election irregularities are not corrected satisfactorily, new national elections should be held under strict supervision of international observers.

I want to thank you for the special interest that you have demonstrated in helping us to solve this serious crisis.



## NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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### PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

May 18, 1994

#### NDI INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE MAY 16 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ELECTIONS

This is the preliminary statement of a 26-member international delegation that observed the May 16 elections in the Dominican Republic. The delegation, organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), includes parliamentarians, political party leaders, regional specialists and election experts from 10 countries in Europe, the Middle East, Central America, North America and South America.

This and other observer delegations have been welcomed by the Central Electoral Board (JCE), the government, major political parties, and the Dominican people. Our delegation came as observers. We did not seek to supervise the elections or certify the integrity of the process. Ultimately, it is the Dominican people who must judge the elections.

The primary purposes of the delegation are to demonstrate the international community's continued support for the democratic process in the Dominican Republic and to provide the international community with an objective assessment of the May 16 elections. We also are here to learn from the Dominican people about the nature of the electoral process and its implications for the further development of the Dominican Republic's democratic institutions.

This is NDI's second international observer delegation to the Dominican Republic. NDI observed the 1990 polling as part of a joint delegation with the Carter Center of Emory University. For the 1994 electoral process, NDI sent a 5-member international delegation to the Dominican Republic from April 19-23 to assess the pre-election environment and preparations for the elections. In addition, there has been an NDI staff presence here since May 2 in preparation for the delegation's activities.

NDI is in close communication with other international observer delegations that are monitoring the May 16 elections. In addition, members of the delegation will remain in the Dominican Republic to observe post election-day developments, which will be important to informing the international community about the evolving character of the Dominican electoral process.

The delegation's mandate included the examination of three distinct aspects of the election process: the campaign; election-day proceedings; and the tabulation of results to date. This statement is a preliminary assessment of these issues. We note that the tabulation

of results and the resolution of any electoral complaints have yet to be completed. NDI will continue to monitor developments and will issue a more detailed report at a later date.

The delegation arrived in the Dominican Republic on Thursday, May 12. During our stay we met with government and election officials, leaders of the major political parties, representatives of the Catholic Church and Pontifical Catholic University, journalists and others involved in the electoral process in Santo Domingo and in nine other regions around the country. On election day, members of the delegation visited polling stations and municipal electoral boards in rural and urban areas throughout the nation.

The delegation noted that following enactment of new legislation in 1992, the JCE took significant steps to modify election processes. The JCE was expanded from three to five members, and a new JCE was incorporated from all of the three principal parties represented in the National Congress. A new unified identity card, including a photograph, was introduced to replace the old two-identity card system. The multiple use ballot was replaced with a three-ballot system. The number of polling places (mesas) was increased from 6,663 to 9,528. The vote counting and tabulation processes were modified to enter results into computers at the Municipal Electoral Boards (JMEs) rather than all data being entered at the JCE as was done in 1990. Also, technical assistance was provided to the JCE over the last year by the Organization of American States (OAS) and by the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES).

The contesting political parties were able to communicate with the electorate through the news media, rallies and other avenues leading up to the election. The press also enjoyed freedom in political reporting. Additionally, in April the parties were provided with copies of the voter registry. In a Pact of Civility signed by most of the major presidential candidates and formally witnessed by a commission of prominent Dominican leaders, these candidates promised to respect the official electoral results and refrain from declaring victory prematurely. We are aware that Monsignor Agripino Nuñez and the Commission have been continually engaged in the process and are even now addressing issues that have been raised.

The delegation was deeply impressed by the enthusiasm of the Dominican people in seeking to vote on election day. Thousands of prospective voters lined up beginning hours before the 6:00 a.m. scheduled opening of the polls. Large numbers of voters turned out and endured long waits in the voting process.

While the performance of polling officials was uneven, the delegation noted many examples where election officials worked diligently and for long hours to discharge their responsibilities. Those election officials at the polling stations (mesas) who arrived on time, kept their polls open for the extra hours of voting from 6:00 to 9:00 p.m. and who did their best to protect the right to vote of all those who sought to cast ballots deserve praise.

Political party delegates from the major parties were present at polling places throughout the country. Party delegates received signed copies of the official tally sheets after counting was completed at the mesas and were generally allowed to scrutinize the tabulation processes at the JMEs and at the JCE. In addition, international observers generally were welcomed by election officials, party delegates and prospective voters.

Notwithstanding these positive developments, a number of features of the electoral process were marred by serious problems and irregularities, which cause deep concern for the delegation. Among them are the following.

1) The delegation notes with regret the serious incidents of violence that resulted in a number of deaths during the election campaign.

2) The delegation received allegations from credible sources of the use of state resources for partisan campaign purposes.

3) The delegation also noted significant problems and irregularities in the electoral process. There were numerous reports of difficulties in voters obtaining their new identity cards (cedulas) and in correcting mistakes in the cards which they received. Reportedly, this resulted in more than 200,000 cedulae not being distributed by election day. This problem could have prevented a significant number of prospective voters from exercising their franchise. A number of Dominican actors expressed concern with regard to measures taken to protect the remaining cedulae from potential misuse.

4) Many mesas opened quite late, which resulted in long lines, confusion and frustration for prospective voters.

5) There were problems in adding the results entered onto tally-sheets (actas), which created problems with entering mesa-by-mesa tabulations into computers at the JMEs. This created delays in consolidating national results, which could raise questions about the effectiveness of the JCE's computerized tabulation process. In addition, there was occasional ineffectiveness of the indelible ink, as well as occasional minor problems with missing materials.

6) Control of all broadcast media is concentrated in the JCE during the election. All news is blocked at this time, including foreign cable news programs. The delegation notes that it may be appropriate to restrict reports of election results or of public opinion polls concerning the election until voting has concluded; however, blocking all broadcast news programs may contribute to the perception of a lack of transparency in the election process.

7) The delegation also wishes to register its serious concern over the large number of prospective voters who came to the polls with their new identity cards (cedulas) but who were turned away without being permitted to vote because their names did not appear on the official lists of voters used by election officers at the polling places. The Dominican

Revolutionary Party (PRD) and the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD) claim that the names of most of these disenfranchised individuals were registered on the list provided to the parties by the JCE at an earlier date. These two parties further claim that a disproportionate number of those disenfranchised individuals identified themselves to party delegates at the affected mesas as PRD or PLD supporters.

Under JCE regulations, previously agreed to by the parties, such persons could not vote. The JCE recognized the problem of disenfranchisement. In response to a request by the opposition parties, and following expressions of support by all the international delegations and by the commission established by the Pact of Civility, the JCE issued a resolution that extended the close of voting from 6:00 to 9:00 p.m. and permitted the affected individuals to cast tendered ballots (*votos observados*).

The resolution was released to the country approximately ten minutes after the polls closed, which substantially negated its impact. Members of the delegation observed that a large number of mesas apparently did not receive notice of the JCE's resolution until well after it was issued. By the time official notice arrived, some of these mesas had started the vote count and refused to permit the affected individuals to vote. In three of the 107 municipalities, these circumstances led the Municipal Electoral Juntas (JMEs) to nullify the elections in their localities.

The delegation observed sufficient number of instances of disenfranchisement to cause serious concern. Moreover, a disproportionate number of the disenfranchisement cases which members of the delegation noted appeared to affect opposition parties.

The delegation does not rule out the possibility that the disenfranchisement took place due to clerical or human error. The pattern of the disenfranchisement, however, suggests the real possibility that a deliberate effort was made to tamper with the electoral process.

It is impossible to specify at this time the exact number of individuals who were deprived of the opportunity to vote because of these circumstances. Nor is it possible to quantify how many of those persons would have voted for a particular candidate. It also is not possible to determine at this time that the number of votes affected by these circumstances and other irregularities will exceed the margin by which the elections are won, once the official results are determined. Nevertheless, the disenfranchisement, given its magnitude and distribution, could affect the outcome of the elections.

Given these circumstances, the delegation urges the appropriate Dominican authorities to investigate the nature and extent of this problem in order to establish (a) why so many individuals obtained cedulas but were not on the official voter lists, (b) who may be responsible for the phenomenon, and (c) what steps are necessary to correct this situation. The delegation recognizes that the Commission established by the Church under the Pact of Civility is working to establish a mechanism to remedy this situation.

The delegation wishes to emphasize that throughout the pre-election and election day period, we have maintained contact with a variety of actors involved in the electoral process. These actors have been invited to provide the delegation with evidence of fraud, manipulation or wide-spread irregularities that could affect the outcome of the elections. The delegation praises the political parties' efforts to settle their electoral disputes by peaceful means in this post-electoral period, and urges that they continue to do so. We believe it is important for Dominicans to resolve all issues and problems that have arisen, and that non-Dominicans should only participate in this process where invited.

Members of the delegation will remain in the Dominican Republic to monitor post-election developments, and NDI will release a more detailed report at a later date.



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**NDI INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION  
NATIONAL ELECTIONS**

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC  
May 12-18, 1994**

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Former Member of Congress  
UNITED STATES

**Richard Boswell**  
University of California  
Hastings College of Law  
UNITED STATES

**Santiago Canton**  
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EL SALVADOR

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Former Vice Presidential Candidate  
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**Judith Cooper**  
Former Vice-Chair  
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NDI Latin America Programs

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# NDI Latin America Programs

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## Chronology of NDI Programs in Latin America

*ARGENTINA*

- August 1985 Sent a delegation to participate in a seminar on legislative reform in Buenos Aires.
- April 1987 Convened an international seminar on constitutional reform in Buenos Aires, which included political leaders and constitutional experts from Europe, Latin America and the United States.
- December 1988 Sponsored a program held in the Dominican Republic on civil-military relations in Argentina.
- April 1989 Invited Argentine political and military leaders to Washington to meet with leading U.S. experts on defense policy.
- July 1989 Organized an international seminar held in Montevideo, Uruguay, on civil-military relations that endeavored to promote healthier civil-military relations in Argentina.
- August 1993 Provided technical assistance to political parties during a seminar on electoral reform in Buenos Aires.
- November 1993 Held a seminar on women in politics for aspiring female political leaders in Buenos Aires.

*BOLIVIA*

- February 1991 Sponsored a seminar on electoral processes for Bolivian political leaders.
- April 1992 Held a seminar on legislative reform in La Paz.
- February 1993 Conducted a seminar on political party legislation for Bolivian legislators.

*BRAZIL*

- February 1986      Invited a group of Brazilian legislators to the U.S. to meet with state and federal officials to discuss the role of the legislature in the budget process.
- September 1987    Sponsored a conference in Brasilia on constitutional reform and the budget process.
- September 1988    Invited senior staff members from the Brazilian Senate to the United States to observe and discuss the role of legislative support staff.

*CHILE*

- May 1985            Held a conference in Washington D.C. on democracy in Latin America that brought together the leaders of Chile's fragmented democratic opposition parties and helped foster the development of the National Accord, a framework for the peaceful restoration of democracy in Chile.
- May 1986            Organized a conference in Caracas on the transition to democracy in Chile that helped the democratic opposition reaffirm its common purpose.
- September 1987-  
October 1988        Provided technical assistance and financial support to the free election movement to register voters for the national plebiscite and promote the "no" vote.
- October 1988        Sent a 55-member international observer delegation to the presidential plebiscite. Former Governor Bruce Babbitt, former Special Envoy to NATO countries Peter Dailey and former Presidents of Spain and Colombia Adolfo Suarez and Misael Pastrana, respectively, led the delegation.
- November 1989      Sponsored an international observer delegation to the national elections.
- November 1991      Organized an international group of municipal experts to assist Chilean congressional efforts to strengthen local government structures.

*COSTA RICA*

June 1988            Conducted a conference in San José for Latin American political leaders to discuss Costa Rica's success in maintaining a vibrant democracy. This was the third such conference, following Israel and Botswana, in a series of studies on successful democracies in regions of crisis.

*CUBA*

June 1991            Organized an international conference in Caracas that enabled Cuban democratic groups in exile to acquire practical information on democratic transitions elsewhere.

*DOMINICAN REPUBLIC*

May 1990            Sponsored an international observer delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, to the presidential election.

May 1994            Organized an international observer delegation, led by former U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz, to the presidential and legislative elections.

*EL SALVADOR*

1988                 Organized a survey mission to San Salvador to assess the legal and administrative framework for the 1989 presidential election.

November 1991     Participated in a mission to assess Salvadoran civic organizations.

March 1994           Began local governance program in El Salvador by sending a survey team to assess formal and informal mechanisms for citizen participation in municipal government.

*GUATEMALA*

- 1990 Sent pre-election mission to assess the election environment.
- November 1990 Sent an international observer delegation, led by former Governor Bruce Babbitt, to monitor the national elections.

*GUYANA*

- 1992 Provided the Electoral Assistance Bureau (EAB), a nonpartisan Guyanese civic organization, with financial and technical assistance in preparation for the October national election. The EAB trained party pollwatchers and assisted the international observer delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter.
- March 1994 Began program to provide the EAB with technical and financial assistance in preparation for the 1994 municipal elections.

*HAITI*

- August 1986 Sponsored the first in a series of political party building workshops held in Puerto Rico for Haiti's 17 major political parties.
- December 1986 Sent a survey mission to assess the electoral framework and provide technical assistance.
- March 1987 Organized an international observer delegation to the referendum on Haiti's new constitution.
- June 1987 Conducted a second political party building workshop.
- November 1987 Sent an international observer delegation to the national elections, which were aborted due to military-sponsored violence.
- July-Sept. 1990 Conducted two sets of pre-election assessment missions along with party development workshops with democratic parties.

- December 1990      Sponsored an international observer delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, to the Haiti's first free elections.
- October 1993      Sent a survey mission for a civil-military relations and parliamentary party building programs proposed in early 1991.
- April 1994        Sponsored a delegation of five Haitian parliamentarians to observe the NDI seminar on "Civil-Military Relations: A Comparative Vision" in Managua, Nicaragua.

## *MEXICO*

- August 1991      Provided the Council for Democracy with technical and financial assistance to organize an independent vote tabulation of the Mexico city municipal elections.
- April 1992        Provided financial assistance to the Council for Democracy to conduct a seminar on electoral reform in Mexico City. Also sponsored the participation of international experts in the forum.
- June 1992        Organized programs providing technical assistance to civic organizations to mount an independent vote tabulation of gubernatorial elections in the state of Chihuahua and conduct a seminar on election observation.
- September 1992   Continued work with the Council for Democracy in conducting an independent vote tabulation of the gubernatorial and mayoral elections in the state of Sinaloa.
- December 1992   Collaborated with Mexican civic organizations to conduct studies related to the elections in Tamaulipas. Studies focussed on media coverage, registration lists, training of election observers and the election results.
- November 1993   Provided financial assistance to the Council for Democracy to participate in a domestic election observation effort and an independent vote tabulation of the gubernatorial and municipal elections in Yucatan.
- March 1994       Conducted a joint seminar with the Mexican Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) on democratization and the electoral process. Sponsored participation of four international experts on election processes from the Philippines, Paraguay, Portugal and the United States.



April 1994 Sponsored a national training seminar on election observation. More than 120 civic leaders from throughout Mexico participated in the event.

## *NICARAGUA*

July 1987 Sponsored the participation of international experts to a conference on political party building held in Madrid for Nicaragua's principal opposition parties.

1988 Sent international experts to Managua to begin consultations on political party building.

July 1989 Organized a workshop on political party building for opposition parties in anticipation of the 1990 national elections.

1990 Helped administer congressionally appropriated assistance supporting the election process in Nicaragua. The program included a national voter education and pollwatching effort.

December 1992 Conducted a series of consultations on civil-military relations in Nicaragua.

March 1993 Began a two-year program on civil-military relations in Nicaragua with a forum in Managua.

August 1993 Conducted the second in a series of forums on civil-military relations.

February 1994 Conducted consultations with Nicaraguan political and military leaders in preparation for an upcoming seminar and development of a working group on specific topics relating to civil-military relations.

April 1994 Conducted joint civil-military relations seminar with the National Assembly. The seminar was the third in a series of forums to promote civilian oversight of security affairs and to familiarize Nicaraguans with the nonpolitical role of the armed forces in a democracy.

## *PANAMA*

May 1989 Sponsored an international observer delegation, led by former President Jimmy Carter, to the national election.

- March, May, September, 1990 Sent three separate groups of international experts to Panama to discuss the conversion of the military into a civilian controlled police force.
- May 1993 Organized the first of two seminars designed to aid political party development.
- August 1993 Concluded second part of political party development program with seminars held in Panama City and in the interior.

*PARAGUAY*

- 1988 Provided the Asunción-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) with financial and technical assistance to conduct civic education programs
- September 1988 Sponsored the travel of five CED youth leaders to observe the implementation of a civic education program in Chile.
- May 1989 Organized an international observer delegation for the national elections.
- 1990 Continued ongoing program of technical and financial support to the CED to conduct Civic-Education programs.
- May 1991 Sponsored an international observer delegation to Paraguay's first municipal elections.
- October 1992 Continued assistance to the CED by co-sponsoring a program on municipal governance.
- May 1993 Sent an international observer delegation to the national elections and provided SAKA - a consortium of nongovernmental organizations - with technical and material support to conduct an independent vote-count.

*URUGUAY*

- June 1987 Helped conduct a national public opinion poll in cooperation with the two leading political parties.

## Summary of Model NDI Programs in Latin America

### Chile

*When NDI began work in Chile in 1985 it faced the difficult conditions of the Pinochet regime. Although Chilean opposition shunned any collaboration with the government, NDI helped the opposition to participate in the process leading up to the 1988 plebiscite on the future of Chile's political system.*

*NDI's Chile programs highlight the value of sharing other countries' experiences in democratic transitions. In 1987, NDI sent four Chileans to observe the elections in the Philippines as part of an international observer delegation. The Chileans returned to their country with experience in electoral processes that was instrumental to their own 1988 plebiscite. Equally important to Chileans was the support and expertise of the international community that NDI brought to the democratic transition process.*

NDI began working with Chileans in 1985 when it sponsored a conference in Washington D.C. on "Democracy in South America." Leaders of the previously fragmented democratic opposition to Chile's military regime were brought together with other Latin American leaders to discuss democratic development and consolidation in the region. According to Chilean participants, the conference played an important role in the development of the National Accord, a framework for the peaceful restoration of democracy in Chile signed by leaders of the major political parties.

In May 1986, at a time when anti-government violence threatened to undermine the accord, NDI, in cooperation with Venezuela's leading political parties, sponsored an international conference in Caracas on the transition to democracy in Chile. Chilean opposition leaders were joined by international political party leaders. The conference provided a unique opportunity for representatives of new democracies to share their experiences on the transition process with their Chilean counterparts. More important, the conference allowed the Chilean opposition parties to reaffirm their common purpose.

Many of the signatories to the National Accord were also part of the Movement for Free Elections (MFE), which launched a voter registration drive in preparation for the 1988 presidential plebiscite to determine if the Pinochet regime would be extended another eight years. NDI sent a team of experts to Chile in July and August 1987 to survey the election law and voter registration procedures and analyze the organizational capabilities and needs of the MFE.

In November 1987, NDI co-sponsored a three day seminar that assisted the MFE with its national voter registration drive. The seminar was attended by 300 national, provincial and local campaign leaders. The seminar helped increase the level of cohesiveness among the

opposition free election movement and developed strategies for a nationwide voter registration campaign.

During 1988, NDI sustained its efforts in Chile through a series of technical assistance programs, grants for research, civic education and election monitoring; the Institute administered the bulk of a special \$1 million U.S. Congressional appropriation in preparation for the October 5 presidential plebiscite. The funds were used to acquire computers for independent vote counting operations, to commission a national public opinion survey and to produce the literature and advertisements necessary to compete with the government media campaign.

NDI's three-year democratization programs in Chile culminated in an international observer mission to the October plebiscite. The 55-member observer mission was led by Bruce Babbitt, former governor and U.S. presidential candidate, Peter Dailey, former U.S. Ambassador to Ireland, Adolfo Suarez, former president of Spain, and Misael Pastrana, former president of Colombia. The international delegation's findings were published by NDI in a detailed report that was distributed widely throughout Latin America and the United States.

### *Nicaragua*

*NDI's civil-military relations program in Nicaragua has highlighted the Institute's ability to bring together opposing sides to reach agreement on highly contentious issues. Central to the success of this process has been NDI's credibility as an impartial, non-partisan organization.*

*Since Nicaragua's democratically elected administration came to power in 1990, one of the most difficult tasks for the new government has been the establishment of civilian control over the armed forces. Nicaragua's armed forces have traditionally been controlled by the political party in power. NDI is helping to build consensus among various sectors on the new, nonpartisan role of the military in a democratic society. NDI programs have also been important in developing a new cadre of civilian experts on civil-military issues.*

Based on recommendations made by representatives of the Nicaraguan government, political parties and the army, NDI has developed a three-year program to promote civilian oversight of security affairs and familiarize the Nicaraguan military with the nonpolitical role of the armed forces in a democratic society. The program stresses the important distinction between internal security and national defense, supremacy of civilian authorities (both executive and legislative) over the armed forces, and the training of civilian political leaders on security issues.

