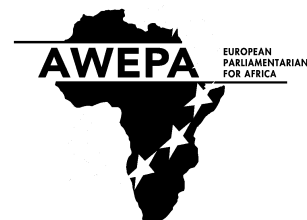


Mozambique political process bulletin



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Can better training beat long queues?

Better training and improved systems will beat the long queues that plagued the November local elections and kept some polling stations open until nearly midnight, election officials believe.

National elections on 28 October will be even more complex, because there will be three ballot papers instead of two. In November some polling stations processed voters very slowly causing long queues, while neighbouring polling stations were much more efficient and had no queues. Electoral law changes passed by parliament in April would have allowed register books to be split with more than one table (mesa) within a polling station (assembleia de voto), but the electoral authorities

have decided this will not be necessary.

Thus each polling station will continue to have a register book of up to 1000 voters and just one table.

Several important changes are being made to speed up procedures. In particular, most voters have already voted several times and do not need a detailed explanation of how to vote, so polling station staff will be told to only instruct new voters and others who are unsure. There will also be posters to explain the voting process.

One source of delay has been finding the names of voters in register books, so the alphabetical list of voters will have tabbed separators. Finally, the new law increases the number of staff, and they will be used in the queues to take voters' cards before they actually enter the polling station, to speed up confirmation of names on the register book.

Training will be improved, with a more practical and functional manual, and a longer training period which will be less theoretical and more practical.

The National Elections Commission (CNE) and Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration (STAE) have also responded to three other problems which occurred in the November local elections. There will be an attempt to respond to complaints that some polling stations were too far away from the voters, and some will be moved; no

Daily election bulletins

During the October-November election period we will publish a daily bulletin

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<http://www.cip.org.mz/pub2008/>

Back issues of the Bulletin are available in English and in Portuguese:

<http://www.tinyurl.com/mozamb>

details of how this will be done are available yet.

Electoral authorities have responded to severe criticism by the Constitutional Council, this *Bulletin*, and observers of misconduct by polling station staff – particularly invalidating ballot papers with votes for Renamo. The new polling station staff training manual has a section on illegal actions and has a new code of conduct for registration and polling station staff. The Director General of STAE, Felisberto Naife, in an interview with the *Bulletin*, said that this will reawaken a consciousness of individual responsibility for electoral crimes. However, there have been no prosecutions of electoral staff for misconduct last year, despite witnesses having named some individuals seen damaging ballot papers.

Finally, in response to the much debated issue of which way voting booths should face (with the opening toward the polling station staff or toward a wall), STAE has decided not to establish a fixed rule. Instead it is telling staff that the position of the voting booths must assure the privacy and comfort of the voter while also assuring that it can be seen by polling station staff.

COMMENT: Smoother functioning of polling stations depends of staff being much more efficient. STAE needs nearly 120,000 people with 12th class to staff the polling stations, and this will be difficult to arrange during the school term, when teachers should not be able to take time off for training. Thus there will be a need for much more intensive and practical training for polling station members with less formal schooling.

Key election dates

The calendar for national and provincial elections, published by the CNE on 14 May, has these key dates:

(D = deadline or last day; can be done earlier)

- 29 July – End of voters registration
- 29 July - D - submit candidates lists and all background documents. Lists to be posted by 1 August.
- 28 August – D - candidates and parties to resolve any irregularities and missing documents.
- 31 August – D - publication of final candidates lists.
- 13 September through 25 October – election campaign
- 30 September – D - publication of polling station locations
- 8 October – D - parties to submit lists of polling station delegates
- 25 October – D - issue credentials for observers and party delegates
- 28 October – election and count in polling stations**
- 31 October – D - announce district results
- 2 November – D - announce provincial results
- 12 November – D - announce national results and distribute assembly seats to parties.
- 17 November – D - CNE submits final results to Constitutional Council.

Renamo calls for urgent law changes

Detailed proposals to amend the electoral law to deal with specific problems which occurred in the 19 November 2008 local elections have been tabled by Renamo, following the rejection by Frelimo of broader suggestions. The request for urgent action was submitted to parliament on 23 June by the head of the Renamo parliamentary group, Viana Magalhães. The proposals deal with spoiling of ballot papers, ballot box stuffing, police presence, and party delegates.

