

Mozambique political process bulletin



Issue 51 – 17 September 2012

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)
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Published by CIP and AWEPA

CIP, Centro de Integridade Pública
Rua Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (ex-Pereira do Lago), 354, r/c
(CP 3266) Maputo www.cip.org.mz cip@cip.org.mz
Tel: +258 21 492 335, 82 300 33 29 Fax: +258 21 492 340

AWEPA, the European Parliamentarians with Africa
Rua Licenciado Coutinho 77 (CP 2648) Maputo
Tel: +258 21 418 603, 21 418 608, 21 418 626
Fax: +258 21 418 604 e-mail: awepa@aweпа.org.mz

Participants up their game in municipal by-elections

Political parties, media and the civil society were all better prepared and more aggressive in the four municipal by-elections held 7 December 2011 and 18 April 2012. All saw it as a training ground for municipal elections next year and national elections in 2014.

As police and the parties pushed the boundaries, the by-elections raised questions about what is permitted. Media and observers had an increased and much more effective presence, but that also poses a challenge: Will they have the capacity to replicate that presence in much larger municipal and even larger national elections?

And all participants are learning. Frelimo lost Quelimane because its turnout in all three municipalities on 7 December was down by 40% or more on 2008; greater efforts to get out the vote in Inhambane on 18 April meant its vote only declined by 8%. For its part MDM (Movimento Democrático de Moçambique, Mozambique Democratic Movement) kept the opposition vote and gained many of the young new voters in Quelimane, but failed to hold the opposition vote in Cuamba and Pemba on 7 December. By contrast, in Inhambane on 18 April it more than doubled the opposition vote.

After complaints about excessive police presence in Quelimane, the police presence was somewhat lower in Inhambane.

And Frelimo changed its tactics. In Quelimane it brought in all the big guns and ran the campaign centrally, which alienated both young people and some of its traditional supporters; in Inhambane the campaign was more local, lower key, and more run by younger party cadres.

The elections were generally well run, with no evidence of ballot box stuffing and spoiling opposition ballot papers which occurred in 2008 and 2009.

The three 7 December 2011 by-elections were caused by resignations of the Frelimo mayors (at the request of Frelimo itself); MDM's Manuel de Araujo won with 63% in Quelimane while Frelimo's Vincente Lourenço won with 64% in Cuamba and Tagir Carimo with 89% in Pemba. Turnout was half of that in the 2008 municipal elections: 27% in the hotly contested Quelimane but 18% in Pemba and 15% in Cuamba.

The 18 April 2012 by-election was caused by the death of the mayor. It was won by Frelimo's Benedito Guimino with 79%, on a respectable 39% turnout. (Full details are on pages 2 and 3)

Renamo boycotted both elections, and its participation in future elections is now unclear.

Key role of party delegates

Party delegates (*delegados de candidatura*) in polling stations played a much more active role in these elections. Each candidate is allowed a delegate and an alternate in each polling station and

Results of four by-elections

Apuramento Intermédio = results of the count in the polling station

Nulos = ballot papers considered invalid Votos em Branco = ballot papers with no mark

Nulos validados = votes considered invalid at the polling station but accepted as valid by the CNE

Eleitores Inscritos = registered voters Total de Votantes = total who voted

MDM = Movimento Democrático de Moçambique, Mozambique Democratic Movement

PAHUMO = Partido Humanitário de Moçambique, Mozambique Humanitarian Party

Pemba					
Eleitores Inscritos	88 011	Total de Votantes		16 024	18.2%
Candidato	Partido	Apuramento Intermédio	Nulos validados	Total	%
Tagir Assimo Carimo	Frelimo	13 562	77	13 639	88.8%
Assamo Tique	MDM	1 488	10	1 498	9.8%
Emeliano José Moçambique	PAHUMO	220	3	223	1.4%
Votos Válidos		15 270		15 360	
Votos Nulos		473	90	383	
Votos em Branco		261		261	

Quelimane					
Eleitores Inscritos	134 545	Total de Votantes		37 508	27.9%
Candidato	Partido	Apuramento Intermédio	Nulos validados	Total	%
Lourenço Abú Bacar Bico	Frelimo	13 412	64	13 476	36.9%
Manuel A A L de Araújo	MDM	22 822	258	23 080	63.1%
Votos Válidos		36 234		36 556	
Votos Nulos		825	322		
Votos em Branco		449			