Since 1992, NDI has conducted extensive consultations with Nicaraguan civilian and military leaders, released a detailed report on civil-military relations in Nicaragua and organized three groundbreaking public forums in Managua with international civil-military experts and representatives of the Nicaraguan government, armed forces and nongovernmental organizations.

NDI's civil-military experts have provided information on how other countries have strengthened civil-military relations and developed mechanisms and institutions to promote civilian control of the armed forces. Following the 1993 program, President Chamorro announced several important measures to enhance civilian oversight of the armed forces. Some of these initiatives were based on recommendations made in the NDI report and during the August seminar. In an Army Day speech, President Chamorro also noted NDI's work and gave public support for continued NDI assistance in the area of civil-military relations.

Nicaraguan participants in the program have included: Antonio Lacayo, chief of staff to President Violeta Chamorro; Gen. Humberto Ortega, commander of the armed forces; Luis Humberto Guzman, president of the National Assembly; Sergio Ramirez, leader of the Sandinistas in the National Assembly; Andres Robles, president of the Defense Commission in the National Assembly; and Francisco Mayorga, director of the Civilista Movement and former president of the Central Bank of Nicaragua. As Nicaraguan participants have noted, such meetings have been unprecedented. For the first time in Nicaraguan history, political and military leaders with highly divergent views discussed civil-military issues at the same public forum.

NDI began the program in 1992 by sending a group of international experts to Nicaragua to meet with Nicaraguan political and military leaders. NDI experts provided a wide range of information on how other countries have developed mechanisms, institutions and practices to promote civilian control of the armed forces consistent with legitimate national security concerns. Based on the findings of the meetings, the international delegation wrote a report that was presented at a public forum in Managua in March 1993.

At the meeting, Gen. Ortega made several groundbreaking comments in response to the NDI report. The general said he would be willing to change the name of the army, an important symbolic gesture in improving civil-military relations in Nicaragua. Ortega also said that his departure would be in accordance with whatever new military law the National Assembly passed. He had never before been flexible regarding his departure. Finally, the general stated that he favored institutionalizing the Ministry of Defense, which has never existed except on paper.

In August 1993 NDI conducted a two-day seminar that brought together representatives of all the relevant sectors to address the role of the armed forces. The seminar was attended by more than 100 representatives of the government, National Assembly, nongovernmental organizations, armed forces, political parties, former Contra forces, the media and foreign diplomatic corps. The program was able to broaden its base of participation from the previous forum by including not only high-level officials, but medium-level military officers and civilians of a range of stature. Program proceedings were broadcast on national television and radio.

After two days of discussions, several points of consensus were reached: 1) communication should be improved between civilian and military officials through similar seminar/workshop type activities; 2) greater civilian control over the military should be guaranteed; 3) professionalization of the armed forces should continue to occur under adequate

civilian control; 4) assimilation of military officers into civilian life should be ensured; 5) an adequate military budget should be established to cover the costs of the armed forces; and 6) basic defense regulations which dictate the function and organization of the armed forces should be discussed openly by all of society.

Most recently, in April 1994, NDI conducted a joint civil-military seminar with the National Assembly of Nicaragua. More than 250 people from various sectors of Nicaraguan society attended panels and workshops on topics such as the function of a ministry of defense, the role of the legislature in defense issues and channels of communication between the armed forces and the civilian government. Participants in the two-day event included representatives of the national assembly, political parties, diplomatic community, armed forces and nongovernmental organizations. A delegation of five Haitian parliamentarians sponsored by NDI also attended the sessions as observers.

Participants agreed that a ministry of defense should be established and that all sectors should continue to strengthen channels of communication, among other conclusions. In his closing remarks, General Joaquin Cuadra, second-in-command of the armed forces, requested that NDI continue to organize programs to foster the development of consensus-based solutions to civil-military issues.

NDI brought a distinguished group international experts to participate in the April 1994 seminar: retired Gen. Guilherme Belchior Vieira, former director of the Superior Military Institute of Portugal; retired Col. Julio Busquets, former vice president of the Defense Commission of the Spanish Parliament; Horacio Jaunarena, vice president of the Defense Commission of the Argentine Chamber of Deputies and former defense minister of Argentina; retired Maj. Gen. Bernard Loeffke, former president of the InterAmerican Defense Board; Patricio Rojas, former defense minister of Chile; and José Manuel Ugarte, advisor to the Argentine Congress on defense and security issues.

Nicaraguan participants in the April seminar included: Luis Humberto Guzmán, president of the National Assembly; Antonio Lacayo, minister of the presidency; Gen. Humberto Ortega, commander of the armed forces; Andres Robles Perez, president of the Defense Commission of the National Assembly; Tomas Delaney, vice minister of the presidency; and General Joaquin Cuadra Lacayo, second-in-command of the armed forces.

Media coverage of the event was extensive. Front page articles appeared in all major Nicaraguan newspapers and many television and radio stations broadcast reports about the proceedings.

Following the seminar, the NDI international delegation had intensive consultations with the representatives of the sectors of Nicaraguan society most involved with the civil-military debate: Gen. Ortega and Maj. Gen. Cuadra; Virgilio Godoy, vice president of Nicaragua; Antonio Lacayo; Luis Humberto Guzmán; and the Defense Commission of the National

Assembly. The Nicaraguans consulted were supportive of the program and expressed their desire to participate in and organize activities more frequently.

Based on requests from the Nicaraguans, NDI is helping to organize an informal working group composed of leaders from key sectors of Nicaraguan society. The group will develop recommendations for monthly roundtables on specific civil-military topics and other potential NDI events.

### *Paraguay*

*NDI programs in Paraguay demonstrate how NDI can help in every stage of a democratic transition process. NDI began work in Paraguay in 1988 during the Stroessner regime. Initially, NDI focussed on helping local civic groups to organize in anticipation of a democratic transition. NDI programs, along with an international observer delegation to Paraguay's first open elections in 1989, were instrumental in helping to bring about democratic reform in Paraguay's political system.*

*Under the new democratic government, NDI continued to support local civic organizations working to strengthen and consolidate Paraguayan democracy. NDI developed programs according to the changing needs of Paraguayan civic organizations. When the new constitution created municipalities, NDI responded with local governance training and support. Both flexibility in response to local needs and long-term support have been vital aspects of NDI's Paraguay programs.*

NDI has been working actively in Paraguay since 1988. An NDI survey mission visited Paraguay at the time of the February 1988 presidential elections to explore the possibilities of democratic development programs. Civic leaders asked the Institute to help establish a nonpartisan organization that would promote civic education and political development.

In August, 1988, the Asunción based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) was established with NDI support to assist political leaders and parties advocating democratic reform. The CED board included leaders of the most important opposition parties, as well as democratic opponents of Stroessner within his ruling Colorado Party.

NDI has provided ongoing technical and financial support for CED activities. This support has helped the Center develop the organizational capacity to train pollwatchers, carry out mass media campaigns to encourage voter registration and participation, conduct public opinion surveys, design and implement an independent vote count and conduct a wide range of civic education programs.

For the May 1, 1989 presidential elections, NDI organized a 19-member international delegation led by Canadian Senator B.A. Graham, Chilean political leader Eduardo Frei and

U.S. Representative Bruce Morrison. The May elections occurred a mere three months after the Stroessner regime was deposed. Further, the elections took place in a country that lacked a democratic tradition and that had suffered severe repression during the Stroessner era. NDI published a 68-page report outlining the delegation's findings.

In 1990, NDI provided CED with a grant that enabled the Center to conduct nearly 200 seminars and 13 panel debates designed to increase public understanding of and participation in the May 1991 municipal elections. CED also trained pollwatchers for the elections. These elections provided the first opportunity for Paraguayans to elect leaders at the municipal level.

A 16-member international delegation organized by NDI to observe the municipal elections concluded that despite serious administrative flaws, the holding of the country's first local elections represented an important step in consolidating Paraguay's fledgling democracy. A 98 page report, published by NDI, outlines the delegations findings and activities.

Throughout the remainder of 1991 and 1992, NDI continued to provide CED with financial and technical assistance in organizing a variety of civic education and governance programs. In October 1992, NDI and CED conducted a municipal governance program in Asunción. NDI sponsored the participation of two international experts in local government who advised municipal officials. Following these meetings, NDI and CED, in coordination with the Asunción city council, sponsored a broader seminar for city council members from five large municipalities near the capital.

In May 1993, NDI undertook a comprehensive observation effort for the national elections in Paraguay. Support for a local group to conduct an independent vote count spearheaded the program. Pursuant to a grant provided by NDI, a consortium of nongovernmental organizations, named SAKA, conducted the count. SAKA released its election results within hours after the polls closed. In addition, NDI facilitated the visit of two international experts to assist political parties in identifying and rectifying problems with voter registration lists. In conjunction with the Council for Freely Elected Heads of Government, NDI fielded a 35-member international delegation led by President Jimmy Carter to observe polling sites throughout the country.



National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)  
1993 Latin America Programs

*The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs' (NDI) programs in Latin America during 1993 extended throughout the hemisphere and involved every area of democratic development in which the Institute is engaged. In Paraguay, NDI continued a series of seminars on local government, and organized an international election observer delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter. In Nicaragua, an historic forum brought together senior military and political leaders to discuss civil-military relations and the new role of the armed forces. In Panama, NDI began a program to strengthen the country's political parties at the local and national levels. In Bolivia NDI completed a program on political party legislation. In Argentina, NDI conducted two programs to promote consensus among the major political parties on issues of women's participation in politics and electoral reform.*

*Argentina*

*Women in Politics*

In November, NDI conducted a seminar on women in politics in Argentina. The program was organized in cooperation with the Argentine Women's Equality Foundation and the Lola Mora Association. The seminar focused on developing strategies to increase women's participation in politics.

The program provided an opportunity for women throughout the country and from across the political spectrum to exchange ideas and experiences on running for office and participating in political parties. Approximately 100 women from 18 of Argentina's 24 provinces attended the seminar. Participants included women from urban and rural areas who are political activists and organizers, civic leaders, newly elected office holders and future candidates. Representatives from Uruguay, Peru and Brazil also participated in the seminar.

Seminar participants, pleased with the seminar, requested NDI's assistance in organizing similar events throughout the country that could focus on leadership training and strategies for women's involvement in politics. In response to this request, NDI submitted a proposal to assist the Argentine Foundation for Women's Equality in conducting a seminar for newly-elected congresswomen, incumbent women legislators and elected women officials at the provincial level in Argentina. The seminar will endeavor to enhance the lawmaking and leadership capacities of the participants. An international delegation of women political leaders will share their personal experiences relating to legislative processes and leadership roles.

*Electoral Reform*

In August, NDI conducted a three-day workshop on electoral reform in Argentina. The workshop was organized in cooperation with two Argentine foundations representative of the major political parties: The Andean Foundation and the National Studies Center. The purpose of the workshop was to build a consensus among the major political parties on electoral reform. A paper analyzing previous electoral reform legislation was distributed in advance and served as the basis for discussion during the workshop. The paper was also published by an Argentine legal newspaper, and distributed among its subscribers.

NDI invited four international participants to participate as panelists during the plenary sessions. The international team comprised a specialist in campaign finance law and formerly a lawyer at the Federal Electoral Commission, a Bolivian political analyst currently in charge of re-writing the Bolivian Constitution, a Uruguayan historian and expert in Latin American politics, and a Spanish political scientist and sociologist with expertise in Latin American electoral systems.

Topics for the plenary sessions and workshops included: consequences of different electoral processes; governability; rules of conduct of political systems; the leading profile emerging from each system; and representation and political legitimacy. During the workshops, the participants agreed on 12 specific consensus points, such as primary elections should be held on one single day to help ensure greater citizen participation; mechanisms should be established to guarantee transparency and control over internal elections; and an independent organism to control the transparency of the electoral processes should be established. Approximately 200 people attended the program and media coverage was extensive.

*Bolivia*

In conjunction with the National Electoral Court of Bolivia, NDI conducted in February a conference on political party legislation. Participants included members of the National Electoral Court, representatives of the nine major political parties in Bolivia, members of congress, political analysts and journalists. The international faculty consisted of a constitutional lawyer from Spain; a specialist in campaign financing from the United States; and a political party organizer from Argentina.

Participants addressed three issues relating to political party legislation: campaign financing, constitutional recognition of political parties and party democratization. The conference consisted of presentations by the international participants, commentary from a Bolivian analyst and general discussion. Participants also formed small groups to discuss and record points of agreement, which later served as the basis for a detailed publication that was published and distributed throughout Bolivia.

*EL Salvador*

NDI received an AID grant in September to conduct a local governance program in El Salvador. An NDI team including international experts will travel to El Salvador in the spring of 1994 to identify the municipalities in which to conduct the program. The program will focus on technical and practical training of elected officials to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of Salvadoran municipalities. NDI will commence the program after the elections anticipated for March 1994 when newly elected officials are expected to assume office.

*Haiti*

During the first week of October, NDI conducted a survey mission to Port-au-Prince to evaluate the feasibility of carrying out programs in civil-military relations and political party building in parliament. Both programs were authorized under a 1991 AID cooperative agreement, but had been suspended between October 1991 and August 1993 as part of international sanctions imposed on Haiti following the coup against President Jean Bertrand Aristide.

The NDI delegation included State Senator Judy Ayotte Paradis (Maine), Uruguayan civil-military expert Carina Perelli, and NDI staff members. The team met with Haitian government ministers, members of parliament, political parties leaders, civic and religious leaders, the High Command and other military officers. The NDI delegation also meet with members of the diplomatic and international community responsible for implementing the July 3 Governors Island accord, by which President Aristide was to return to Haiti on October 30.

All sectors encouraged NDI to conduct a program to facilitate dialogue between the civilians and military. More specifically, a program that would overcome long-standing suspicions and differences was urged by Prime Minister Malval.

NDI had hoped to begin its two-year civil-military program in early November. However, the disruption in the Governors Island process and general political turmoil have reduced prospects for democracy work in Haiti in the immediate future. Nonetheless, in order to prepare to resume its work once the current political impasse ends, NDI is currently preparing a year-long workplan to present to AID. The plan outlines program activities in civil-military relations and political party development.

*Mexico*

In November, NDI worked with Mexican civic organizations in Mérida, Mexico, providing them with technical and financial support to conduct an election observation and quick-count program for the Yucatán gubernatorial and municipal elections.

Upon the request of various civic groups, NDI will support efforts to conduct a nationwide quick-count during the August 1994 presidential election. NDI will work in

conjunction with the Council for Democracy, a leading Mexican civic organization, to hold a series of fora throughout Mexico for local civic leaders and organizations to provide training and experience in implementing successful election monitoring projects.

NDI received an invitation from the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) to conduct a joint seminar in March 1994 to address issues relating to the electoral process and local election monitor training. NDI has discussed with IFE the possibility of organizing additional seminars before the August 1994 Mexican Presidential elections.

### *Nicaragua*

NDI has developed a three-year program in Nicaragua to assist political and civic leaders, as well as representatives of the armed forces, to build an adequate system of civilian control over the military. During 1993, NDI conducted a forum in March and a seminar in August that brought together representatives of all relevant sectors to address the role of the armed forces in a democratic society. Participants in the programs included: Antonio Lacayo, minister of the presidency; Humberto Ortega, commander of the armed forces; Luis Humberto Guzmán, leader of the United National Opposition (UNO) coalition in the National Assembly; Sergio Ramirez, leader of the Sandinistas in the National Assembly; and Francisco Mayorga, director of the Civilista Movement. They were joined by more than 200 representatives of the government, National Assembly, nongovernmental organizations, armed forces, political parties, former Contra forces, the media and foreign diplomatic corps. The proceedings were broadcast on national television and radio.

As the participants noted, such meetings were unprecedented. The forum was important for a number of reasons. For the first time in Nicaraguan history, political and military leaders with highly divergent views discussed civil-military issues at the same public forum. Ortega, who attended the March forum, made several comments that he had never made before in response to the NDI report. The general said he would be willing to change the name of the army, an important symbolic gesture in improving civil-military relations in Nicaragua. Ortega also said that his departure would be in accordance with whatever new military law the National Assembly passed. He had never before been flexible regarding his departure. Finally, he came out in favor of institutionalizing the Ministry of Defense, which has never existed except on paper.

The August seminar was also a step forward in Nicaraguan civil-military relations. Following several days of intense panel discussions and workshop sessions, civilians and military officials who had never previously met to discuss such issues reached consensus on a number of points: 1) communication should be improved between civilian and military officials through similar seminar/workshop-type forums; 2) greater civilian control over the military should be guaranteed; 3) professionalization of the armed forces should continue to occur under adequate civilian control; 4) assimilation of military officers into civilian life should be ensured; 5) an adequate military budget should be established to cover the costs of the armed forces; 6) basic defense regulations that dictate the function and organization of the armed forces should be

discussed openly; 7) the name of the military, currently called the Sandinista Army, should be changed; and 8) a civilian-led Defense Ministry should be created.

In her September 2, Army Day speech, President Violeta Chamorro pointed to NDI's work in Nicaragua and gave her support for continued assistance in the area of civil-military relations. Chamorro announced government plans to enhance civilian oversight of the armed forces. Some of these initiatives had been recommended in NDI's report, *Civil-Military Relations in Nicaragua*, which was written after a series of consultations in Managua in November 1992.

### *Panama*

NDI conducted two programs in 1993 to aid the development of political parties in Panama. The programs grew out of information gathered during NDI's March assessment mission to Panama and focus-group research conducted later in the spring. The focus-group findings underscored growing public apathy toward political parties.

In May, NDI organized a two-day seminar in Panama City on political party building. More than 100 party leaders and activists representing 18 political parties attended the event. Experts on political organization from the United States, Argentina and Chile gave presentations and led workshops on fund-raising, grassroots organization, party platforms and message development. The Panamanian participants stressed the importance of continuing to organize similar programs.

Most recently, NDI conducted a program in August which was designed to help strengthen the parties' organizational capabilities at the national and local levels, improve communication between party structures, and enhance the ability of parties to function in a more responsive way to the concerns of the citizenry. Political party experts from other Latin American countries and the U.S. led a series of seminars for national party leaders in Panama City as well as for regional and local party leaders in four cities outside of the capital.

The international trainers shared their experiences with political party organization, including building coalitions, managing intra-party relations, establishing goals and strategies, communicating policies, administering resources, mobilizing grassroots support, and identifying strategies to promote accountability.

### *Paraguay*

In January, NDI responded to constitutional reforms by conducting a local governance program that assisted local officials in clarifying their responsibilities according to the new constitution.

In May, NDI organized an international election observer delegation to the national elections in Paraguay. The delegation, sponsored jointly by NDI and the Council of Freely

Elected Heads of Government and led by former President Jimmy Carter, represented the culmination of a two-month program in support of Paraguay's election process. The potential for a close election and rumors of fraud or military intervention had prompted political leaders in Paraguay to request NDI assistance.

The NDI/Council delegation, comprised of 31 observers from 15 countries arrived in Asunción, Paraguay, during the week of the elections and met with government officials, political and civic leaders, candidates, military officials and members of the Central Electoral Board. The day before the elections, a majority of the delegation deployed to the interior. On election day, observers visited more than 300 polling sites throughout the country.

The May elections resulted in the creation of 17 new local departmental governments that are intended to provide greater regional representation and autonomy. In response to this change NDI conducted a local governance program. The purpose of the program is to assist Paraguayans in clarifying the responsibilities of this new level of government and determining the relationship between each level. Furthermore, the program helped to develop channels of communication among municipalities, departments and the central government.

### Proposed Program Activities for 1994

- Latin America Regional Program* In order to respond to needs of Latin American political parties, NDI has proposed a multi-faceted party development program that will involve leaders of major political parties and representatives of citizen advocacy groups throughout Latin America. Program participants will develop a comprehensive document outlining strategies to strengthen and modernize political parties in Latin America. The document will be drawn from discussion and strategic initiatives developed during a regional political party workshop tentatively scheduled for September 1994.
- Argentina* NDI plans to assist the Argentine Foundation for Women's Equality in conducting a seminar for newly-elected congresswomen, incumbent women legislators and elected women officials at the provincial level in Argentina. The seminar will endeavor to enhance the lawmaking and leadership capacities of the participants.
- Dominican Republic* NDI is sending an international observer delegation to monitor the May 1994 national elections.
- El Salvador* Following the March 1994 local elections, NDI will conduct a local governance program to enhance the capabilities of newly elected municipal officials.
- Guyana* NDI is providing the Electoral Assistance Bureau (EAB), a nonpartisan Guyanese civic organization, with financial and technical assistance to conduct a multi-faceted program in preparation for the upcoming municipal elections. The program will assist the EAB in conducting voter education, training domestic observers and verifying registration lists.
- Mexico* In March 1994 NDI conducted a joint seminar with the Mexican Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) that addressed issues related to democratization and the electoral process. In accordance with the Mexican electoral code, IFE will conduct educational programs on electoral procedures and organize training seminars for domestic pollwatchers. NDI and IFE discussed the possibility of NDI providing technical assistance for these programs.
- In addition, NDI is supporting the efforts of the Civic Alliance--Observation 1994, an umbrella organization comprised of seven Mexican independent civic groups, in implementing a comprehensive domestic election observation of the August 1994 national elections in Mexico. Specifically, NDI is providing technical and financial assistance to the

Alliance in developing the framework and building support for a nationwide parallel vote tabulation. As part of this program, NDI will collaborate with the Alliance to organize regional observer training seminars throughout Mexico.