In his letter, Magalhães says that Renamo submitted its first proposals on 12 January and they were not even considered by a parliamentary commission until May, leaving very little time before the 28 October election.

Although the local elections were generally well run, there were problems in Ilha de Moçambique and elsewhere of polling station staff using the indelible ink to put extra ink marks on significant numbers of ballot papers for Renamo, invalidating them by showing that voters had allegedly voted improperly for two candidates. Renamo proposes an amendment to the law requiring that all ink and ink pads be removed from the polling station before the count, and that there should be checks to ensure polling station staff do not have ink on their fingers.

Renamo has been concerned with ballot box stuffing. In November there were reports of extra

ballot papers in ballot boxes, and Renamo accused Frelimo of bringing in ballot papers from outside the polling station. Ballot papers come in books, and Renamo proposes the ballot papers and their stubs be numbered. If there are more ballot papers in the box than people who voted, polling station staff should compare the numbers on ballot papers with the stubs, and exclude those ballot papers which do not come from the book of blank ballots supplied to the polling station. It would also tighten rules to ensure only as many ballot papers are printed as there are registered voters.

There were problems of police being less than 300 metres from polling stations, and in a few cases even being at the door of polling stations and helping organise queues. Although this was already

a violation of the law, Renamo proposes a number of minor changes to tighten this rule.

Each party is allowed a party delegate (monitor) and an alternate in each polling station. Renamo proposes to change this to allow a pair for each "election". There will be three elections and three ballot papers, which would allow three delegates and three alternates in each polling station.

Finally, Renamo proposes two changes to the district level count. Under the present law, the district election commission adds up the votes from all polling stations in the district, based on the results sheets (*editais*) and more detailed minutes, and other relevant material – which in principle allows recounts. Renamo would remove this possibility, and force district election commissions to only use *editais* and minutes. At the polling station, party delegates and observers are given official copies of the *editais*; these may be used at district level if there is a problem, in particular with missing *editais* as has happened in the past. Renamo would change

Observer restriction rejected

Civil society observers and Renamo noted that in local elections, senior Frelimo party officials were present in polling stations as civil society observers, as members of teachers or writers associations or other local NGOs. This was not illegal, but it caused some disquiet. It was seen as intimidating to have senior party officials "observing" the elections.

Renamo proposed an amendment to the law, prohibiting state employees (which would include teachers and health workers) from being civil society observers in the city or district where they worked.

This reflects the reality that senior Frelimo figures are largely employed by government, and Renamo's view the most civil servants are Frelimo. But it caused objections, because under the constitution and electoral laws, civil servants are free to be active party members.

Frelimo opposed the change, and parliament rejected it on 18 June. In response, Renamo boycotted President Armando Guebuza's state of the nation address on 22 June.

But the issue will not go away. Perhaps there is a need for a code of conduct which says party officials cannot be observers.

- Renamo had earlier proposed that an ad-hoc commission be set up to revise the electoral laws. It was widely considered that there was not sufficient time for such a commission to act to change laws for the October election. Also, a previous ad hoc commission set up at the request of Renamo failed because Renamo blocked its work, so there was little support for a new commission which many feared would again descend into bickering. Parliament rejected the proposal on 13 May.

this to force the district election commission to use these official copies if the original is missing.

By Monday afternoon 29 June, the parliament's speaker Dr Eduardo Mulémbwè, had not responded to the Magalhães letter. The full text of the Renamo proposals are on: <http://www.cip.org.mz/pub2008>

COMMENT: Renamo's proposals respond to real problems and should be taken seriously, but some of the proposals may not solve the problems.

- Using ink to invalidate ballot papers has been a widespread problem, and removing ink from polling stations before the count is a sensible idea.

- Ballot box stuffing has been a problem in a few places, but numbering may not help. Most proven cases involve simply changing results sheets (Changara in 2004) or marking off extra names as having voted (Ilha de Moçambique last year).

- The issue of the police is more complex. In many places polling stations cannot be seen from 300 metres away; they are blocked by buildings or trees. So police moved closer, and some came much too close. A redefinition of the 300 metre rule is required.

- It is not sensible to propose that each party can try to squeeze six delegates and alternates into a polling station; there is not enough space, and the parties will have trouble finding and training enough people. By attempting to increase numbers, Renamo is really trying to counter the presence of senior Frelimo officials being in polling stations as "civil society" observers. This might be better resolved by a code of conduct in which parties agree that local party officials should not be observers.