Cuamba					
Eleitores Inscritos	45 898	Total de Votantes		6 698	14.6%
Candidato	Partido	Apuramento Intermédio	Nulos validados	Total	%
Vincent da Costa Lourenço	Frelimo	4 094	26	4 120	63.8%
Maria José Moreno Cuna	MDM	2 316	27	2 343	36.2%
Votos Válidos		6 410		6 463	
Votos Nulos		150	53		
Votos em Branco		138			

Inhambane (2012)					
Eleitores Inscritos	43 206	Total de Votantes		16 762	38.8%
Candidato	Partido	Apuramento Intermédio	Nulos validados	Total	%
Benedito Eduardo Guimino	Frelimo	12 682	38	12 720	78.5%
Fernando Amelia Nhaca	MDM	3 476	2	3 478	21.5%
Votos Válidos		16 158		16 198	
Votos Nulos		353	40		
Votos em Branco		251			

In Quelimane, 5 votes which were protested by party delegates were accepted by the CNE, 3 for Frelimo and 2 for MDM. These are included in nulos validated by the CNE.

In Inhambane, 8 votes were protested by party delegates, of which 6 were accepted by the CNE, which did not say to which parties they were allocated. These are included in nulos validated.

Comparison of 2003, 2008 and 2011/12 elections

	2003	2008	2011/12		% change 2003 to 2011	% change 2008 to 2011
Quelimane						
Turnout	26.0%	43.6%	27.0%			
Frelimo	11,767	24,312	13,712		17%	-44%
Opposition	10,620	20,555	22,644		113%	10%
Cuamba						
Turnout	15.4%	33.3%	14.6%			
Frelimo	3,723	9,773	4,095		10%	-58%
Opposition	2,294	2,821	2,316		1%	-18%
Pemba						
Turnout	28.1%	40.8%	18.2%			
Frelimo	10,230	22,820	13,571		33%	-41%
Opposition	5,071	5,128	1,468		-71%	-71%
Inhambane (2012)						
Turnout	25.2%	44.1%	38.8%			
Frelimo	6,125	13,783	12,682		107%	-8%
Opposition	1,222	1,373	3,478		185%	153%

[party delegates, continued]

they can sit close to polling station staff to be able to monitor the process. After polls close, the votes are immediately counted in the polling stations, with the delegates (and observers and press) present. And delegates are given an official copy of the results.

Thus delegates are the most important check on misconduct in the Mozambican electoral system. But Renamo, in particular, failed to train or make good use of its delegates, while Frelimo has traditionally had a well organised electoral machine.

In these by-elections, MDM delegates were younger, educated, well trained and keeping a close check on voting and counting. MDM also provided food and water for its observers, as Frelimo always has, which helps to keep them alert.

Frelimo used its presence in polling stations in ways which were considered by some to be unacceptable. In several places Frelimo delegates tried to keep observers out of polling stations. In Cuamba they challenged international observers. At one polling station in Quelimane, the Frelimo delegate tried to convince the domestic observers that they were not allowed to stay in the polling

station for more than two hours. In several polling stations, they tried to exclude observers from the count. In all of these cases, it required the intervention of senior officials to ensure the presence of observers.

Frelimo also increased its presence in polling centres. In these elections, each polling station (*assembleia de voto*) was in a school classroom, and the entire school was called a "polling centre". The electoral law (Lei n° 7/2007, art 70) says that only people who have not yet voted, as well as registered media, observers, and party delegates, are allowed inside a polling station. But Frelimo realised that it could have additional officials in the school yards, so long as they did not enter a classroom. So it created a post of party delegate supervisor in each school, and in Quelimane these were all Zambézia province district administrators.

Both MDM and Frelimo had "supervisors" in schools in Inhambane, and had senior figures visiting schools, but they were careful never to enter polling station classrooms. In its report on the Inhambane election, the CNE expressed concern about the creation of new structures not established in the electoral law.

