

Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 21

Friday 10 December 2004

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- + Observers arrested in Tete
- + Dhlakama alleges "massive fraud"
- + Counting begins in Maputo
- + 556 phantom polling stations
- + Edital in rubbish
- + No province meets count deadline

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FRELIMO DECLARES VICTORY BASED ON SAMPLE COUNT

Frelimo held a press conference yesterday afternoon to release the result of a sample count, which shows a clear Frelimo victory. The Electoral Observatory carried out the sample count based on 792 polling stations, and the results give Guebuza 60% and Dhlakama 31% in the presidential race, and Frelimo 61% and Renamo 27% in the parliamentary race. On Thursday Brazao Mazula, Vice-Chancellor of Eduardo Mondlane University, representing the Electoral Observatory, delivered copies of the parallel count to the two presidential candidates, Armando Guebuza and Afonso Dhlakama, the National Election Commission (CNE), and the Constitutional Council.

The Observatory count is based on a sample of 792 polling stations -- every 16th polling on the official list. The sample was collected by 1600 observers from the Electoral Observatory, a coalition of seven major Mozambican groups. They were supported by the Carter Center and experts in parallel vote counts, and the sample count should predict the final result very well.

The Electoral Observatory is composed of the Christian Council (the umbrella grouping of the main protestant churches), the Islamic Council, the Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Human Rights League (LDH), the Mozambican Association for the Development of Democracy (AMODE), the Centre for Studies in Democracy and Development (CEDE), and the Organisation for Conflict Resolution (OREC).

OBSERVERS ARRESTED IN TETE & HELD INCOMMUNICADO

Julio Kalengo, the sample count coordinator in Tete, was jailed for five days and not allowed to contact the Electoral Observatory, which was desperately searching for him fearing he had had a car crash. He was finally released when the Observatory tracked him down in jail in Zumbo. Two other observers from the Electoral Observatory were also detained for several days in Tete, but no other information is available.

On the night of the second day of voting, 2 December, Kalengo was detained as he was collecting data by polling station results sheets (editais). He was held overnight by a Chefe do Posto Administrativo in the Zumbo district in the far west of Tete province. He was transferred the next day to the district police headquarters and held until Wednesday 7 December.

Kalengo, a member of the Human Rights League (LDH), had already been detained by the police in Chiuta district in central Tete for three hours on 23 November. He was detained then as he tried to conduct training for sample count observers in Chiuta district and accused of not having asked for permission from the local authorities to train observers.

COUNTING BEGINS IN MAPUTO

Vote tabulation for the national "provisional count" done in Maputo began Wednesday, starting with Maputo province. This was halted after technical problems were discovered, apparently with the data base. It was decided to switch to Maputo city presidential ballots, and this began Thursday afternoon. At 1800, 148 of 788 polling stations had been entered, with the following results:

Guebuza	43,163	81.9%
Dhlakama	8420	16.0%
Domingos	838	1.6%
Sibindy	197	0.4%
Reis	72	0.1%

This suggests a turnout of 42% of the names in the register book and more than 52% of the actual potential number of voters. (See Bulletin 16 for a discussion of how this is calculated. But we can add a new number to the list. The data base says there are 9.8 million names on the electoral roll, compared to 10.1 million announced earlier. We estimate the real number of possible voters at between 7.7 and 8 million.)

One observer terminal has been opened in Maputo and more are promised today. One important improvement is that observers and journalists now have access to the totals for all editais input and accepted by the computer up to that time. The result for Maputo city is from that terminal.

However, the system makes it extremely hard for observers to search for particular polling stations unless they know the number. Individual editais can only be accessed by polling station number and not by other data, such as city or polling station location. Thus it will be extremely difficult to find, for example, all of the editais for problem places like Changara and Angoche. The link is the secret list of polling station numbers which was never released; observers were told that they would be allowed to use a printed copy of STAE's list in the observer room as a courtesy to help them in their work. But access to this list depends on STAE good will, the list is not available as a right.

556 PHANTOM POLLING STATIONS IN THE COMPUTER

The display which observers can see says that there are 13,360 polling stations in the computer data base. But the list announced by CNE on 4 November only gave 12,744 polling stations inside Mozambique, and there are 60 outside, a total of 12,804 polling stations. That means the computer data base contains 556 non-existent polling stations. STAE computer head Orlando Come explained to the press yesterday evening that these are register books which were recopied but were never removed from the data base. This seems to be true, because there was not sufficient time to complete the clean-up of duplicated register books. The worry is that there is nothing to stop the introduction of "editais" for the phantom polling stations -- as the subsequent item shows, the control of editais is not good, and since these register books are in the data base, the computer will accept editais for them.

Since observers have no proper list of polling stations and the observer terminals are set up in a way that makes searches difficult, it will be very hard for observers or party delegates to discover if votes have been attributed to these phantom polling stations.

It looks increasingly important that observers should be given access to a copy of the CD-rom for each province so that they can make polling station by polling station checks and do their own comparisons. In past elections such information has never been made available.

The Bulletin does not want to make accusations of fraud. But what has become clear is that there are so many problems with the data base that many corrections and changes will be needed, and the space for fraud remains very large. Only total transparency will demonstrate to observers, press and parties that corrections and changes are all legitimate, and that no fraud has been committed.

EDITAL THROWN AWAY

The behaviour of one of the Renamo-appointed members of the Nampula provincial elections commission (CPE) aroused suspicion, reports Radio Mozambique and AIM. Police found that he had thrown into the waste paper basket a polling station results sheet (edital) from Mogincual district which gave 239 votes to Guebuza and 32 to Dhlakama. According to the radio, the Renamo appointee said he had discarded the edital "by mistake".

But this reflects a major breach in security. It should have been impossible for any CPE member to take an edital out of the processing stream.

DHLAKAMA BLAMES "MASSIVE FRAUD" AND WANTS ELECTIONS ANNULLED

Renamo head Afonso Dhlakama accused the government of "massive election fraud" in an interview with the BBC Portuguese service. He said he wants the election cancelled and wants outgoing President Joaquim Chissano to stay in office until new polls can be held, the BBC said.

Dhlakama rejected the sample count done by the electoral observatory which showed he had been convincingly defeated. He said he respects the people that run the Electoral Observatory, but that their count was based on fraudulent results sheets (editais). He cited three areas of fraud:

1) He said that on the night between 1 and 2 December, the two days of polling, police prevented Renamo party delegates from sleeping with the ballot boxes. At one

point in the interview he says this occurred "in all polling stations" and at another point only in Tete, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Gaza. International observers paid close attention to this issue, and reported just the opposite -- that in nearly all places Renamo delegates did sleep with the ballot boxes. It is also noted that over night, all ballot boxes are sealed with numbered tags in the presence of all party delegates and observers, and then the seals are cut in the morning in the presence of the delegates. Dhlakama claims that the massive fraud took place during the night, when the boxes were opened and ballot papers changed. In effect, Dhlakama is charging that many of his own delegates lied to the party when they said they were present when the ballot boxes were sealed and reopened the next morning. Under the circumstances, this allegation seems highly unlikely.

2) He said that in Gaza Renamo discovered 237 editais already in the computer, each with 1000 votes. In Zambezia Renamo discovered 70,000 votes for Guebuza which had not been put in ballot boxes. Dhlakama said he would give proof of this at a press conference at 10 am today.

