

Mozambique

Political Process

Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 35

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but still has not confirmed results
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CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL REJECTS RENAMO PROTEST BUT NO DECISION YET ON ELECTION

The Constitutional Council on Monday announced that it has rejected on technical grounds the appeal by Renamo against the results of the 1-2 December presidential and parliamentary elections.

The electoral law (4/2004 art 115, 139) specifies that after dealing with any protests, the Constitutional Council must validate the election, but no time scale is specified for this. Although Renamo's protest has been rejected on procedural grounds, at least one substantial part of the complaint remains -- that ballot box stuffing has clearly robbed Renamo of at least two parliamentary seats. The evidence for this is clear and the Constitutional Council will need to decide if two lost seats has, in the words of the law, "substantially influenced the results of the election" (art 176), and if so, how to respond. The Council might choose to simply exclude the spurious extra 100,000 votes in Tete province.

Renamo first protested against the results to the National Elections Commission (CNE), demanding that the elections be annulled and new ones held. This was rejected, and the Constitutional Council ruled that the CNE was right to reject the original Renamo complaint on grounds of missed deadlines. The CNE argued that Renamo should have protested against the results at the CNE meeting on 21 December which discussed the results (which were formally announced on the same day). Renamo submitted its protest to the CNE on 27 December.

When the CNE rejected this protest on 4 January, Renamo then had three days to appeal to the Constitutional Council. But the Council said the Renamo document only arrived on 10 January, "manifestly beyond the deadline".

Furthermore, instead of asking the Constitutional Council to overturn the CNE's decision, Renamo submitted a substantially different 350 page document requesting the Council to "order the correction of all irregularities so that it may validate the general elections of 1-2 December". This, the Council said, was not an appeal against the CNE's decision - it was an entirely new demand that Renamo had not raised previously. "Since it is a new request, the Constitutional Council, as an appeals body, should not recognise it", the ruling said.

AIM reports that all seven members of the Constitutional Council signed the rejection of the Renamo appeal, although Manuel Franque, one of the two Renamo-appointed members of the Council, said that for a variety of reasons Renamo had submitted to the Constitutional Council on time. But Franque raised no objection to the rest of the Council's ruling.

CALENDAR

After the Constitutional Council validates the election, it must order publication of the results in Boletim da Republica within 2 days. Parliament holds its first session within 15 days, at a date set by the CNE. The president is then inaugurated within 8 days, on a date set by the Constitutional Council. This points to an inauguration in mid-February.

CNE SECRECY CONTINUES

The CNE continues to refuse to release the provincial results of the 1-2 December elections, saying that the law does not require it. This is true -- the law only requires that the provincial results be given to the Constitutional Council -- but the unwillingness to release more detailed results is, in the words of the government's own news agency AIM, "a display of extraordinary arrogance" by the CNE.

After the press office said the CNE would not release provincial results, the daily "Mediafax" last week attempted submit a letter to the CNE president Rev Arao Litsuri requesting the provincial results. The head of Litsuri's office, David Sande, refused to formally accept the letter. Sande did this by refusing to sign for the letter. Signing for a letter is a normal Mozambican bureaucratic procedure showing that the letter has been received and Sande is a stickler for precise bureaucratic procedure, so his refusal to sign constitutes an explicit rejection of the letter. Eventually he did eventually accept a copy without signing for it.

COMMONWEALTH ATTACKS CNE SECRECY

Because of concerns expressed by civil society and the opposition, the Commonwealth observer group left behind a technical team to observe the tabulation process. It left on 20 December and last week issued a damning report.

"Like all other international and domestic observer groups, we were not given full access to the national counting centre at CNE headquarters as well as at the various provincial counting centres," the report said, noting that "the lack of full access created an atmosphere of secrecy and mistrust about the whole counting process"

"There was a need for more transparency and unrestricted access for observers to ALL aspects of the electoral process, particularly the crucial final phases of the count and tabulation," the report concluded. "In relation to the issue of access for observers to the CNE's process of reconciliation and adjustment of the official Provincial results against the national provisional results, we were concerned to note that no observers were allowed to witness this process. We feel strongly that this aspect constitutes a very significant part of the process, capable of having an overbearing effect on the outcome of the elections, and as such, it would be important for CNE to show more transparency if any suspicions and tension on the part of the key players are to be averted."

The report also notes that the CNE promised the Commonwealth that it would publish a list of rejected editais "simultaneously with the announcement of results", but it then failed to do so.

"The team was greatly concerned at the very slow pace of progress made with the tabulation process." Its report concluded that there is "a genuine need to improve the results tabulation process to make it more efficient and finalised over a shorter period."

The Commonwealth expert team said that "a growing consensus has emerged among observers and commentators that some degree of fraud did actually take place in the process, and that some

of the claims by RENAMO bear some merit. In general, the country appeared to have come to terms with a victory for Mr Guebuza and FRELIMO. There was, however, a widespread recognition that fundamental electoral reforms would be necessary if the credibility of the electoral process in future is not to suffer."

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NEW GOVERNMENT NEXT WEEK

The newly elected parliament, the Assembly of the Republic, will take office Monday. There are 160 MPs from Frelimo and 90 from the opposition Renamo-Electoral Union coalition. All 250 deputies are expected to be present, since Renamo has abandoned its threat to boycott the new parliament. Presiding over this opening session will outgoing President Joaquim Chissano. His successor, Armando Guebuza, will be inaugurated at a public ceremony next Wednesday, 2 February. He will announce a new government a few days later.

There will be no changes in the senior Frelimo figures in parliament. Eduardo Mulembue will be re-elected to his third term as president (speaker) of parliament. Veronica Macamo will be re-elected first deputy president. Frelimo's ruling body, the 15-member Political Commission, also reappointed Manuel Tome as head of the Frelimo parliamentary group, the position he has occupied for the past two years. Mulembue, Macamo and Tome are all members of the Political Commission.

ELECTIONS CONFIRMED

Mozambique's Constitutional Council last week confirmed the results of the 1-2 December election and proclaimed Frelimo's Armando Guebuza as president. Guebuza won 2,004,226 votes (63.74%) against 998,059 votes (31.74%) for Renamo's Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the former rebel movement, Renamo.

The Constitutional Council did not alter the results declared by the National Elections Commission (CNE) on 21 December. The Council said that serious irregularities had occurred, some of them of a criminal nature, but believed these were not sufficient to change the results.