Abuse of power bill rejected

It is widely reported that middle level civil servants are under pressure to join Frelimo, and there were reports of government workers being strongly encouraged to attend Frelimo rallies before local elections.

Renamo tabled a bill to prevent discrimination based on political opinions. It would have barred using state installations and resources for party political purposes and banned "compulsively mobilizing state employees for political activities."

Parliament's Legal Affairs Commission argued that the actions Renamo proposed to ban were already illegal. Parliament rejected the bill on 23 June.

- Parliament has, however, agreed Mozambique's first conflict of interest law. It is very limited, and requires that members of parliament must declare any interest that they or members of their family have in the issue under debate. They are, however, allowed to speak and vote on the matter.

Ligonha new CNE member

Latino Ligonha has taken a seat on the National Elections Commission (CNE), filling the vacancy left

by the death of Amandio de Sousa on 26 January in South African where he was supervising the production of material for the second round election in Nacala.

This is one of two seats filled by Renamo.

Ligonha is a former catholic priest who as Renamo candidate was nearly elected mayor of Gurue. He took 47.17% of the vote, compared to the Frelimo candidate Jose Aniceto, who won 50.03% and avoided a second round by just 6 votes.

The CNE has 13 members. Three are chosen by the Frelimo parliamentary group and two by Renamo, and those five then select a further eight members from civil society organisations.

But CNE misses deadline

Provisional seat list published

The provisional list of seats for national parliament (Assembleia da República) and for provincial assemblies has been released. The number of seats is based on the number of voters, which will not be known until after registration ends on 29 July, but party lists must have candidates equal to one-and-a-half times the number of seats. Thus the law calls on the CNE to publish a provisional list, based on last year's registration.

There are no major changes. The two big provinces, Zambézia and Nampula, lost seats while the far north (Cabo Delgado and Niassa) and the far south (Maputo city and province) gained seats.

The CNE agreed the number of seats on 4 June but did not publish the list, and missed the legal deadline of Monday 29 June. Its decision has not yet been published in *Boletim da República* and has not been posted on the CNE website (www.stae.org.mz) because that website has been down since early June. The *Bulletin* requested a copy, which is now posted on our websites:

<http://www.cip.org.mz/pub2008/> and
http://www.cip.org.mz/pub2008/index_en.asp.

The full list contains the number of provincial assembly seats for each district. (Maputo city already has a city assembly, so will not have a provincial assembly and thus no third ballot paper this year.) Below is a summary, including a comparison with the number of seats for each province in the present national parliament.

RUE coalition ended

Formally, Renamo is in the present parliament as a coalition with nine small parties as the Renamo Electoral Union (RUE); several members of parliament are members of the small parties and not Renamo. The coalition did not stand together in local elections and Renamo had already said it would not be part of a coalition in national elections this year. On 18 June the national council of the coalition unanimously decided to dissolve the coalition. Eight of the 10 member parties, including Renamo, attended the meeting.

Province	Voters	Assembleia da República - Seats		Prov Assembly Seats
		2009	2004	
Niassa	508,739	14	12	70
Cabo Delgado	850,402	23	22	81
Nampula	1,730,295	46	50	90
Zambézia	1,698,161	45	48	89
Tete	727,334	19	18	80
Manica	612,309	16	14	80
Sofala	730,874	19	22	80
Inhambane	613,590	16	16	80
Gaza	584,828	16	17	70
Maputo Prov.	586,077	16	13	70
Maputo City	658,003	18	16	
Total	9,300,612	248	248	790
Africa		1	1	
Europe		1	1	
Total	9,300,612	250	250	