*Nicaragua*

Based on requests received from program participants in the April 1994 civil-military relations seminar, NDI is helping to organize an informal working group on civil-military issues composed of leaders from key sectors of Nicaraguan society. The group will develop recommendations for monthly roundtables on specific civil-military topics and other potential NDI programs.



BACKGROUND MEMO  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ELECTIONS

The Dominican Republic held elections on Monday, May 16. Although President Joaquin Balaguer, the 87 year-old blind politician who has held office for 20 of the last 28 years, has declared victory, others have asserted wide-spread election fraud. With 92 percent of the vote counted, Balaguer had won 42.6 percent and his opponent, Francisco Pena Gomez, 41.1 percent, a difference of only about 38,000 among the more than 2.7 million votes cast. Fifty-seven year old Pena is of Haitian decent and was accused by Balaguer of planning to let Haitians take over the country.

Although Balaguer has declared himself the "virtual winner," he has not officially announced the election results. This is in deference to a "civility pact" agreed to before the elections, under which the candidates would avoid extreme negative campaigning and wait for and abide by official results from the Central Election Board. The Central Election Board is a five member board comprised of representatives of the four political parties and a former official of the Ministry of Justice.

Several election observers, including former US representative Stephen Solarz, who lead a team from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), have questioned the electoral process. The election was observed by at least six delegations, including the Organization of American States (OAS), the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), and a Costa Rican group. All the groups agree that there were election irregularities. The NDI election critique is the strongest. In response to the criticism that some opposition voters did not find their names on the voting lists, the polling stations stayed open for an additional two hours. Voters were then allowed to vote with a valid identification card, even if they were not on the voter lists. However, observers noted that the announcement of the extended polling station hours and the new policy on the voter lists may not have been received by opposition voters.

On May 19, Pena formally applied to the election board for a recount under international monitoring. The election board has begun the recount, but has not yet announced the results. During the last election, President Balaguer was accused of drawing out the vote count until the opposition to his claimed victory evaporated. The recount of this election involves comparing the official results given to election observers at each polling station with the official tally sheets. The Organization of American States (OAS) delegation in the Dominican Republic is observing this process as is a delegation from the Catholic Church. Both the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) teams have left the country.

In a three-hour news conference on May 20, dozens of Pena Gomez's precinct workers asserted that thousands of voters were excluded from polling lists and that soldiers forced some of his supporters from the polls.

Dominican history is replete with election controversies. In 1965, the Dominican Republic shed the last regime installed by military coup and, while governed by an interim civilian regime, held elections which were supervised by an Organization of American States (OAS) peace-keeping force. Joaquin Balaguer won this election although the opposition questioned the results. In an act of protest over potential election fraud, the opposition parties declined to participate in the 1970 and 1974 elections, in which Balaguer was reelected with wide margins. In 1978, Antonio Guzman, candidate of the opposition Dominican Revolutionary Party, was declared the winner, but only after a strong protest from the Carter Administration over the suspension of the vote count. In 1986, challenges of the results and accusations against members of the electoral tribunal delayed the announcement of Balaguer's victory until nearly two months after election day. Balaguer was elected President again in 1990, once more amid accusations of election fraud.

This year's election was the most closely observed in the nation's history. US concerns are three: (1) that fraudulent elections are contrary to support for democracy and free and fair elections in the region; (2) that controversy over the elections might undermine efforts to enforce the embargo on neighboring Haiti; and (3) that, if the election recount does not go smoothly, that there may be violent protests.

The US Government could strongly back the recommendations of the election observers, even if these include holding new elections. To implement our embargo policy, we could further pressure President Balaguer to live up to his commitment under the UN mandate to keep embargoed goods from crossing the border into Haiti. To help keep the peace in the Dominican Republic, we could strongly support the official process of responding to allegations of fraud and push for an early resolution of the election problems.

Balaguer has indicated that he would be willing to discuss tightening the embargo while casting doubts that his opponent will support the US policy. Pena Gomez has made vague statements but taken no strong position on the embargo. He is politically in the same camp as Haitian President Bertrand Aristide, and so may be willing to take steps to return him to power.

US economic influence in the Dominican Republic is significant. Most agricultural and light manufactured products are exported to the US. US citizens visit the island as tourists. Dominicans living in the US send over \$800 million back to their home country each year. US foreign assistance to the nation is about \$40 million per year.

EXHIBIT A
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LISTADO DE CIUDADANOS QUE FUERON EXCLUIDOS DEL LISTADO OFICIAL DE VOTANTES EN LA SECCION CANOA DEL MUNICIPIO DE VICENTE NOBLE EN LA PROVINCIA DE BARAHONA.

NOMBRES	MESA NUM.	CEDULA ELECTORAL
01 Felipe Dotel	13	079-0004125-7
02 Baldemiro Espinosa	13	079-0004 <del>150</del> -5
03 Juan Antonio Ramírez	13	079-0004361-8
04 Víctor Cuevas M.	13	079-0004101-8
05 Cabral Moreta	13	079-0004 <del>085</del> -3
06 Juana Espejo Dotel	14	079-0004493-9
07 Gaudencia Dotel Roa	13	079-0004143-0
08 Hilario de la Paz	14	079-000
09 Luca Evangelista	14	079-000
10 Carrasco Hector Julio	13	079-0004087-9
11 Pio Manuel Perez	13	079-0004 <del>552</del> -8
12 González <del>XXXXX</del> Fernando	14	079-0004 <del>584</del> -8
13 Dotel Duarte	13	079-0004124-0
14 Yan Profeta Danilo	20	079-0007306-0
15 Octavio Luis Yoset	20	079-0007072-8
16 Cecilia Baternis Alandres	20	079-0006858-5
17 Profeta Feliz Andrés	20	079-0007232-8
18 Osbaldo Dotel Martes	13	079-0004135-6
19 Feliz de León Oranger	14	079-0004513-4
20 José Antonio Vargas de los S		079-0007296-3
21 Ricardo Vargas de los Santos		079-0007297-1
22 De León Matos E.	13	079-0004119-0
23 Pedro Cuevas Mateo	14	079-0004466-5
24 De León Pérez Martina	13	079-0004222-2
25 Abel Luis Tigasón Yose	20	079-0007287-2
26 Yan Nicolas Francisco	20	079-0007304-5
27 Espejo Labor <del>XXXXX</del> Dotel A.	13	079-0004145-5
28 Figuereo Labor Fausto	20	079-0004527-4
29 Custodio Luisa Emilia	20	079-0008596-5
30 Miguel Silverio Florián	20	079-0007279-9
31 Osari Silberio Florian	20	079-0007280-7
32 Encarnación Montero Marte Ma.	14	079-0004191-3
33 González Osbaldo	14	079-0004616-5

**EXHIBITA**

**DE CEDULADOS Y FUERA DE LISTADO**

**PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO  
COMITE MUNICIPAL DE TAYAYO  
OFICINA TECNICA DE TRABAJOS ELECTORALES**

TOTAL  
843

TAYAYO, R.D.  
Mayo 6, 1994.-

Recibido el día 9 de mayo del mes de Mayo de 1994  
SESION No. 1994

Dr. Miguel García Lizarzo, Presidente  
JUNTA CENTRAL ELECTORAL  
Su Despacho  
Distrito Nacional

VIA

Sra. Sofia Leonor Sanchez Murat  
Delegada Política ante la Junta  
Central Electoral por el PARTIDO  
REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO

ASUNTO

Requisición relación de personas de-  
cudadas y que no aparecen en lista

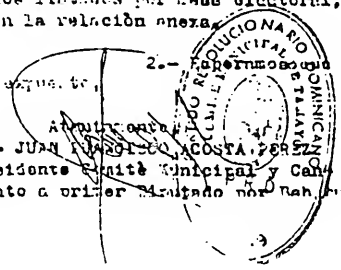
OBJETO

Lo indicado en el asunto

1.- Muy cortemente nos dirigimos a  
usted, tribunal electoral, con la finalidad de solicitarle la  
incisión en los listados por mesa electoral, de los parientes que  
se mencionan en la relación aneja.

2.- Esperamos que su excelencia dispon-  
ga atención a lo expuesto.

Agradecemos  
LIC- JUAN MARCELO ACOSTA PEREZ  
Presidente Comité Municipal y Can-  
didato a primer suplente por Tayayo.



JAP/mjvv

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.19 DE MESA ARRIBA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEBULA

1.- BENJAMIN PENA	075-0007819-
2.- BELKIS PENA PENA	076-0012454-4
3.- PASCUAL PENA	076-0007572-
4.- FELIX FRANCISCO MATEO CUEVAS	076-0014082-1
5.- ANGEL VALDEZ IOY	076-0012455-0
6.- ANICIO CUEVAS MILCIADES	076-0012425-
7.- CHARLEIS CLODE IOY	076-0012423-9
8.- HIPOLITO JIMENEZ ENCARNACION	076-0012436-1
9.- RICHARD SANTOS PIE	076-0012460-1
10.- JOSE EXILIS DECENA	076-0012438-2

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.20 DE MESA ARRIBA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEBULA

1.- DAISY GARCIA SANTANA	076-0012452-3
2.- EUGILIA TAN FELIZ	076-0012511-1
3.- LUIS ANTONIO JIMENEZ MICHELL	076-0012452-5
4.- RAFAEL DO PEREZ	076-0012475-9
5.- ANGEL VALDEZ MICHELL	076-0013924-5
6.- EARCJELIO MENDEZ	076-0007808-8
7.- ALEJANDRINA CARABALLO CARABALLO	076-0012469-2
8.- ISMAEL MATOS	076-0012488-
9.- DOLORES ROSARIO SORIANO	076-0012505-

CONTINUACION DE CEDULADOS QUE NO APARECEN EN LISTADO DE VOTANTES DE  
LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 18 DE BATEY MUN.6

<u>NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS</u>	<u>CEDULA</u>
25.- BERTINA DE LEON GUERRERO	076-0012310-8
26.- GERALDO PEREZ BATISTA	076-0012380-1
27.- ALBA IRIS DE LOS SANTOS	076-0012398-3
28.- RAMON RINCON	076-0012368-
29.- JOSELITO CRASIO LUIS	076-0012334-3
30.- TOYITO BARRON	076-0012291-2
31.- ANTONIO MICHELL BATISTA	076-0012415-2
32.- LUIS MARIA FELIZ	076-0012314-0
33.- GERALDO PEREZ BATISTA	076-0012380-1
34.- ZORICA GARCIA BERNARDO	076-0012331-2
35.- ANTONIO PEDRO FELIX	076-0012375-1
36.- BERTINA DE LEON GUERRERO	076-0012310-
37.- ERNESTO PEREZ	076-0012377-7
38.- BASILIO REYES	076-0001220-9
39.- SINCELUIS BEBEQUI BRITO	076-0001237-5
40.- ANA FEBIZ PEREZ	076-0012322-
41.- ANDRES BRITO	076-0001229-8
42.- LEONILDO DE LA ROSA PEREZ	076-0012307-
43.- JULIO MA TIRES LUIS	076-0001234-4
44.- MARCELO MERCEDES PEREZ	076-0012354-
45.- ETELIO CABRERA CONTRERA	076-0001239-9
46.- LIDIA PEREZ CABRERA	076-0001238-2
47.- OLGA DE LOS SANTOS REBILIS	076-0006901-
48.- RAMON BATISTA	076-0001229-2
49.- ERIOL PEREZ ALCANTARA	076-0012379-
50.- AGUSTINA TIBIE LEONEN	076-0013365-1
51.- OLGA TAN ENOCEN	076-0012413-0

RELACION DE COMPANEROS CEDULADOS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 32 UBICADA EN LA SECCION DE BAYAHONDA Y QUE NO APARECEN REGISTRADOS EN LA LISTA DE VOTANTES.

<u>NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS</u>	<u>CEDULA</u>
1.- ANDREA RITE	076-0001342-9
2.- SUNIRDA YIL	076-0001307-6
3.- LUISA L' YIL	076-0001307-4
4.- ALTAGRACIA LUTS YIL	076-0001307-2
5.- MELIDA AGUSTINA SALOMON	076-000129997
6.- DUAKIN LUIS IOSEPH	076-0001307-0
7.- MARIA PE A CUEVA	076-0013105-1
8.- EUSEBIO CABRERA GOMEZ	076-0013406-3
9.- BELLA ROMA CUEVA	076-0013135-8
10.- JESUS ALFREDO FLORIAN	076-0013046-7
11.- SOLANA KAEISPIS	076-0013021-0
12.- SOLANA KAEISPIS ALFREDO	076-0013020-
13.- CARLOS GUEVARA PEREZ	076-0004438-7
14.- MAURICIO MARTE	076-001392-2
15.- CRISTIAN BRITO	076-0003974-2
16.- SONIA BLANCO	076-0013018-5
17.- ELIA YAN FELIZ	076-0011039-4
18.- GREGORIO PEREZ DE LA ROSA	076-0001074-1
19.- MARIA ELENA POLO MANUELEL	076-0013125-9
20.- GASITA BAEZ ENCARNACION	076-0010756-4
21.- MILAGROS MENDEZ GUEBAES	076-001308721
22.- DORA MANUEL BRAKITO	076-0013750-4
23.- SIDANIA PEREZ PEREZ	076-0013115-0
24.- ANTONIA PEREZ MATEO	076-0013114-3
25.- LUISA YEGUE CUEVA	076-0013154-9

PERSONAS CEDULADAS DE LA MESA ELECTORAL NUMERO 031 Y QUE APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTE. LOS CONUQUITOS

1.- SERGIO MATOS REYES	076-0013959-1
2.- KIDIA YARGAS	076-0012996-4
3.- JASINTO MENDEZ	076-0013987-3
4.- RAFAELA ENCARNACION DIAZ	076-0012980-8
5.- MONICA ESCARTEO	076-0013402-2
6.- ALEJANDRO PINEDA MATOS	076-0012994-8

PERSONAS CEDULADAS DE LA MESA NUM. 15 DE UVILLA Y NO APARECEN EN REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

1.- FRANCISCO GONZALES MENDEZ	12135-76
2.- MANUEL EMILIO CUEVAS	13659-76
3.- ENEMENCIA GONZALES	5856-76
4.- JUANICA RODRIGUEZ	076-12150-8

MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 16 DE UVILLA

1.- ARGENTINO SANTANA GONZALES	076-0088381-3
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PERSONAS DE LA MESA NUM. 029 DE GUANARETE QUE ESTAN  
CEDULADAS Y NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

1.-	RUBERTINA LEBRON	076-0013967-4
2.-	ANDREA LEBRON	076-0012616-4
3.-	NILSON CARVAJAL MEDINA	076-0012807-3
4.-	EUGENAVENTURA PEREZ	076-0012832-1
5.-	FERMUN PEREZ MELENDEZ	076-0015963-3
6.-	NEURYA PEREZ HEREDIA	076-0012566-5
7.-	TERNAIDA PEREZ LEBRON	076-0012835-4
8.-	IGNACIO HEREDIA PEREZ	076-0012566-5
9.-	FLERIDA PEREZ GONZALEZ	076-0012812-3
10.-	NONA PEREZ MORETA	076-0015962-5
11.-	MARCIA CARVAJAL LEBRON	076-0012808-5
12.-	ADA PEREZ	076-0012831-3
13.-	PEREZ PANTALEON	076-0013966-6
14.-	HANCI LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012822-2
15.-	CORNELIO GONZALEZ PEREZ	076-0012611-5
16.-	RAYON PEREZ PEREZ	076-0012839-6
17.-	GLORIA FLORIAN	076-0012839-6
18.-	TORIBIO BATISTA FELIZ	076-0012604-7
19.-	JOSE LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012820-6
20.-	DELPIA PEREZ ESCANIO	076-0012588-7
21.-	DAMIRI LEBRON PEREZ	076-0011618-1
22.-	MANUEL ANTONIO LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012570-7
23.-	MARCELO LEBRON	076-0013403-0
24.-	JONY LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012571-5
25.-	CLARA MARIA PEREZ	076-0012830-5
26.-	CANDIDA RAMIREZ	076-0012841-2
27.-	ROSA RAMIREZ	076-0013964-1

## CONTINUACION LISTADO DE GUANARATE....

28.- JUANA LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012830-7
29.- ARGENTINA MEDINA MEDINA	076-0012825-5
30.- BERIS AN L IC PEREZ MEDINA	076-0012837-0
31.- VICTOR GONZALES LEBRON	076-0012810-7
32.- FRANCIS MEDINA MEDINA	076-0012826-3
33.- BACILIA LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012819-8
34.- SANTA LUCIA PEREZ PEREZ	076-0012840-4
35.- ALEJANDRO LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012818-0
36.- YOSIELIN PEREZ LEBRON	076-0012836-2
37.- BRISERDA MONTEPO OGANDO	076-0012829-7
38.- ELEODORA LEBRON OUEVA	076-0012817-2
39.- NORBERGA PEREZ	076-0013968-2
40.- AGRIPINO R. LEBRON	076-0010091-6
41.- EUSEBIO REYES	076-0010099-9
42.- REINO GONZALES PEREZ	076-0009960-5
43.- SANTO HEREDIA LEBRON	076-0009972-0
44.- GREGORIO BTA. PEREZ	076-0009935-7
45.- RUPERTO LEBRON	076-0009978-7
46.- MARCELINO REYES GONZALES	076-0010102-1
47.- RAFAEL CARVAJAL	076-0005948-0

... QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

<u>NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS</u>	<u>GEDULA</u>	<u>MESA ELECT.</u>
1.- MURYS MARTINES PEREZ CUEVAS	076-0013340-	15
2.- EDUARD GONZALES SANCHEZ	076-0013387-5	15
3.- DOMINGO CUEVAS GONZALES	076-0013357-8	15
4.- LUCIA GONZALES MENDEZ	076-0012136-7	15
5.- MARGARITA ALCANTARA GONZALES	076-0013434-5	15
6.- VALENCIA MATOS	076-0013430-	15
7.- FRANCISCO GONZALES MENDEZ	076-0012135-9	15
8.- MAIKEN GONZALES FELIZ	076-0012134-2	15
9.- LUIS BELTRE	076-0013468-3	16
10.- ANTONIO REYES DE LA CRUZ	076-0012774-3	26
11.- JUANICA RODRIGUEZ	076-0012130-	26
12.- FELICIANO GONZALES MEDINA	076-0012135-9	26

MESA ELECTORAL NUM.09 DE EL JOBO

<u>NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS</u>	<u>GEDULA</u>	
1.- MANUEL E. RAMIREZ GONZALES	076-0006046-6	
2.- LUIS DARIO REYES CUEVAS	076-0013440-2	
3.- ALIDA AGRAMONTE	076-0011856-1	
4.- ALCADIA BENITA MATEO F.	076-0011871-0	
5.- UNICE MENDEZ DE LOS SANTOS	076-0012928-7	
6.- CESAR AUGUSTO GOMEZ	076-0013569-8	
7.- MARCIA DIAZ PENA	076-0011860-3	
8.- DEISIS REYES MONTERO	076-0011886-8	
9.- MAIRA ESTHEL MATEO SENA	076-0013571-4	
10.- MIRENIS MONTERO GONZALES	076-0013572-	
11.- IRIS GONZALES DE LA ROSA	076-0011863-7	
12.- YOLANNY MICHEL ESPINOSA	076-0011878-5	
13.- ROSA CUEVAS	076-0013567-2	
14.- FRANCISCO DOVEL LOPEZ	076-0013353-	
15.- ANGEL MARIA FELIZ MONTERO	076-0011867-1	
16.- BELLITA GOMEZ FELIZ	076-0013856-9	
17.- REINA JULIA DOMIN	076-001313-7	
18.- TIME RODRIGO GONZALES MATEO	076-0013570-9	BJVV

... QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.12 DE SANTANA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

<u>NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS</u>	<u>CEDULA</u>
1.- ROBERTO DOBILIS FOTINEE	076-0004406-4
2.- KRIDANIA DOBILIS RAFAEL	076-0004407-2
3.- ANA ROSA BATISTA MENDEZ	<del>076-000</del> 1472-113
4.- FELICIA ELANCO PEREZ	6771-76
5.- ALBERTO SALOMON PEREZ	5380-76
6.- CONSTANTINO CABREIRA FLORIAN	076-0004394-2
7.- DIOMEDES CUEVAS MATEO	076-0004397-5
8.- ADELAIDA BRITO MATOS	076-0004388-8
9.- DIOMEDES DE LEON	076-0011958-5
10.- JULIO CESAR FLORIAN REYES	076- <del>003</del> 1933-8
11.- MARTINA CUEVAS MATOS	076-0004393-3

GEDULADO EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.29 DE LA CUAYA Y QUE NO APARECE EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTE.