Reading out the Council's ruling, its chairperson, former justice minister Rui Baltazar, made it clear that the electoral bodies cannot act on the basis of media reports, however accurate they are, and

must respond to complaints by the parties -- which failed to make them in detail or on time. The press, including the Bulletin, had pointed out widespread evidence of ballot box stuffing, with turnouts in some places of over 100%.

CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL CALLS FOR CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS BUT CNE TO DESTROY EVIDENCE

Despite validating the election, the Constitutional Council expressed serious concern at the "truly criminal acts" that have been reported, according to AIM. Even if such abuses were isolated instances, "the greatest seriousness lies in the fact that they are going unpunished, with nobody held responsible". If sanctions are not applied when the law is broken, "then the law becomes a dead letter", warned Baltazar. "Electoral legislation is a fundamental pillar of the rule of law, guaranteeing the rights of citizens, and the effective exercise of sovereignty by the people", he pointed out. "But when violations of the electoral legislation go unpunished, they will tend to multiply and call into question these basic principles of our state." That, he stressed, was "the real danger of under-estimating or tolerating violations".

The Constitutional Council therefore regarded it as urgent "that all those who take part in elections should change their attitudes in order to end these dangerous trends, and prevent them from becoming generalised". Prompt action against electoral crimes was required, Baltazar stressed, not only from the electoral bodies, but from the police, the public prosecutor's office, and the courts.

Instead, the National Election Commission (CNE) has ordered the destruction of the materials which would be required to bring prosecutions against electoral officials responsible for ballot box stuffing in Tete and elsewhere. This will make it very difficult for the attorney general's office to carry out the instructions of the Constitutional Council to prosecute these officials. After all election matters are resolved, the electoral law does indeed require the destruction of all ballot papers and related materials, and the CNE ruled this week that all ballot papers should be incinerated, without exception. The Bulletin estimates that that there was ballot box stuffing at more than 300 polling stations. This could have two forms. Most likely is that the results sheets showed that everyone on the register voted even though there were many fewer votes in the ballot box, and this would be shown easily by inspecting the sealed plastic sacks of ballot papers. The other form is to actually mark the ballot papers and put them in the box -- this would be harder to prove but an identical X or fingerprint on hundreds of ballot papers would be strong evidence. But this possible evidence is now to be destroyed

RESULTS SHEETS STOLEN

The Council revealed that 1,430 polling stations results sheets ("editais") could not be processed and so were not included in the final results. This is even greater than the number reported earlier by Renamo. There were 12,742 polling stations within Mozambique (and 65 for Mozambicans voting abroad). So the Provincial Elections Commissions (CPEs) should have processed 12,742 presidential editais and the same number of parliamentary ones. In fact, the CPEs proved unable to process 1,432 presidential and 1,736 parliamentary editais, and passed them on to the CNE. The CNE managed to rescue 783 presidential and 1,005 parliamentary editais.

That meant that there were 699 editais excluded from the presidential results, and 731 excluded from the final parliamentary count. This was 5.4% of the presidential editais and 5.7% of the parliamentary ones - which is very similar to the numbers excluded in the 1999 general elections.

But whereas in 1999 the editais were excluded because they contained "uncorrectable mistakes" (such as more ballot papers than voters), this time many of the editais were missing. The Constitutional Council said the editais (as well as polling station minutes, which could have been used to reconstruct the editais) were stolen while being transported from the polling stations to district capitals, or from district capitals to provincial capitals.

The thefts had occurred particularly in Niassa, Cabo Delgado (believed stolen by Renamo) and Zambezia (believed stolen by Frelimo). Although the theft of editais was a serious matter, the Council said it could not affect the result of the presidential election - but admitted that it might have changed the distribution of parliamentary seats.

No details have been released. The Council did not say exactly how many of the 1,430 unprocessed editais had gone missing, how many contained "uncorrectable errors" (some of which may not have been mistakes but deliberate fraud), and how many had been spoiled by being covered in ink. The CNE made explicit promises to international observers to show them rejected and corrected editais, but it has now refused to do so.

The missing editais led to a protest from Manuel Franque, one of the two Renamo-appointed members of the Constitutional Council. Although he voted in favour of validating the results, he added a reservation pointing out that "after a year of preparation and taking into account all the financial, material and human resources involved" it was "incomprehensible" that the CNE had failed to process so many editais. Franque pointed out that in some provinces the unprocessed editais reached alarming proportions - 11 per cent in Niassa, and 20 per cent in Cabo Delgado. The argument that the missing editais did not have a significant impact on the results "does not justify the CNE's indifference towards correcting such irregularities".

Franque concluded that the elections, although free, "were not entirely transparent or fair".

OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL CRITICISM OF CNE

AIM reports that the Council had harsh criticism for the CNE's on several grounds. As it did after the 2003 local elections, it criticised the handling of voter registration. The use of three sets of register books from voter registrations in 1999, 2003 and 2004 "makes it difficult to organise and manage elections". Furthermore the data base on the electorate is unreliable because it contains the names of voters who have died, while other voters have their names repeated two or more times. The Council thus repeated a demand made last year that the CNE should organise a single, up-to-date voters roll, and it demanded "an effective system that guarantees the permanent and systematic updating of voter registration data".

The Council reprimanded the CNE for changing the order of candidates on the Renamo parliamentary list for Zambezia province. Renamo asked for the list to be changed, a week after the election campaign had started, claimed there had been "a mistake" in the initial list, and CNE agreed. But by this time, the list could only be changed in the event of the death, resignation or serious illness of a candidate. So the Council reinstated the previous order of the Renamo candidates for Zambezia - which means that Linete Olofson, a vocal Renamo deputy in the outgoing parliament, drops back from 27th to 40th position on the list, and is thus not elected (Renamo has 29 seats in Zambezia).

The Constitutional Council also strongly criticised those provincial election commissions (Nampula, Manica, Sofala and Gaza) that failed to break down the provincial results district by district, as required by the electoral law. The excuse given was that, in the provinces in question, "the harmonisation of the data bases in the computer system had not been completed". The Council rejected this excuse as "feeble", and said this violation of the electoral law must be censured, because the whole point of a district by district breakdown of the results "was to strengthen the mechanisms of security and transparency of the tabulation of votes in the provinces".

