

Mozambique political process bulletin



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Frelimo wins 50 cities but MDM makes its mark

*Serious
irregularities*

*Small parties
win only 9 seats*

Frelimo maintained its dominance in the 20 November 2013 elections, winning the post of mayor and a majority in the municipal assembly in 50 of 53 municipalities. But the opposition MDM (Mozambique Democratic Movement) made its mark, winning three important cities - Nampula, Quelimane and Beira - and winning 30% of assembly seats nationally. In Maputo and Matola, MDM won 40% and 42% of the vote, compared to Renamo's 14% and 9% in 2008.

Turnout was 46%, the same as 2008, but above the 28% of 2003.

Serious questions have been raised about two cities, Marromeu and Gurué. In a protest to the Constitutional Council, MDM has challenged the result in Gurué where its own copies of the polling station results sheets (editais) show it with a majority. An observer parallel count also showed an MDM victory.

In Marromeu the Frelimo candidate for Mayor beat the MDM candidate by just 283 votes, however, there was a very high 1,119 invalid votes (nullos), equivalent to 10.9% of the total vote. This raises

questions about whether votes were intentionally invalidated, typically by adding a second mark to ballot papers for the opposition candidate. In Marromeu in the previous election in 2008, there were 4.9% invalid votes for mayor, compared to 10.9% this time. An extra 6% of total votes is more than 500 votes. If these are actually ballots for the MDM candidate for mayor which were improperly invalidated by polling station staff, they would be enough to give victory of MDM.

These elections saw a much heavier police presence than in the past, and there were arbitrary arrests of opposition polling station delegates on voting day and party representatives during the campaign. There were confrontations with the police in Beira on the final day of the campaign and on polling day in Mocuba and Quelimane, where at least three people were killed.

Renamo, the largest opposition party, boycotted the elections. This had some impact, particularly in Nacala Porto and other coastal Nampula cities. Renamo called on its members not to register or

**CNE ignores city results,
and secretly changes totals**

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**Full results for all 53 municipalities in
part 2 of the Bulletin**

vote. In Nacala Renamo won 48% of the vote in 2008 but MDM won only 11% this year; in Ilha de Moçambique Renamo had won 34% while MDM

won only 14%. But in other places, the boycott had little effect and former Renamo voters backed the MDM.

Frelimo wins 842 seats, MDM 365 & small parties 9

The 53 municipal assemblies have a total of 1216 seats. Frelimo won 842 seats in 53 assemblies; MDM won 365 seats in 51 assemblies. Only one small party, PAHUMO, won a single seat, in Nampula. Two citizens' lists were elected: ASSEMONA won 7 seats in Angoche while AAUPEC won a single seat in Chiúre.

In six cities the MDM came within one or two seats of Frelimo:

Alto-Molócuè: Frelimo 9, MDM 8

Gúruè: Frelimo 11, MDM 10

Milange: Frelimo 7, MDM 6

Mocuba: Frelimo 16, MDM 15

Gorongosa: Frelimo 7, MDM 6

Chimoio: Frelimo 21, MDM 19

MDM did best in Zambézia, Manica and Sofala provinces, and in Matola and Maputo city in the south. Elsewhere, in the rest of the south and in Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Tete, Frelimo kept its overwhelming dominance, with majorities over 70%.

But there are only two small municipalities, Nhamayabué (Tete) and Macia (Gaza), where Frelimo occupies all seats in the municipal assembly.

The table compares this year with the previous local election in 2008, when there were only 43 municipalities and 1025 seats, Renamo was the main opposition party and MDM did not exist. Frelimo won 80% of the seats, Renamo only 19%, and other parties and citizens' lists a tiny 1%.

Frelimo shares Gaza: Renamo won only a single assembly seat in all of Gaza in 2008, in Xai Xai. This year MDM won 13 seats, including 8 in Xai Xai. Only in Macia does Frelimo now occupy all the seats.