<u>NOMBRE Y APELLIDO</u>	<u>GRDULA</u>
1.- ALCIDES CRUZ REYES	076-0013728-0

DE LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.031 DE LOS CONUQUITOS

LUI MIGUEL MATOS VARGAS                      CED. 076-0013748-5

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 10 DE SANTANA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEDULAS

1.- JUAN REYES	0760011908-8
2.- LUZ MARIA MATOS MESA	076-0011899-1
3.- PEDRO EMILIO TORRE	076-0013529-7

CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 11 DE SANTANA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEDULA

1.- JUAN CUEVA MATEO	<del>076-0011916-3</del>
2.- ORLANDO BRITO CUEVA	076-0011913-0
3.- ANTONIO MATOS MESA	076-0011939-5
4.- DEURATINA ENCARNACION MESA	076-0011926-2
5.- MAGDALENA ENCARNACION MESA	076-0011927-0
6.- AMAURY MATEO	076-0011936-1
7.- MARIA ALTAGRACIA SANCHEZ REYES	076-11957-1 (076-0011957-1)
8.- HECTOR BATISTA CUEVAS	076-0011912-2

CEDULADOS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 12 DE SANTANA Y QUE NO APARECEN EN REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

PERREDEISTA DE LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 34 UBICADA EN SAN RAMON QUE ESTAN CEDULADOS Y NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES

1.- ROSA IRIS BATISTA GERALDO	076-0013764-5
2.- ALIXON MONTERO DE LA PAZ	076-0013262-0
3.- FRAUDELIS MONTERO DE LA PAZ	076-0013263-8
4.- MARTINA MATOS CUEVA	076-0013770-2
5.- MERALIZ FLORIAN REYES	076-0013769-4
6.- MIRQUELLA MATOS HEREDIA	076-0013252-2
7.- RAFAEL ESCANIO	076-0013247-1
8.- JOSELO PINEDA GERALDO	076-13776-9
9.- DORALINA ESCANIO DE LEON	076-0013767-8
10.- SANTIAGO AMANCIO MATOS	076-0013760-3
11.- MARGARITA MONTERO CUEVA	076-0011604-5
12.- HIDALINA ESCANIO HEREDIA	076-0013249-7
13.- PAULA ESCANIO DE LEON	076-0013768-6
14.- MANUEL MATOS DE LA PAZ	076-0013255-4
15.- BEBA DE LA PAZ	076-0013242-2
16.- OLGA BATISTA GERALDO	076-0013863-7
17.- JAIME ESCANIO PEREZ	076-0013250-5
18.- RAUL ZERRERO	076-0013778-5
19.- ROBERT AMANCIO MATOS	076-0013759-5
20.- GANDIS DE LA PAZ PINEDA	076-0013762-9
21.- BITELIA BATISTA GERALDO	076-0013762-9

PERSONAS CEDULADAS DE LA MESA ELECTORAL NUMERO 031 Y QUE APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTE. LOS CONUQUITOS

1.-	BERGIO MATOS REYES	076-0013959-1
2.-	NIDIA VARGAS	076-0012996-4
3.-	JASINTO MENDEZ	076-0012937-3
4.-	RAFAELA ENCARNACION DIAZ	076-0012990-8
5.-	MONICA ESCANIO	076-0013402-2
6.-	ALEJANDRO PINEDA MATOS	076-0012994-8

PERSONAS CEDULADAS DE LA MESA NUM. 15 DE UVILLA Y NO APARECEN EN REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

1.-	FRANCISCO GONZALEZ MENDEZ	12135-76
2.-	MANUEL EMILIO CUEVAS	13659-76
3.-	ENEMENCIA GONZALEZ	5856-76
4.-	JUANICA RODRIGUEZ	076-12150-8

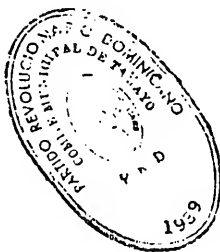
MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 16 DE UVILLA

1.-	ARGENTINO SANTANA GONZALEZ	076-0088380-8
-----	----------------------------	---------------

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM.005 QUE FUNCIONA EN CABEZA DE DE TORO Y QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

NOMBRE Y APELLIDOSCRDULA

1.- TUDERKA REYES PENA	076-0011761-3
2.- JOSE EDUARDO NOVAS NOVAS	076-0011743-1
3.- FRANCISCO ALBERTO	076-0011687-0
4.- LUZ EMILIO MATEO DE LEON	076-0013522-7
5.- MARIA JOSEFINA PI A GALVA	076-0011753-0
6.- SANTA	076-0011755-5
7.- EDUARDO NOVAS NOVAS	076-0011746-3
8.- LEONARDO SANCHEZ RAMIREZ	076-0011769-6
9.- PAUTINA BATISTA BRITO	076-0011667-2
10.- JULIO PEREZ PEREZ	076-0011738-4
11.- RAFAEL PEREZ PEREZ	076-0011751-4
12.- BECASIOLINA MEDINA	076-0011725-8
13.- FELICITA MORILLO	076-0011730-8
14.- FELIX BROBESON PINEDA	076-0011521-9
15.- GISELA MATOS SANCHEZ	076-11720-9
16.- GENOBEVA HEREDIA	076-11700-1
17.- SANTA LUIS MATEO VALDES	076-0011717-
18.- ROSAURA BATISTA ERITO BRITO	076-0011669-8
19.- DAMIANA NOVAS HEREDIA	076-0011740-7
20.- JESU NOVAS DE LEON	076-0002839-3
21.- MIGUELINA REYES VARGAS	076-0011764-7
22.- NIRCIA VALDES	076-0011772-0
23.- ADOLFO VARGAS SANCHEZ	076-0011779-5
24.- NANCY MORILLO	076-0011731-6
25.- EDILIO REYES VARGAS	076-0011762-1
26.- BIRGET MATEO REYES	076-0011762-1
27.- PABIAN MARILLO DE LA CRUZ	076-0011716-7
28.- AMERICA CUEVA	076-0011672-2
29.- ENRIQUE REYES SANCHEZ	076-0013845-2
30.- LEONARDO VICTORIANO VALDEJO	076-0011696-1
31.- JOSE NOVA REYES	076-0011756-4
32.- TEODORO REYES DE LEON	076-0011759-7
33.- MARANGEL NOVAS NOVAS	076-0011744-9



34.- GALERIANO DE LEON 076

076-0011693-1  
076-0011628-



PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL MUN. 006 QUE FUNCIONA EN EL GRANADO QUE NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTES.

OMBRES Y APELLIDOS	CEDULA
1.- AGUSTINA SIPRION MEDINA	076-0011726-0
2.- HUADIS GOMEZ% LEBRON	076-0011792-8
3.- EMERARDA SOTO ARIA	076-0011812-4
4.- MERCEDES LIDIA MESA FELIZ	076-0013536-7
5.- HERRIS CUEVA FORIAN	076-0011702-2
6.- JUAN CUEVA PEDRIAN	076-0033531-3
7.- BLENBENIDO MESA	076-0011803-3
8.- <del>CAROL</del> MEDINA PEÑA	076-0013307-2
9.- DILENIA MEDA DE LOSANTOS	076-0011805-3
<del>8.-</del> MIGUELA MATOS MESA	076-0001797-7
11.-ALIDA MESA	076-5024
12.-MIGUELIHA CUEVAS PEDRIAN	835-2283

8377

1.- MARIDELLA CUEVA VALDEZ	076-0011826-
2.- MARGARITA VARGAS VARGAS	076-0011854-
3.- CRISTOBAL MATEO DE OLEO	076-0003504-
4.- ROBERTO ESCANIO	076-0013314-
5.- CHOLO PEREZ PEREZ	076-0013854-
6.- MIFOCINA ESUANIO	076-0003479-
7.- NEY VARGAS VARGAS	076-0013566-
8.- TERMA PEREZ	076-0011847-
9.- LUCAS ESCANIO	076-0003480-
10.- MORJENIO ESCANIO	076-0013557-
11.- NICHAURIZ PEREZ VALDEZ	076-0003548-
12.- OCTAVIO JIMENEZ	076-0003499-
13.- NICHOL ANGEL FLORIAN REYES	076-0013313-

PERSONAS CEDULADAS EN LA MESA ELECTORAL NUM. 017 Y QUE NO APARECEN  
EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTE

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS

CEDULA

1.- XENGGKXIAK&KAKK	
2.- GRACIELA LEMOS	076-0012214-
3.- MANOLINO MARTINEZ F.C	076-0013596-
4.- YIMELA MARTINEZ M.	076-0012222-
5.- MANUEL FELIZ PEREZ	076-0012202-
6.- ANGEL MARIA MONTEPO	076-0012238-
7.- ANA DELAZO	076-0012222-
8.- ANDRES CHANG	076-0012180-
9.- DOMINGA MONTEPO G.	076-0012126-
10.- ALEXANDRA MENDEZ	076-0012209-
11.- VINCENZO DIAZ	076-0012182-
12.- JAVIER E. CONTRERA	076-0012745-

4377



PERSONA CEDULADA S EN LA MESA ELECTORAR NUM.0002 QUE FUNCIONA EN TAMAYO Y NO APARECEN EN EL REGISTRO DE VOTANTE.

NOMBRES I APELLIDOSCEJULA

1.- MARIA JUAQUIN ENCARNACION V.	1232-76
2.- MARGES NOVAS PENA	076-0011549-2
3.- CLANIRIS PEREZ MESA	076-0001307-3
4.- MARIA CARIDAD PEREZ	076-0013292-7
5. MANUEL ANTONIO CANARIO	076-0001371-3
6.- CRISTOBALINA REYES MESA	076-0001452-1
7.- PAUTINA REYES VARGAS	076-0013472-5
8.- SANTA CATALINA RODRIGUEZ	076-0001478-0
9.- MARGARITA M. DE LOS SANTOS H.	076-0001509-8
10.- ULTINA ESCANIO DE LA PAZ	076-0011541-9
11.- ELIORGINA CAMILERO REYES	076-0013296-8
12.- JOSE FIGUEROA MATEO	076-0001165-9



## VOTANTES DE LA MESA NUM. 0009 QUE NO ESTAN EN LOS LISTADOS

HOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEBULA

1.- ELIYVE MATEO PERA	076-0013433-7
2.- LUCIA CUEVAS MEDINA	076-0013654-3
3.- DOMINIS BEHA	076-0013449-3
4.- MARIA MATOS	076-0012440-3
5.- LIS ED DECENA MEDINA	076- 076-0012427-0
6.- DIOGENES PEÑA PERA	076-0013917-9
7.- ENRIQUE MATOS ROSARIO	076-0013917-5
8.-	

## VOTANTES DE LA MESA NUM. 0020 QUE NO ESTAN EN LOS LISTADOS.

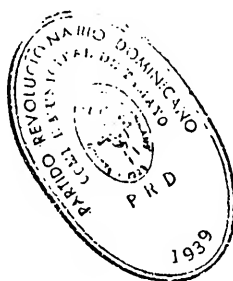
HOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEBULA

1.- YOVANNYS CUEVAS SANTANA	076-0013657-1
2.- SUSANA CUEVAS SANTANA	076-0013656-3
3.- MARTINA CUEVAS MEDINA	076-0013799-1
4.- JERSI ALBERTO MESA RODRIGUEZ	076-0012493-2

## VOTANTES DE LA MESA NUM. 0027 QUE NO ESTAN EN LOS LISTADOS.

HOMBRES Y APELLIDOSCEBULA

1.- EMILIO MANUEL DIAZ CUEVAS	076-0013724-9
2.- JOSE BUENO LUIS	076-0013726-4
3.-	



53.- MARIA YOF	076-0012418-9
54.- JULIO PAY SEGURA	076-0012373-6
55.- ALPAGRACIA MONTERO ANDERSON	076-0012362-9
56.- GEORGIA YEREMI FRANZUA	076-0012415-5
57.- FILOMENA MICHELL GARCIA	076-0012359-5
58.- ELIAS DE LOS SANTOS	076-0012447-1
59.- DELFINA FELIZ LUIS	076-006954-1
60.- ANITA CUEVAS ABRAHAM	076-0013242-8
61.- AMELIA MONTERO CUEVAS	076-0013367-7
62.- LUZ MARIA ALCANTARA BORG	076-0013370-1
63.- LUZ MARIA PEREZ	076-0017314-0
64.- MARTHA FELIZ	076-0012316-5
65.- ARQUIMEDES FIGUEROA MONYAC	076-0006978-0
66.- ROSA MONTERO BRITO	076-0012363-

MESA ELECTORAL NUM.17. CONTINUACION.....

27.- RUBEN PEREZ FELIZ	076-0012251-4
28.- CARMELA PEREZ	076-0012244-2

MESA ELECTORAL NUM.029 DE GUANARATE.

NOMBRES Y APELLIDOS

CEDELA

1.-RAFAEL PEREZ	076-0010105-4
2.- LEDI LEBRON PEREZ	076-0012891-4

34	Feliz Espinal Miguelina	14	079-004514-2
35	Castillo Antonia	13	079-0004092-9
36	Amador Espejo Ysabel	13	079-0004063-0
37	Olinda Amparo Espinosa	14	079-000
38	Gomez Paquita	14	079-0004543-1
39	Méndez Biembenido	20A	079-0006264-0
40	Amador Espejo Hirdelices	13	079-0004061-4
41	Figuereo Blanca Rosa	13	079-0004528-5
42	Gerardo Monero Marcelló	14	079-0004541-5
43	CaraballoCorniel Tomasina	13	079-0004086-1
44	De la Paz Hilario	14	079-0004469-9
45	De León Dotel de Reyes Laura	13	079-0004115-8
46	Lavicita Lidia	20	079-0007061-1
47	Cueva Matos Manuela	13	079-0004100-0
48	Cuevas Matos Juana	13	079-0004099-4
49	Familia Nova Victoria	13	079-000159-6
50	María Vargas Pinales Matos	13	079-0004356-8
51	Clemente Alfonso Cabral M.	13	079-0004085-3
52	Irene Dotel D'Marte	13	079-0004136-4
53	Reinoso Martínez Juan Luis	20	079-0007079-
54	Amador Espejo Odalis	20	079-0006850-8
55	Alagrancia Yan Profeta	20	079-0007305
56	Gloria Lovi Mercedes	20	079-0007064
57	Hirene Marte Dotel de Espinosa	13	079-0004136
58	Luis Dabi Yoset	20	079-0007307
59	Bardemiro Gonzalez Espinosa	14	079-0007501-9
60	Reyes Brito Iris Mandalis	20	079-0007245-0
61	Reyes Polanco Julio Alexis	20	079-0007254-2

## JUNTA CENTRAL ELECTORAL

## RESOLUCION

EXHIBIT B

NUM. 31-94.

PRIMERO: Disponer que aquellos ciudadanos cuya cédula de identidad y electoral debidamente expedida indique que deben votar en la mesa electoral que aparece en el reverso de su carné, pero cuyo nombre no figure en la lista de electores de dicha mesa, podrán votar en la misma agregándose su nombre y datos a la lista de votantes y siguiendo la regla del voto observado.

SEGUNDO: Disponer que las votaciones sean prorrogadas hasta las nueve horas de la noche del día de hoy, para los ciudadanos que no lo hayan podido hacer por tal causa.

TERCERO: Mandar que la presente Resolución sea publicada de conformidad con la Ley.

DADA en Santo Domingo, Distrito Nacional, República Dominicana, a los dieciseis (16) días del mes de mayo del año mil novecientos noventa y cuatro (1994).

6:15 pm

*[Signature]*  
DR. MANUEL R. GARCIA LIZARDO  
Presidente

*[Signature]*  
DR. JOSE HENRIQUEZ ALMANZAR  
Miembro

*[Signature]*  
DR. LEONARDO MATOS BERRIDO,  
Miembro

*[Signature]*  
DR. DOMINGO DOMESTICA CUEVAS  
Miembro

*[Signature]*  
DR. FULGENCIO ROBLES LOPEZ  
Miembro

*[Signature]*  
AMABLE DIAZ CASTILLO  
Secretario

LIST USED BY  
CENTRAL ELECTORAL BOARD

EXHIBIT C

ALSA ELECTORAL

EXHIBIT C

ESTADO DE TEXAS - 22-SALECDO		SECCION CUERPO -		ELECTORES -	SESA	CLASIFICACION	VOTO	OBSERVACIONES
MUNICIPIO DE SULLY		CALLE		SECCION	Y ELECTORAL	SUFRAGIO		
NOMBRES		NOMBRES						
0003	051-001167-4							
0001	051-000095-6	OFELIA ALGARCIA						
0003	051-000095-5	RAMON ESTELA						
0003	051-000095-1	ANTONIO						
0003	051-000097-9	SILVIO						
0003	051-000098-7	LUI MARIA						
0003	051-000098-5	ILDA MARIA						
0003	051-000099-3	ALAGROS						
0003	051-000096-4	ANTONIO						
0003	051-000096-2	GERTRUDIS DEL CARMEN						
0003	051-000096-1	JOSE FRANCISCO						
0003	051-000096-5	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-2	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-1	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-2	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-3	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-4	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-5	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-6	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-7	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-8	MARIA						
0003	051-000096-9	MARIA						
0003	051-000097-0	MARIA						



PAG. 2  
03/05/74

COMISION GENERAL ELECTORAL  
 SECCIONES MEMBRAS DEL 16 DE MAYO DE 1974  
 LESADO DESINTEGRO DE ELECTORES

MESE NO. 0001  
 ELECTORES (001)  
 CANTIDAD DE VOTOS -51/NO-

LUGAR - ESCUELA PROGRESO GUMIALEZ  
 DISTRIC. - GASTON F DEL MONTE M. FINAL  
 SECCION - CIUDAD

M. O. M. U. A. S.  
 ARGENTINA EDUIGIS 0003 051-000976-6

FRANCISCO ANTONIO 0003 051-000976-4  
 ALMONTE DE LA CRUZ 0003 051-000976-2

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000971-0  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000972-8

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000973-6  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000974-4

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000975-1  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000976-9

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000977-7  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000978-3

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000979-3  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000980-1

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000981-9  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000982-7

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000983-5  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000984-3

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000985-1  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000986-9

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000987-7  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000988-5

WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000989-3  
 WILSON FERRAZO 0003 051-000990-1

Observaciones:  
 (001) 051-000971-0  
 (003) 051-000972-8  
 (003) 051-000973-6  
 (003) 051-000974-4  
 (003) 051-000975-1  
 (003) 051-000976-9  
 (003) 051-000977-7  
 (003) 051-000978-3  
 (003) 051-000979-3  
 (003) 051-000980-1  
 (003) 051-000981-9  
 (003) 051-000982-7  
 (003) 051-000983-5  
 (003) 051-000984-3  
 (003) 051-000985-1  
 (003) 051-000986-9  
 (003) 051-000987-7  
 (003) 051-000988-5  
 (003) 051-000989-3  
 (003) 051-000990-1

PAG. 3  
05/01/94

JUEN, CENTRAL ELECTORAL  
ELECCIONES GENERALES DEL 16 DE MARZO DE 1994  
LISTADO DE RESULTADO DE ELECTORES

LUGAR: ESCUELA PEDRICO A GORZALEZ  
DISTRIC. GASTON F. DEZIO AL FINAL  
SECCION: CIUDAD  
MESA NO. 0001  
ELECTORES: 561

CIUDAD: ROSARIO  
MESA ELECTORAL: 5170  
CEREBROS: CASERVAICHES

0033	DEATO CABRERA	JOSE CARO	0003	051-0000784-1	
0034	BEATO PORIE	ALTAGRACIA EDUVIGES	0003	051-0000785-0	
0035	BEATO QUEZON DE TEJADA	MARTA IVELIA	0003	051-0000786-8	
0036	BEATICE DE JORGE	YOLANDA ANTONIE	0003	051-0000787-6	
0037	BEATO	BARONA ALTAGRACIA	0003	051-0000788-4	
0038	BEATO	SUCORPO	0003	051-0000793-8	
0039	BEATO CASTILLO	OSCAR DOMINGO	0003	051-0000789-2	
0040	BEATO TEBALLOS	BARON ANTONIO	0003	051-0000790-0	
0041	BEATO QUEZON	ALTAGRACIA MARGARITA	0003	051-0000791-8	
0042	RODRIGUEZ JAQUEZ	OSCAR	0003	051-0000793-4	
0043	BEATO	MANUEL	0003	051-0001712-2	
0044	BEATO MACHICO	BARON ELECIO	0003	051-0000792-6	
0045	MUNICIPIO DE MARIAS	MARIAS	0003	051-0018001-4	
0046	BEATO	MARIAS	0003	051-0018002-2	
0047	MARIAS	MARIAS	0003	051-0000794-2	
0048	BEATO	JUAN JOSE	0003	051-0000795-0	

*A bien forador*

*Roberto A. De Jesus*  
*Carlos P. Pardo*

①

05/05/84

ELECCIONES GENERALES DEL 18 DE JUNIO DE 1984  
LISTADO DEFINITIVO DE ELECCIONES

CHUQUIMA 22-SALCEDO LUGAR ESCUELA TECNICO-A FORTALEZ MESA NO. 0003  
DIREC. GARCEN Y DELICHO AL FINAL SECCION CIUDAD 051-VILLA TAPIA MESA Y ELECTORAL SI/NO- OBSERVACIONES  
0003 051-0001000-7