AND OUTSIDE MOZAMBIQUE: WAS THE BUSH ELECTION FRAUDULENT?

Although George W Bush has been inaugurated as United States President, questions continue to be raised about his election. The best summary is an article by Jessie Jackson and Greg Palast on

<http://www.gregpalast.com/>. They report that in Ohio, more than 133,000 votes were never counted -- more than George W. Bush's supposed margin of victory. Cleveland State University Professor Mark Salling analyzed ballots thrown away and found that "overwhelmingly" the voided votes come from African American areas. A similar thing happened in New Mexico. Particularly in Florida and Ohio, report Jackson and Palast, Republicans challenged tens of thousands of voters and stopped their votes from being counted -- they targeted black and elderly Jewish voters who they were sure would vote for the Democrats.

OFFICIAL PROVINCIAL RESULTS

From the Constitutional Council documents, as compiled by AIM.

Niassa

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	94,307
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	40,761

Parliamentary elections - 12 seats

Frelimo	92,871	(9 seats)
Renamo	39,267	(3 seats)

Cabo Delgado

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	215,884
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	51,608

Parliamentary elections - 22 seats

Frelimo	207,936	(18 seats)
Renamo	48,418	(4 seats)

Nampula

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	226,514
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	202,523

Parliamentary election - 50 seats

Frelimo	210,942	(27 seats)
Renamo	177,275	(23 seats)

Zambezia

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	251,780
Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	163,959

Parliamentary election - 48 seats

Renamo 220,764 (29 seats)
Frelimo 150,318 (19 seats)

Tete

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 256,825
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 78,887

Parliamentary election - 18 seats

Frelimo 249,397 (14 seats)
Renamo 72,911 (4 seats)

Manica

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 93,555
Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 92,544

Parliamentary election - 14 seats

Renamo 86,942 (7 seats)
Frelimo 86,934 (7 seats)

Sofala

Presidential election

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 201,839
Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 76,096

Parliamentary election - 22 seats

Renamo 183,787 (16 seats)
Frelimo 71,668 (6 seats)

Inhambane

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 143,829
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 18,406

Parliamentary election - 16 seats

Frelimo 129,391 (15 seats)
Renamo 16,831 (1 seat)

Gaza

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 306,006
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 5,748

Parliamentary election - 17 seats

Frelimo	291,729	(17 seats)
Renamo	5,460	(0 seat)

Maputo province

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	185,503
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	17,894

Parliamentary election - 13 seats

Frelimo	164,551	(12 seats)
Renamo	16,888	(1 seat)

Maputo City

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	218,195
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	32,989

Parliamentary election - 16 seats

Frelimo	209,590	(14 seats)
Renamo	34,717	(2 seats)

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Carter Center says election not fair or transparent

The Carter Center today issued a damning statement on the 1-2 December elections, saying that fraud and lack of transparency "cast a shadow over Mozambique's democracy".

"The Center concludes the National Elections Commission (CNE) has not administered a fair and transparent election in all parts of Mozambique." It adds that "the Center has attempted to observe and assess as much of the verification process as possible but has been hindered by a lack of cooperation by the CNE."

The Center is critical of the Constitutional Council for validating the flawed election. It also notes that promises to give more information on excluded results sheets (editais) were not honoured and thus "the credibility of the tabulation process [is] open to question."

The full report is available on
<http://www.cartercenter.org/doc1999.htm>

Key quotes from the statement:

"The overall election results are not in question, as indicated by the wide margin of Frelimo's victory and confirmed by the parallel vote tabulation conducted by domestic observers. However, the problems observed by The Carter Center could have had serious consequences in a closer election. Moreover, the Center remains concerned that the Constitutional Council has validated CNE election results retaining irregularities that could have had an impact on the distribution of parliamentary seats in some provinces."

"The Center has serious unanswered questions about the complete accuracy of the results and the lack of transparency in the CNE's final tabulation. For example, the results did not include a detailed district by district map, and the CNE has poorly explain the reasons for rejected, stolen, or missing tally sheets. Despite assurances to observers that they would be granted full access to a detailed record listing the reasons for rejected polling station tally sheets, this information has not been made available."

"The Center remains concerned that some issues did not receive sufficient attention from the [Constitutional] council, including the abuse of public resources by political parties during the campaigns, acceptance of the delayed results from the electoral bodies but no such flexibility being accorded to political parties with late election petitions, and the reluctance of some district level electoral bodies to receive party complaints (especially since the council cited Renamo-UE's failure to submit electoral complaints at the district level as one of the three arguments for rejecting its petition)."

"Although the [Constitutional] council notes the CNE failed to complete a final tabulation map of district-by-district results for the provinces of Nampula, Manica, Sofala, and Gaza, in clear violation of the electoral law, the CNE is not held accountable for its failure to provide detailed reasons for the rejected polling station tally sheets."

"The Center also is alarmed by the apparent lack of interest in the tabulation of results displayed by non-represented political parties and domestic observers. Given the concerns about the credibility of previous election results, the Center expected these groups might have been more assertive about the right to a transparently conducted exercise."

"Mozambique is at a critical point in its democratic development. While it is clear the people of Mozambique have endorsed Frelimo and its presidential candidate, Armando Emilio Guebuza, the Center is concerned the enduring problems with the voter register, evidence of serious irregularities and fraud during polling in several provinces, and inadequate transparency of the tabulation process will continue to cast a shadow over Mozambique's democracy."

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 - Nulos matter
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PERSONAL VIEW:
WILL ANYONE CLEAN UP
THE ELECTORAL MESS?

Chaos, incompetence, secrecy and arrogance on the part of the National Election Commission (CNE) are all shown in the ruling last month of the Constitutional Council and in internal CNE documents released by Renamo. Numbers don't add up, results were changed without explanation, crimes were not investigated or prosecuted, and instructions from the Constitutional Council were ignored.

A CNE member forcefully told AWEPA that its views, and those of other observers, were unimportant. And at one level that is true. Frelimo's landslide victory has been recognised by the international community, and fraud and incompetence forgotten. Elections are largely for show, and the US and other donors can tick the box saying Mozambique is democratic. But at another level, it might be useful to pay some attention to the views not just of outsiders but of the Constitutional Council.

International observers -- especially SADC parliamentarians and the Commonwealth who should be seen as friends and neighbours -- all say that Mozambique's elections are unusual for their sloppiness and secrecy. To this is added a CNE which does not even pretend to publish accurate or convincing results. Mozambique's ability to run an election well has deteriorated, and no one seems to care.