Distribution of municipal assembly seats in 2008 and 2013

Parties	2008		2013	
Frelimo	816	80%	842	69%
Renamo/MDM	195	19%	365	30%
Others	14	1%	9	1%
Total	1025		1216	

Frelimo won overwhelming victories in new municipalities

Ten new municipalities were created this year, one in each province, and Frelimo won overwhelmingly in all of them, reaching 94% in Nhamayabué (Tete). In 8 or the 10, Frelimo won more than 70%, falling below only in Maganja da Costa (Zambézia) and Nhamatanda (Sofala). Frelimo majorities in these 10 were:

Mandimba – 71%	Chiúre – 79%
Malema – 84%	Maganja da Costa – 59%
Nhamayabué – 94%	Sussundenga – 89%
Nhamatanda – 64%	Quissico – 83%
Bilene – 92%	Boane – 75%

In most of the new municipalities, registration was far greater than expected.

Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

Boletim sobre o processo político em Moçambique

Our local elections coverage was produced by a team of 50 people, including journalists in almost all 53 municipalities. During the electoral process, we published 63 special Bulletins, *2013 Local Elections*. This issue of the *Bulletin* summarises our reporting, and also contains the final results. All issues are posted on our websites: bit.ly/MozEI13 and www.cip.org.mz/election2013.

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Nampula rerun 1 December

The election in Nampula city was rerun on 1 December. Turnout was low at 26%, perhaps because people were annoyed having to vote a second time.

Polling stations opened on time at 7 am on 20 November, but it quickly became apparent that Filomena Muturopa, the candidate for mayor for PAHUMO, had been left off the ballot paper. But voting was allowed to continue, and only after the polls closed did the CNE decide that the voting for mayor would have to be run again, on 1 December. The ballots for municipal assembly were to be held safely, and all ballots counted on 1 December.

There was also an error on the ballot paper for municipal assembly. The Mozambique Democratic Movement Party, "Partido Movimento Democrático de Moçambique" appeared correctly with its initial MDM and symbol. Next came PDD and its symbol,

but instead of the name Party for Peace, Democracy & Development, "Partido para a Paz e Democracia e Desenvolvimento", the name "Partido Movimento Democrático de Moçambique" appeared again.

But this issue was never ruled on.

Instead, the CNE had instructed the Nampula Provincial Elections Commission (CPE) that to ensure the security of the ballot boxes, any movement of ballot boxes must be accompanied by representatives of the political parties. The CPE failed to do this, and ballot boxes were transported to a warehouse without outside supervision, and parties were only shown the ballot boxes and given keys to the warehouse the next day. Thus there was no guarantee that the ballot boxes had not been tampered with. So the CNE cancelled the vote for municipal assembly as well, and it was also rerun on 1 December.

There appear to be tensions between the CNE under its present head Abdul Carimo and some provincial and district election commissions appointed by the CNE under its previous head João Leopoldo da Costa. In both Beira and Nampula, explicit instructions by the CNE were not carried out.

- The CNE and political parties had all read and approved the proof of the ballot paper and the error occurred at the printers in South Africa. The CNE

Delegates excluded in Nampula

Eight MDM party delegates (poll watchers or scrutineers) were not allowed into their polling stations in Nampula on 1 December on the grounds that their credentials were only for 20 November and had not been renewed. CNE spokesman João Beirão told the *Bulletin* that the credentials were valid and did not need to be renewed; he blamed an "excess of zeal" by polling station staff.

Beirão noted that MDM had not made a formal protest about this, so no action would be taken. The CNE blamed lack of special paper to print the proper plastic coated credentials.

announced that the printer paid for printing the new ballot papers, but the government had to pay all the costs of the new elections.

- A similar problem occurred in the town of Manhiça, where the surname of the MDM candidate Ananias Alfredo Manhiça was not included in his entry on the ballot paper. The CNE decided that this error "did not affect" the outcome because the photo and first names of the candidate were on the ballot paper.

Pre-marked ballot papers found in Angoche

Ballot papers marked for the Frelimo candidate were found in Angoche on voting day far from the polling station. There have been rumours of Frelimo obtaining ballot papers in advance and using them for ballot box stuffing, but this has always been denied by electoral authorities who say blank ballot papers are tightly controlled. This is the first time such ballot papers have been found and photographed.

The citizen's list ASSEMONA, which came second in Angoche and pushed MDM into third, said that at 6.45 on voting day, before polls opened, a group of pre-voted ballot papers was found in the house in the of a candidate on the Frelimo list for municipal assembly in Boleia-Emopesca neighbourhood. And at 8.00 an ASSEMONA delegate stopped a voter putting five ballot papers for president and five for assembly, all marked for Frelimo, into the ballot box. And it says it caught several other people with pre-marked ballot papers.