MOMBAES

MESA Y ELECTORAL

MOMBAES

0003 051-0000998-7

CARLOS JOSE MIPOLITO

0005 051-3000997-3

FLOR ANGEL

0001 051-0000998-3

FRANCISCO LEONEL

0007 051-0000999-1

JULIO CESAR

0001 051-0001000-7

YURISAN ALIAGRACIA

*Albino Jofre*

0004 051-0001001-5

MARGARITA ALIAGRACIA

0001 051-0011672-6

JULIO CESAR

0001 051-0001020-5

JULIO PRILIO

*Patillo Sandy Diego*

0004 051-0001023-9

CEPULI

*Patillo Sandy Diego*

0003 051-0001000-3

JOSE ELVARO

*Patillo Sandy Diego*

0003 051-0001038-7

ERNESTO AMONIO

*De San Juan - Felipe*

0001 051-0001003-1

MARLO ALBERTO

0004 051-0001000-9

GREGORIO

0003 051-0001000-4

JEAN NEGLON

*De San Juan - Felipe*

0003 051-0001000-5

JEAN MARCO

0003 051-0001000-8

GERARDO

0003 051-0001000-9

GERARDO



FORM 05/05/81

ELECCIONES GENERALES DEL 16 DE MAYO DE 1978  
LISTADO DEFINITIVO DE ELECTORES

LUGAR: BARRIO "BERNABEO" - GUAYMAS  
MESA NO. 0001  
ELECTORES: 3611

CASION F. DELIGNE AL FINAL  
SECTOR: CIUDAD

MESA Y ELECTORAL - SI/NO - OBSERVACIONES

MESA Y ELECTORAL - SI/NO - OBSERVACIONES

0001 051-0001022-1

BARRIO BERNABEO

0331 CASTILLO TEJADA

*Don Tomás de la Cruz de Jarama Cruz*

0003 051-0001063-0

LUISA

0332 CATEDRAL MORELLO

0003 051-0001084-1

ROSAR JULIA

0333 TEJADA DE LA CAJA

0003 051-0001024-7

IDALIA DULGUES

0334 CEPEDA CRUCES-DE GUIMAN

0003 051-0001025-4

JOSE CESARIS

0335 CEPEDA QUEVEDO

0003 051-0001026-2

MELBA JOSEFINA

0336 CEPEDA STEL

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001027-0

DIONICIA ANTONIA

0337 CIPRIAN PUJOLS

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001028-8

MICEL LUIS

0338 COLON DURAN

0003 051-0001029-6

JACINTA ARA ROSA

0339 COLON LERIANO

0003 051-0001030-4

VALENTINA

0340 COMGRES O DE TEJADA

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001036-3

DOLORES

0341 COMGRES BERCOSHE

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001040-3

MARTINA

0342 DOUGERACION SANTIANA

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001031-2

ESTIVALORA

0343 CORDERO DE LUNA

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001040-6

JOSE ALBERTO

0344 CAHU

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001022-0

MILLIAM DE JESUS

0345 COLON

*Escta. Amos Larrosa J. de*

0003 051-0001022-0

MILLIAM DE JESUS

0346 COLON

05/06/74

ELECCIONES COMUNALES DEL 16 DE MARZO DE 1974  
 MUNICIPIO DE ELECCIONES

LUGAR ESCUELA FREDERICO M. GONZALEZ  
 DIRECC. GASTON F DELIGNE BL FINAL  
 MUNICIPIO 051-VILLA TAPIA  
 SECCION CIUDAD

MESA NO. 0003  
 ELECTORES. 361

W O M B R E S

MESA Y ELECCIONAL  
 VOTO  
 -S/MC-

0003-051-0001035-8

LOURDES Y LOMBARA

0001-051-0001035-6

MARGARITA MARRA

0003-051-0001035-5

LEON ELEUTERIO

0004-051-0001112-9

PAUSA ARDELLI

0005-051-0011803-0

IRFAEL ARISMENDY

0006-051-0001035-1

CLAUD MERCORES

0007-051-0001035-9

FELIX ANTONIO

0008-051-0001035-5

WILLINGTON JOSE MARLEMINO

0009-051-0001031-1

LORENZO ANTONIO

0010-051-0001042-9

BARON

0011-051-0001035-7

YOSY ERREGLIO

0012-051-0001045-5

YUDERKA BETAGRACIA

0013-051-0011804-8

ROSA MARIA

0014-051-0001045-2

ANITA LUIS

0015-051-0001031-8

REIS

0016-051-0001046-0

ESTIVAN

*Figuras electorales afuera*

*Contable Sección Ury*

*El...*

COMISION NACIONAL ELECTORAL  
ELECCIONES GENERALES DEL 16 DE MAYO DE 1984  
LISTADO DEFINITIVO DE ELECTORES

MESA NO. 0003  
ELECTORES, 567

LUGAR "ESCUELA TECNICO" - GUAYAS  
DIREC. - CARLOS BELLORE M. PEREZ  
MUNICIPIO 051-WILLA TAMBA

COMUNIDAD 22-SALCIDO  
MUNICIPIO 051-WILLA TAMBA

CEPULA CREDITADORA  
Y ELECTORADO - S/N/O-

MESA

NOMBRES

0115	DE LEON	EMILIA PARRER	0003	051-0001067-8	
0116	DE LEON DE LEON	DAISY MARIA	0003	051-0001048-6	
0117	DE LOS SANTOS	EMILIANO	0003	051-0001111-6	<i>Gerardo Perez Manuel Castro</i>
0118	DE OLEO	ANITA	0003	051-0001124-4	<i>Jose Hernandez Rodriguez Noya</i>
0119	DE CHARPIS	RAFAEL MIGUEL ANGEL	0003	051-0001050-2	
0120	DEL CARMEN	BULCE EMPERATRIZ	0003	051-0001128-6	
0121	DEL DEL RIOS REYES	MARIFE DEYANERA	0003	051-0001300-5	<i>Concepcion de los Rios Reyes</i>
0122	DE LA CARRELA	ALFONSO	0003	051-0001051-0	
0123	DE LA GERMAN	ISRAEL-ALVARO DE JESUS	0003	051-0001052-8	
0124	DE LA BOQUE	ANTONIO NICOLAS	0003	051-0001054-4	
0125	DE LA SANTIAGO	DAISY CELESTE	0003	051-0001129-4	<i>Gil Chas</i>
0126	DE LA YMOA	MAYRA ALFARACIA	0003	051-0001053-1	
0127	DURAN	JOSE ANTONIO	0003	051-0001058-9	
0128	DURAN	MARIFE EMPERATRIZ	0003	051-0001033-7	
0129	DURAN	ALFREDO FRANCISCO	0003	051-0001056-5	

PRO (DELEGADO) / LIST GIJEN TO PAHNE  
EXHIBIT C

DIRECCION NACIONAL DE INFORMACION ELECTORAL Provincia: 22

Municipio: 051

Meses No: 0003

Voto	Cédula Actual	Apellidos	Nombres	Céd. Anterior	Dirección
	x 051 0000953 8	ABREU OJIVARES	JORJAS	003431 051	LA ALTAGRACIA 1
	051 0000954 6	ABREU OJIVARES	OFELIA ALTAGRACIA	004376 051	LA ALTAGRACIA
	051 0000956 3	ABREU QUEZADA	RAMONA ESTELA	010885 055	JUAN VENTURA
	051 0000957 9	ABREU RODRIGUEZ	ENRIQUE ANTONIO	000000 000	LUZ ESTRELLA DE SANCHEZ 34
	051 0000958 7	ABREU ROSARIO	LUZ MARIA	006032 051	SABANA ANGOSTA
	051 0000959 5	ABREU SANTOS DE PORTES	ILDA MARIA	000041 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000960 3	ACOSTA ACOSTA	MILAGROS	000000 000	LUZ ESTRELLA
	051 0000961 1	ACOSTA PEGUERO	SANTA ZORaida	006597 051	TORO CENZO 90
	051 0000962 9	ACOSTA RODRIGUEZ	FRANCISCO DEL CARMEN	006841 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000963 7	ADAMES GONZALEZ	JOSE FRANCISCO	011751 051	ARTURO ROJAS
	051 0000964 5	ALBA LOPEZ	KARINA ALTAGRACIA	009082 055	
	051 0000965 2	ALEJO SALCEDO	JACQUELINE DEL CARMEN	122566 031	LUZ ESTRELLA DE SANCHEZ 77
	051 0000966 0	ALMANZAR TEJADA	GUSTAVO RAFAEL	042628 047	
	051 0000967 8	ALMONTE	ALTAGRACIA	001966 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000968 6	ALMONTE DE LA CRUZ	ARGENTINA EDUVIGIS	012942 055	TORO CENZO
	051 0000969 4	ALMONTE DE LA CRUZ	FRANCISCO ANTONIO	015972 055	CHITO CEPEDA 2
	051 0000970 2	ALMONTE FERNANDEZ	EDUVIGIS	001584 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0000971 0	ALMONTE FERNANDEZ	VINICIO ERACLIO	003026 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0000972 8	ALMONTE MARTINEZ	HUANDA DEL CARMEN	000000 000	JUAN VENTURA
	051 0000973 6	ALMONTE MARTINEZ	WILSON LIZAROI	010974 051	JUAN VENTURA 3
	051 0000974 4	ALVAEZ	ALTAGRACIA VERONICA	004572 051	PROLONGACION
	051 0000975 1	ARNAUO URENA	HERIBERTA MARIA	019667 055	COLON
	051 0000976 9	ARNAUO URENA	ALEXANDER ALEJOTTO	011411 051	LUZ ESTRELLA
	051 0000977 7	BAEZ GONZALEZ	HIPOLITO ANTONIO	009427 051	LUZ ESTRELLA DE SANCHEZ
	051 0000978 5	BAEZ RAMIREZ	GLENNY	485016 001	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000979 3	BALDERA J DE CASTILLO	MARIA ASUNCION	008193 055	
	051 0000980 1	BALDERA JIMENEZ DE H	TOMASINA VICTORIA	008194 055	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000981 9	BALDERA QUEZADA	GISEL A ALTAGRACIA	001954 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0000982 7	BALDERA QUEZADA	IDALIZA ESPERANZA	002017 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0000983 5	BALDERA RUIZ DE VERAS	MARIA OLGA	005916 047	
	051 0000984 3	ESATO CABRERA	JOSE DARIO	005816 055	DUARTE
	051 0000985 0	ESATO PORTE	ALTAGRACIA EDUVIGES	009995 051	TOMAS DISLA 4
	051 0000986 8	ESATO QUEZADA DE TEJADA	MARIA EVELIA	008857 047	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0000987 6	ESTANDE DE JORGE	YOLANDA ANTONIA	001311 051	TOMAS DISLA 5
	051 0000988 4	BIDO	RAMONA ALTAGRACIA	002350 051	AVENIDA DUARTE
	051 0000989 2	BIDO CASTILLO	SATURNING	017425 047	LA DUARTE
	051 0000990 0	BIDO CEBALLOS	RAMON ANTONIO	005659 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	051 0000991 8	BIDO CEPEDA	ALTAGRACIA I MERCEDES	002425 051	DUARTE
	051 0000992 6	BIRTO MONEGRO	RAMON ELIGIO	006387 055	LA AROMAS
	051 0000993 4	CABRAL H DE DE JESUS	008233 064	RAFAEL QUEZADA 2	
	051 0000994 2	CABRERA CONTRERAS	ABRAHAM	027074 047	PEPE HERRERA 15
	051 0000995 0	CABRERA SUAREZ	JUAN JOSE	009895 051	DUARTE
	051 0000996 8	CABRERA VARGAS	CARLOS JOSE HIPOLITO	009232 051	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0000997 6	CABRERA VARGAS	RION ANGEL	009396 051	PEPE HERRERA 33
	051 0000998 4	CABRERA VARGAS	FRANCISCO LEONEL	009427 051	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0000999 2	CABRERA VARGAS	JULIO CESAR	009822 051	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001000 0	CABRERA VARGAS	YURISAN ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001001 8	CACERES FERNANDEZ	MARGARITA ALTAGRACIA	004678 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001002 6	CAMACHO MEDINA	JOSE ALEJANDRO	019399 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001003 4	CAPELLAN DURAN	MARIO ALBERTO	076552 056	SANCHEZ
	051 0001004 2	CAPELLAN JOAQUIN	GREGORIO	002281 058	SANCHEZ
	051 0001005 0	CARDENAS RIVAS	ESTESAN MARINO	006009 051	
	051 0001006 8	CARDENAS RIVAS	GERARDO	037415 054	SANCHEZ 58
	051 0001007 6	CASTILLO	PEDRO	010729 055	
	051 0001008 4	CASTILLO ARNAUD	DALGENIS JOSEFINA	000000 000	COLON
	051 0001009 2	CASTILLO BALDERA	DULCE MARIA	002409 051	CALLE 3 812
	051 0001010 0	CASTILLO DIAZ DE HERNANDEZ	MARIA GUARINA	017537 047	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001011 8	CASTILLO DURAN	BELKIS MARIA	000000 000	TORO CENZO
	051 0001012 6	CASTILLO FERNANDEZ	QUIBIAN BIENVENIDO	011841 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001013 4	CASTILLO HERRERA	GILBERTO ANTONIO	010378 051	
	051 0001014 2	CASTILLO MEJIA	EUCLODES LEONARDO	012253 051	SANCHEZ 16
	051 0001015 0	CASTILLO MEJIA	MANUEL RAMON	009451 051	DUARTE
	051 0001016 8	CASTILLO PICHARDO	DANIL ANTONIO	028066 055	TORO CENZO 8
	051 0001017 6	CASTILLO QUIROZ	JUAN PABLO	000000 000	
	051 0001018 4	CASTILLO QUIROZ	MARINA YANIRYS	006830 051	
	051 0001019 2	CASTILLO ROSARIO	LEMBER RAFAEL	012044 051	PEDRO ROQUE 05
	051 0001020 0	CASTILLO SANCHEZ	VIRGILIO ANTONIO	008610 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001021 8	CASTILLO SIRI	DAMARIS JOCELYNE	000000 000	TORO
	051 0001022 6	CASTILLO TEJADA	MARIO RENBERTO	016955 055	COLON
	051 0001023 4	CASTILLO TEJADA DE SANCHEZ	ANA LUCIA	019646 047	SANCHEZ N 104 C
	051 0001024 2	CEPEDA CACERES DE GUZMAN	IDALIA DOLORES	004982 055	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0001025 0	CEPEDA QUEZADA	JOSE OSIRIS	026089 047	EUGENIO JIMENEZ
	051 0001026 8	CEPEDA SIRI	MELBA JOSEFINA	002535 051	SAN RAFAEL
	051 0001027 6	COLON DURAN	DIONICIA ANTONIA	009349 051	
	051 0001028 4	COLON LIRIANO	ANGEL LUIS	010749 051	DUARTE PARTE ATRAS
	051 0001029 2	COMPRES B DE TEJADA	JACINTA ANA ROSA	008366 054	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001030 0	COMPRES BENCOSME	VALENTINA	015846 054	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001031 8	CRUZ	DISNALDA	006139 051	PEDRO ROJAS
	051 0001032 6	CRUZ	WILLIAN DE JESUS	005932 051	DUARTE
	051 0001033 4	CRUZ FERNANDEZ	LOURDES XIOMARA	009888 051	MELLA 7
	051 0001034 2	CRUZ QUEZADA	MARGARITA MARIA	000000 000	COLON
	051 0001035 0	CRUZ PEREZ	LEON ELEUTERIO	023499 054	SABANA ANGOSTA
	051 0001036 8	DE JESUS FERNANDEZ	CLAUDI MERCEDES	000000 000	MELLA
	051 0001037 6	DE JESUS FERNANDEZ	FELIX ANTONIO	000000 000	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001038 4	DE JESUS MOYA	FELIX	010157 064	HERMANAS MIRABAL



DIRECCION NACIONAL DE INFORMACION ELECTORAL

Provincia: 22

Municipio: 051

Mesa No: 0003

Voto	Cedula Actual	APELLIDOS	Nombres	Céd. Anterior	Dirección
	051 0001039 5	DE JESUS MOYA	WILLINGTON JOSE MAXIMINO	012221 051	LUZ ESTRELLA DE
	051 0001040 3	DE LA CRUZ	JOSE DARIO	006432 051	DUARTE
	051 0001041 1	DE LA CRUZ ARNAUD	LORENZO ANTONIO	017920 055	SANCHEZ 78
	051 0001042 9	DE LA CRUZ ARNAUD	RAMON	011851 055	SANCHEZ
	051 0001043 7	DE LA CRUZ DURAN	YORMI ERMENEGILDO	000000 000	SANCHEZ
	051 0001045 5	DE LA CRUZ DURAN	YUDERKA ALTAGRACIA	029470 055	COLON
	051 0001045 2	DE LA CRUZ TAVERAS	ANGEL LUIS	009700 051	TORO CENIZO 81
	051 0001046 0	DE LA ROSA	ESTEVAO	010747 055	DUARTE PARTE ATRAS
	051 0001047 8	DELEON	EMILIA MARIA	002525 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001048 6	DELEON DE LEON	DAICY MARIA	000000 000	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001049 4	DELEON DE LEON DE JIVENEZ	IMELDA	027993 047	MONTE PLATA 15
	051 0001050 2	DESCAMPS	RAFAEL MIGUEL ANGEL	011125 051	DUARTE
	051 0001051 0	DIAZ CAROLA	ALBERTO	011125 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001051 0	DIAZ GERMAN	ISRAEL ALVARDO DE JESUS	010943 051	SANCHEZ 41
	051 0001053 6	DIAZ HERNANDEZ	JOSE AMIRIS	009923 051	27 DE FEBRERO 3
	051 0001054 4	DIAZ ROQUE	ANTONIO NICOLAS	009696 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001055 1	DIAZ YNOSA	MAYRA ALTAGRACIA	022172 055	SANCHEZ
	051 0001056 9	DURAN	JOSE ANTONIO	005001 051	MAGUEY
	051 0001057 7	DURAN	NOEMI ALTAGRACIA	006129 051	MAGUEY
	051 0001058 5	DURAN CACERES	PLINIO FRANCISCO	003141 051	POLANCO 76
	051 0001059 3	DURAN CRUZ	DOMINGO ANTONIO	030162 047	MAGUEY 74
	051 0001060 1	DURAN CRUZ	EMILIO	002995 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001061 9	DURAN DURAN	LUIS MANUEL	011450 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001062 7	DURAN DURAN	MIGUEL ANGEL	011439 051	SANCHEZ 82
	051 0001063 5	DURAN DURAN	NELSON ANTONIO	009343 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001064 3	DURAN FELIPE	MANUEL FRANCISCO	011440 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001065 0	DURAN FERNANDEZ DE ALMONTE	ZORAINA ONDIA	000751 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0001065 0	DURAN GARCIA	GERMANIA ALTAGRACIA	002445 051	TORO CENIZO 56
	051 0001067 6	DURAN HERNANDEZ	JOSE BIENVENIDO	005417 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001068 4	DURAN HERNANDEZ	JOSE RAFAEL	003571 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001069 2	DURAN HERNANDEZ	MANUEL SANTIAGO	006651 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001070 0	DURAN HERNANDEZ	MARY ROSA	002433 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001071 8	DURAN HERNANDEZ	ROSA ELENA	001797 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001072 6	DURAN HERNANDEZ	WILLIAM B-ADAMES	005450 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001073 4	DURAN JORGE	JUAN JOSE ALBERTO	009342 051	LOS BUEI-
	051 0001074 2	DURAN MARTINEZ	ADALGISA ALTAGRACIA	009516 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001075 9	DURAN MARTINEZ	YVELISSE ALTAGRACIA	009848 051	TOMAS DISLA
	051 0001076 7	DURAN OLIVARES	FRANCISCO ANTONIO	004347 051	TORO CENIZO
	051 0001077 5	DURAN OLIVARES	ISIDRA ALTAGRACIA	002335 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001078 3	DURAN RODRIGUEZ	ANDRES	011252 051	VILLA TAPIA
	051 0001079 1	DURAN ROSARIO	MANUEL DE JESUS	002434 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001080 9	DURAN ROSARIO	ANTONIO ESTEBAN	070614 047	SANCHEZ 90
	051 0001081 7	DURAN ROSARIO	MARISEL	009250 051	SANCHEZ 29
	051 0001082 5	DURAN SUARES	RAMON ANTONIO	005732 051	VILLA TAPIA
	051 0001083 3	DURAN SUARES	ROSALBA ALTAGRACIA	009671 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001084 1	DURAN TEJADA	ELERDISA ALTAGRACIA	002351 051	SANCHEZ CIEN
	051 0001085 8	DURAN TEJADA	ROSA ESTELA CARIDAD	002319 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001086 6	DURAN VASQUEZ	ANA MERCEDES	002611 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001087 4	DURAN VELEZ	GLORIA MERCEDES	000554 051	SANCHEZ 67
	051 0001088 2	DURAN VELEZ	RAMON ANTONIO	009365 055	SANCHEZ
	051 0001089 0	DURAN VELOZ	RULI ANTONIO	011157 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001090 8	ENCARNACION SUAREZ	HARDY EURINICE	000000 000	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001091 6	ENCARNACION SUAREZ	DAVID DE JESUS	010983 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001092 4	ESCOTO GERMAN	ENNO JOSE	003244 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0001093 2	ESCOTO VALENZUELA	FRANCISCO JAVIER AUGUSTO	012570 055	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001094 0	ESPAILLAT BENDOSME	ULISES FRANCISCO	010586 051	VILLA TAPIA
	051 0001095 7	ESPINAL ESPINAL	MARIA MAGDALENA	009730 046	TOMAS DISLA 7
	051 0001096 5	ESPINAL ESPINAL	GEORGINA	000002 051	PEPE HERRERA 4
	051 0001097 3	ESPINOSA PAULINO	MARIA AQUILINA	355079 001	MARIA TRINIDAD
	051 0001098 1	FELIPE ABREU	RAFAEL FELIPE	017403 055	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	051 0001099 9	FELIPE VASQUEZ	JOANY ALTAGRACIA	006703 051	DUARTE
	051 0001100 7	FERNANDEZ BOB	KATIA MERCEDES	000000 000	AVENIDA DUARTE
	051 0001101 5	FERNANDEZ CASTILLO	JOSE DAVID	009449 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	051 0001102 3	FERNANDEZ CASTILLO	LOURDES NATIVIDAD J	006597 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ 12
	051 0001103 1	FERNANDEZ DURAN	RAFAEL EMILIO	004086 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001104 9	FERNANDEZ FERNANDEZ	DILSIA MERCEDES	009956 051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	051 0001105 7	FERNANDEZ FERNANDEZ	NERBICA	000791 047	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	051 0001106 5	FERNANDEZ FERNANDEZ	FRANCISCO ANTONIO	005908 051	SANCHEZ
	051 0001107 3	FERNANDEZ ROQUE	ELENA MERCEDES	001239 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	051 0001108 1	FERNANDEZ T DE RODRIGUEZ	ANA CELIA	023855 056	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001109 9	FERNANDEZ TEJADA	JOSE FRANCISCO	010505 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001110 7	FERNANDEZ VASQUEZ	LUIS EMILIO	004589 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001111 5	FIGUEROA VERAS	FRANCISCO JOSE	024527 055	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001112 3	FIGUEROA VERAS	MERCEDES ALTAGRACIA	010811 055	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001113 1	FIGUEROA VERAS	SABINO ANTONIO	002530 055	PEPE HERRERA
	051 0001114 9	GARCIA CACERES	MANUEL ANTONIO	04449 047	SANCHEZ
	051 0001115 7	GARCIA CAMILO	FREDDY ANTONIO	009431 051	TOMAS DISLA
	051 0001116 5	GARCIA CAMILO	JUANA YVELISSE	010233 051	TOMAS DISLA 01
	051 0001117 3	GARCIA CAMILO	MARILIN MARGARITA	000000 000	TOMAS DISLA
	051 0001118 1	GARCIA CAMILO	ZOILA YANET	000000 000	TOMAS DISLA
	051 0001119 9	GARCIA DE LEON	RAMON EMILIO	011620 051	TORO CENIZO
	051 0001120 7	GARCIA DURAN	ENMANUEL	011259 051	DUARTE 87
	051 0001121 5	GARCIA DURAN	JACQUELIN ALTAGRACIA	438755 001	DUARTE
	051 0001122 3	GARCIA GARCIA	ESTHER NOEMI	009710 051	DUARTE
	051 0001123 1	GARCIA HERNANDEZ	ANGELA	009876 051	JUANA SALTITOPA
	051 0001124 9	GARCIA HERNANDEZ	ANGELICA MARIA	000000 000	PROLONGACION