3) Dhlakama cited Changara, in Tete, where indeed there is evidence of ballot box stuffing or fraudulent editais. But in the interview, he exaggerated. He said that where 500 people are registered, there are 1500 votes for Guebuza. In fact, the computer would reject any edital which said that. Observers have seen examples in Changara and elsewhere where 95% of those registered voted, and all were for Guebuza. Even so, the number of polling stations where this has been identified is still only a handful. Fraud indeed, but not the "massive fraud" needed to question Guebuza's victory.

On balance, then, the two of Dhlakama's allegations which would invalidate the Electoral Observatory sample count are not convincing. But if he can prove large numbers of false votes in Gaza and Zambezia, he would indeed bring the whole election into question.

Most of the interview, in Portuguese, is on

http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/africa/news/story/2004/12/041209_mozambdlakham_aaws.shtml

but the reference to wanting Chissano to stay on is only on the English website <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4083007.stm>

NO PROVINCE DECLARES ON TIME

By law, provincial election results had to be announced by last night. No province met the deadline. Inhambane and Manica might declare results today. In Inhambane, STAE is now working to try to correct editais which were not accepted by the computer because they contained various errors. Input in Nampula is very slow and results seem unlikely before Monday. Radio Mozambique reports that some editais have still not arrived in the capital of Cabo Delgado, Pemba.

Frelimo is privately accusing Renamo of dragging its feet on the counting and on reclassification of nulots, with Renamo election commission members arriving late and interrupting the work for meetings.

Radio Mozambique in its main evening news programme Thursday reported official partial results from four provinces. Results are given here for only the two main presidential candidates and the two main parties, who are the only ones who will gain seats in parliament.

MANICA

Results from 567 of 722 (or, perhaps, 723) polling stations:

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	72,724 (47.14%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	73,537 (47.67%)

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	76,742 (45.46%)
Renamo	76,889 (45.56%)

Data processing in Manica was held up on Wednesday because of a discrepancy between the number of editais mentioned in the computer data base, 823, and the real number of polling stations, said to be 723. This could account for 100 of the phantom polling stations noted above. Officials in the Electoral Administration Technical Secretariat (STAE) insists that 823 is just a mistake, and that the final provincial result will be based only on the 723 genuine polling stations. But a slight discrepancy still remains; the list published on 4 November gives the number as 722.

NAMPULA

Presidential election

668 editais (26.38%)

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	49.78%
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	44.02%

Parliamentary election

609 editais

Frelimo	47.53%
Renamo	41.38%

ZAMBEZIA

Presidential election

749 polling stations (just over 1/3)

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	63,766
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	82,041

Parliamentary election

602 polling stations

Frelimo	48,296
Renamo	57,771

TETE

623 polling stations (63.25%)

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	148,025 (67.03%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	63,643 (28.2%)

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	143,102 (68.78%)
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Renamo 53,251 (25.29%)

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Mozambique
Political Process
Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 22

Noon, Friday 10 December 2004

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**DHLAKAMA GIVES NO PROOF
AND SAYS OBSERVERS LIE**

At his press conference at 11 am this morning, Renamo presidential candidate Afonso Dhlakama refused to give the proof he promised in his BBC interview yesterday. Renamo has, however, promised that it will show evidence to the Bulletin later this afternoon. Dhlakama also accused international observers of incompetence and dishonesty.

“It is not my role to give details. I will only speak in general,” Dhlakama said as he opened the press conference. He went on to say that national and international observers keep demanding proof, but this is not necessary because “anyone can see” that a massive electoral crime has been committed. The only evidence he could cite was Changara, which has already been widely published.

Dhlakama rejected the parallel sample count which shows a clear Frelimo victory. He says that when observers collected the information from the polling station results sheets (editais) the data was already fraudulent, and they simply reported already falsified information. In particular he claimed that the Electoral Observatory accepted editais showing 3000 and 4000 votes, instead of the maximum of 1000 normally permitted for a polling station. The Bulletin can confirm that this claim, at least, is totally false. The Observatory would have excluded any edital like that.

He alleges that two main frauds took place in the polling stations. First, he says that on the night between the two polling days (1 and 2 December) Renamo delegates were not allowed to stay with the ballot boxes, as permitted by law, and that police drove around with extra votes which they put into the boxes. Second he said that Renamo delegates were again excluded during the counting process on the night of 2 December.

Both of these things did, indeed, occur in some places in Tete province. But all observer teams have stressed that in virtually all polling stations elsewhere, Renamo delegates were present over night and during the count. When asked about this at the press conference, Dhlakama said

that observers were not telling the truth. And he added that “many observers stay in a polling station for only a minute or two. They don’t really verify anything.”

He concluded with the somewhat circular question: “Where were the observers when Frelimo was putting all those extra votes in the boxes. We [Renamo] are the only true observers.”

**BULLETIN COMMENT:
IT ISN’T POSSIBLE**

The scenario painted by Dhlakama simply is not plausible, at least as presented at the press conference. It requires massive dishonesty by national observers, international observers and Renamo’s own delegates. Stuffing ballot boxes over night is particularly hard, because the ballot boxes are sealed with numbered tags, which are cut the following morning. In general, Renamo delegates have been present for the sealing of the ballot box and the reopening, and confirm the seals have not been tampered with. So even if Dhlakama is right that they could not sleep with the ballot boxes, they are still virtually impossible to open during the night without someone noticing the next morning.

There are serious problems with the computer systems which remain to be clarified. But Dhlakama and Renamo have decided to take a stand against the parallel count, and so far they have not given the promised evidence.

SAMPLE COUNT DETAILS

More details have been released of the sample count done by the Electoral Observatory. It gives 63% to Guebuza and 32% to Dhlakama, and 60% to Frelimo and 29% to Renamo in parliament. No other party passes the 5% barrier to get into parliament.

The count is said to be accurate with 3.3% (meaning, approximately, that the sample count predicts Guebuza will gain between 60% and 66% of the vote). The Observatory tried for a sample of 792 polling stations, and succeeded in collecting 775 editais for president and 762 for parliament. Turnout is predicted to be 33% of names on the register, or around 42% of actual possible voters.

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**Mozambique
Political Process
Bulletin**

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 23

Saturday 11 December 2004

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IN THIS ISSUE

- + Renamo delays count
 - + Inhambane first to announce
 - + Other provincial partial results and problems
- =====

RENAMO DELAYS COUNT

Renamo is delaying the counting process in several provinces. In all provinces, warehouse have three locks and it is usually the STAE director and Renamo and Frelimo deputy directors who each hold a key. In Tete and Cabo Delgado, Renamo officials refused to open the warehouse and simply disappeared. This meant that polling stations results sheets (editais) stored there could not be sent for data input, so tabulation stopped.

In Tete the Renamo keyholder Jao Alvaro said he wanted to stop the sending of invalid votes (nulos) to Maputo for reclassification on the grounds that this should only be done after the provincial count is finished. In fact, the law is clear that these should be sent as soon as possible to Maputo, although there is a genuine problem that Tete has still not received nulos and results sheets from the most remote part of the province.

In both provinces, the provincial election commission (CPE) voted to break the third lock and this was done. In Tete Radio Mozambique broadcast the sound of sawing through the Renamo padlock.

There are also reports of Renamo slow-downs in Maputo and elsewhere, with Renamo staff and commission members arriving late, taking long breaks and not attending meetings. Frelimo spokesman Manuel Tome also accused Renamo of petty acts such as removing official stamps.

COMPUTER PROBLEMS

The count has also been delayed by computer problems in Gaza, where tabulation was suspended on Friday, and in Nampula and Zambezia (the two biggest provinces). In all three observer terminals stopped working and it was not possible to make print-outs. Processing at national level in Maputo also seemed to be dogged by problems and is going very slowly.