ASSEMONA made a formal protest on polling day, 20 November. It claimed that "the district electoral administrator took packets of ballot papers and gave them to Frelimo, which marked them for its candidate Américo Assane Adamugy and then distributed them to members to put into ballot boxes." STAE responded officially the next day, that as this would be a crime, it had been passed to the public prosecutor's office (Ministério Público).

Each ballot paper has a unique number, which



identifies the polling station. STAE has refused to confirm that the ballot papers are real, and if so, which polling station they come from.

In Angoche, ASSEMONA officials also submitted the pre-marked ballot papers to the police. So far, no Frelimo members have been arrested. But the MDM party delegate who brought the ballot papers to the police and made the complaint was detained and not released on polling day until the count was completed.

CNE ignores city results, and secretly changes totals

The National Elections Commission (CNE) admits that it totally ignores the results published by district and city election commissions. Instead it approves a totally new count done in secret by STAE. Indeed, CNE spokesman João Beirão concedes that the CNE does not even look at the city, district, and province results, and so does not know that major changes have been made.

The *Bulletin* raised this with the CNE when it compared the results of the city election commission in Angoche and Nampula with those of the CNE, and found large differences which were never mentioned by the CNE. For Angoche, the city election commission said there were 10,742 votes for the winning Frelimo candidate for mayor, but the CNE said he gained 12,736 votes. This meant that STAE added 1,994 votes, which was a 19% increase in the vote, and the CNE accepted this without comment or explanation. (Deliberação no 70/CNE/2013 de 4 de Dezembro).

Similarly, the table to the right is the CNE results while the photo is of the original district *edital* (results sheet) for the Nampula city 1 December rerun election. Virtually all the numbers have been changed, even the number of registered voters. STAE found 1309 extra votes for mayor, which does seem significant enough to mention, but nothing was said in its formal report (Deliberação no 71/CNE/2013 de 11 de Dezembro).

CNE spokesman João Beirão told the *Bulletin*: "We know nothing about these changes. We are given the numbers by STAE and we simply add the numbers of requalified invalid votes [nulos] and publish the results. You have to speak to the director of STAE or their spokesperson." Neither would discuss this last week.

COMMENT: The electoral law specifies that the CNE produces the final results based on the editais of the district or city election commissions, although they are allowed to use other material. Thus one would expect the CNE to explain any substantial changes to the published district results. When he took office as new CNE President, Abdul Carimo promised a new openness. But it appears that, as in the past,

the CNE is continuing to change the results in secret. jh

CNE, before the addition of requalified nulos:

Inscritos (registered)	225,152
Votantes (voters)	57,958
Candidate	Votes
Adolfo Siueia	22,937
Mahamudo Amurane	30,099
Filomena Mutoropa	2,323
Mario Albino	546

Edital de Apuramento Intermediário para a
(Artigos 120 e 122 da Lei n° 7/03)

Provincia NAMPULA

	Algarismo	%
Total Inscritos	223.649	100%
Total Votantes	56.153	25.1
Total Abstenções	167.496	74.9

Votos Válidos	Algarismo
	54.209

candidatura	algarismo
Adolfo Absalão Siueia	22.371
Mahamudo Amurane	29.215
Filomena Mutoropa	2.250
Mário Albino	538

Observers denied credentials in Beira

More than 150 observers from the Electoral Observatory, the main national observation body, were not given credentials in time to observe the polling on 20 November. It was claimed that Beira STAE did not have the right paper to print official plastic coated credentials.

The regulations are clear that in this situation, any kind of paper can be used. Two days before the voting, when the Electoral Observatory complained to the CNE about the failure to issue the documents in Beira, CNE President Abdul Carimo instructed the Beira district commission to issue paper credentials.

But they did not do so.

In its final 4 December statement issuing the election results, the CNE "repudiated" this failure to issue credentials, which it called an "obstruction of the legal rights of parties and citizens."

Police act against opposition

Disproportionate police action against opposition supporters during the campaign and official MDM party delegates on polling day was reported by *Bulletin* journalists in many municipalities.

Particularly serious was the arrest of party delegates (poll watchers, scrutineers) in polling stations on voting day. Not only is it illegal, it also means there is no opposition party delegate to watch the count in the evening, which leaves space for manipulation of results.