Observers & journalists kept close watch

Media and observers played a much more prominent role. For the 7 December elections, 177 journalists, 442 national observers, and 26 international observers were registered. For Inhambane on 18 April there were 45 journalists, 123 national observers, and 8 international observers.

And the level of representation was high, with at least three editors from the private media and senior officials from the Electoral Observatory (Observatório Eleitoral).

The private media used its presence. An STV interviewer in Quelimane on live TV challenged a district administrator acting as a Frelimo "supervisor" asking what he was doing inside a polling station without an official credential. Media also reported (and showed) the extensive police presence in Quelimane.

The Inhambane by-election saw two new observer groups joining at the last moment, Parlamento Juvenil (Youth Parliament) and CODD (Centro de Estudos e Promoção de Cidadania, Direitos Humanos e Meio Ambiente).

There was also a previously unknown observer group, Družba Narodov (дружба народов in Russian, meaning "people's friendship"), which was widely believed to be linked to Frelimo. The Electoral Observatory complained that in Inhambane they had rights not given to other observers and in some cases actually challenged polling station staff.

Heavy police presence

A very heavy police presence in Quelimane, especially of the riot police (FIR, Força de Intervenção Rápida), even drew criticism from the Constitutional Council. The law requires police to

remain 300 metres away from a polling station, unless specifically called by polling station officials. In urban areas 300 metres is accepted as too long a distance, because you often cannot even see the school from that distance, and this has usually been interpreted as simply remaining well outside the school yard.

But in Quelimane armed police were inside polling stations during the voting and even during the counts. In general, polling station officials were afraid to challenge them, but they were sometimes challenged by observers and journalists.

This triggered complaints from the media and observers, and the police had a lower presence during the campaign in Inhambane – underlining the growing importance of observers and media. But the Electoral Observatory reported that on polling day in Inhambane "heavily armed police created the impression of a danger or threat of imminent violence." It continued: "the presence of a large number of police near polling stations could lead voters to feel frightened and not go to vote."

And there were complaints of police simply disrupting opposition activities, for example stopping and sometimes briefly detaining activists. In one instance, opposition activist Custodio Duma was arrested on polling day, 18 April, for taking a photo of the sign outside Escola 25 de Setembro, an Inhambane polling centre – which did not violate any election regulations.

Does Frelimo misuse its predominant power?

After 37 years in power it is hardly surprising that Frelimo dominates government and that many civil servants are active members of Frelimo. Again in these elections, Frelimo was accused of using its predominant position improperly.

The Constitutional Council again criticised Frelimo for using state cars, both overtly and with registration numbers covered, during the 7 December elections. The CC notes this is explicitly illegal, and the CNE treated it as sufficiently serious that CNE President João Leopoldo da Costa in his exhortation before the Inhambane election reiterated the prohibition on using government equipment in the campaign. The warnings worked, and the Electoral Observatory noted that in Inhambane violations were "almost non-existent".

Inevitably, parties will use their senior elected officials, including ministers and mayors, as part of their campaign. But Frelimo's use of district administrators – who are senior civil servants – as party delegate supervisors raised some questions.

There are repeated complaints about senior officials being biased against activists of opposition parties. *Canal de Moçambique* (11 April 2012) reported that the Administrative Tribunal on 10 March found that the MDM candidate for mayor had been improperly transferred out of Inhambane by the provincial director of education and culture.

Fernando Nhaca had been a teacher at Emília Dausse Secondary School in Inhambane city, but on 24 August 2009 was transferred to a secondary school that did not exist in remote Funhalouro. The Administrative Tribunal ruled this transfer was improper, and, explicitly linked it to his active role in the MDM which "disturbed" the provincial director.

There have been complaints reported in the press of teachers in various places and even employees of the Maputo bus company claiming that Frelimo membership fees are being deducted from their salaries without their permission.

It often reaches petty levels. MDM claimed that when the party leader (and Beira mayor) Daviz Simango arrived in Quelimane on 25 March, MDM supporters were not allowed to go out to the plane to greet him, yet this is normal when a Frelimo leader arrives.