These problems are compounded by the willingness of both Frelimo and Renamo to commit blatant fraud and interfere with the process -- and to be able to do so with impunity. The Constitutional Council in its ruling on the election "considers it imperative and urgent that there be a change in the attitudes of all protagonists in the electoral process in order to cut off these dangerous tendencies at an early stage and prevent their spread."

The Constitutional Council said that some of the irregularities reported by the press and observers were "truly criminal acts" which should be punished under the electoral law. It warns that failing to punish these acts would be even more serious than the crimes themselves, because it would create a climate of impunity and "transform the law into a dead letter." Electoral legislation is a fundamental pillar of the democratic state. "If violations of the electoral law are allowed to go unpunished, they will multiply and threaten the fundamental principles of our state."

Nevertheless, the CNE subsequently ruled that the essential evidence should be destroyed, making prosecution impossible. The Constitutional Council validated the election, so no one cares about the caveats.

Cleaning up the electoral system is hardly going to be a priority for the new government, which has many important tasks on its agenda. Donors will no doubt commission consultancy studies which remain unread and send advisors who will be ignored. And in two or three years someone will

notice that local and provincial elections are due in 2008 and they will rush to patch up the system again.

Perhaps it is for civil society, and organisations like the Electoral Observatory, to take the issue away from the politicians who have made such a mess of it. They could hold public hearings, take advice from friends in SADC and the Commonwealth about how other countries run elections, and promote changes. Who else has any interest in cleaning up the electoral mess?

Joseph Hanlon

1444 EDITAIS NOT COUNTED

More than 5.5% of all polling stations were not included in the final count, according to both the Constitutional Council and the National Election Commission, although the two sets of numbers do not agree. That means the ballots of nearly 200,000 people were not counted. The Constitutional Council says that the editais (polling station results sheets) "went astray", had ink poured on them, or contained irreconcilable mistakes. The Council says that 699 presidential editais and 731 parliamentary editais were not counted in the final results. In fact, the number is somewhat larger. Details are given in tables 1 and 2.

Adding up the CNE's detailed provincial results shows that 705 presidential editais and 739 parliamentary editais were not counted, out of a total of 12,807 polling stations. The Constitutional Council figure does not include polling stations outside Mozambique.

The Constitutional Council reports that editais were stolen when they were being transported from polling stations to district level and then to provincial election commissions in Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Zambezia. The law allows the CNE to use the copies of editais given by polling stations to party delegates, and these could have replaced those which were stolen and those which had ink poured over them. But the CNE did not do this; no reason was given. The Constitutional Council admitted that enough editais have gone astray to have affected the number of seats in parliament, but it decided there was nothing it could do.

The biggest thefts were in Cabo Delgado, where 21% of presidential editais and 18% of parliamentary editais were not included in the final count. Other seriously affected constituencies were:

- Niassa (11% of presidential, 9% of parliamentary)
- Africa outside Mozambique (10% of presidential, 13% of parliamentary)
- Zambezia (7% of both)
- Gaza (5% of presidential, 7% of parliamentary)
- Tete (4% of presidential, 6% of parliamentary)

Gaza and Tete were both affected by ballot box stuffing, and some attempt may have been made to exclude the more outrageous editais there. The CNE says nothing.

+ Officially, the CNE continues to insist that the detailed provincial results cited above are secret. The daily MediaFax has been asking the CNE for copies, and the CNE refuses to even reply to the request. In fact, they are available because Renamo included the final provincial editais, as issued by the CNE, as part of its complaint to the Constitutional Council, and this has been given to AWEPA and others who ask for it. The CNE may be trying to keep the provincial results secret because they contain mathematical errors.

CNE CHANGED TETE RESULT

Although it is not stated anywhere, the available documentation shows that in secret the CNE changed the Tete result. Tete is particularly at issue because there was widespread ballot box stuffing and improper restrictions on observers and party delegates.

The Tete Provincial Election Commission issued its formal results on 11 December. It said that it had included 916 of 919 polling stations, missing out 2 because of errors in editais and 1 because results did not arrive from a rain-affected town. It said 341,197 people voted for President, of whom 234,677 voted from Guebuza and 73,417 voted for Dhlakama. This excludes invalid votes (nulos) which were requalified and later included by the CNE.

But the still secret CNE provincial results sheet for Tete, which also excludes nulos, only processed 882 of 919 editais. Yet it found more votes -- 370,517 votes overall, of which 256,070 were for Guebuza and 76,464 for Dhalakama. (Details are given in table 3)

There is a similar difference in the parliamentary race, and no explanations as to how the CNE found more votes from fewer polling stations. The electoral law says that final results should be based on provincial results, and the CNE told international observers that it would explain the changes it made to provincial results, but it has not done so.

NULOS MATTER

Polling station staff tend to be excessively strict in declaring ballot papers invalid (nulo). Typically they have marks for more than one candidate. But the vote should to be accepted if the intention of the voters is clear, and all invalid votes are sent to the CNE for reclassification. The CNE reconsidered nearly 290,000 ballot papers and accepted almost one-third. This table gives the final figures:

	President	Parliament
Nulos	130,997	158,770
Requalified	42,682	48,813
% of nulos requalified	33%	31%
Of total votes		
% nulos	2.6%	3.3%
% blank	2.9%	5.0%

Manica, where the race was very close, shows that the requalification can matter. In the parliamentary race, Renamo was behind by 1033 votes. But when nulos were reconsidered, three quarters of those taken to be valid were for Renamo, which was enough to give Renamo an 8 vote victory. In this election it made no difference in the distribution of parliamentary seats, but in a direct election such as for mayor, that would have made a difference. (Details are in table 4)

CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL CRITICISES CNE

The Constitutional Council was highly critical of both the CNE and the electoral law itself, but it validated the election. It said the CNE needed to do a better job organising and supervising the election, and that after 10 years the CNE was still unprofessional. The problems identified by citizens, observers and others "persist and are repeated in each election, without any significant improvement". It cites in particular repeated problems with the electoral register and computer software.

It criticised the lack of an accurate electoral register, saying it was impossible to know how many people were actually registered. It noted that the CNE had failed to carry out instructions from the Council after the local elections to clean up the register.