In Maputo, a polling station delegate was arrested on the grounds that the credential he had been given by election officials was not an "original". He was only released two days later when a judge ruled there was no evidence against him. MDM has formally protested this arrest to the Constitutional Council.

In Macia, 6 MDM delegates were arrested, allegedly because the credentials issued by the electoral authorities were false. In Dondo, MDM says 22 delegates were detained and 15 of them were held for 4 days. Other detentions include 22 in Gondola, 7 in Chokwé, and 6 in Chibuto. MDM claims that 6 delegates were detained in Nhamatanda for failing to follow the instructions of polling station heads to leave the polling station to "go and buy water".

The election campaign also saw arrests, mainly for damaging campaign material and posters. Although some Frelimo sympathisers were arrested, most arrests were of MDM supporters. Police arrested MDM people for pulling down Frelimo posters and other actions in Dondo, Monapo, Matola, Quelimane, and Chimoio. In Dondo, Nyamáyabue, Monapo and Moatize people were arrested for destroying MDM posters.

There were a few convictions for violence. In Macia a Frelimo supporter, Afonso Ganhane, was convicted of attacking and seriously injuring the MDM Macia delegate Miguel Jamisse. He was sentenced to six months in jail, but which was converted to a fine of 30 Meticias (\$1) per day. In Tete the MDM political delegate was accused of assault, but the case was dismissed by a judge. In Macia 4 MDM and 1 Frelimo were convicted and

Officials arrested in Nampula

Three polling station officials were arrested in Nampula on the second voting day, 1 December, two for trying to stuff the ballot box and one for trying to vote with a registration card from another city, Angoche. This is apparently the first time that polling station staff have ever been arrested.

2 MDM members were convicted of assault in Xai Xai.

Violent confrontations with police at Beira final rally

One day before the end of the campaign in Beira, MDM and its candidate for re-election as mayor, Daviz Simango, organised a "showmicio" – a rally plus a show. It was in an open space in Munhava normally used for rallies and concerts. But this festival to end the campaign was interrupted by violence.

Frelimo's local headquarters is near the showground, and during the rally, the riot police (Força de Intervenção Rápida) tried to clear the way through the crowd for cars of Frelimo dignitaries going to the headquarters. This caused confusion on the edge of the crowd. The police hurled teargas and shot rubber bullets into the crowd, many of whom were caught by surprise because they knew nothing of the original confusion, and thus created panic.

MDM supporters responded by burning several cars with Frelimo posters and trying to attack the Frelimo headquarters. In the chaos, the Frelimo candidate for mayor, Jaime Neto, was slightly injured.

The following day, the police reported 43 people injured seriously enough to be hospitalised, and 21 arrested. This was the most serious violence of the campaign.

Deaths in Quelimane

The end of polling day in Quelimane was marked by confrontations. During the late afternoon at several schools being used as polling centres there was an unexplained presence of Frelimo cars and officials without any observer or party delegate credential. Some were seen giving instructions to polling station staff. MDM delegates and some observers feared

Campaign calm; Frelimo continues to use cars of the state

The electoral campaign ran for 3 to 17 November. Although we report incidents here, in most places it was calm and peaceful.

But the campaign was characterised by Frelimo's use of government cars for campaigning in most municipalities. This is illegal and the CNE issued a warning against this before the campaign. During the campaign, in our election bulletins we published lists of state cars being used in the campaign. There are no reports of action against local Frelimo officials for this.

that something improper was being planned and large crowds of MDM supporters began to gather at the schools to monitor the vote counting.

Police and riot police cleared the grounds of the schools several times, and at one school launched tear gas. Two deaths, one a child, were reported. In one school polling staff abandoned the ballot boxes after the count and official results sheets were lost.

The CNE has ordered an enquiry.

Before the official announcement of the results, MDM supporters began their victory parade. When they passed in front of the governor's mansion on the main road along the river, police shot and killed

a young musician sitting on top of a lorry running a sound system.

- In Angoche the riot police (Força de Intervenção Rápida, FIR) fired tear gas at the primary school of Farlahi, which had been a problem polling centre during the day.

- In Mocuba the district election commission was very slow in releasing results, and MDM supporters marched on the election commission to demand publication of the results. Shots were fired by the police.

- Several days after the voting, journalists in Quelimane held a peaceful march against electoral violence.