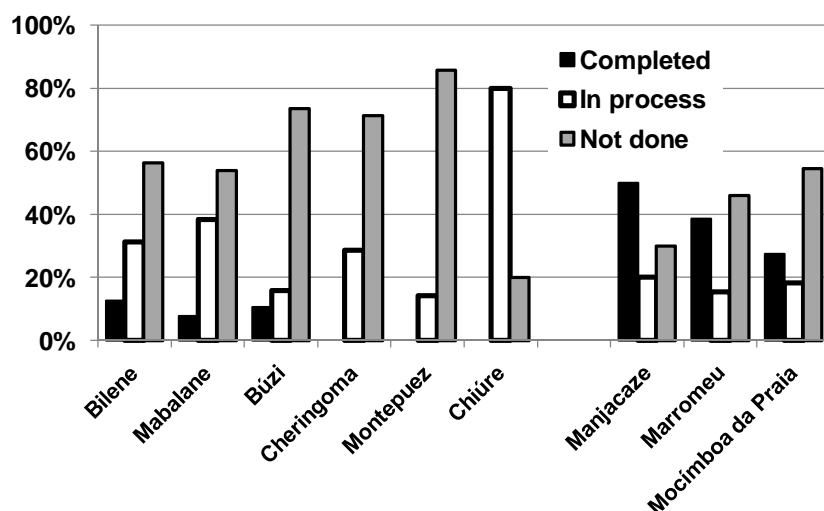
Districts & municipalities carry out only half of plans

More than half the activities written in the District Economic and Social Plans (Planos Económicos e Sociais dos Distritos, PESOD) and annual municipal plans have not been carried out, according to the first monitoring report of local governance.

The study was carried out by the Mozambican Development and Democracy Association (Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento

e Democracia, AMODE), the Public Integrity Centre (Centro de Integridade Pública, CIP), the Mozambique Debt Group (Grupo Moçambicano da

Percentage of planned activities actually carried out



Dívida, GMD) and the Human Rights League (Liga dos Direitos Humanos, LDH). The team looked at six districts and three municipalities, with an emphasis on projects that would have the largest impact on the living conditions of the general public, including building classrooms and health centres, opening and rehabilitating public water sources, and opening and maintaining roads. On average 10 activities were studied in each place. The graph above shows the results. Many of the project carried out show problems of poor quality, and some works completed in 2007 already show defects. In some districts, such as Montepuez, the rehabilitation of main municipal buildings, including bathrooms, was prioritized in detriment to activities with more potential for an impact of the lives of communities, for example repairing leaking roofs in houses and headquarters of administrative posts.

In other places, especially municipalities, local authorities tried to cover their poor performance by showing projects completed in earlier years, even back to 2005, while claiming them for 2008. This happened particularly in Marromeu.

Districts claimed to be having technical and financial problems. To better understand the low completion rate, the study analysed the budget and planning process. This showed a lack of harmonisation between plan and budget and between local and national levels. The district plan (PESOD) should be the main planning instrument at local level, but it is not integrated into the provincial and national plans, and it has little link to the

allocation of resources. So there is a high degree of uncertainty as to whether the local plan can be carried out, which means it may not be the most useful instrument for civil society monitoring of local government performance.

The problem is that the district proposes the plan as part of a bottom-up planning process with the district as the base of development, but financing is decided centrally in a top-down process. Thus plan and budget often do not correspond, creating uncertainty at local level.

The study team also looked at the Consultative Councils (CC) and found that they are limited to dealing with the “7 million meticaís” Local Initiative Investment Budget (Orçamento de Investimento de Iniciativa Local, OIIL). The CCs have little link with other district planning processes, such as PESOD. And even in terms of the OIIL, they are more often called to meetings just to approve projects, without any follow-up involvement in the execution of those projects.

Many districts also have no budgets for the consultative councils (in districts) and local forums (in administrative posts). Known collectively as Community Consultation and Participation Institutions (Instituição de Participação e Consulta Comunitária, IPCC), they are considered essential for developing viable community decision making and thus participatory planning.

New local councils face debts & rubbish

The new local governments – a mix of newcomers and others returning for the second or third term – after four months in power are facing a series of problems ranging from rubbish to potholes to debts carrying over from previous administrations. Local people report more rubbish and potholes on main streets in comparison to the periods after the 2004 elections and before the November 2008 elections.

In Xai-Xai (Gaza) there are many potholes, notably on the roads to Marian Mguabi, Patrice Lumumba, and Fenicelene neighbourhoods, and that lead to Dlakhama market. In Marromeu (Sofala) there are large piles of rubbish around the markets and most public spaces. In Chimoio (Manica) three main roads leading to the centre of the city -- avenidas do Trabalho, 25 de Setembro and Josina Machel -- have become impassable because of potholes. The chronic problems of drainage continues. Catandica (Manica) shows similar problems.