In Sofala data input was suspended Friday when Renamo members of the CPE discovered that the data base sent from Maputo contains 69 phantom polling stations which did not, in reality, exist. This was an issue pointed out by the Bulletin yesterday; there appear to be 556 non-existent polling stations on the national data base.

NO PROOF FROM RENAMO

After his press conference yesterday morning, Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and his press spokesman Fernando Mazanga said that Mazanga would provide detailed

proof of Renamo allegations of massive fraud later in the day to the Bulletin. So far, Mazanga has not been able to find time to meet the with Bulletin.

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INHAMBANE FIRST TO REPORT RESULTS

Inhambane declared its official results on Friday, only one day late. It is the only province to declare so far. The results announced by the CPE are:

PRESIDENT

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	147,247	(78.29%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	17,998	(10.04%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,256	(3.49%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,701	(0.95%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	1,688	(0.94%)

This is for 776 of 786 polling stations; 10 results sheets (editais) with problems were sent to Maputo to be considered by the CNE.

PARLIAMENT

Frelimo	125,793	(70.42%)
Renamo	16,239	(9.09%)
PDD	4,939	(2.76%)

The rest of the parliamentary vote was scattered among over a dozen minor parties. This is for 773 of 786 polling stations; 13 editais with problems were sent to Maputo to be considered by the CNE.

Renamo CPE members did not attend the announcement of the provincial results.

Official turnout was 28.29% of the number of names on the register, which corresponds to roughly 36% of actual potential voters.

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PARTIAL RESULTS FROM OTHER PROVINCES

What follows are partial results from other provinces from our correspondents, Radio Moçambique, and AIM

SOFALA

PRESIDENT

423 editais processed,	38.18%
Guebuza	23.004 (21.00%)
Dlhakama	80.540 (73.53%)

PARLIAMENT

385 editais processed	
Renamo-UE	63.376 (67.96%)
Frelimo	19.295 (20.69%)

Processing was suspended Friday after it was discovered that the tabulation data base sent from Maputo contains 1108 polling stations, when in fact there were only 1039 polling stations.

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TETE

PRESIDENT

715 editais (72.5%) processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 202,973 (73.9 %)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 64,568 (23.78 %)

PARLIAMENT - 692 editais (70.25 %) processed

Frelimo 189,730 (71.94 %)
Renamo 60,233 (22.84 %)

Results from Mucangandze in Zumbo in the far west of the province have still not arrived. Tabulation was delayed when the Renamo holder of one of the three keys, Jao Alvaro, refused to open the warehouse.

Tete figures may be inflated by ballot box stuffing in Changara and elsewhere.

Official results will be announced on Sunday.

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MANICA

PRESIDENT

(639 out of 722 editais processed)

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 82,016 (47.72 %)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 81.030 (47.15 %)

PARLIAMENT

(632 out of 722 editais processed)

Frelimo 75,369 (45.85 %)
Renamo 74,426 (45.29 %)

Results should be announced today (Saturday) after a delay to consider problem editais.

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NAMPULA

PRESIDENT

976 of 2485 editais
Guebuza 104.975 (51,34%)

Dlhakama 86.377 (42,24%)

PARLIAMENT

Frelimo 48.04%

Renamo 40.45%

A Renamo member of the CPE has been arrested after being caught throwing an edital in the rubbish. Our correspondent reports that he was stopped by the police when he tried to empty a wastebasket into an "inappropriate place" and when the contents of the wastebasket were checked, they contained the edital. It represents a major breach of security that anyone was able to get an edital out of the processing section of the provincial STAE.

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NIASSA

PRESIDENT

225 editais of 736, 30.57%

Guebuza 37,757

Dlakama 15,850

PARLIAMENT

139 editais of 736, 18.89%

RUE 8.230 25.55%

Frelimo 21.904 68.00%

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ZAMBEZIA

PRESIDENT

1,050 editais out of 2,370 processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 75,975 (38.31 %)

Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 110,985 (55.92 %)

PARLIAMENT

737 editais processed, 30%

RUE 69.127

Frelimo 56.660

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GAZA

PRESIDENT

485 of 992 editais processed
Guebuza 166,968
Dhlakama 3,191

no information on parliament

data input suspended

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MAPUTO CITY, from the national level provisional count

PRESIDENT

465 out of 762 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 135,289 (84.84 %)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 21,278 (13.34 %)

PARLIAMENT

205 out of 762 editais processed

Frelimo 56,956 (76.99 %)
Renamo 13,779 (17,82 %)

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CABO DELGADO and MAPUTO PROVINCE

no information

Maputo province says it will announce results today (Saturday)

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2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 24

Sunday 12 December 2004

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IN THIS ISSUE -- two analysis papers
+ Weighing up Renamo's allegations
+ Electoral Observatory data and what it shows

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WEIGHING UP RENAMO'S ALLEGATIONS: IS THERE ENOUGH FRAUD TO UNDERMINE THE SAMPLE COUNT?

Renamo alleges that its apparent defeat is caused by massive fraud and crime, and a 108-page detailed document has been presented to the European Union and other diplomats.

The computer tabulation systems are now so riddled with problems that few will accept the accuracy or fidelity of the final results they produce. Knowing that this was likely to be the case, the Electoral Observatory with the support of the Carter Center set up a parallel sample count which would produce results before those of the computer tabulation system. This sample count shows Armando Guebuza winning 63% of the presidential vote, with only 32% for Afonso Dhlakama.

Faced with this, Dhlakama had to argue at his press conference on Friday that "the observers collected forged editais" -- that fraud was committed before and during the voting days, so that results in individual polling stations were fraudulent, and thus the parallel count was a pointless exercise.

In response to a request by the Bulletin for proof of this fraud, we have been given the document presented to the European Union, which contains details of many complaints and copies of protests already made to district and provincial election commissions.

The purpose of this analysis is to weigh up the claims made by Renamo, to see if they really do put into question the sample count.

CLAIMS OF FRAUD

There are two areas we exclude from the immediate discussion. On one side, anything related to computerisation takes place after the sample count, so is irrelevant and is not considered here. On the other hand, we have Tete, where there clearly has been substantial fraud in several districts. We accept this and come back at the end to take it into account.

From Renamo's report and from our own correspondents, we see the following as the core of the complaints:

- 1) Claims that large numbers of Renamo delegates were excluded from the process, leaving polling stations unmonitored both during the voting days and during the count.
- 2) Claims that ballot boxes were tampered with during the night between the two voting days, 1 and 2 December, to add Guebuza votes and take out Dhlakama ones.
- 3) Issues relating to excessive blank and invalid votes (nulos)
- 4) Factors making it difficult for Renamo supporters to vote.
- 5) Various issues prior to the election, notably the registration and registration lists.
- 6) Minor points

We deal with these one at a time.

1) RENAMO DELEGATES

In some areas Renamo felt its delegates were subject to a general climate of intimidation. We saw that polling stations sometimes had 4 or even 6 Frelimo delegates (which violates the regulations), compared to 1 or 2 for Renamo.

Renamo has provided credible reports that its delegates had trouble obtaining credentials in Gaza and Niassa. (This and many other things also happened in Tete, which we are not discussing here). There are also reports of credentials being improperly issued, for example with wrong names or wrong identity card numbers, and presidents of polling stations then excluding delegates because the information on their credentials did not match their identity card.

Renamo says that where delegates were present, presidents of polling stations sometimes refused to accept their protests about alleged misconduct.