And election officials have been accused of being more bureaucratic and less flexible with the opposition and observers. For example, some local diplomats who served as international observers had initial difficulties obtaining credential for Inhambane and Cuamba,

Not knowing the law

An on-going problem is the failure of the media, police, party delegates and even some election officials to know the electoral law. Many of the confrontations in polling stations and erroneous media reports are simply due to lack of knowledge. The law is complicated, contradictory and much amended, but the basic rules remain clear and unchanged.

One egregious example was an interview in *Noticias* (24 March 2012) in which Bernardino Pires, President of the Inhambane Provincial Election Commission, said that Frelimo had submitted to him MDM t-shirts which had been distributed before the start of the official campaign period. "This is, without doubt, an election crime," he told *Noticias*.

In fact, it is **not** a violation of the election law. The official campaign period gives political parties *extra* rights.

The law only bans "electoral propaganda" in the two days before voting, and it does not restrict

CC attacks 'impunity'

"Illegal actions in elections still enjoy impunity" notes the Constitutional Council (CC) in its approval of the 7 December elections. Despite evidence of repeated electoral offenses, fraud and other violations have never been prosecuted.

"When electoral offenses occur and go unpunished, this can seriously prejudice the credibility of electoral processes" the CC again warns – as it has after each recent election.

In its ruling, the CC also notes that the much amended electoral legislation now contains contradictory calendars with conflicting deadlines. And the CC notes that the deadlines do not take into account, "as has become customary", that candidates always submit their documents at the last minute.

campaigning, free speech, and handing out of t-shirts at any other times, including before the official campaign.

Low number of invalid and blank votes

The number of invalid votes (*nulos*) – usually caused by people putting marks for more than one candidate, was very low, at just 1.7% of total votes. Blank votes were also low, at 1.5%.

A vote should be counted if the intension is clear, but some polling station staff are strict and throw out ballot papers with even a small additional mark. Therefore the CNE in Maputo reconsiders all invalid votes. In Inhambane only 11% were considered valid and 19% in Pemba. But in the other two cities more than one-third were considered valid – 35% in Cuamba and 39% in Quelimane – and they were allocated disproportionately to the opposition candidate. In Cuamba Maria Moreno won only 36% of the vote but received half of the *nulos* accepted as valid by the CNE. Similarly Manuel de Araujo won 63% of the vote in Quelimane but was allocated a massive 81% of validated *nulos*. This could indicate a possible (unconscious) bias by polling station staff,

accepting more doubtful Frelimo votes and fewer doubtful MDM votes.

But there is no evidence of the ballot box stuffing and spoiling of opposition ballot papers seen in the 2008 and 2009 elections. Parallel counts were done by observers in both Inhambane and Quelimane, which give results by polling station. They show no polling stations with very high turnouts (which would be an indication of ballot box stuffing) and no polling stations with high levels of invalid votes (which would be an indication that polling station staff had spoiled votes for the opposition by adding an extra mark to the ballot papers). Both occurred in 2008 and 2009.

Municipality	Votes	Turnout	Invalid votes					Blank votes	
			at polling station	validated by CNE		Remaining invalid			% of votes
					% of nulos		% of votes		
Pemba	16 024	18.2%	473	90	19%	383	2.4%	281	1.8%
Quelimane	37 508	27.9%	825	322	39%	503	1.3%	449	1.2%
Cuamba	6 698	14.6%	150	53	35%	97	1.4%	138	2.1%
Inhambane	16 762	38.8%	353	40	11%	313	1.9%	251	1.5%
TOTAL	76 992		1 801	505	28%	1 296	1.7%	1 119	1.5%

Registration up 9.1% for by-elections

Nearly 21,000 new voters registered in special registration periods before the elections. These were primarily people who had become 18 years old since the previous 2009 election and could vote for the first time. New registrations total 7.3%. In addition people who had moved since 2009 could transfer their registration.

The relatively high number of transfers in Quelimane and Inhambane suggests that political parties encouraged supporters who could choose their registration place, for example because they worked in the provincial capital but spent weekends in a rural area, to move their registration to the city. With transfers, the total increase in registration was 9.1%.

In its approval of both the 7 December and 18 April by-elections, the Constitutional Council pointed out that the registers are not cleaned. People who die and move away were not removed, while new voters and those who move into the city were added to the roll. That means the actual turnout was slightly higher than reported in the official results, because the number on the register is too high.