DIRECCION NACIONAL DE INFORMACION ELECTORAL Provincia: 22 Municipio: 051 Mesa No: 0003

Código	Cédula Actual	Apellidos	Nombres	Cdd	Anterior	Dirección
		JARUA HERNANDEZ	JOSE ANTONIO	010039	051	JUANA SALTITOPA
		GARCIA VENTURA	LEPIDO BENEDICTO	044830	047	TOMAS DISLA
		XGERMAN AGRU	ESTEVA ALTAGRACIA	001114	063	JUAN PAPIO
		XGERMAN AGRU DE VASQUEZ	CARIDAD	005882	055	JUANA SALTITOPA
		XGL	CHARO	000000	000	SANCHEZ
		XGL	JOSE ANTONIO	008391	051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
		YGR REINOSO	JOSE FRANCISCO	009477	251	JUAN SALTITOPA
		GL RODRIGUEZ	BARTOLA MARTINA	005637	051	PEDRO ROOJE
		GL ROSARIO	ALFREDO SAUL	011042	051	SANCHEZ
		GIL ROSARIO	JORGE RAFAEL	000000	000	JUANA SALTITOPA
		GIL ROSARIO	ROSA EVELINDA YNMACULADA	000000	000	SANCHEZ
		GOMEZ	MARA MAGDALENA	014356	034	DUARTE
		GOMEZ	OLIVIA MARIA	005830	034	DUARTE
		XGOMEZ ALBA DE ROSARIO	ADELFA ANTONIA	024381	054	DUARTE
		GOMEZ BATISTA	JOSE RAFAEL	015774	047	DUARTE
		GOMEZ BRITO	OLGA RAMONA	009238	051	JUAN VENTURA
		GOMEZ DE MONSIEGO	JUANA MERCEDES	004520	064	
		GOMEZ TEJADA	ANNY JULIUSA	169134	031	DUARTE
		GONZALEZ DE LA CRUZ	SILVETTE	015111	066	DUARTE
		GONZALEZ MEDINA	GONZALEZ ANTONIA	003951	051	SASANA ANGOSTA
		GONZALEZ MONSIEGO	NORA ALTAGRACIA	000000	000	DUARTE
		GONZALEZ TEJADA DE ROOJE	POLOVA	007324	051	
		GORIS DE ROOJE	ANA MERCEDES	012496	047	SANCHEZ
		GORIS NUÑEZ	ELSIDO	010052	051	DUARTE
		GORIS SOLANO	ANA MERCEDES	010501	051	PRINCIPAL
		GORIS SOLANO	LUIS MARA	254505	001	
		GORIS SOLANO	MILYDRES	007925	051	PRINCIPAL
		GRULLON SANTOS	JOSE	019699	051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
		GUZMAN	LAIDALINA	022606	051	MELLA
		XGUZMAN CEPEDA	LESSOLTA MERCEDES	004587	051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
		GUZMAN MARTINEZ	SANTIAGO	013609	024	JUANA SALTITOPA
		GUZMAN ORTEGA	EMENEGILDA ALTAGRACIA	002644	051	JUANA SALTITOPA
		XGUZMAN TEJADA	MIRAN ESTELA	002325	069	DUARTE
		HENRIQUEZ SANTOS	FALSAVIELAS	006733	068	CHAGO JIMENEZ
		HENRIQUEZ SANTOS	TOMAS	006951	051	JUAN VENTURA
		HERNANDEZ BRITO	JOSE ALEFFO	022400	055	LUZ DE OJEZADA
		HERNANDEZ CACERES	ANGELO EDUAR	029245	047	
		HERNANDEZ CACERES	ROSA E INVENIDA	001977	051	
		HERNANDEZ CASTILLO	GLEBERTO ANTONIO	005392	051	JUANA SALTITOPA
		HERNANDEZ CASTILLO	VENECIA RAMONA	002201	051	
		HERNANDEZ DURAN	OSCAR G. ESTE	008966	051	TOMAS DISLA
		HERNANDEZ GARCIA	ARAL MERCEDES	026069	055	DUARTE
		HERNANDEZ HERNANDEZ	CESAR JOSE	008116	051	DUARTE
		HERNANDEZ HERNANDEZ	CESARNA DEL CARMEN	005748	051	DUARTE
		HERNANDEZ HERNANDEZ	JULIO CESAR	009374	051	AV. DUARTE
		HERNANDEZ JCA	ANTON KANJEL	012033	051	SANCHEZ PARTE
		HERNANDEZ POLANCO	RAMON ALDO	011773	051	ARTURO ROJAS
		HERNANDEZ REYES	ANTONIA	004418	051	
		HERNANDEZ V DE JIMENEZ	FRANCISCA DE JESUS	009912	047	
		HERNANDEZ VASQUEZ	MARIA ESPERANZA	017603	047	JUANA SALTITOPA
		HERNANDEZ VASQUEZ	MARIA JOSEFA	017647	047	JUANA SALTITOPA
		HERNANDEZ VASQUEZ DE DURAN	ROSaura	002670	047	TORO GENZO
		HERNANDEZ VILLAR	GIANLDA MERCEDES	004780	051	DUARTE
		HERNANDEZ ZORRILLA	RAFAEL	005907	051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
		HIDALGO	MARINO ANTONIO	010346	055	
		INFANTE TORIBIO	ALTAGRACIA	004905	051	SAN RAFAEL
		INFANTE TORIBIO	JULIA	004905	051	SAN RAFAEL
		JAQUES BURGOS	ANA MERCEDES	009272	051	EL COCO
		JESUS MOYA	ANGELJO	025036	047	RAFAEL OJEZADA
		JIMENEZ DE LEON	JUANA CRISTINA	000000	000	JUANA SALTITOPA
		JIMENEZ DE LEON	ROMAN ANTONIO	011511	051	JUANA SALTITOPA
		JIMENEZ FRIAS DE ROOJE	MARIA ISABEL	019490	047	
		JIMENEZ GERMAN	JOHANA ALTAGRACIA	006047	047	CHAGO JIMENEZ
		JIMENEZ GERMAN	ZOILA ALTAGRACIA	013009	056	JUAN PAPIO
		JIMENEZ RAMIREZ	ELESA MARIA	000039	051	
		JIMENEZ RAMIREZ	MARIA CONSUELO	006696	055	
		JIMENEZ RAMIREZ	RAMON ANTONIO	015591	047	
		JIMENEZ RAMIREZ	VICTOR	023092	047	TORO GENZO
		JIMENEZ ROOJE	MIGUEL ANGEL	000000	000	JUANA SALTITOPA
		JIMINIAN C DE ROSARIO	ANA JOSEFA	003641	047	SANCHEZ
		JIMINIAN DURAN	BERTILIA DE JESUS	004951	051	
		JIMINIAN PORTES	LUIS MANUEL ANTONIO	009328	051	
		JORAN TEJADA	YISER MARLEN	000000	000	LA DUARTE
		JORGE	ANA ALTAGRACIA	000399	051	DUARTE
		JORGE BETANCE	GLORIA JACQUELIN	006803	051	TOMAS DISLA
		JORGE BETANCE	JOSE DANIEL	009486	051	JUANA SALTITOPA
		JORGE BETANCES	JOSE ALCIDES	000000	000	TOMAS DISLA
		JORGE BETANCES	MARTHA ANTONIA	006055	051	SAN RAFAEL
		JORGE CASTILLO	INGRID DENISE ELIZABETH	006788	051	MARIA TRINIDAD
		JORGE JORGE	OULBIO ESTEBAN DE JESUS	007922	051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
		JORGE JORGE DE VERAS	BELEN RAMONA DEL PILAR	003993	051	GASTON F. DELIGNE
		LAJARA DIFON	ALEXIS ANTONIO	008081	051	HERMANAS MIRABAL
		LANTIGUA LOPEZ	ANA CRESCENCIA A	057978	054	
		LANTIGUA VELOZ	JUAN ELISEO	009475	051	MARIA TRINIDAD
		LAY RODRIGUEZ	LUIS SANJO	012154	051	SANCHEZ
		LECLERC RODRIGUEZ	ANA LUISA	006937	046	JUANA SALTITOPA

DIRECCION NACIONAL DE INFORMACION ELECTORAL Provincia: 22 Municipio: 051 Mesa No: 0003

Voto	Cédula Actual	Apellidos	Nombres	Céd. Anterior	Dirección	
	051 0001211 0	LEDESMA	MARIA CORNELIA	003084 020	CHAGO JIMENEZ	30
	051 0001212 8	LIRIANO	JOSE MANUEL	008429 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001213 6	LIRIANO	LUISA MERCEDES	006161 051	DUARTE	84
	051 0001214 4	LIRIANO LEONARDO	JOSE ANTONIO	011184 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001215 1	LIRIANO LEONARDO	MARIA DEL CARMEN	009718 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001216 9	LIRIANO ROQUE	EDITA MERCEDES ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	JULIO ESCOTO	
	051 0001217 7	LIRIANO ROQUE	MARIA VICTORIA	008693-051	JULIO ESCOTO	12
	051 0001218 5	LOPEZ DE MONEGRO	FELICIA	007813 655	DUARTE	
	051 0001219 3	LOPEZ ESPAILLAT	ANA RITA	008144 051	TOMAS D'ISLA	02
	051 0001220 1	LOPEZ GONZALEZ	GELTRUDY	000000 000	DUARTE	
	051 0001221 9	LOPEZ LIRIANO	GRACIELA DEL CARMEN	008059 051	DUARTE	67
	051 0001222 7	LOPEZ LIRIANO	ROSANNA ALTAGRACIA	006908 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	
	051 0001223 5	LOPEZ ROQUE	JOSE ALCIBIADES	005829 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	
	051 0001224 3	LOPEZ ROQUE	RAFAEL	005955 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001225 0	LUGO	ANTONIO	012054 046	MAGUEY	90
	051 0001226 8	LUNA DE LA CRUZ	MARIA ESTELA	009007 051		
	051 0001227 6	MANZUETA	DANIEL	027006 005		
	051 0001228 4	MARIA DE LEON	JOSE LUIS	007689 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001229 2	MARTE ANEZCUTA	MIGUEL ANGEL	025341 055	CHAGO JIMENEZ	5
	051 0001230 0	MARTE ANEZCUTA	PORFIRIO ANTONIO	031213 055	CHAGO JIMENEZ	
	051 0001231 8	MARTINEZ ALMANZAR	VIANELSA ALTAGRACIA	009567 051	JULIO ESCOTO	
	051 0001232 6	MARTINEZ JUQUEZ	MARTINEZ EUGENIO	006476 051	ARTURO ROJAS	
	051 0001233 4	MARTINEZ NUÑEZ DE TEJADA	MARIA	004623 047	DUARTE	37
	051 0001234 2	MARTINEZ SALDANA	RAMON	008902 055	LA SANCHEZ	
	051 0001235 0	MARTINEZ VEZ	LUIZ DEL ALBA	006826 000	SANCHEZ	
	051 0001236 7	MATEO MARTINEZ	SANTA CANDIDA	021850 050	RAFAEL QUEZADA	
	051 0001237 5	MATIAS ALBA	ARIEL JOAQUIN	011055 051	COLON	2
	051 0001238 3	MEDINA ASREU	CLARA YLDA	006694 051	CHITO QUEZADA	
	051 0001239 1	MEDINA ASREU	FERNANDO ANTONIO	011733 051	CHITO QUEZADA	
	051 0001240 9	MEDINA ASREU	JOSE MANUEL	011128 051	CHITO QUEZADA	18
	051 0001241 7	MEDINA ASREU	NOEMIALTAGRACIA	000000 000	CHITO QUEZADA	18
	051 0001242 5	MEDINA MATEO	ANGELA FELICIA	000000 000	PEREZ HERRERA	
	051 0001243 3	MEDINA QUEZADA DE ROSARIO	JUANA PAULA	009026 051	SABANA ANGOSTA	
	051 0001244 1	MEJIA	RAFAEL	003951 059	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001245 8	MEJIA DE LEON	ROBERTO RAFAEL	011123 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001246 6	MEJIA DE LEON	ROSA EMILIA	010201 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001247 4	MENDOZANA GRULLON	JUAN SAUTISTA	000000 000	TORO CENZO VILLA	
	051 0001248 2	MONEGRO	ANDREINA MERCEDES	009023 051	VILLA TATA	6
	051 0001249 0	MONEGRO DURAN	LOURDES RAFAELA	006708 051	SAN RAFAEL	17
	051 0001250 8	MONEGRO FERNANDEZ	FELIX	005380 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001251 6	MONEGRO FERNANDEZ	QUITERIO	004303 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001252 4	MONEGRO FERNANDEZ	THELMA RAMONA	001840 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001253 2	MONEGRO LOPEZ	YANET MERCEDES	004553 051	DUARTE	18
	051 0001254 0	MONEGRO QUEZADA	SANDY YOVANY DE JESUS	000000 000	SANCHEZ	
	051 0001255 7	MOREL	FRANCIS ANTONIO	009954 051	DUARTE	58
	051 0001256 5	MOREL ALENO	GENETRA	000000 000	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001257 3	MOYA TEJADA	MARIA YSABEL	006826 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001258 1	NAMIAS BAEZ	MANUEL AUGUSTO	120240 001	DUARTE	70
	051 0001259 9	NERIS SANCHEZ	AFRANIO DE JESUS	009454 051	SAN RAFAEL	
	051 0001260 7	NUÑEZ	JOSE DEL CARMEN	004001 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001261 5	NUÑEZ LIRANZO	LUIS JOSE	009576 051	FEDRO POOLE	
	051 0001262 3	NUÑEZ SUARES	DAMARI DEL CARMEN	007190 051	DUARTE	120
	051 0001263 1	NUÑEZ MOYA	LIDIA MARIA	002269 051		
	051 0001264 9	OLIVARES	YOCASTA DEL CARMEN	006059 051	DUARTE	
	051 0001265 7	OLIVARES ASREU DE DURAN	MARIA ESTHER	005335 055		
	051 0001266 4	OLIVARES POLANCO	JOSEFINA ALTAGRACIA	075525 047		
	051 0001267 2	OLIVARES POLANCO	SANDRA ALTAGRACIA	006772 051	TORO CENZO	28
	051 0001268 0	ORTEGA	EUDOCIA	015707 055	DUARTE	
	051 0001269 8	ORTEGA ASREU	DULCE DORIBEL	007547 051	SABANA ANGOSTA	
	051 0001270 6	ORTEGA ASREU	FRANCIS ESCOASTICA M	004650 051	SABANA ANGOSTA	
	051 0001271 4	PARRA GRULLON	CATULO ALEJANDRO	000000 000		
	051 0001272 2	PAULINO	RAMONA ALTAGRACIA	040200 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001273 0	PAULINO SANCHEZ	MERCEDES ANTONIA	000000 000	LA GNA	
	051 0001274 8	PAYANO PAYANO	GERTRUDYS ANTONIO	000000 000	RAFAEL QUEZADA	
	051 0001275 5	PEREZ ASREU	MARIA DEL CARMEN	007197 051	SABANA ANGOSTA	
	051 0001276 3	PEREZ BETANCES	FE MARIA	006642 051	CHITO QUEZADA	19
	051 0001277 1	PEREZ CRUZ DE TEJADA	CELESTINA	013418 056	LA DUARTE	
	051 0001278 9	PEREZ DURAN	CLARIZA ANTONIA	009891 051	SANCHEZ	
	051 0001279 7	PEREZ DURAN	RAFAEL ANTONIO	006031 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	
	051 0001280 5	PEREZ MEDINA	ANTONIO DE JESUS	009722 051	SANCHEZ	80
	051 0001281 3	PEREZ MEDINA	JOSE MIGUEL	008208 051	SANCHEZ	
	051 0001282 1	PEREZ SANCHEZ	MILENO ANTONIO	012349 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
	051 0001283 9	PEREZ SANTOS	JOSE ANTONIO	029954 047	MAGUEY	80
	051 0001284 7	PICHARDO	FRANCISCO ANTONIO	024865 055	PEREZ HERRERA	
	051 0001285 4	PICHARDO	MIGUEL	004785 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	10
	051 0001286 2	POLANCO DE LA ROSA	ERCILO ANTONIO	006960 051		
	051 0001287 0	POLANCO ESPINOSA	NORVALIS	000000 000	MARIA TRINIDAD	
	051 0001288 8	POLANCO MEDINA	ROSELIO ANTONIO	011164 064	TORO CENZO	
	051 0001289 6	POLO GUZMAN	FRANCISCO JAVIER	011718 051	MELLA	4
	051 0001290 4	POLO MEDINA	HECTOR MANUEL EMILIO	004170 051	MELLA	4
	051 0001291 2	POLO MEDINA	MANUEL ENVENIDO	005010 051	SAN RAFAEL	
	051 0001292 0	POLO MEDINA	PEDRO JOSE	003142 051		
	051 0001293 8	POLO NYDA	YOMARIS ALTAGRACIA	009866 051	SANCHEZ	46
	051 0001294 6	PORTES GARCIA DE BEATO	AIDA MERCEDES AGUSTINA	025003 047	TOMAS D'ISLA	
	051 0001295 3	PORTES GARCIA DE JIMINIAN	ALTAGRACIA MERCEDES	019733 047		
	051 0001296 1	QUEZADA ASREU	ANA	009300 051		