Renamo complains of police harassment and of arrests of dozens of Renamo delegates in Nampula, Manica and elsewhere. Some of this has been confirmed by observers, for example in Angoche. Some arrests occurred when Renamo delegates were accused by Frelimo delegates of campaigning in the queue. This seems to have occurred quite widely throughout the country, so that it would appear that in many places Frelimo delegates had been told to watch for this.

Some of these accusations of Renamo campaigning may have been false. The Bulletin was with other journalists visiting a polling station and we were called to one school classroom where we were told the Renamo delegate had been campaigning. The Frelimo delegate was unable to explain the issue clearly to us, and instead read us a short statement written on a piece of paper. It appeared to us that the Frelimo delegate had been given this statement to read, as part of some more organised action on the part of Frelimo. The Renamo delegate of course denied the charge, and the polling station president declined to express an opinion. We could not get to the bottom of the matter, but we left unconvinced.

It is clear that Renamo delegates did come under more pressure this year than in 1999, and were also sometimes restricted by polling station presidents. Sadly, it is also true that Renamo delegates tend to be more poorly trained than Frelimo and sometimes make unreasonable demands on polling station staff, causing tension.

The final point is that international observers found Renamo party agents in more than 95% of polling stations. Thus Renamo may be right to complain of harassment, but it seems to have stood up to the harassment relatively well.

Thus the question here hinges on whether Renamo or the observers are right about the percentage of Renamo delegates excluded.

2) DURING THE NIGHT

The electoral law requires that at the end of the first day of voting, ballot boxes are sealed with numbered plastic security ties and that the numbers are read out and recorded in the minutes and given to party agents. At the start of the second day, the ties are cut and the numbers read out again to ensure they are the same. In addition, the law specifies that on the night between the two voting days, party delegates are allowed to sleep with the ballot boxes, along with the police and polling station staff.

Renamo says that throughout the country the police refused to allow party agents to sleep with the boxes. Renamo's complaint specifies 15 districts in three provinces -- Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Manica. Observer reports confirm that this did happen in some places, but the European Union in its 4 December statement said that "political party delegates were allowed to stay with the material during the night in 94.5% of the polling stations observed."

There is another issue here, which is that getting into a lot of ballot boxes at night requires a high degree of organisation. As well as transport to go around at night and not waking Renamo delegates who may be sleeping nearby, it requires a set of security tags with the same numbers to replace those which need to be cut to open the ballot boxes.

Fernando Mazanga, Renamo press spokesman, told us in an interview Saturday, "It was a show of power and intimidation to keep us out. The law allows us to stay there as guards; why would they want to prevent us? This was planned and organised well in advance. They could have had alternate seals or even alternate ballot boxes. Why not? It is possible when they were planning this so far in advance."

Here there are two questions. One, again, hinges on whether Renamo or the observers are right about the number of delegates who could not stay with the ballot boxes. The second is about accepting a highly organised Frelimo operation including alternative security ties. This kind of organisation seems a bit far fetched to us.

3) BLANK AND INVALID VOTES

Renamo alleges that in some places there have been unusually large numbers of blank and invalid votes, and that in particular votes for Renamo are being made invalid with extra marks or are replaced with blank votes.

In Nampula province a formal complaint was made to the police alleging that the polling station president had a sponge with ink and that he was marking votes for Renamo with ink to make them invalid. Renamo alleges that this happened quite widely. An observer in Sofala in a strongly Renamo area saw a polling station president do something similar when showing people how to vote.

In his press conference, Dhlakama claimed that Frelimo was offering money for every polling station president who swung the vote. "Most of the nulos are mine", he said.

In the study which follows, of polling station results from the sample count, we could find only 3 polling stations in the sample where something like this might have been done. We also found no evidence for a widespread excess of blank votes or nulos. Thus, we find no evidence to back up this allegation.

4) MAKING IT DIFFICULT TO VOTE

There were three things that might have made it difficult for some people to vote: lack of a polling station list, polling stations in the wrong place, and the failure to provide ink pads. All of these could simply be disorganisation, or they could, as Renamo alleges be intentional. But the claim is that these hurt Renamo more than Frelimo.

STAE published a list of polling centre locations and the number of polling stations at each centre. (A "centre" is often a school, with a polling "station" in each classroom) But a full list of which register books were assigned to each polling station was never published. Disorganisation was great, and it may never have existed in some provinces, but the failure to release even a preliminary list caused problems. Typical was a Renamo member of the National Election Commission, who said she went to the school in Maputo where she had registered and her polling station was not there; with no list, she had no way of finding out which school in Maputo had her polling

station, and she did not vote. This probably affected many people, but this is more likely to have been an urban problem and had more impact on Frelimo.

Renamo complains that in many areas, such as its heartland in rural Zambezia, polling stations opened late or in the wrong place, and people could not vote. We estimate the 7% to 10% of polling stations had a very low turnout because of late opening, being in the wrong place, or lacking a register. Rain and disorganisation happened all over the country and the problem of low turnouts occurred everywhere, but some Renamo areas in Zambezia and Nampula seemed more seriously hit because they were particularly remote. Renamo's complaint has some basis.

There are two voting booths in each polling station and the law requires that each have an ink pad so that illiterate people can vote with a fingerprint. It appears these pads were never ordered. Nearly all polling stations took the ink pad intended for stamps on documents, and put that in one of the polling booths. But illiterate people who went to the wrong booth may simply have folded up their ballot paper and deposited a blank vote. This would harm Renamo disproportionately, since its voters are more likely to be poor and illiterate. This would show up as extra blank ballots in the ballot boxes. In fact, the number of blank ballots seems lower this year than in 1999, and there were no cases of very large numbers of blank votes in the ballot boxes. So this probably happened, but the impact seems small.

5) ISSUE FROM BEFORE THE POLLING DAY

Finally, there are a string of issues from before voting day. There were indications that during the registration update, some Renamo areas were missed, particularly in Zambezia.

Renamo claims that polling station staff were supposed to be hired by open competition and that Renamo would be part of the selection panel, but that this did not happen and the all polling station presidents were nominated by Frelimo. We have no evidence on this. Our tiny sample of four polling stations which had no register and where only polling station staff and police could vote gave 22 votes to Guebuza and 3 to Dhlakama.

Finally, Renamo cites the failure to provide lists of polling stations and the failure to make the final register books available as further attempts to make it harder for Renamo to get out the vote.

6) MINOR POINTS

In its report, Renamo makes a number of minor claims, including a polling station president caught outside a polling station three ballot papers marked for Renamo which had not been counted. Although some are individually serious, we do not see them making a pattern or having a significant impact.

CONCLUSION

Renamo was harassed by state and election officials and the police, and their delegates were clearly excluded from some polling stations. In part, it is an issue of whether one believes the observers that only 5% of polling stations did not have a delegate, or Renamo which alleges the problem was much larger. Related to that is the question of getting into ballot boxes at night to make changes, which requires the acceptance of a very high degree of planning and organisation by Frelimo in an attempt to steal the election. What is clear is that the data from the sample count

does not have huge variations between polling stations, which means Frelimo must have done this very widely, requiring huge organisation, or the changes it made were relatively small so as not to be noticed, and thus too small to be significant.

As for nullos, the level is the same as in 1999, and there is no evidence of a widespread campaign to mark Dhlakama ballots to make them nullos.

We think there is an issue about polling stations opening late or in the wrong place in Renamo areas.