The Council implicitly criticises the CNE for its lack of transparency to observers, saying that in future "conditions must be created so that there can be no doubts about the impartiality, integrity and strict legality of the electoral processes at local, provincial and national level."

There were significant delays in distributing materials to polling stations and polling station staff were not adequately trained. The failure to produce district-by-district results was a violation of the law.

Parties are criticised for the lack of knowledge of the electoral law and for the poor quality of their own monitoring, meaning they found out about irregularities through the media rather than from their own delegates. It particularly criticises their failure to file protests directly at local level over polling stations with unrealistically high turnouts. (This is perhaps slightly unfair, as Renamo had trouble getting delegates accredited in Tete, where the biggest problems occurred.)

The Constitutional Council also criticised the electoral law, which it said was internally contradictory and contains "unrealistic" deadlines, for example for the approval of candidates.

It also said the time taken for the count is "excessively long", especially compared to other countries.

The Council only made one change. After Renamo had already submitted its lists of candidates to the CNE, it asked to change its Zambezia list to move a sitting MP, Linete Olofsson, from 40th place on the list (which would mean she would have no chance of being elected) to 27th place, ensuring her a seat. The CNE agreed. But the Council said this action was illegal because it was after the deadline for changes, so Olofsson was moved back to 40th place and lost her seat.

The Constitutional Council ruling was approved by six of the seven members, with Manuel Franque (a Renamo appointee) dissenting on the issue of the missing editas. He said the numbers were significant in Niassa and Cabo Delgado and must have had an impact on the distribution of parliament seats. He also cites the problems with the data base and the computer system, and concludes that "although I believe the elections were free, they were not entirely transparent or just."

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Tables for

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Thursday 10 February 2005

Mozambique National Elections 1-2 December 2004

Table 1:

Polling station results sheets (editais) not processed and not counted, as report by Constitutional Council

Election	Total editais	Editais not processed by CPEs	Editais subsequently processed by CNE	Editais never processed
Presidential	12,742	1,482	783	699
Parliamentary	12,742	1,736	1,005	731

CPE = Provincial Election Commission

CNE = National Election Commission

Table 2:

Results sheets (editais) which were not counted, as reported by the National Election Commission in internal documents (editais de apuramento provincial)

Province	Total editais	Presidential		Parliamentary	
		missing	% missing	missing	% missing
Cabo Delgado	1391	287	20.6%	254	18.3%
Niassa	725	81	11.2%	65	9.0%
Africa	62	6	9.7%	8	12.9%
Zambezia	2370	172	7.3%	173	7.3%
Gaza	993	53	5.3%	67	6.7%
Tete	919	37	4.0%	52	5.7%
Sofala	1039	20	1.9%	23	2.2%
Maputo Prov	752	12	1.6%	58	7.7%
Nampula	2282	26	1.1%	31	1.4%
Maputo Cidade	762	5	0.7%	3	0.4%
Manica	723	4	0.6%	1	0.1%
Inhambane	786	2	0.3%	4	0.5%
Rest of world	3	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
TOTAL	12807	705	5.5%	739	5.8%

Table 3

Two versions of the Tete results

Both sets of results exclude requalified invalid votes (nulos)

	CPE Acta	CNE edital	Difference
Presidential			
Total editais	919	919	0
Processed editais	916	882	-34
Total votes	341,197	370,517	29,320
Guebuza	234,677	256,070	21,393
Dhlakama	73,417	76,464	3,047
Parliamentary			
Processed editais	916	867	-49
Total votes	346,426	368,042	21,616
Frelimo	236,539	248,400	11,861
Renamo	66,319	70,671	4,352

CPE Acta = Official minutes (acta) of the Tete Provincial Election Commission

CNE edital = Official results sheet (edital) for Tete of the National Election Commission

Table 4

Impact of requalified nulos in Manica

	Initially	Nulos	Total
Guebuza	92,113	431	92,544
Dhlakama	92,161	1,394	93,555
Difference	48	963	1,011
Frelimo	86,462	472	86,934
Renamo	85,429	1,513	86,942
Difference	-1,033	1,041	8

Initially = those votes treated as valid by polling stations

Nulos = invalid votes (nulos) accepted as valid by CNE

Total = revised total after requalified nulos are included.

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Election e-mail special issue 38

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Editor: Joseph Hanlon

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Mozambique

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2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 39

Thursday 17 February 2005

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga

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IN THIS ISSUE

Analysis of the new government

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THIS IS THE FINAL ELECTION SPECIAL

I will continue to circulate the normal Mozambique Political Process Bulletin (twice a year) and relevant clippings (once in a while). Joe Hanlon

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NEW GUEBUZA GOVERNMENT:
LOOKING TO THE PROVINCES
MORE OPENNESS
END TO 'DEIXA-ANDAR'

Sweeping away the tired and corrupt ministers of the old administration, President Armando Guebuza has appointed a new government with much more experience of the provinces. Only six ministers remain in place, headed by Prime Minister Luisa Diogo. Twenty new ministers come in, including six who were governors in the previous administration and six who were deputy ministers. This suggests substantial continuity from the previous administration, but also new faces and new attitudes.

Many of the new appointees do not have experience in the areas of their new ministries. But this a return to an attitude shared by Frelimo and many large companies to select good managers rather than experts. By choosing people whose recent experience is outside Maputo, Guebuza clearly hopes to make the government more development-oriented.

Guebuza's speech at the swearing in of the new government stressed action, honesty and openness which is clearly meant to distance it from the Chissano era:

- + The government "must be transformed into a genuine Force for Change [the election slogan] that all Mozambicans will see in action".
- + The new government must "combat inertia" and "fight intensely against the spirit of deixa-andar and bureaucracy". The use of the phrase "deixa-andar" (which means "don't bother" or "let it go") is important because it is associated in the public mind with the Chissano government.
- + There must be a "culture of honesty" and a fight against "corruption and nepotism". The government must be more transparent, account for itself more regularly, and act more correctly in the use of public property.

The new government is:

- + younger, with most ministers between 40 and 50 years old, and with only three ministers who were in the liberation war;
- + better educated, with most ministers having a degree from a Mozambican university; and
- + geographically better distributed. Of 21 ministers whose origin is known, 7 come from the south, 7 from the centre, and 7 from the north.

The full list of ministers is below.