Voto	Cedula Actual	APELLIDOS	Nombres	Céd. Anterior	Derección
	0001297 9	QUEZADA ASREU	BELGICA ALTAGRACIA	002431 051	MARIA TRINIDAD
	0001298 7	QUEZADA ASREU	VIRGLIO	011685 055	PEPE HERRERA
	0001299 5	QUEZADA BERNASEL	ANADINA ANTONIA	004605 064	DUARTE
	0001300 1	QUEZADA BIDO	FRANKLIN RHADAMES	008605 051	PEPE HERNANDEZ
	0001301 9	QUEZADA ESTRELLA	HECTOR EMILIO	030879 054	DUARTE 13
	0001302 7	QUEZADA ESTRELLA	NORBERTO ANTONIO	042516 031	
	0001303 5	QUEZADA ESTRELLA DE GOMEZ	LUZ CELESTE	000574 026	DUARTE
	0001304 3	QUEZADA MONTEGRO	LEONEL ANDRES	009911 051	
	0001305 0	QUEZADA QUEZADA	CARLOS RAFAEL	000000 000	PEPE HERRERA 29
	0001306 8	QUEZADA QUEZADA	RAMON EMILIO	009473 055	PEPE HERRERA
	0001307 6	QUEZADA RAMOS	JUAN JOSE DEL CARMEN	008492 051	COLON
	0001308 4	QUEZADA ROQUE	GUILLELMO ADAMES	012047 051	PEPE HERRERA
	0001309 2	QUEZADA TEJADA	VICTOR LEONARDO	009535 051	COLON
	0001310 0	QUEZADA TEJADA DE BALDERA	HIGINIA ESPERANZA	000298 047	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	0001311 8	QUEZADA TEJADA DE CEPEDA	CONSUELO	006150 047	HERMANAS MIRABAL
	0001312 6	QUEZADA VELOZ	RAFAEL	005583 051	LUZ ESTRELLA
	0001313 4	RAMIREZ MONTEGRO	JORGE DE JESUS	000000 000	
	0001314 2	RAMIREZ MONTEGRO	MILDRE ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	SABANA ANGOSTA
	0001315 9	REINOSO DOMINGUEZ	NORIS ALTAGRACIA	014124 032	CAONAGO
	0001316 7	REYES QUEZADA	JULIO CESAR	011413 051	
	0001317 5	RIO VELOZ	NISIS RAMONA	008012 051	PEPE HERRERA
	0001318 3	RIVAS CAMILO	JACINTA DICHEDES	002567 051	TOMAS DISLA 9
	0001319 1	RODRIGUEZ LOPEZ	JUANA CARINE	006752 051	DUARTE 69
	0001320 9	RODRIGUEZ	JUAN	017480 039	DUARTE
	0001321 7	RODRIGUEZ	OLGA LIDIA MARGARITA	007235 051	DUARTE
	0001322 5	RODRIGUEZ ARIAS	ANA LUCIA	000059 051	DUARTE
	0001323 3	RODRIGUEZ DURAN	GUINA MARIS	009317 051	TORO CENZO 101
	0001324 1	RODRIGUEZ GR	DAELME MARA	000000 000	TOMAS DISLA
	0001325 8	RODRIGUEZ HERNANDEZ	LUCIA	050231 051	
	0001326 6	RODRIGUEZ HERNANDEZ	SONIA	000000 000	MARIA TRINIDAD
	0001327 4	RODRIGUEZ LIRANO	RAIMUNDA ANTONIA	000000 000	TABLON, VILLA TAPIA
	0001328 2	RODRIGUEZ REGALADO	EDIS	012161 051	MARIA TRINIDAD
	0001329 0	RODRIGUEZ TAVERAS	DAVID	009468 051	SANCHEZ
	0001330 8	RODRIGUEZ VELOZ	VIRGLIO CONFESOR	012073 035	DUARTE 88
	0001331 6	ROJAS LORA	RAMONA	000000 000	SANCHEZ
	0001332 4	ROJUE	FRANCISCO FERNANDO	006202 051	SANCHEZ
	0001333 2	ROQUE	YAIRIS ALTAGRACIA	009315 051	
	0001334 0	ROQUE ALMONTE	ANA RAMONA	007097 035	
	0001335 7	ROQUE DE LA CRUZ	ELIZABET MARTINA	009835 051	ARTURO ROJAS
	0001336 5	ROQUE DURAN	JOSE MANUEL	011402 051	SANCHEZ
	0001337 3	ROQUE GORIS	CORNELIO	004964 051	SANCHEZ
	0001338 1	ROQUE GORIS	MARIA ALTAGRACIA	004553 051	SANCHEZ
	0001339 9	ROQUE JIMENEZ	ANA MARTINA	006815 051	SANCHEZ
	0001340 7	ROQUE JIMENEZ	JOCANNI ALTAGRACIA	006798 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	0001341 5	ROQUE RODRIGUEZ	JUAN EPIFANIO	008067 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ 28
	0001342 3	ROQUE ROQUE	AURELIA	008356 035	MAGUYE 3
	0001343 1	ROSA CACEFFES	MARIA DE LA	009556 051	DUARTE 78
	0001344 9	ROSA COLON	RAFAEL ANTONIO	011195 051	
	0001345 6	ROSA COLON	ROSANGEL ALTAGRACIA	009897 051	DUARTE
	0001346 4	ROSA ESCOTO	RAMONA ESPERANZA RAFAELA	367654 021	TOMAS DISLA
	0001347 2	ROSA REINOSO	FRANCISCA MERCEDES	000000 000	DUARTE 65
	0001348 0	ROSARIO	ANTONIO	000326 051	DUARTE
	0001349 8	ROSARIO	GILBERTO WENDY	012322 051	SANCHEZ 34
	0001350 6	ROSARIO CRUZ	ALEXI XIOMARA	006876 051	RANCHITO
	0001351 4	ROSARIO DURAN	LILIAN MERCEDES	000000 000	JULIO ESCOTO 01
	0001352 2	ROSARIO DURAN	LUZ BERNADINA DEL CARMEN	000000 000	JULIO ESCOTO
	0001353 0	ROSARIO GARCIA	VINICIO ANTONIO	008962 051	TORO CENZO
	0001354 8	ROSARIO NERIS	ROSA YRIS	006248 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	0001355 6	ROSARIO NERIS	YNA MARIA	006633 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ 28
	0001356 4	ROSARIO TEJADA	ROSA JOSEFINA	010383 051	SAN RAFAEL 16-A
	0001357 2	ROSARIO VASQUEZ	GREGORIO BERNARDO	011046 051	DUARTE
	0001358 0	SALAZAR VILLAR	ANYOLINA DEL CARMEN	009462 051	EL COCO
	0001359 8	SALCEDO PEREZ	LUZ MERCEDES	009791 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ 2
	0001360 6	SANCHEZ CASTILLO	ANA YNELSA	003990 051	SANCHEZ
	0001361 4	SANCHEZ MENDEZ DE NERIS	AGRIPINA	008922 055	SAN RAFAEL
	0001362 2	SANCHEZ NERIS	MARCOS ANTONIO	035113 054	DUARTE
	0001363 0	SANCHEZ SANCHEZ	AURELIANO	045112 054	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	0001364 8	SANTANA MELLA	MANUEL ANTONIO	004880 021	PEDRO ROQUE
	0001365 6	SANTANA QUEZADA	QUILBIO ESTEBAN	008143 051	DUARTE
	0001366 4	SANTIAGO GRULLON	BENITA ORQUIDIA	009720 051	ARTURO ROJAS
	0001367 2	SANTIAGO GRULLON	DAMARIS ALTAGRACIA	010304 051	ARTURO ROJIA 9
	0001368 0	SANTOS	RAMON MAURICIO	011719 051	
	0001369 8	SANTOS ASREU	ANA MARIA	007263 051	
	0001370 6	SANTOS ASREU DE PEREZ	ASIA MERCEDES	000841 051	MELLA
	0001371 4	SANTOS ALMANZAR DE TEJADA	ANA VICTORIA	028553 047	SANCHEZ 51
	0001372 2	SANTOS SUAREZ	LUZELDA ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	
	0001373 0	SIRI VASQUEZ DE CEPEDA	MARIA GREGORIA	006661 035	JULIO ESCOTO
	0001374 8	SORIANO HERNANDEZ	REYES	000000 000	EUGENIO JIMENEZ
	0001375 6	SUARES	JOSE ALTAGRACIA	008700 051	DUARTE 104
	0001376 4	SUARES GERMAN	ROSA AMERICA	000233 051	JULIO ESCOTO
	0001377 2	SURIEL ASREU	YVELISSE ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	JUANA SALTITOPA
	0001378 0	SURIEL SANTOS	ANTONIO ALFREDO	000000 000	
	0001379 8	TAVARES DE VILLAR	ANA ARIDA	020250 031	JULIO ESCOTO 2
	0001380 6	TAVARES MONTEGRO	ANA FRANCISCA	000000 000	CHAGO JIMENEZ
	0001381 4	TAVARES ROSALDO	ESTELA	009395 051	
	0001382 2	TAVERAS	JOSE	003340 051	PEPE HERRERA

Voto	Cédula Actual	Apellidos	Nombres	Céd. Anterior	Dirección	
		TAVERAS DE FIGUEROA	TERESA	031262 054	PEPE HERRERA	8
051	0001383 7	TAVERAS FERNANDEZ	ELBA MARIA	002638 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001384 5	TAVERAS LIRIAND	PASTORA	009278 051	GOLON	22
051	0001385 2	TAVERAS MEJIA	DOMINGO	009528 055	SANCHEZ	28
051	0001386 0	TAVERAS OLIVARES	AMADA	005057 064	DUARTE	
051	0001387 8	TAVERAS SUAREZ	JORGE MARTIN	009473 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001388 6	TEJADA ALMANZAR	JOSE MARIA	018397 047	LOS BUEN PANES	
051	0001389 4	TEJADA ALMANZAR	PEDRO MARIA	002817 051	DUARTE	
051	0001390 2	TEJADA AL VAREZ	ALTAGRACIA EMERITIMA	004876 051	ESTRELLA OUEZADA	55-A
051	0001391 0	TEJADA AL VAREZ	ROSA RIO CAROLINA	002516 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001392 8	TEJADA AL VAREZ	EVELIN INMACULADA	004559 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001393 6	TEJADA C DE FERNANDEZ	ISIDRA EMELINDA M	001392 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001394 4	TEJADA COMPRES	CLARA MARIA ANTONIA	002455 051	LUZ ESTRELLA	
051	0001395 2	TEJADA COMPRES	JOSE FERNANDO	035038 054	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001396 9	TEJADA COMPRES	RAMON EMILIO	004649 051	DUARTE	
051	0001397 7	TEJADA COMPRES	RAFAEL ADALBERTO	010168 051	RAFAEL OUEZADA	
051	0001398 5	TEJADA DE LA ROSA	KIOMARA ALTAGRACIA	004745 051	JULIO ESCOTO	10
051	0001399 3	TEJADA DURAN DE RAMIREZ	ROSA ELENA	002044 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001400 9	TEJADA GIL	ANYOLINA MERCEDES	000000 000	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001402 5	TEJADA LIRIAND	LUCIA ALTAGRACIA	003000 000	DUARTE	51
051	0001403 3	TEJADA MARTINEZ	ALCIBIADES	003747 051	DUARTE	
051	0001404 1	TEJADA MERCEDES	AMBROSIA	012328 051	SAN RAFAEL	
051	0001405 8	TEJADA MERCEDES	LINDA CRISTAL	002401 051	MILREDO ALTAGRACIA M	
051	0001406 6	TEJADA MERCEDES	CARMEN LUISA	006675 051	DUARTE	50
051	0001407 4	TEJADA OJUNTES	DEYANIRA ALTAGRACIA	005538 051	SAN RAFAEL	
051	0001408 2	TEJADA SANTOS	IRIS MERCEDES	005999 051	DUARTE	
051	0001409 0	TEJADA SANTOS	MIGUEL ANGEL	038567 051	MAGUEY	
051	0001410 8	TEJADA SANTOS	CARLOS MANUEL	010250 051	LUZ ESTRELLA DE	
051	0001411 6	TEJADA SILVA	RUBEN DARIO	010250 051	SANCHEZ	
051	0001412 4	TEJADA TAVERAS	RUBEN DARIO	069223 002	SANCHEZ	
051	0001413 2	TEJADA PINALES	PEDRO	000000 000	MARIA TRINIDAD	
051	0001414 0	TEJADA ALMANZAR	MARTHA YRIS	000000 000	AVENIDA DUARTE	
051	0001415 7	TORIBIO GARCIA	MARIA ELIZABETH	000000 000	SANCHEZ	
051	0001416 5	TORIBIO GUTIERREZ	KELVIN RADHAMES	000000 000	LUZ ESTRELLA DE	
051	0001417 3	TORIBIO RAMIREZ	JUSTINA MIRIAM	018259 051	RAFAEL OUEZADA	
051	0001418 1	TORIBIO TEJADA	MARIA PIEDRAZITA	003794 051	LA GINA	
051	0001419 9	TORRES ABRIL	INES ALTAGRACIA	000000 000	MARIA TRINIDAD	
051	0001420 7	ULLGA DE FERNANDEZ	ANSELMO DE JESUS	00444 055	MARIA TRINIDAD	
051	0001421 5	UREÑA NUÑEZ	DANEQUI RAMONA	010477 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	20
051	0001422 3	UREÑA RUBIERA	GENRI ANTONIO	009575 051	CHAGO JIMENEZ	
051	0001423 1	VANDE LINDEZ LUNA	ANSELMO DE JESUS	030562 031	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001424 9	VANDE LINDEZ LUNA	ANA MERCEDES	198294 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001425 7	VANDE LINDEZ LUNA	ALEJANDRA JOSEFINA	003412 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001426 5	VASQUEZ CASTILLO	JESUS RAFAEL	026562 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001427 3	VASQUEZ ESCOTO	LUIS ARTURO DE JESUS	080734 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001428 0	VASQUEZ ESCOTO	ALICIA MERCEDES	004563 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001429 8	VASQUEZ FERNANDEZ	YTALIA ALTAGRACIA	004926 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001430 6	VASQUEZ FERNANDEZ	ALBERTO DE JESUS	077860 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001431 4	VASQUEZ FERNANDEZ	CARLOS RAFAEL	065248 047	LOS CEREZOS	
051	0001432 2	VASQUEZ GERMAN	CARMEN R INMACULADA	003945 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001433 0	VASQUEZ GERMAN	DAMARIS ANTONIA	035215 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001434 8	VASQUEZ GONZALEZ	JOSE LUIS	011621 051	TORO CENIZO	
051	0001435 6	VASQUEZ GONZALEZ	MARITZA	022508 034	DUARTE	54
051	0001436 3	VASQUEZ HERNANDEZ	AIDA MARIA	002460 051	SANCHEZ	
051	0001437 1	VASQUEZ HERNANDEZ	DANTE RAFAEL	005401 031	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001438 9	VASQUEZ HERNANDEZ	LUIS MANUEL	004673 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001439 7	VASQUEZ J DE JIMINIAN	PATRIA DE JESUS	007396 055	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001440 5	VASQUEZ JIMENEZ	GLORIA MARIA	013336 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001441 3	VASQUEZ JIMENEZ	ROSA AMERICA	002450 047	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001442 1	VASQUEZ JIMENEZ DE DURAN	MARIA ROSA	002510 047	TORO CENIZO	29
051	0001443 9	VASQUEZ LAJARA	MERCEDES REINA	007675 055	DUARTE	15
051	0001444 7	VASQUEZ PEÑA	JUDI BOLIVAR	010590 051	AV DUARTE	
051	0001445 5	VASQUEZ OUEZADA	CARMEN OILENIA	007720 051	PEPE HERRERA	
051	0001446 3	VELASQUEZ	NORMA ANTONIA	004046 051	PEPE HERRERA	
051	0001447 0	VELEZ	THELMA ALTAGRACIA	001339 051	27 DE FEBRERO	3
051	0001448 8	VELEZ DURAN	RAMON DE JESUS	011401 051	SANCHEZ	
051	0001449 6	VELEZ RODRIGUEZ	MARIA ALTAGRACIA DE JS	002633 051	SABANA ANGOSTA	
051	0001450 4	VELOZ DE OUEZADA	MERCEDES	004396 055	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001451 2	VERAS APOLINARIO	MARIA VIANELA VALENTINA	004668 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001452 0	VERAS BETANCES	FRANCISCA	000174 051	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001453 8	VERAS CAMACHO	JUAN DE LA CRUZ	039205 024	JUANA SALTITOPA	
051	0001454 6	VERAS JIMENEZ DE FERNANDEZ	ANTONIA RAMONA	013729 055	DUARTE	69
051	0001455 4	VILLAR DURAN DE FERNANDEZ	MARIA MERCEDES	00510 051	GASTON FERNANDO	48
051	0001456 2	VILLAR TAVARES	JUAN JOSE	019898 055	SANCHEZ	
051	0001457 0	VILLAR TAVARES	MIGUEL ANGEL	005086 051	SANCHEZ	
051	0001458 7	VILLAR TAVARES	RAFAEL DARIO	006024 051	SANCHEZ	63
051	0001459 5	VILLAR TAVARES	MARIA MAGDALENA	004685 051	SAN RAFAEL	
051	0001460 3	VINFANTE TOR B D	EDUARDO LORENZO	011991 051	TOMAS DISLA	
051	0001461 1	ZORRILLA RIVAS	ROSA MER	008098 051	TOMAS DISLA	
051	0001462 9	ZORRILLA SANTOS	ANA LUISA	009760 051	TOMAS DISLA	

EXHIBIT D

PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO  
 RELACION DE INSCRITOS SUPLANTADOS  
 ELECCIONES GENERALES 16/5/54

Municipio de Villa Tapia, Provincia de Salcedo  
 HESÁ No. 003

INSCRITOS SEGUN LISTA OFICIAL DE LA JCE,  
 ENTIDAD A LAS MESAS ELECTORALES

INSCRITOS SEGUN LISTA OFICIAL DE LA JCE,  
 ENTREGADA A LOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS  
 (PRD)

APellidos	NOMBRES	NUMERO DE CEDULA	NUMERO DE CEDULA	APellidos	NOMBRES
BIDO	SOCORRO	051-00983-8	051-00953-8	ABREU OLIVARES	JORDAS
BODADILLA	JAEQUEZ	051-00983-4	051-00983-4	CABRAL H. DE JS.	FACUNDA ELENA
BRITO	DANIEL	051-11012-2	051-11012-2	CASTILLO FDEZ.	QUIBIAN BDO.
CAFELLAN	FENA	051-01048-4	051-01048-4	DE LEON L. DE J.	IMEIDA
CASILLA	ARIAS	051-01053-6	051-01053-6	DIAZ HERNANDEZ	JOSE AHIRIS
CIPRIAN	FUJOLS	051-01092-4	051-01092-4	ESCOTO GERMAN	ENRIO JOSE
CONCEPCION	SANTANA	051-01088-5	051-01098-5	ESFINOLA	GEORGINA
CORDERO	DE LUNA	051-01100-5	051-01100-5	FERNANDEZ BIDO	KATIA MERCEDES
CRUZ	JOSE ALBERTO	051-01108-6	051-01108-6	FERNANDEZ TEJADA	JOSE FCO.
DE LA ROSA	ALIS	051-01113-6	051-01113-6	FIGUEROA BERAS	SABINO ANTONIO
CUSTODIO	MUNOZ	051-01112-0	051-01112-0	FIGUEROA BERAS	MERCEDES ALT.
DE LOS SANTOS	EMILIANO	051-01114-6	051-01114-6	GARCIA CACERES	MANUEL ANTONIO
DE OLEO	ANSIA	051-01124-5	051-01124-5	GARCIA HERNANDEZ	ANGELICA MARIA
DEL CARMEN	DULCE EMPERATRIZ	051-01128-6	051-01128-6	GERMAN ABREU DE V.	CARIDAD
DIAZ SANTIAGO	DAVIS CELESTE	051-01129-4	051-01129-4	GIL	CHARO
ENCARNACION H.	JOSE FDO.	051-01130-2	051-01130-2	GIL	JOSE ANTONIO
ESPINOSA BURGOS	JOSE H.	051-01131-0	051-01131-0	GIL REINOSO	JOSE FCO.
FAMILIA BIOLA	BRIGIDA	051-01138-5	051-01138-5	GOMEZ ALBA DE R.	ADELFA ANT.

FARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO  
 RELACION DE INSCRITOS SUFLANTADOS  
 ELECCIONES GENERALES 16/5/84

Municipio de Villa Tapia, Provincia de Salcedo  
 MESA No. 003

SEGUN LISTA OFICIAL DE LA JCE  
 ENVIADAS A LAS MESAS ELECTORALES

SEGUN LISTA OFICIAL DE LA JCE  
 ENTREGADA A LOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS  
 (PRD)

APPELLIDOS	NOMBRES	NUMERO DE CEDULA	NUMERO DE CEDULA	APELLIDOS	NOMBRES
FELIZ	MARGARITA	051-1154-2	051-1154-2	GUZMAN CEPEDA	LESBIOLITA
FERNANDEZ	ANA RITA	051-1157-5	051-1157-5	GUZMAN TEJADA	MIRIAN ESTELA
FERNANDEZ ULLOA	ANGEL	051-1167-4	051-1167-4	HERNANDEZ H.	CESAR JOSE
FERREIRA	ISIDRA	051-1168-2	051-1168-2	HERNANDEZ H.	CESARINA DEL C.
CATEDRAL MORILLO	LUISA	051-1065-0	051-1065-0	DURAN FDEZ. D. A.	ZORAINA O.
CALZADO OZUNA	JULIO EMILIO	051-1020-5	051-1020-5	CASTILLO SANCHEZ	VIRGILIO ANT.
CAMACHO HDEZ.	ELJUDIA	051-1023-9	051-1023-9	CASTILLO TEJADA DE S.	ANA LUCIA

FOLIO 1

Jefe Municipal Electoral

FECHA: 18 DE AGOSTO

ESCRITO EN O  
PRESENCIA

*Alvarez*

CANDIDATURA PRESIDENCIAL  
BOLETIN MUNICIPAL ELECTORAL NO 007  
17 DE MAYO DE 1994

TOTAL DE VOTOS.....	132	TOTAL DE INSCRITOS.....	49,554
MESAS COMPUTADAS...	176	VOTOS VALIDOS.....	52,423
MESAS FALTANTES...	-44	VOTOS NULOS.....	3,853
		VOTOS OBSERVADOS.....	1,131
		VOTOS EHTIPOS.....	58,427

	SIBLAS PARTIDOS	VOTOS VALIDOS	PORCENTAJE
PARTIDO DE LA LIBERACION DOMINICANA	FLE	6,059	11.41%
PARTIDO REFORMISTA SOCIAL CRISTIANO	FRSC	21,640	51.40%
PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO	FRD	19,715	35.02%
PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO INDEFINIDAMENTE	FR1	778	1.48%
PARTIDO DIGIGUETAYANO DEMOCRATA	FDD	12	0.02%
PARTIDO FOFULAN CRISTIANO	FFC	47	0.09%
PARTIDO DEMOCRATA INSTITUCIONAL	FDI	21	0.04%
BLOQUE INSTITUCIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATA	IBIS	153	0.29%
PARTIDO DEL FUERTE DOMINICANO	AFED	35	0.07%
MUJERES	MEJ	5	0.01%
PARTIDO RENACERISTA NACIONAL	REN	43	0.08%
MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENCIA, UNIDAD Y CAMBIO	MUCU	14	0.03%
		55	0.10%

\*\*\* FIN DEL BOLETIN \*\*\*

*ALVAREZ*

EXHIBIT E

BOLETIN ELECTORAL



EXHIBIT F



REPUBLICA DOMINICANA

OFICIALIA DEL ESTADO CIVIL

EXTRACTO DE ACTA DE SESION No. 4

En la Ciudad y Municipio de Báncica, Provincia Elías Pina, República Dominicana, a los 16 días del mes de Mayo del año 1994, siendo las 10:32 horas de la noche; reunidos en sesión permanente los señores: José Terrero Marte, presidente de esta Junta Municipal Electoral; Toribio Bautista de la Rosa, 1er. Vocal y Benjamín de la Rosa 2do. Vocal, en presencia de los señores: Ramón Antonio Rivera Carvajal delegado del P.R.D., Carlos - Manuel Berihuete delegado del P.R.I., y Constantino Alcántara Pérez delegado del P.L.D. asistidos por el infrascripto Secretario Arcadio Jiménez-Guzmán. El presidente declaró abierta la Sesión y pidió que se diera lectura a la convocatoria a lo que se procedió de inmediato y en la que se comprueba que todos los miembros y delegados fueron convocados y que el propósito de la sesión es recibir y conocer los resultados de las mesas electorales de esta Junta Municipal Electoral. Luego se le dio lectura a una comunicación suscrita por el delegado del Partido Reformista Social-Cristiano, fechada a 16 de Mayo 94, en la que trata sobre el artículo 73 de la Ley Electoral No. 5884, en la que respecta a las alianzas o coalición. Luego el delegado del P.L.D. solicitó que se le diera lectura a la artículo 155 de la Ley Electoral, en base a lo que solicita la anulación total de las elecciones a nivel municipal, en razón de los listados suministrados por la Junta Central Electoral a los partidos, tienen una gran diferencia con el listado Oficial que tienen las mesas electorales, e l delegado del P.R.D. dijo que se une a la solicitud de anulación que hace el delegado del P.L.D. porque entiende que es un fraude en contra de los partidos de oposición, destacando que en donde es Partido Reformista Social Cristiano consideraba que tenía menos posibilidad de ganar, el desplazamiento era mayor; el delegado del P.R.I. también se solidarizó con la solicitud de anulación hecha por el señor Constantino Alcántara Pérez delegado del P.L.D. El presidente procedió a someter a la consideración de los demás miembros de este Organismo Electoral, la solicitud de anulación, obteniendo la aprobación de los dos vocales, no obstante haber manifestado el presidente, que el está en contra de la anulación. (Hacemos constar que el delegado del PRSC. llegó a la sesión a las 11:30 P.M.).- Considerando que las elecciones a nivel municipal fueron anuladas, los miembros de ésta acordaron recibir las urnas sin conocer los resultados de las mesas electorales. No habiendo más nada que tratar, el presidente propuso la clausura la cual fue aceptada por los demás miembros.

FIRMADOS:

*José Terrero Marte*  
JOSE TERRERO MARTE  
Presidente

*Toribio Bautista de la Rosa*  
TORIBIO BAUTISTA DE LA R.  
1er. Vocal

*Benjamín de la Rosa*  
BENJAMIN DE LA ROSA  
2do. Vocal.

*Ramón Antonio Rivera Carvajal*  
RAMÓN A. RIVERA  
Delegado del PRD.

*Constantino Alcántara Pérez*  
CONSTANTINO ALCANTARA P.  
Delegado del P.L.D.

*Carlos M. Berihuete*  
CARLOS M. BERIHUETE  
Delegado del P.R.I.

*Arcadio Jiménez-Guzmán*  
ARCADIO JIMÉNEZ GUZMÁN  
Secretario de la Junta Municipal Electoral.-

SIENDO LAS 5.35 P.M. DE LA TARDE EN EL MUNICIPIO DE EL LLANO, PROVIN-  
 CIA DE ELIAS PIÑA, REPUBLICA DOMINICANA, FRENTE A UNA SITUACION DE LA  
 MASA ENARDECIDA DEBIDO A QUE NO HABIAN PODIDO VOTAR, NO OBSTANTE ESTAR  
 INSERTADAS EN LAS RELACIONES ENTREGADAS A LOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS Y TEN-  
 ER SUS CEDULAS CORRESPONDIENTES Y LUEGO NO APARECER EN LOS LISTADOS  
 DE LAS MESAS DE VOTACIONES, CONTANDO CON LA PRESENCIA DE LOS OBSERVA-  
 DORES INTERNACIONES SEÑORES: SYLVAIN MARCEL DEL PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DE  
 FRANCIA Y MARIO ENRIQUE SANTAMARIA HERRERA- INICIATIVA PRIVADA DE GUA  
 TEMALA, LOS MIEMBROS REUNIDOS DE EMERGENCIA Y EN PRESENCIA TAMBIEN DE  
 LOS DELEGADOS DE LOS PARTIDOS POLITICOS, FRENTE A LA CALAMISTOSA SITUA  
 CION QUE PODIA GENERAR EN DESGRACIAS LAMENTABLES, EN CONSECUENCIA Y  
 POR LAS RAZONES EXPUESTAS ANTERIORMENTE, DECIDIMOS SUSPENDER LAS VOTA-  
 CIONES COMO UNA MEDIDA DE SOLUCION AL GRAVE PROBLEMA.

*Teodoro Roa*  
 TEODORO ROA PEREZ.  
 Presidente

*Hériberto Soler*  
 HÉRIBERTO ALFREDO SOLER  
 I Vocal

*Elpidio M. González*  
 ELPIDIO M. GONZALEZ  
 II Suplente

*Diógenes Bautista*  
 DIOGENES BAUTISTA TERRERO  
 I Suplente

*Pedro Nolasco*  
 PEDRO NOLASCO TERRERO  
 II Vocal

*Eddy Emilio Pérez*  
 EDDY EMILIO PEREZ C/  
 I Suplente

*Rafael Fortuna*  
 RAFAEL FORTUNA NINA  
 Partido LD.

*Ángel M. Ramírez*  
 ANGEL MA. RAMIREZ C.  
 Partido R.D.

*Mario Nina Medina*  
 Mario NINA MEDINA  
 Partido R.S. C.

*Dionisioes Ruddy*  
 DIONISIOES RUDDY BAUTISTA  
 Partido PRI

*Alejandro Jiménez*  
 ALEJANDRO JIMEREZ  
 II Suplente

MUNICIPIO DE EL LLANO, R.D.-  
 16 DE MAYO DE 1994.-



MUNICIPIO DE EL LLANO, PROVINCIA DE ELIAS PINA, REPUBLICA DOMINICANA

Hacemos constar por medio de la presente que al presentarnos a la Junta Municipal de El Llano y ver los ánimos de los allí congregados, le sugerimos a los representantes de Partidos Políticos y miembros de dicha junta, que era necesario la suspensión de dichas votaciones, para así calmar dichos ánimos, ya que fué necesario la intervención de los miembros de las fuerzas armadas, y justamente se procedió a la suspensión de dichas votaciones,

SILVAIN MARCE  
PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DE FRANCIA  
- OBSERVADOR-

MARIO ENRIQUE SANTAMARIA HERRERA,  
INICIATIVA PRIVADA-QUATEMELA.  
-OBSERVADOR-

COMENDADOR, R.D. -  
16 de Mayo de 1994.

RESOLUCION No. 1/94.-

CONSIDERANDO: Que las Elecciones Generales Fueron fijadas para el 16 de mayo del año mil novecientos Noventa y cuatro (1994),

CONSIDERANDO: Que el fin del proceso Oficial de votación, se comprueba con diferentes entres el Libro de Votantes y el Listado Municipalizado a los diferentes Partidos:

CONSIDERANDO: Que el porcentaje de Cedulación que no han podido ejercer su derecho al voto ha sido altamente significativo.

CONSIDERANDO: Que es Obligatorio de la Junta Municipal Electoral permitir el sufragio a las personas regularmente, en los empadronamiento de Votante:

VISTO: el Art. 155, Ordinaria, primero de la Ley Electoral Vigente en la República Dominicana.

La Junta Municipal Electoral reunido en sesión Extraordinaria:

RESUEVE:

UNICO: Declarar, como al efecto declaramos anuladas las Elecciones de la totalidad de las mesas que componen el Municipio de Comendador, Provincia Elías Piña, R.D.

ATENDIDO: Que los Delegados Políticos acreditado ante la Junta Municipal Electoral Señores Anselmo Tapia Rosa, Delegados del Partido Reformista Social Cristiano, P.R.S.C., Antonio García Lorenzo Delegado del Partido de la Liberación Dominicana (P.L.D.) Cutberto Silva Soler Delegado del Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, P.R.D., y Reynaldo Aquino Quezada, ha solicitado formalmente, a este Tribunal Electoral la Anulación de la Votaciones en el día hoy 16 de mayo de 1994.

ATENDIDO: Que el Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (P.R.S.C.), plantea que se suspenda la Votación por el alto porcentaje de Electores que no pudieron Sufragar; no habiendo mas nada que tratar que plausurada la sesión.

ANDRÉS DE LEÓN BARRINOS  
Presidente

DELAIDA BATISTA GALÁN  
Seg. Vocal

ANSELMO TAPIA ROSA  
Deg. P.R.S.C.

CUTBERTO SILVA SOLER  
Deg. P.R.D.



GESAREO RAMON Y RAMON  
Primer Vocal

JUAN FERRER ESPINA GONZALEZ  
Secretario J.M.E.

ANTONIO GARCIA LORENZO  
Deg. P.D.L.

REYNALDO AQUINO QUEZADA  
Deg. P.R.E.

LAW OFFICES  
OF  
ROBERT WINTHROP JOHNSON II  
1050 POTOMAC STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007  
(202) 337-6817  
TELEFAX (202) 337-3462

May 24, 1994

Hon. Robert G. Torricelli  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Room H1-A705  
O'Neill House Office Building  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515-6135

Re: Election in the Dominican Republic

Dear Congressman Torricelli:

Enclosed is a letter from José del Carmen Ariza, Ambassador of the Dominican Republic. Ambassador Ariza is still in the Dominican Republic, but he requests that this letter be read into the record at this afternoon's hearing.

Sincerely,



Robert W. Johnson II  
Washington Counsel

Enclosure

EMBAJADA DE LA REPUBLICA DOMINICANA  
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1994

Congressman Robert G. Torricelli  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Room H1-A705 O'Neill HOB  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515-6135

Re: "Election in the Dominican Republic"

Dear Chairman Torricelli:

It has come to our attention that the Subcommittee has scheduled a hearing for Tuesday, May 24, to discuss the results of the May 16 elections in the Dominican Republic and, in particular, to receive testimony from certain of the international observers.

As you know, the election turnout was huge and reached unprecedented records, the balloting was very close and, because of this fact, has attracted the attention of newspapers in the United States, as evidenced by recent editorials in "The Washington Post" and "The New York Times" which alleged irregularities in the electoral process.

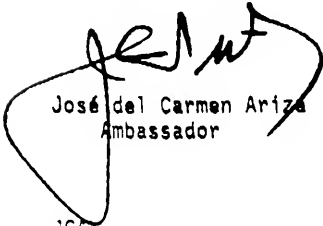
The Government of the Dominican Republic believes that any such criticisms are premature and are certainly based on incomplete information because the election is not over. The independent Election Board (Junta Central Electoral) has not yet finished counting all the votes that were cast on May 16, and it will begin a thorough review and recount on Wednesday with participation of the Election Board Officials, political parties representatives and observation by duly accredited international observers, to make sure that the results are fair and accurate. This process is expected to take approximately a week to complete, since the Electoral Board will review the reports from each of the country's 9,528 precincts (mesas), as well as recounting all the votes cast --about 3.15 million. Under the Dominican Constitution, the Electoral Board is totally independent, and no results are official until the Election Board announces its findings and certifies the vote count.

.../

For this reason, it appears that it would be more constructive for the Subcommittee to delay holding any hearing on the Dominican election until the Election Board has completed its recount and announced the officials results. Then the Subcommittee would have the benefit of the Electoral Board's report.

I look forward to meeting with you when I return to Washington to discuss this and any other matters that may be of concern to you and other Members on the Subcommittee.

Sincerely yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'José del Carmen Ariza', is written over the typed name and title.

José del Carmen Ariza  
Ambassador

JCA  
mcp

TESTIMONY SUBMITTED BY THE Special Delegation  
 of the "Acuerdo de Santo Domingo" of the  
 Partido Revolucionario Dominicano and the Partido Unidad  
**ACUERDO DE SANTO DOMINGO** Democrática

PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DOMINICANO (PRD)  
 PARTIDO UNIDAD DEMOCRATICA (UD)

(opposition)

Washington, D.C.  
 May 24, 1994

The Honorable Robert G. Torricelli  
 Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee  
 Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee  
 705 OHOB

Honorable Rep. Torricelli:

It is with the utmost seriousness and concern that we are presenting this testimony before this subcommittee with the intention of informing all its members about the attempt at fraudulently depriving the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD) and its allies under the Acuerdo de Santo Domingo of our victory in the national elections held in the Dominican Republic on May 16, 1994.

Various groups of neutral international observers have all witnessed and reported numerous irregularities and violations of the electoral law in detriment of the candidates of the Acuerdo de Santo Domingo.

Observers from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the Organization of American States (OAS), the Institute for Electoral Systems (IFES), and the Comisión de Asesoramiento para Políticas Electorales en Latinoamérica (CAPEL) have already issued their preliminary statements in which they point out the occurrence of those irregularities.

In order to reinforce those statements, we want to provide you with a list of the most important irregularities which have been committed by the official ruling party in complicity with members and employees of the Central Electoral Board of the Dominican Republic (JCE).

At this very moment we are gathering overwhelming documentary evidence from all over the country to substantiate our claim that



the official ruling Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC) is trying to steal the elections from the PRD and its allies.

Please take note of the following irregularities that have been committed (all of which will be demonstrated with the evidence we are gathering now):

**1.- Tens of thousands of voters were excluded from the official voting lists prepared by the Junta Central Electoral. (see exhibit A)**

As a result of this exclusion, these individuals could not vote at the voting stations (mesas electorales) where they were registered and should have voted, and were deprived of exercising their democratic right to chose.

We are now collecting the affidavits containing thousands of names of individuals who could not vote due to this exclusion from the voter lists.

**2.- Tens of thousands of voters were not permitted to vote after the Central Electoral Board (Junta Central Electoral) reluctantly accepted the recommendation of both the parties and the international observers to extend the voting period for three more hours to offer an opportunity to the disenfranchised voters. (see Exhibit B)**

As you may already know, the Junta Central Electoral purposely delayed the publication of this decision so that it be broadcast well after the closing period of the polls.

Many voting stations (mesas electorales) never received on time the notification of the three-hour extension for voting. Many were forcefully closed by armed gangs of the Reformista Party, and many others were closed by army patrols which responded to instructions of local and regional Reformista leaders. As a result, tens of thousands of citizens were left without being able to exercise their voting right.

**3.- The voting lists provided by the Junta Central Electoral (JCE) to the political parties were different from the final official list (padron electoral) prepared by the JCE for controlling the elections, despite the numerous claims made before the elections by the opposition parties that the final list be delivered simultaneously to all parties to verify the consistency of the voters rolls. (see Exhibit C)**

According to regulations prepared by the JCE, only that final list (padron electoral) could be used to authorize a person to exercise his or her right to vote.

Tens of thousands of citizens could not vote because their names

were not included in the official final lists (padrones electorales), despite the fact that they were duly registered and appeared in the list provided by the JCE to the political parties before the elections.

4.- Many names were irregularly included in the official final list (padron electoral) without notifying the political parties. As a result, thousands of irregular voters showed up at the voting stations and were permitted to cast their votes despite the protest of the delegates of the opposition parties. (see Exhibit D).

We are also gathering additional evidence regarding this issue, and will provide it to you at a later date. We are providing you now with a sample of the aforementioned affected lists so that you can see how the citizens' enumeration lists were altered by the Junta Central Electoral.

5.- **Dislocation of names and/or voter's ID numbers was also an important irregularity which prevented many citizens from voting.** Many persons who expected to vote in one location were not listed in their registered voting stations (mesas electorales), but in others located many miles away.

6.- **Inclusion of names of persons without the right to vote was another serious irregularity.** Minors and members of the military were provided with ID voting cards which belonged to other people, or were issued regular ID cards to allow them to vote.

One simple case to illustrate this situation: In voting station N° 207 located at the Colegio San Judas Tadeo, in Santo Domingo, an army lieutenant named Teodoro Moreta Herrera, who works as a military escort to President Joaquín Balaguer, candidate of the Reformista Party, was detected while attempting to vote at 8:30 AM. He was allowed to vote, although his vote was marked as "observed" and included in a special envelope of observed votes. This case can be easily retrieved as evidence.

7.- **More difficult to detect were the electronic irregularities, but our technicians have been able to figure out how the Junta Central Electoral tampered the computer programs at the Juntas Municipales and the four Sub-Juntas in Santo Domingo so as to bring about mathematical results which were entirely different from the ones that would have resulted from an honest counting.**

According to our technicians, the persons who prepared the computer programs in FoxBase (a database management systems software used by the Junta Municipales and the Sub-Juntas to process the data), introduced an instruction in the program which allowed the Junta Central Electoral to automatically deduct votes from those stations won by the PRD and its allies, and to

automatically add votes to the official ruling Partido Reformista.

A comparison of the bulletins issued by the Central Electoral Board with the data in the computer diskettes officially given by the Board to the political parties has shown a discrepancy of 107,009 votes for the Partido de la Liberacion Dominicana (PLD), 336,215 votes for the Partido Reformista Social Cristiano (PRSC), and 335,071 for the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD).

We are now demanding that the program used to count votes at the Juntas Municipales and the Sub-Juntas of Santo Domingo be given to all political parties and international observers so that this issue can be thoroughly investigated.

**8.- In several important municipalities the falsification of electoral results took the form of deleting some voting stations and adding some others which did not exist. In those places the official ruling party is shown as winning on inexistent voting stations. For example:**

\* In the municipality of Higüey there were only 132 voting stations listed, and Junta Central Electoral is showing results for 176 voting stations. In this case only 49,554 persons were eligible to vote, but the fictitious turn out, according to the Central Electoral Board, was 58,427 persons. As a result, the Official ruling Partido Reformista "won" the elections with 27,460, against the PRD's 18,713. (see Exhibit E) Other similar cases have already been documented in the provinces of San Cristobal, Duarte, and Monte Plata.

**9.- Another irregularity: in several municipalities the number of voters exceeded the number of registered voters. San Cristobal, and Bayaguana are two relevant cases.** In San Cristobal the number of registered voters was 91,320, while the actual votes counted were 91,645 for a difference of 325 additional irregular votes. In Bayaguana the number of registered voters was 15,629 while the votes counted were 15,800 for a difference of 171 irregular additional votes.

10.- A final case of the serious irregularities that marred the elections were the municipalities of Comendador, Banica and El Llano, near the Haitian border in the province of Elias Piña. There, the electoral authorities of the Junta Municipal Electoral discovered that the list of voters mainly included members of the official ruling Partido Reformista, and proceeded to cancel the elections. (see Exhibit F)

This statement is respectfully presented to the House Subcommittee of Western Hemisphere Affairs by the special delegation of the Acuerdo de Santo Domingo sent by the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano and the Partido Unidad Democrática.



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