In Quelimane (Zambézia), our correspondent reports that some streets are only potholes, and “filth has taken over the city”. There are special problems with the central market and Aquima market. In Milange (Zambézia) piles of rubbish are reported to be blocking main streets, including the road to the municipal market and pensão Fernandinho. In Nampula city, the story is similar, with holes in avenidas Daniel Napatima and Samora Machel and avenida do Trabalho, and rubbish piling up in public places and near informal markets.

In Lichinga (Niassa), roads which were resealed in February and March this year are already breaking up. In Cuamba, the problem is rubbish, especially in suburbs and near markets (where there are no drums or rubbish bins).

But elsewhere sanitation is much improved. In Gurue, where rubbish piled up before and during the election campaign and was not collected for two weeks, the streets are now clear. Chibuto and Chokwe in Gaza show no signs of rubbish. Chimoio may have bad roads, but rubbish collection is much better than in the previous administration of Alberto Sarande. In Catandica rubbish is now collected in the centre of the city, but not yet the suburbs. Lichinga, Montepuez and Pemba also show significant improvements.

And President Armando Guebuza's open presidency visits have brought at least cosmetic

Local government first 100 days

The manifestos of candidates for mayor and municipal assemblies stressed local issues such as rubbish collection and repaving roads.

Therefore, after 100 days in government, the *Bulletin* asked 21 local journalists to look at the issues in all 43 municipalities and how well the new governments are keeping their promises.

This is the report of our correspondents.

Mayors inherit heavy debts

In Gurué, Zambezia, the new council has inherited debts of more than MT 2 million (\$80,000) and only some of the past expenditure has supporting documentation, the new mayor, José Aniceto, told the *Bulletin*. In Milange, the new mayor Bento Chimuanza arrived to find a debt of MT 900,000 (\$35,000). In Chimoio, too, the new mayor faced old debts. All are Frelimo mayors taking over from previous Frelimo mayors, so the issue is not party political.

In Marromeu (Sofala), the new Frelimo mayor Palmerim Rubim inherited a debt of MT 1 million from his Renamo predecessor. The debt is for unpaid staff salaries, salaries for members of the municipal assembly, and for goods and services supplied to the municipality.

improvements to some cities. For example, when he visited Nampula city in May, the road from the airport to the governor's office and the roads going out to the districts he was going to visit were all cleaned up.

A few cities have special problems. The major of Pemba complains of unplanned and illegal housing. In Marrupa the main problem is erosion. In Vila Manica there is a growing issue of “garimpeiros”, illegal miners, who have significant amounts of money. This is stimulating the economy and causing more shops to open, but also raising the cost of living. The rent for a one room servant's quarter (*dependencia*) behind a house is MT5000 (\$200) a month.

New councils still homeless

As in 1998, the ten new municipalities created in 2008 are struggling with a lack of offices, telephones and other facilities with which to function. In Gorongosa (Sofala) the local government functions temporarily in a building of the provincial public works department. In Alto Molocue (Zambézia), mayor Sertório Fernandes works from a small, improvised office in the district administration. In Gondola (Manica), the new government is renting an office and furniture from the railway. The Marrupa (Niassa) mayor is also housed in rented quarters.

But in a big contrast to 1998, when there were conflicts between municipalities and districts, this year the district and provincial authorities are supporting the new municipal councils.

Daviz under pressure in Beira

In his first term (2004-2009), Beira mayor Daviz Simango won national and international plaudits for good government and municipal leadership. But as Simango tries to juggle leading a national party and facing an opposition municipal assembly, he is not doing as well as mayor this year.

Roads are deteriorating through lack of maintenance, particularly dirt roads in areas such as zona industrial dos Pioneiros, Alto da Manga, Manga Mascarenha, Inhamudima, Macúti and Maquinino. A long list of roads are now showing potholes and some even becoming impassable. On avenida Eduardo Mondlane, rehabilitation work that began last year seems to have stopped.

Rubbish is beginning to build up, particularly in alleys, and collections are less regular. Street traders are not controlled and in some areas are blocking roads and pavements.

The mayor blames a lack of money for the failure to repair roads. Our correspondent accepts that this is true, but wonders about the problems of the mayor being absent a lot because he is also presidential candidate for the Mozambique Democratic Movement (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM)). If he were full time in the city, would it make a difference?