So does this add up to enough to make a difference? On current projections, Dhlakama will lose to Guebuza by more than 700,000 votes. Can we find that number stolen? We think not. We can identify possible lost votes in four places:

- 1) At the very worst, Dhlakama has lost 100,000 votes in Tete.
- 2) A few polling stations outside Tete seemed to have stuffed ballot boxes, but this could only be a small number; at most 50,000 votes.
- 3) If we given Dhlakama one-third of the nullos, that would be about 30,000 votes.
- 4) The only other issue is late opening or misplaced polling stations, which might number up to 1000. Many of these are also in Frelimo areas, but if we assume on average Dhlakama gains an extra 100 votes in each of these, it is another 100,000 votes.

That totals 280,000, which we think is substantially in excess of the real total, yet this is far too small to change the result.

So in conclusion, we accept that disorganisation, harassment and outright fraud did cost Afonso Dhlakama and Renamo over 100,000 votes. This is large but not "massive"; it is not enough to make a major change. Therefore we accept the accuracy of the sample count, and conclude that Guebuza has won.

So what can we say to Renamo, faced with the evidence presented? We say: Yes Mr Dhlakama, Frelimo was trying to cheat you. Yes there was fraud and misconduct. But it was not massive. The size of your defeat was much larger than that. We cannot find enough fraud to explain more than a small part of your defeat, and we accept the Electoral Observatory sample count as a good estimate of the actual vote. Frelimo's improper conduct may leave a bad taste, but it unquestionably won the election. Renamo's supporters did not vote in sufficient numbers, and the Frelimo victory is not based on stolen Renamo votes.

Joseph Hanlon

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ELECTORAL OBSERVATORY DATA BACKS UP SOME OPPOSITION CLAIMS BUT REFUTES OTHERS

The data used in the sample count by the Electoral Observatory has now been released and has been analysed by the Bulletin. For the presidential race, the Observatory had reports from 775 polling stations, which is 6% of the national total. These were selected carefully to cover the entire country, so they should be broadly representative and should show any widespread misconduct.

We find indications of ballot box stuffing in 6 polling stations (1% of the total) and suggestions of possible stuffing in some other places. (Remember that this is a sample; if the sample is valid, then this suggests ballot box stuffing in 40 to 45 polling

nations nationally.) We found strong indications in 1 polling station that votes for Dhlakama had been declared invalid and in 2 polling stations that votes for Geubuza had been declared invalid. And we found a surprisingly high number of polling stations with very low turnouts (24 polling stations, or 4%) which indicated missing register books, polling stations in the wrong place, or very late opening.

Finally, we find no evidence of excessively high numbers of blank or invalid votes (except in the one case).

BALLOT BOX STUFFING

In Changara, Tete, there were four suspect polling stations; as follows:

100.6% turnout, 0 votes for Dhlakama
99.6% turnout, 3 votes for Dhlakama
92.9% turnout, 1 vote for Dhlakama
90.2% turnout, 12 votes for Dhlakama.

Two other polling stations were similarly suspect:

Manhiça, Maputo Province:
99.8% turnout, 37 votes for Dhlakama
Muembe, Niassa
99.6% turnout, 2 votes for Dhlakama.

The two most remote districts in Gaza have suspiciously high turnouts -- Chicualacuala with 84% and Massangena with 88%, compared to Gaza average of 42%. Tsangano in Tete also has a suspiciously high turnout. All three would benefit Frelimo.

NULOS AND BLANK VOTES

In 1999, about 3.8% of presidential votes were considered invalid (nulo) at the polling station (30% were later accepted at national level) and 6.5% were blank votes. For this year, the sample showed 3.8% nulo, the same as 1999, and 3.4% blank, lower than in 1999. Observers reported that the variation was very large, with many more blank and invalid votes in rural areas.

We looked for any polling stations where there was 15% or more blank votes or more than 10% nulos. We found 24 polling stations with 10% nulos, which is 3% of the sample. Of those, only three clearly indicated misconduct.

+ In Macanga in Tete, there was a polling station in which 100 of 302 votes were declared nulos, and the final result was 1 for Dhlakama and 199 for Guebuza. This suggests that votes for Dhlakama were made invalid, with other marks, or just declared invalid.

+ The highest percentage of nulos was at a polling station in Lichinga district in Niassa, where 135 of 305 votes were declared invalid. The final result was 119 for Dhlakama and 45 for Guebuza. The other two polling stations sampled in the district were very close to each other in their numbers, and averaged 140 for Dhlakama and 248 for Guebuza. This suggests that in that polling station, votes for Guebuza were declared or made invalid.

+ In Mocuba in Zambezia there was a polling station with 177 of 497 votes declared invalid. The result was 235 votes for Dhlakama and only 30 for Guebuza. This is a much larger margin than in the other 10 polling stations sampled in Mocuba, which suggested Guebuza votes may have been declared or made invalid.

Mocuba and Lichinga are the only places where we saw a possible fraud which would benefit Renamo.

Of the other 21 polling stations with over 10% nullos, 7 were in Tete and thus may be suspect. Of the remaining 14, 1 was in Cabo Delgado, 1 in Sofala, 5 were in Nampula, and 7 in Zambezia. None of these show a pattern which seems suspect.

We found one polling station with 39% blank votes and two with 15%; curiously all three were polling stations with a very low turnout of 7%. But the sample does not show any evidence of excessive numbers of blank votes

In summary, an investigation of blank and invalid votes does not show any widespread pattern of excessive blank or invalid votes. In particular, there is no evidence of a programme to mark Dhlakama ballots with ink in order to make them invalid, as Renamo has alleged.

We did find three cases in the sample which suggests ballots were incorrectly classified or made invalid; one benefited Frelimo and two benefited Renamo. In addition there are 7 cases in Tete which may have been against Renamo.

LOW TURNOUT

Perhaps the most surprising result of the survey was the large number of polling stations with very low turnouts. We found four polling stations in the sample where it seems likely that only the staff voted, and thus there was probably no electoral register there. They were in Mogincual and Erati in Nampula, Milange in Zambezia, and Manhiça in Maputo province.

In addition to these, there were a further 20 polling stations in the sample where fewer than 5% of the people on the roll actually voted. These are probably polling stations that opened very late on the second day (as in Milange), where they opened without a register and the register was only found on the second day, or where people could not find the polling station because it had moved or was in the wrong place. Turnouts in these polling stations are so low as to suggest that people were unable to vote. These polling stations are quite widely spread across the country, with some in strongly Frelimo areas such as Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo province. If the sample is accurate, these 24 polling stations represent a total of at around 150 nationally where people were effectively not able to vote. But there does not seem to be a party bias. (Renamo's complaint identifies 25 polling stations without the correct register book during the entire process, and PIMO identifies another four, in the three provinces of Niassa, Nampula and Zambezia, so this estimate seems reasonable.)

There are another 44 polling stations where the turnout was more than 5% but less than 10%. At least one-third are clearly identifiable as places where polling stations opened very late, such as the districts of Pebane, Maganja da Costa, Ile, Morrumbala, Caia, Erati, Milange, Lago, and Chiure. This shows quite clearly that if the polling station does not open on time, people do not come back on the second day to try again to vote. But some are in cities such as Nampula and Xai-Xai or in places which were not affected by the weather. To some extent these may simply be low turnouts. Many of the rest may also be due to the fact that some register books are used in several places (the so-called transcribed or copied books) so only some of the people on the book would vote at a particular polling station, so the turnout is really much higher. (If the book has 1000 names then the polling station says it has 1000 people registered, but if the book is shared with several polling stations there

may be only 300 people at any one polling station. So a turnout of 100 people on paper is 10%, but in reality is over 30%.)