POLITICAL COMMISSION AT THE TOP

The three top ministers are members of the Frelimo Political Commission. Prime Minister Luisa Diogo remains in post. She previously held this post in addition to being Minister of Planning and Finance; that ministry has been broken up into new ministries of Finance and Development & Planning. Both of those ministers are technocrats, so Diogo will retain policy control. A former World Bank employee, she is popular with the international community. Not Guebuza's first choice, she is acceptable to all factions within Frelimo.

Interior Minister Jose Pacheco was the highly respected governor of Cabo Delgado, and before that a deputy minister of agriculture. Foreign Minister Alcinda Abreu has no experience in the area. But she is bright and a Frelimo fixer. She is an ally of Graça Machel and will be seen as her representative at the top of the government. The fourth Political Commission member in government is Virgilia Matabele, who remains Minister for Women & Social Welfare. Guebuza is also a member of the Political Commission.

Ministers all had to be agreed by the Frelimo Political Commission, where former president Joaquim Chissano retains some influence, and there were some serious disagreements. Guebuza had a free hand in picking deputy ministers and governors, and these are much less well known people.

LOOKING TO THE PROVINCES

After being named presidential candidate and party secretary, Guebuza spent more than a year touring the provinces, rebuilding the party and ensuring its loyalty to him. This has clearly had an impact, and he seems to have consciously attempted to build a government with more political experience on the ground. All 10 provincial governments have been made ministers or deputy ministers.

Three others have strong provincial links. Labour Minister Helena Taipo was provincial director of labour in Nampula. Environment Minister Luciano Castro was a teacher with a biology degree with strong party links in Nampula. Aiuba Cuereneia takes on the new portfolio of Minister of Development and Planning. Although part of the rising group of civil servants, it is probably more important that he did his primary schooling in Cuba and is a member of the Cuban Students Association. At provincial and district level many of the key directors are Cuban trained; they are competent, honest, and have a social democratic and developmental state approach, but their advancement was largely blocked under Chissano. Tapping into this group would definitely give the government a new dynamism.

The new rural bias was shown by one of the first statements by a new minister. On Monday Minister of Public Works Felicio Zacarias said the government had to pay more attention to secondary and tertiary roads which he said are essential in the fight against poverty. "My experience as provincial governor taught me that we need to concentrate more on the development of rural access roads, in areas where people are producing but are facing difficulties in taking their produce to processing and marketing centres. It is in the rural areas that we find problems and where we need to invest more to improve the quality of life of those living in misery".

As governor of Sofala, Zacarias built a reputation as an anti-corruption campaigner, and it is an indicator of the style of the new government that he has been put in charge of one of the toughest ministries. Throughout the world, public works ministries are hotbeds of corruption because they administer large construction contracts.

CORRUPTION, LAW AND JUSTICE

The most problematic and politically sensitive area for the new government is the package of law enforcement, justice and corruption. The court system has been seen as corrupt and non-functional after a decade under a weak and heavily criticised justice minister. Law enforcement was also seen as deeply corrupted, as was shown by the way the man convicted of killing editor Carlos Cardoso was allowed to escape twice. High level corruption by people very close to President Joaquim Chissano was never investigated or prosecuted, despite the theft of several hundred million dollars and at least two assassinations. Low level corruption has become pervasive and is seen as one of the reasons why Frelimo did not gain more support in the last two elections.

Thus the choice of Interior and Justice ministers was seen as particularly important. Interior Minister José Pacheco won praise as governor of Cabo Delgado, and is seen as honest and likely to carry out a much needed clean-up of the police and prisons. As a member of the Political Commission he is clearly trusted by Guebuza and the rest of the party. Guebuza has chosen as deputy minister Jose Mandra, a trusted colleague from the time when both were in the political commissariat of the armed forces.

The appointment of Esperanca Machavela as Justice Minister was delayed by disagreements in the Political Commission. Despite being a lawyer, she is an outsider to the sector, but is politically well connected. She is also seen as close to the judiciary and an ally of Chief Justice Mario Mangaze, who was reappointed for a fourth term by President Chissano just before he retired. She is bright and tough and will shake up the legal sector, while protecting judicial independence.

There are two areas which are highly sensitive. One is pressure not to lift the lid on past corruption relating to Chissano allies and family. The other is that international experts say that Mozambique is an important transit and warehousing centre for heroin, much of which is landed in Cabo Delgado, and that profits from this trade help to indirectly fund Frelimo. Until now, protecting these two areas has been done largely by making the Interior and Justice ministries only semi-functional. There is a consensus that this cannot continue. So both Pacheco and Machavela face the challenge of making their sectors work while trying to decide how far they can intrude into politically sensitive areas.

More generally, the initial impression of the new government is that it has a greater degree of probity than the previous one. Only three ministers arrive with a hint of past corruption, and even that is not recent. Only time will tell if that sense of integrity remains.

TECHNICIANS IN GOVERNMENT

Although most of the Guebuza appointees are political managers, there are also several with technical expertise or who were former civil servants. Health Minister Ivo Garrido is a surgeon. Education Minister Aires Aly was a former national director of education. Science & Technology Minister Venancio Massingue has the only PhD in the council of ministers and set up the university computer centre before becoming vice rector.

Minister of Finance Manuel Chang has worked in the Ministry of Finance since 1975, rising to become budget director and then deputy minister. Aiuba Cuereneia has been in the Ministry of State Administration since 1991, was involved in various capacity building projects, and became deputy minister. Industry Minister António Fernando is a transport manager who was deputy national director of road transport, later a deputy minister of transport, and then in the private sector.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Appointments in Foreign Affairs have surprised observers and seen more driven by internal considerations of the Political Commission. Foreign Minister Alcinda Abreu has no experience in

the area, nor does her first deputy, Henrique Banze, a Soviet-trained former pilot who was deputy defence minister. The other deputy minister is Eduardo Kolomo. At 68 years old, he is probably the oldest of the ministers and deputy ministers, and he participated in the liberation war. He has a doctorate in international law, but did not create a strong impression as ambassador to Britain. Thus it appears that, at least initially, Foreign Affairs will be in the hands of Francisco Madeira. He is Minister in the Presidency for Diplomacy, and a respected diplomat.

GENDER

In his speech last week, Guebuza said that the new ministers should “prioritise the promotion of gender and the implementation of the relevant policies, guaranteeing women an increased visibility.” This government has more women than any previous one. Of 26 ministers and 15 deputy ministers, 7 ministers and 4 deputy ministers are women (27% of both groups). And the two top posts are held by women.