There is always a concern that people outside the boundaries of the municipality will improperly register to vote, claiming a local address, and opposition parties have previously accused Frelimo of bussing in voters from outside. In Inhambane, the accusation was the opposite – that the MDM was trying to register young supporters from outside the city. The CNE in its report on the Inhambane by-election notes that a number of people arrived at registration posts saying they were residents of Inhambane, but did not know their address, or claimed to be students but could not give the name of the school or course. Registration brigades began

CC arithmetic error

Even the Constitutional Council sometimes has problems with basic arithmetic. In its validation of the 7 December 2011 by-elections, it notes that new registrations in Cuamba were only 0.47% of total voters and is sufficiently concerned to say "it is evident that the increase in total registration in Cuamba municipality was much below one percent." (Acórdão n.º 04 /CC/2011: <http://www.cconstitucional.org.mz/Jurisprudencia/4CC2011>)

However, the Constitutional Council has misplaced a decimal point. As shown in the table on this page (taken from the CC rulings), the new registration in Cuamba was 4.7%, and not 0.47%.

to ask for student identification cards, which caused a protest. The CNE ordered that the practice be stopped because a student card is not a document which is required in the electoral law. (Deliberação n.º 19/CNE/2012: <http://www.stae.org.mz/index.php/component/phocadownload/category/5-deliberacoes-de-cne?download=560:deliberaco-n19-versao-definitiva>)

In practice, as the table shows, the number of new registrations in Inhambane was not usually high

Municipality	Registered voters (2009)	2011, 2012 registration				Registered voters (2011-12)
		New registrations		Transfers		
Cuamba	43 614	2 065	4.7%	219	0.5%	45 898
Pemba	81 307	6 491	8.0%	213	0.3%	88 011
Quelimane	120 783	10 052	8.3%	3 710	3.1%	134 545
Inhambane	39 973	2 379	6.0%	854	2.1%	43 206

Unexpected problems with register books

There were three different registration books in each polling station, and that caused unexpected problems and confusion.

When a person registers to vote, their name is written by hand into a book, and their data (including photo and fingerprint) is also entered electronically. The information is used to produce the voter's photo ID card and a printed register book.

A book can have up to 1000 voters. When the book reaches 1000, a new book is started. Each polling station has a single register book. Voting is usually in the same place as registration, which is, where possible, a school. Normally a polling station is in a school classroom, and the entire school forms

a "polling centre". Over the door of each classroom is a banner which gives the number of the register book, which is also on the voter's card.

Voters who lose their voter's card can still vote if they have another means of identification and can find themselves on the voters roll. In a large secondary school, the means checking 10 or more registration books, which caused huge delays in past elections. In the by-elections, the CNE introduced a sensible new system: a copy of the registration book was made available outside the

classroom, so people without cards could check without disrupting the voting process inside.

Inside the polling station, staff normally use the printed register book. There are inevitable errors in making the electronic copy, so if a voter appears with a card with the correct register number but who is not in the book, staff check the handwritten copy.

That means each polling station had three copies of the register book – and it soon turned out that all three were slightly different, because the book outside the polling station was not an exact copy of the printed version inside.

This caused complete confusion, because some voters were in one book but not in the others. Some polling stations allowed them to vote, and some did not. In the afternoon of polling day, 7 December, the Technical Electoral Administration Secretariat (STAE, Secretariado Técnico da Administração Eleitoral) apparently gave an instruction that people

should vote so long as they were in one of the books, but this instruction seems not to have been given to all polling stations.

There were also problems with some polling stations, particularly in Cuamba, being given the wrong register books, which had to be swapped during the voting day.

Problems with register books have occurred in every election, and the Electoral Observatory in its report on the 7 December election said: "We continue to be preoccupied by the considerable number of register books at wrong polling stations, as well as the errors in the names of voters."

Many of the documents cited have been posted or hyperlinked on <http://www.tinyurl.com/mozamb>

Opposition target cities

Large falls in the Frelimo vote and small increases in the opposition vote, as in Cuamba and Quelimane, or large increases in the opposition vote as in Inhambane, would be enough for the opposition to capture a municipality where the Frelimo candidate for president (mayor) won less than two-thirds of the vote in 2008.