CONCLUSION

The sample survey shows:

- 1) There was almost surely ballot box stuffing in 1% of polling stations and perhaps three districts, to the benefit of Frelimo.
- 2) There was a low level of manipulation of nulos (under 1% of polling stations) equally benefiting both sides.
- 3) There was no large scale manipulation of nulos and no excessive number of blank votes.
- 4) The problem of people not being able to vote because of missing register books, polling stations in the wrong place, or very late openings was larger than had been admitted, probably affecting 7% to 10% of all polling stations.

Joseph Hanlon

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Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 25

Monday 13 December 2004

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All back issues now on the web:

<http://www.mozambique.mz/awepa/issues.htm>

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IN THIS ISSUE

- + STAE bypasses new computer security
- + Requalification closed again
- + Results

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STAE TO BYPASS AUDITED SOFTWARE -- WHAT CREDIBILITY IS LEFT?

Provincial STAE have been instructed to bypass the audited software when producing their final results. The instruction from Antonio Carrasco, director general of STAE, must be the final nail in the coffin of the credibility of the computer tabulation system.

One of the changes made to the system after the audit was that the system would produce the reports. This was to ensure that the data which the observers and party delegates were able to see was the data used to compile the final report. This

security has now been breached, and STAE staff will simply type out the results as they have in the past.

The instruction, number 19/GDG/STAE/2004, was issued on 8 December when it first became clear that all of the data bases being used for input of results contain phantom polling stations. There are 556 of them nationally. Thus any report actually compiled by the software would have the wrong number of polling stations. To avoid this, the new instruction is to simply type up the results, changing the number of polling stations, but ensuring that the typed form looks precisely like the one that was supposed to be produced by the computer.

The final sentence of the instruction says: "you are instructed that the report is to be made outside the computer system, ensuring that you rigorously follow the form of the report in the computer system." In Portuguese: "Para o efeito, mais se instrui que o mapa seja feito fora da aplicação, devendo-se contudo, seguir rigorosamente of modelo de mapa da aplicação."

The software system can hardly have any credibility now. Many changes have been made in the past few days, as errors are still corrected. The data bases are confused, with 556 extra phantom polling stations, but with provinces reporting that real polling stations are missing. And now the newly installed security has been removed.

The only way to restore credibility is to provide much more detailed information to the parties, press and observers. Otherwise, it will be a rerun of 1999, when the final results were written on a laptop and no one knew what changes had been made.

REQUALIFICATION OF NULOS IN SECRET AGAIN

The concession that press and observers could watch the requalification of invalid votes at national level has been withdrawn. Frelimo CNE members have returned to the line that since decisions are being taken, these are CNE meetings and are closed. Observers had been able to watch for extended periods, but they are now being allowed in only for a half hour in the morning and a half hour in the afternoon. At the morning session little is done because Renamo CNE members usually do not arrive on time.

There seems no point in withdrawing the privilege except that it allows the CNE members to be more sloppy in their work when no one is watching, for example simply dumping rejected nulos in heaps on the floor.

As each province is finished, the requalification teams are posting editais with the number requalified. Similar editais are posted for the small number of protested votes.

But what the editais make clear is that no count is made of nulos received and nulos rejected; all that is posted in the edital is nulos which are reconsidered and accepted. What was obvious in the original visit to the requalification room, when the press and public was given a show of the process, was that the teams work on one province at a time and the sealed plastic bags from that province are simply cut open and the invalid ballot papers papers taken out. No attempt is made to confirm the number of invalid ballot papers before requalification, or, apparently, afterwards.

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FINAL RESULTS FROM 3 MORE PROVINCES

Three provinces announced final results on Saturday, two days after the legal deadline. Inhambane announced on Friday, and seven provinces are still to declare. The closest race is in Manica, where only 450 votes separate the two presidential candidates. Renamo boycotted the declaration ceremonies in all three provinces, alleging fraud.

The results of the three provinces, according to AIM, (with percentages in brackets), are:

MAPUTO PROVINCE

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	180,127 (89.88)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	17,259 (8.61)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	2,834 (1.41)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	862 (0.43)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	635 (0.32)

22 editais have not been included and sent to the CNE, several because they are for polling stations which are not in the data base.

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	161,588 (88.25)
Renamo	16,600 (8.86)
PDD	3,338 (1.78)

These results omit the over a dozen small parties which failed to obtain as much as one per cent of the vote.

AIM has applied the d'Hondt method of proportional representation to these figures to determine how many deputies each party will have in the new parliament. This gives, for Maputo Province's 13 seats:

Frelimo 12; Renamo 1

TETE PROVINCE

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	237,677 (73.48)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	73,717 (22.99)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	7,946 (2.48)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,796 (0.56)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	1,521 (0.48)

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	236,539 (74.28)
Renamo	66,319 (20.82)
PDD	4,835 (1.52)

Seats (18): Frelimo - 14; Renamo - 4

Widespread evidence of ballot box stuffing raises some questions over the Tete results.

MANICA PROVINCE

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	90,914 (47.57)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	90,470 (47.37)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,487 (3.39)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,802 (0.94)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	1,432 (0.75)

16 presidential editais are not included and will be sent to Maputo for the CNE's decision.

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	85,181 (46.1)
Renamo	83,732 (45.22)
PDD	4,750 (2.57)

Seats (14): Frelimo - 7; Renamo - 7.

13 parliamentary editais will be sent to the CNE.

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PARTIAL COUNTS

Radio Moçambique has broadcast partial counts from Nampula and Zambezia, where the count is progressing slowly. In Nampula Renamo made a formal petition to the CPE on Friday asking for the election to be annulled because of confusion over numbers of polling stations and registered voters, the lack of a district by district tabulation, and various irregularities over the placement and late opening of polling stations.

In Gaza the observer and press room is locked and no information is available.

In Sofala, processing of results was suspended Friday because Renamo had demanded detailed charts of the results so far processed, district by district. The CPE chairperson, Samuel Malate, told Radio Mozambique that the Renamo CPE members were right, and that Renamo had been promised district by district charts.

Renamo complained that in previous elections it was only given the results with a few minutes to check, and that it wanted the ability to check the results, district by district, against its own copies of the editais. This was seen as a reasonable request by CNE and was promised. It has run into problems because the detailed parliamentary results, with so many parties, can only be printed on larger A3 paper, and sme provinces did not have printers which could take the larger paper.

The detailed results, as of 12.30 on Sunday:

ZAMBEZIA PROVINCE

Presidential election

1,870 editais out of 2,370 processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	139,847 (38.2%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	205,488 (56.13%)

Parliamentary election

1,691 editais out of 2,370 processed

Frelimo	114,702 (36.65%)
Renamo	163,073 (52.11%)

NAMPULA (percentages only)

Presidential election

1,411 editais out of 2,290 processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	50.93%
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	42.95%

Parliamentary election

1,243 editais out of 2,290 processed

Frelimo	48.41%
Renamo	40.34%

SOFALA PROVINCE

results when processing was suspended Friday

Presidential election

427 out of 1,039 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	23,297 (21.05%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	81,148 (73.33%)

Parliamentary election

387 out of 1,039 editais processed

Frelimo	19,340 (20.67%)
Renamo	63,611 (67.99%)

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NATIONAL "PROVISIONAL" COUNT

With just five days to go before the National Election Commission (CNE) is legally obliged to announce the full results of the election, the count at the CNE's Maputo headquarters is still only covering four of the 11 provincial constituencies.

This count is known as the "provisional count", and acts as a check on the accuracy of the counts done in each of the 11 provinces. It uses the second originals of the

polling station results sheets ("editais"), the first original having been sent to the provinces.