Mozambican government, Feb 2005

The following are two lists of all of the key appointments made at the beginning of February 2005 by the new President, Armando Guebuza, and by parliament. The first list is simply the complete list of names, as circulated by Paul Fauvet at AIM. In the second list I have tried to provide some background information on these people. (Joseph Hanlon, 16.2.5, j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)

The Government

President of the Republic	Armando Emilio Guebuza
Prime Minister	Luisa Dias Diogo
Minister of Foreign Affairs & Cooperation	Alcinda Abreu
Minister of Defence	Tobias Dai
Minister of the Interior	Jose Pacheco
Minister of Finance	Manuel Chang
Minister of Development & Planning	Aiuba Cuereneia
Minister of Transport & Communications	Antonio Francisco Mungwambe
Minister of Agriculture	Tomas Mandlate
Minister of Labour	Helena Taipo
Minister of Education & Culture	Aires Bonifacio Aly
Minister of Youth & Sport	David Simango
Minister of Health	Paulo Ivo Garrido
Minister of Justice	Esperanca Alfredo Machavela
Minister of Women's Affairs & Social Welfare	Virgilia Matabele
Minister of Public Works & Housing	Felicio Zacarias
Minister for Environmental Coordination	Luciano Andre de Castro
Minister of State Administration	Lucas Chomera
Minister of Industry / Trade	Antonio Fernando
Minister of Tourism	Fernando Sumbana Junior
Minister of Fisheries	Cadmiel Muthemba
Minister of Energy	Salvador Namburete

Minister of Mineral Resources Esperanca Bias
 Minister of Science
 & Technology Venancio Massingue
 Minister of Veterans' Affairs Feliciano Salomao Gundana
 Ministers in the Presidency
 - for Diplomatic Affairs Francisco Caetano Madeira
 - for Parliamentary Affairs Isabel Manuel Nkavandeka

Deputy Ministers (who are not formally members of the government)

Foreign Affairs Henrique Banze & Eduardo Baciao Koloma
 Education and Culture Luis Covane & Antonia da Costa Xavier
 Interior Jose Mandra
 Labour Soares Nhaca
 Transport & Communications Ernesto Augusto
 Youth & Sport Carlos Jose Castro de Sousa
 Health Aida Libombo
 State Administration Carmelita Namashulua
 Industry & Trade Alfredo Namitete
 Agriculture Catarina Pajume Kassimo
 Mineral Resources Abdul Razak Noormahomed
 Tourism Rosario Mualeia
 Fisheries Victor Manuel Borges

Governors

Niassa Arnaldo Vicente Bimbe
 Cabo Delgado Lazaro Mathe
 Nampula Filipe Chimoio Paunde
 Zambezia Carvalho Muaria
 Tete Ildefonso Muanantapha
 Manica Raimundo Maico Diomba
 Sofala Alberto Clementino Vaquina
 Inhambane Lazaro Vicente
 Gaza Djalma Lourenco
 Maputo Province Telmina Pereria
 Maputo City Rosa Manuel da Silva

Parliament

Speaker Eduardo Mulembwe
 Deputy speakers
 Frelimo Veronica Macamo
 Renamo Viana Magalhaes

Standing Commission (speaker, 2 deputy speakers, and 12 MPs):
 Frelimo: Manuel Tome, Mateus Katupha (spokesperson), Margarida Talapa, Bonifacio Gruveta,
 Isau Meneses, Ana Rita Sithole, Antonio Amelia and Braz Muchanga.
 Renamo: Maria Moreno, Jose de Castro, Joao Alexandre and Angelina Enoque.

Heads of parliamentary groups
 Frelimo Manuel Tome
 Renamo Maria Moreno
 Deputy heads of parliamentary groups
 Frelimo Margarida Talapa
 Renamo Luis Trinta Mecupia

Frelimo Political Commission

Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Armando Emilio Geubuza, Alberto Joaquim Chipande, Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, Manuel Jorge Tomé, Eduardo Joaquim Mulémbwè, Eneas de Conceição Comiche, Veronica Nataniel Macamo, Margarida Adamurgy Talapa, Tomaz Augusto Salomão, José Candugua António Pacheco, António Hama Thai, Alcinda António de Abreu, Virgília B. N. A. Matabele and Luisa Diogo.

Detailed, annotated list of new government & parliament

(The “government” is the president and ministers. Deputy ministers and governors are not formally part of the government, and attend Council of Ministers meetings by invitation.)

Posts in brackets after the name are the position held at the time of being named. Formerly means that the post was held earlier but the person was no longer in that post when named. PC = member of Frelimo Political Commission.

President of the Republic Armando Emilio Guebuza

Ministers

Prime Minister – Luisa Dias Diogo (Prime Minister and Finance & Planning Minister)

Foreign Affairs & Cooperation – Alcinda Abreu (PC, former minister of social welfare)

Defence – Tobias Dai (unchanged)

Interior – Jose Pacheco (PC, governor of Cabo Delgado)

Finance – Manuel Chang (deputy minister of planning & finance)

Development & Planning – Aiuba Cuereneia (deputy minister of State Administration)

Transport & Communications – Antonio Francisco Mungwambe (formerly deputy minister of industry & trade)

Agriculture – Tomas Mandlate (governor of Tete)

Labour – Helena Taipo (director of labour, Nampula)

Education & Culture – Aires Bonifacio Aly (governor of Inhambane; formerly national director of education)

Youth & Sport – David Simango (governor of Niassa)

Health – Paulo Ivo Garrido (surgeon, formerly rector of Instituto Superior de Ciências e Tecnologia de Moçambique - ISCTEM)

Justice – Esperanca Alfredo Machavela (Secretary of Coordinating Council for Legality & Justice; formerly ambassador to Cuba and to Portugal)

Women's Affairs & Social Welfare – Virgília Matabele (PC; unchanged)

Public Works & Housing – Felicio Zacarias (governor of Sofala & Manica)

Environmental Coordination – Luciano Andre de Castro (deputy minister of women & social welfare)

State Administration – Lucas Chomera (governor of Zambezia)

Industry & Trade – Antonio Fernando (deputy minister of transport & communications)

Tourism – Fernando Sumbana (unchanged)

Fisheries – Cadmiel Muthemba (unchanged)