That suggests MDM target municipalities next year could be:

could force mayoral elections in some of these cities into a second round. The only second round ever held in Mozambique was in Nacala in 2008, in which the Frelimo candidate won 55% in the second round.

Municipality	Frelimo % in 2008
MDM to hold	
Beira	34%
Quelimane	54%
MDM vulnerable	
Gúruè	50%
Nacala Porto	50%
Marromeu	54%
Monapo	61%
Mocimboa da Praia	63%
Ilha de Moçambique	64%
Angoche	66%
Alto Móloquè	66%
MDM possible	
Chimoio	69%
Mocuba	70%
Milange	70%
Nampula	71%

Note that the three cities where the MDM lost by-elections are not on the list, underling that MDM had little chance of winning them.

Renamo did not stand in these elections. If it stands in 2013 and splits the opposition vote, it

Opinion

End CNE secrecy

Parliament repeats, yet again, the debates of 5, 10, and 15 years ago about the electoral law, which mostly relate to the political composition of the CNE and the right to Renamo to have a veto.

But Alfredo Gamito's Commission on Public Administration, Local Power and Media has been allowed to ignore the questions about how the CNE functions, and especially about its obsessive secrecy. Civil society and the media are bored and pay little attention to the repetitious debate, while all the parties want to keep election commission meetings secret so they can make deals without anyone noticing.

Previous laws and apparently the next one give the CNE complete freedom. With power unknown in most electoral democracies, the CNE can – and does – change the final results of the elections without saying they have done so, and without explanation. Recall that the CNE took one AR seat away from Frelimo in 2009 – and never even said it did so. Similarly, it kept secret documents which were provided to the Constitutional Council to justify excluding MDM candidates.

This cannot be in the interest of the AR, Frelimo, or the CNE. Many Mozambicans and nearly all foreign commentators now assume the CNE acted improperly in excluding the MDM candidates, because it refused to make public log sheets recording submission of documents.

And the position is not improving. A quick look at the CNE website, <http://www.stae.org.mz>, shows that nearly all CNE decisions on the recent by-elections are not public, and the CNE has not even posted its deliberation on the Pemba, Cuamba and

Quelimane by-elections. (By contrast, Inhambane is posted.)

Democracy is not served by conducting key electoral process in secret, and even amending the results secretly. It is not too late for media and civil society to put pressure on the Commission on Public Administration and the parties in parliament to demand total transparency in the CNE, and that all decisions, deliberations, documents and reports be made public. jh

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Following up previous *Bulletins*

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Bulletin 49

MPs agree to cut their own incomes

Members of parliament actually strengthened restrictions on public servants – and even on themselves – when they approved the Law on Public Probity on 11 May. The approval confounded sceptics, who were convinced parliamentary leaders would not vote to cut their own incomes.

Most significantly, the new law created a category of "office holders" (*tutular ou membro de órgão público*) including the President, ministers, members of parliament, presidents of provincial and municipal assemblies, *vereadores* (municipal ministers), and district administrators who are subject to special restrictions. Office holders cannot receive any other income from the state at any level or from state companies (except pensions and payments for work done before becoming an office holder). Office holders and their close relatives cannot have any type of contract with the state or state companies.

The proposed law was controversial because many parliamentary leaders also have well paid posts as directors of state companies which they will be forced to give up, so they had been expected to vote against. Instead, they went the other way. The initial draft only restricted MPs from having a second income from the state, but parliament instead broadened the restriction to all "office holders".

In other respects, the Law on Public Probity is simply the renamed Public Servants Code of Ethics presented to parliament last year, and approved largely unchanged. (See *Bulletin 49* for details.)

The new law defines as a "public servant" (*Servidor Público*) anyone in a "public entity". The definition is very broad, covering "office holders" as well as members of provincial and municipal assemblies, normal civil servants both at national and municipal level, the military and police, and even staff of private contractors carrying out public functions.

The law bars public servant from using their power or influence to provide any special help to themselves, their family, friends or anyone else – whether or not they are being paid for the help – and imposes restrictions on earning outside income.