As of 16.30 on Sunday, the state of the provisional count was as follows, according to AIM:

MANICA PROVINCE

Presidential election

518 editais processed out of 722

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	69,776 (49.92%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	62,828 (44.95%)

Parliamentary election - 534 editais processed out of 722

Frelimo	63,628 (45.86%)
Renamo	63,027 (45.42%)

INHAMBANE PROVINCE

Presidential election

718 editais processed out of 766

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	130,464 (83.73%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	16,349 (10.49%)

Parliamentary election

722 editais processed out of 766

Frelimo	116,781 (76.94%)
Renamo	15,025 (9.9 %)

MAPUTO PROVINCE

Presidential election

176 editais processed out of 752

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	44,172 (93.69%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	1,938 (4.11%)

Parliamentary election

509 editais processed out of 752

Frelimo	117,411 (85.81%)
Renamo	12,214 (9.93 %)

MAPUTO CITY

Presidential election

693 editais processed out of 762

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	196,164 (85.56%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	23,831 (12.58%)

Parliamentary election
586 editais processed out of 762

Frelimo 134,909 (80.98%)
Renamo 24,206 (14.53 %)

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Mozambique
Political Process
Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 26

Wednesday 15 December 2004

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)
Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga

All back issues now on the web:
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(there was no issue yesterday)

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IN THIS ISSUE

- + Guebuza 2.0 million, Dhlakama 1.0 million
 - + 2000 editais sent to Maputo
 - + Frauds and false allegations
 - + Opposition wants election annulled
 - + Results for all provinces
- =====

GUEBUZA 2.0 MILLION
DHLAKAMA 1.0 MILLION
ON 3.5 MILLION TURNOUT

Nine of 11 provinces have now announced provincial results and the count is nearing completion in Sofala and Maputo City. There are many variables, including requalified nulos and more than 2000 editais which are being sent to Maputo, but it is now possible to do projections of the final results. We estimate that Armando Guebuza will gain double the number of votes of Afonso Dhlakama, 2.0 million compared to 1.0 million. We estimate the turnout to be just under 3.5 million, which is in the range of 44% to 46% of possible voters.

Turnout was 5.5 million in 1994 and 5.3 million in 1999 (making corrections for excluded editais), compared to 3.5 million this year. Turnout of registered voters was 88% in 1994, 74% in 1999, and 44-46% this year.

In 1999, Joaquim Chissano gained 2.3 million votes and Afonso Dhlakama 2.1 million, which means that the Renamo presidential candidate has lost more than 1 million supporters in the past five years.

Blank and invalid votes are ranging from as low as 2% to a high of 7.3% blank and 6.8% nulo in the Zambezia parliamentary election.

COMPUTER CHAOS AS 2000 EDITAIS POUR INTO MAPUTO

Computer chaos continues, as all provinces find that the computer tabulation systems will not accept valid polling station results sheets (editais). It looks as if more than 2000 editais will be submitted to the CNE to deal with. Nampula alone is sending 1004 editais to Maputo, Zambezia is sending 842 and Gaza 138.

Tete handled the problem in a different way, processing 197 presidential editais and 222 parliamentary editais manually. This effectively requires breaking the computer security system, but under the circumstances probably makes more sense than sending the editais to Maputo.

The problem appears to have occurred in setting up the data base of polling stations and register books which is used for data entry in Maputo and the provinces. In a rushed 10-week operation it was possible to clean up most of the electoral registers, removing duplicate registers and solving other problems.

However, when the computer department of STAE set up the data base for data entry, it looks increasingly as if it did not use the cleaned list of register books, but used another list. This led to the appearance of 556 phantom polling stations on the register, which has never been explained. It also appears that more than 1000 polling stations are in the data base incorrectly. STAE's computer team left everything to the last minute, and corrections to both the data base and the software were still being made after voting day. But it appears the huge numbers of problems remain.

GAZA FRAUDS AND FALSE ALLEGATIONS

Renamo refused to sign the Gaza results, denouncing them as "an electoral fraud prepared long ago by Frelimo". It claims that polling station presidents were offered between 2 and 8 million meticaís (\$100-\$400) to stuff the ballot boxes. In particular, Renamo in a statement Monday in Xai-Xai claims it had serious problems getting credentials for its party delegates in Massangena and Chicualacuala districts. These are the two districts the Bulletin highlighted on Sunday as having suspiciously high turnouts, suggesting that indeed the final editais of some polling stations do not actually correspond to the real vote.

Evidence is growing of similar actions elsewhere. Several polling stations in Niassa with register books from 1999 had impossible turnouts of 98% to 103%.

But Renamo has made two allegations in Gaza which appear to be false. In its statement in Xai-Xai Monday it said that votes had been put into the data base months before the election because it had a printout dated 12 September 2004. In fact, the printout is dated 12.9.04, which is simply the US date format for 9 December.

The other allegation was made in the report given to the European Union and cited here on Sunday. In that report, it says that the STAE director in Gaza was caught red-handed falsifying ballot papers, and gives the names of three Renamo appointees in STAE who, it says, saw her do this. But our correspondent reports that this is not true; they did not see the event and there is no proof that it took place.

NULOS SHOW POSSIBLE FRAUD

Reclassification of nulos has been opened to press and observers again; the Bulletin entered today without problems. Albeit with delays to wait for Renamo, processing is going smoothly. There is some variation between pairs of people, with some pairs accepting votes which would be rejected by other pairs, but each pair is consistent and there seems no favouritism for one party.

Ballot papers are grouped by polling station, and normally show a wide variation from one ballot paper to the next -- one with a word, the second with two ink marks, another with an ink mark for one candidate and finger print for another, and so on. Many have fingerprints under a picture, so that it is not clear which of two candidates have been chosen, or bold Xs for two different candidates, clearly written by the same hand.

But a close check of nulos gave some hints of the kinds of fraud Renamo has been alleging, which is that polling station presidents put extra ink on Renamo votes to void them. We saw one group from one polling station where a series of ballot papers had the same bold finger mark for Frelimo and there were also marks, seemingly made by a different person, for other candidates. But even if it was fraud, it was only a handful of votes.

OPPOSITION CALLS FOR ELECTION TO BE ANNULLED

A meeting yesterday of Renamo and a number of the smaller opposition parties, plus presidential candidates Jacob Sibindy and Carlos Reis, called for the election to be annulled. There should be a totally new CNE and STAE, a totally new registration, followed by new elections. They gave eight reasons for this:

- 1) the registration earlier this year was "intentionally deficient" and excluded large number of opposition supporters.
- 2) there were still many errors and omissions in registration books and people could not vote.
- 3) on the night of 1-2 December police did not allow opposition delegates to sleep with the ballot boxes in some districts in Tete, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Gaza. Frelimo came in the night and swapped the ballot boxes for different ones containing votes for Guebuza instead of Dhlakama.
- 4) police were too close to polling stations and frightened voters
- 5) many polling stations opened late or not at all
- 6) the tabulation software is not credible
- 7) votes for opposition presidential candidates were marked by polling station staff to make them invalid, and most nulos are actually votes for Dhlakama
- 8) the abstention was because people felt threatened by the "secret police" and were too afraid to vote.

COMMENT: ARE THE COMPLAINTS JUSTIFIED AND SUFFICIENT?

Three of the eight points can be rejected out of hand. There was simply no indication of a "secret police" or a generalised fear on the part of voters. We agree the tabulation software is no longer credible, but the Electoral Observatory prediction of the huge Guebuza victory was based on sample editais independent of STAE computers. Finally, we have noted in the past that replacing ballot boxes and organising security ties with the same number and providing transport for the ballot boxes is simply not a realistic idea; we accept that Renamo was unable to sleep with

the ballot boxes in some places, but the idea of a huge organised swapping of ballot boxes which no one saw is too far fetched to be believed.