Energy – Salvador Namburete (deputy minister of industry and trade)

Mineral Resources – Esperanca Bias (deputy minister of mineral resources and energy)

Science & Technology – Venancio Massingue (vice rector of Universidade Eduardo Mondlane)

Veterans' Affairs – Feliciano Salomao Gundana (Member of parliament; was Frelimo guerrilla trained in Algeria before the independence; former governor of 3 provinces)

Ministers in the Presidency

- for Diplomatic Affairs – Francisco Caetano Madeira (minister in the presidency for diplomatic & parliamentary affairs)
- for Parliamentary Affairs – Isabel Manuel Nkavandeka (member of parliament)

Deputy Ministers

Foreign Affairs – Henrique Banze (deputy minister of defence) and Eduardo Baciao Koloma (ambassador to Sweden, formerly ambassador to UK)

Education & Culture – Luis Covane (deputy minister of culture) and Antonia da Costa Xavier (official in the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Welfare)

Interior – Jose Mandra (formerly political commissar of the armed forces)

Labour – Soares Nhaca (governor of Manica; formerly general secretary of the largest trade union federation, OTM)

Transport & Communications – Ernesto Augusto

Youth & Sport – Carlos Jose Castro de Sousa

Health – Aida Libombo (unchanged)

State Administration – Carmelita Namashulua

Industry & Trade – Alfredo Namitete (governor of Maputo province)

Agriculture – Catarina Pajume Kassimo

Mineral Resources – Abdul Razak Noormahomed (governor of Nampula, former deputy minister of health)

Tourism – Rosario Mualeia

Fisheries – Victor Manuel Borges

Changed ministries

Planning & Finance and Agriculture & Rural Development become three ministries: Finance, Agriculture and Development & Planning

Culture and Education are merged into Education & Culture, which also absorbed Higher Education. Higher Education, Science & Technology is reduced to Science & Technology

Mineral Resources & Energy is split into two ministries.

Biographical information

There are 26 ministers (including the Prime Minister) and 15 deputy ministers; 11 of these (27 %) are women (7 ministers and 4 deputy ministers). This compares with a previous government under Chissano of 24 ministers and 18 deputy ministers of whom 8 (19%) were women (3 ministers and 5 deputy ministers.)

Biographical details are available on only 21 of the 26 ministers, but these give a picture of the government.

- Regionally, it is better balanced than in the past. The 21 ministers come from the following provinces: Maputo 2, Gaza 4, Inhambane 1, Sofala 4, Manica 2, Tete 1, Zambezia 1, Nampula 4, Cabo Delgado 1, Niassa 1.
- This is a relatively young government; of the 18 ministers for whom we have ages, 15 were born between 1952 and 1963; three are older and they are the only ministers who served in the armed struggle. The oldest minister is Feliciano Gundana, born in 1940.
- This is a well educated government. The 15 born between 1952 and 1963 all have university degrees, 11 from Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. At least three have masters degrees and one has a PhD.

President Armando Guebuza is from Maputo, was born in 1943, served in the armed struggle and was a minister in the transitional government. He only attended secondary school.

Governors

Niassa	Arnaldo Vicente Bimbe (Maputo province director of culture)
Cabo Delgado	Lazaro Mathe (spokesman for defence ministry)
Nampula	Filipe Chimoio Paunde (Frelimo 1 st secretary, Sofala)
Zambezia	Carvalho Muaria (senior official in the government's Water Assets and Investment Fund - FIPAG)
Tete	Ildefonso Muanantapha (doctor)
Manica	Raimundo Maico Diomba (Frelimo 1 st secretary, Cabo Delgado)
Sofala	Alberto Clementino Vaquina (Frelimo 1 st secretary, Nampula city)
Inhambane	Lazaro Vicente (senior Finance Ministry official)
Gaza	Djalma Lourenco (director of culture, Sofala; 2003 candidate for mayor of Beira)
Maputo Province	Telmina Pereria (deputy minister of education)
Maputo City	Rosa Manuel da Silva (finance ministry official)

da Silva and Pereira are the first female provincial governors. No one is a governor of their province of origin.

This is the first time there has been a governor for Maputo city since it has had an elected mayor. Although Maputo city has the status of a province, it is not clear what the role of an appointed governor will have.

Parliament

Speaker	Eduardo Mulembue
Deputy speakers	
Frelimo	Veronica Macamo
Renamo	Viana Magalhaes

Standing Commission (speaker, 2 deputy speakers, and 12 MPs):

Frelimo: Manuel Tome, Mateus Katupha (spokesperson),
Margarida Talapa, Bonifacio Gruveta, Isau Meneses,
Ana Rita Sithole, Antonio Amelia and Braz Muchanga.

Renamo: Maria Moreno, Jose de Castro, Joao Alexandre and
Angelina Enoque.

Heads of parliamentary groups

Frelimo	Manuel Tome (deputy Margarida Talapa)
Renamo	Maria Moreno (deputy Luis Trinta Mecupia)

Frelimo top posts in parliament are unchanged. Mulembue, Macamo, Tome and Talapa are all members of the 15 strong Political Commission and retain their posts. Mulembue is serving his third term as speaker. Tome is a former Secretary General of Frelimo. Mateus Katupha retains his post as commission spokesperson. Isau Meneses is a prominent musician, and the only blind member of parliament.

Renamo: Viana Magalhaes is Renamo Secretary-General. Maria Moreno becomes the first woman to lead a parliamentary group; she was the Renamo candidate for mayor of Cuamba in 2003. Antonio Namburete, who directed the Renamo election office, is Renamo parliamentary spokesman. Jose de Castro and Joao Alexandre are former Renamo general secretaries. Angelina Enoque has sat on the Commission ever since 1995.

Frelimo Political Commission

Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Armando Emílio Geubuzza, Alberto Joaquim Chipande, Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, Manuel Jorge Tomé, Eduardo Joaquim Mulémbwè, Eneas de Conceição Comiche,

Veronica Nataniel Macamo, Margarida Adamurgy Talapa, Tomaz Augusto Salomão, José Candugua António Pacheco, António Hama Thai, Alcinda António de Abreu, Virgília B. N. A. Matabele and Luisa Diogo.

Five members of the Political Commission are in government (including Guebuza), four are in senior positions in parliament, and one is mayor of Maputo.

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(No doubt there are errors in this list. Corrections appreciated.)

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