Registration hits 85% despite technical problems

Registration hit 85% of the estimated number of voting age adults in the 53 municipalities. Registration ran from 25 May to 23 June in the 43 existing municipalities and Praia de Bilene (Gaza), which had been created by splitting an existing municipality, Macia. In the other nine new municipalities, registration ran from 20 June through 23 July. STAE estimated that there were 3,598,003 adults who would be 18 years old on 20 November. By the end of the registration campaign, 3,059,794 people had registered, 85.0% of voting age Mozambicans.

Wrong toner halts registration

Soon after it began on 25 May, registration ground to a halt in many places because voters' cards could not be printed. It was soon discovered that the toner cartridges did not match the printers. Both were supplied by the same company, Artes Grafica (part of Académica) with the South African Lithotech, as part of its contract for registration equipment. Within a week 750 new printers were sent and registration

resumed.

There were also other early problems. Some registration teams unexpectedly did not have electricity. And some registration teams were improperly demanding unnecessary documents, such as a certificate of residence.

After the disrupted start, registration was slow, and with only 14 days of registration left, STAE announced that only 54% of voting age adults had registered. But the last two weeks brought a flood of would-be voters, and the total registration hit 85%.

STAE and INE made poor predictions

Although total registration hit 85%, the variation was huge, from 40% in Gurué to 247% in Ulongué, which suggests some surprisingly poor predictions. STAE (election technical secretariat) made its predictions using information from the National Statistics Institute (INE) from the 2007 census.

In most cases INE and STAE figures are similar, and there are a number of municipalities including Marrupa, Massinga, Alto Molocué and Mandalkazi where they predicted a significant drop in registration compared to 2008 - which did not happen.

In Gurué and Mocuba, STAE tripled the INE estimate but the INE was much closer - which suggests that the low registration was in fact a poor prediction. For Gurué, the 2008 registration was 26,425 and INE predicted 30,431. STAE tripled this to 91,067, but the actual registration was 36,672, higher than INE predicted but still closer to INE than STAE.

So what went wrong? STAE blames the INE for underestimating, which definitely occurred. But INE

blames STAE for registering people outside the municipality, which does also seem to have happened.

But that leave two questions for STAE:

- Why did it accept that the Marrupa registration should fall from 7,411 to 4,806? In fact, Marrupa registered 9,664 which is double what was predicted, but only a reasonable 30% increase on 2008. That applied to several other municipalities.

- Why increase the estimates for Gurué and Mocuba by so much?

The *Bulletin's* investigation also found there is a problem of boundaries. Under law 17/2012 of 14 August municipalities can apply to the National Mapping Directorate (Direcção Nacional de Ordenamento Territorial, DNOT) of the Ministry of

State Administration (Ministério da Administração Estatal, MAE) to change boundaries, particularly to take into account recent urban expansion. Half of the established municipalities have done so, but few proposals have been approved, and DNOT technicians are still in the field checking the proposals.

That adds two possibilities. Perhaps STAE assumed some of the new large boundaries would be approved. And, perhaps the residents themselves simply assume that their neighbourhood is part of the city, and do not realise they are still outside the border.

The table gives 15 municipalities where predictions were wrong by a large margin.

Province	Municipality	STAE prediction	INE prediction	Actual registration 2013	Registration 2008	Registration/STAE prediction
Gaza	P Bilene	4 641	4 641	5 941	+++++	128%
	Mandalkazi	5 266	-----	10 841	6 978	206%
Inhambane	Massinga	13 048	12 603	18 576	17 590	142%
	Quissico	4 784	4 784	9 147	+++++	144%
Manica	Catandica	11 340	11 644	16 327	11 344	144%
	Sussundenga	9 869	9 869	12 351	++++	125%
Sofala	Nhamatanda	12 646	12 646	17 121	+++++	136%
Tete	Ulongué	7 791	9 175	19 224	10 831	247%
	Nhamayabue	4 623	4 623	7 448	+++++	161%
Zambézia	Gurué	91 067	30 431	36 672	26 425	40%
	Mocuba	100 022	42 709	52 681	49 078	53%
	Alto-Molócue	40 416	-----	20 558	16 929	51%
	Maganja da Costa	7 581	7 541	12 105	+++++	160%
Nampula	Malema	10 649	10 649	15 105	+++++	142%
Niassa	Marrupa	4 806	4 276	9 664	7 411	201%

----- No data +++++ New municipality