One addition to the law is a detailed definition of "illicit enrichment" covering not just bribes but all forms of "gaining economic advantage".

All public servants are now required to annually file asset and income declarations (articles 6 and 21), and there will be a public register showing declarations have been made. But the declarations themselves are secret and there are heavy penalties for publishing information from them, so they cannot be checked by the public.

The law imposes on all civil servants a range of ethical principles including pride, efficiency and professionalism. "With respect to the public, the public servant – at work or away from work – must conduct themselves correctly with dignity and decorum, in accordance with their place in the hierarchy and function, to avoid conduct that might undermine public confidence in the integrity of the civil servant or the institution they serve," the law says.

This will be hard to define or prove in court. But at least the new law has dropped a special section on judges, which had included a ban on judges going to bars and kiosks which are frequented by people "whose moral or social conduct is unacceptable or beneath the dignity of a judge".

Issue 47

Electoral Law – Maintaining secrecy

The revision of the electoral law will go to parliament (*Assembleia da República*) at its next session, 22 October to 21 December. There seems a consensus that Mozambique should remain one of the few democratic countries which allows the National

Election Commission (Comissão Nacional de Eleições, CNE) complete freedom to change the results, in secret, without saying that results were changed, and without explanation.

The main disagreement is over the composition of the CNE. Renamo is demanding that the present 13 member CNE be expanded to 17 (with two versions of the proposal being circulated, one is 12 named by parties in parliament, 2 by parties not in parliament, and 3 by civil society, while the other is 5 Frelimo, 5 Renamo, 5 MDM, and 2 non-parliamentary parties, with no civil society). Frelimo proposes 13 (8 from parliamentary parties and 5 from civil society, although this, too has been changing, with Frelimo earlier proposing a non-party CNE), and MDM proposes only 7. There is also debate about how to choose civil society members, as those on the present CNE are all seen as being close to Frelimo.

Issue 48

Land

The 22 February 2011 issue of the *Bulletin* "Land moves up the political agenda" has been followed by a number of reports on large scale land concessions in Mozambique. The website "Land Rights In Africa - Southern Africa: Mozambique" which recently moved from Oxfam to Mokoro has the best collection of papers on land in Mozambique. These include:

- "Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa. Country Report: Mozambique" by the *Bulletin* editor, Joseph Hanlon, published by the Oakland Institute.
- "Confrontation between Peasant Producers and Investors in Northern Zambézia, Mozambique, in the Context of Profit Pressures on European Investors" by Simon Norfolk and Joseph Hanlon, a paper presented at the World Bank Annual Conference on Land and Poverty, 23-26 April 2012. The paper is on the Mokoro website in both English and Portuguese.

- An excellent US National Public Radio pair of articles "Mozambique Farmland Is Prize In Land Grab Fever" by Dan Charles, looking at Lioma.

Issue 50

Carbon credits

We were asked to give a more detailed explanation of "carbon credits".

Carbon dioxide (CO₂) is a greenhouse gas which causes global warming, and is released into the atmosphere when fuel is burned. If trees are planted (or not cut down), those trees store carbon which is not released into the atmosphere. Like depositing money in a bank, this carbon is being stored and Mozambique has a "carbon credit". The controversial idea is that this "carbon credit" can be sold, so Mozambique gains money for storing carbon and reducing global warming.

Most carbon credits are now sold as an exchange. If I fly to Maputo the plane burns fuel which puts CO₂ into the atmosphere, so I can compensate by buying carbon credits for an equivalent amount of carbon stored in Mozambican trees. This is rather like the church in the 1500s selling "indulgences" – pardons from sins.

Once the concept of buying and selling carbon credits has been established, they can be traded on international markets like other kinds of bonds.

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2008 & 2009 elections

The Electoral Observatory in April published a book *Moçambique Democrático* with articles on the 2008 municipal and 2009 national elections. Interesting essays include Iraê Lundin on abstention suggesting that two decades of an internationally imposed economic system from which most people do not benefit leads to a feeling of powerlessness, and Marc de Tollenaere questioning how laws were interpreted by the CNE and Constitutional Council to exclude MDM candidates.