On the other five points, there is evidence that Renamo was disadvantaged.

- 1) We reported earlier in the year that some Renamo areas were missed in the registration;
- 2) there were errors in the registration books and an instruction was issued that people should still be able to vote if they have a voters card, but observers report this instruction was ignored in some places.
- 4) there were observer reports of some police too close to polling stations, but they did not seem threatening
- 5) about 7% of polling stations had a very low turnout suggesting some problem, including very late opening.
- 7) there is evidence that both Frelimo and Renamo have tried to mark ballot papers to make votes for the other side invalid, but the numbers of nullos does not appear to be higher than in earlier years.

Taken together, the effect of these five things is still relatively small. We do not see a million votes in this list. So we stick to our previous conclusion: Irregularities and fraud? Yes. Massive fraud? No.

FINAL RESULTS FROM NINE PROVINCES

Nine provinces have now announced official provincial results. Parliamentary results omit the over a dozen small parties which failed to obtain as much as one per cent of the vote. Parliamentary seats are calculated by AIM, applying the d'Hondt method of proportional representation to these figures to determine how many deputies each party will have in the new parliament. All figures will change as requalified nullos are added and the CNE considers editais submitted by provincial election commissions.

CABO DELGADO province

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	213,768 (77.69%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	49,291 (17.91%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,992 (2.53%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	3,058 (1.11%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	2,092 (0.76%)

We cannot find the parliamentary results.

NAMPULA province

Presidential election - 1817 of 2290 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	180,509 (49.67%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	160,556 (44.18%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	12,153 (3.34%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	6,222 (1.71%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	3,999 (1.10%)

Parliamentary election - 1759 of 2290 editais processed

Frelimo	158,828 (48.07%)
Renamo	133,387 (40.37%)
PDD	6,993 (2.12%)

Seats (50): Frelimo - 27; Renamo - 23

NIASSA province

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	92,586 (67%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	38,898 (28.3%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	4,016 (2.92%)

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	85,784 (66%)
Renamo	35,455 (27.28%)

Seats (12): Frelimo - 9; Renamo - 3

ZAMBEZIA province

Presidential election - 1,990 out of 2,370 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	160,482 (38.37%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	234,283 (56.01%)

Parliamentary election - 1,908 out of 2,370 editais processed

Frelimo	143,998 (37.22%)
Renamo	195,220 (51.9%)

Seats (48): Renamo - 28; Frelimo - 20

TETE province

Presidential election

Of 919 editais, 719 processed by computer, 197 processed manually, 2 sent to Maputo, and 1 did not arrive.

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	234,677 (73.48)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	73,417 (22.99)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	7,946 (2.48)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,796 (0.56)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	1,528 (0.48)

Parliamentary election

Of 919 editais, 694 processed by computer, 222 processed manually, 2 sent to Maputo, and 1 did not arrive.

Frelimo	236,539 (74.28)
Renamo	66,319 (20.82)
PDD	4,835 (1.52)

Seats (18): Frelimo - 14; Renamo - 4

Widespread evidence of ballot box stuffing raises some questions over the Tete results.

MANICA PROVINCE

Presidential election - 706 of 722 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	90,914 (47.57)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	90,470 (47.37)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,487 (3.39)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,802 (0.94)
Yaquib Sibindy (PIMO)	1,432 (0.75)

Parliamentary election - 709 of 722 editais processed

Frelimo	85,181 (46.1)
Renamo	83,732 (45.22)
PDD	4,750 (2.57)

Seats (14): Frelimo - 7; Renamo - 7.

13 parliamentary editais will be sent to the CNE.

INHAMBANE province

Presidential election - 776 or 786 editais

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	147,247 (78.29%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	17,998 (10.04%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,256 (3.49%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,701 (0.95%)
Yaquib Sibindy (PIMO)	1,688 (0.94%)

Parliamentary election - 773 of 786 editais

Frelimo	125,793 (70.42%)
Renamo	16,239 (9.09%)
PDD	4,939 (2.76%)

Seats (16) - Frelimo 15, Renamo 1

GAZA province

Presidential election - 928 out of 992 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	300,393 (96.86%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	5,568 (1.79%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	3,278 (1.06%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	1,204 (0.39%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	1,168 (0.38%)

Parliamentary election - 918 out of 992 editais processed

Frelimo	285,289 (94.53%)
Renamo	5,194 (1.72%)
PDD	2,851 (0.94%)

Seats (17): Frelimo - 17; Renamo - 0.

MAPUTO PROVINCE

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	180,127 (89.88)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	17,259 (8.61)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	2,834 (1.41)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	862 (0.43)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	635 (0.32)

22 editais have not been included and sent to the CNE, several because they are for polling stations which are not in the data base.

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	161,588 (88.25)
Renamo	16,600 (8.86)
PDD	3,338 (1.78)

Seats (13): Frelimo 12; Renamo 1

PARTIAL COUNTS FOR THE TWO REMAINING PROVINCES

Two provinces still have not declared, but we have nearly complete results.

MAPUTO city

STAE national "provisional" count

Presidential election - 703 editais processed out of 762

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	200,317 (85.49%)
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Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 29,648 (12.65%)

Parliamentary election - 508 editais processed out of 762

Frelimo 142,415 (81.07%)
Renamo 25,365 (14.44 %)

SOFALA province

Radio Mozambique report at midday Tuesday:

Presidential election - 822 out of 1,039 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo) 59,142 (25.40%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo) 160,881 (69.36%)

Parliamentary election - 735 out of 1,039 editais processed

Frelimo 49,639 (25.11%)
Renamo 129,425 (65.46%)

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Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 27

Thursday 16 December 2004

Editor: Joseph Hanlon (j.hanlon@open.ac.uk)
Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga

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<http://www.mozambique.mz/awepa/issues.htm>

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IN THIS ISSUE

- + Only Sofala has not declared provincial results
- + Did Renamo's negative campaign cause abstention?
- + Maputo city and Cabo Delgado results

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ONLY SOFALA REMAINS

Maputo City declared its results yesterday, so one week after the legal deadline only Sofala remains to declare provincial results. Maputo city and Maputo province have sent at least 300 additional editais to the National Election Commission for reconsideration. Friday is the legal deadline for the CNE to declare national results, but with so many editais being sent to Maputo for reclassification, it seems highly unlikely this deadline will be met.

Reconsideration of nulos continues and should be completed by Friday. As each province is finished, the results are posted at the CNE. The openness of the process varies; sometimes observers and press are only allowed to remain for a half hour in the morning in the afternoon, while at other times they can stay for longer periods.

RENAMO'S "STRATEGY OF DEFEAT" CAUSED ABSTENTION, SAYS DE MAYO

The high abstention rate has provoked substantial discussion, but social marketing expert Juarez da Maia said that Renamo had provoked it through its "strategy of defeat". By constantly stressing its claim that it was denied power through fraud in 1994 and 1999, it created the image that there is no point in voting because Frelimo will win no matter what. Renamo was undermining its own image and forcing disinterest.

In each election Renamo has been weaker, and it can only win, he argued, if it shows itself to be a real alternative to power, if it creates a serious party structure, and if it creates confidence within the party.

De Maya was speaking at an academic round table at ISPU (Instituto Superior Politecnico e Universitario) on Tuesday evening. Also at the round table was the head of the Renamo election office, Antonio Eduardo Namburete, who made a surprising admission: "Renamo's protests and claims of fraud in 1994 and 1999 had no proof. We must accept that. But this year is different."

PEOPLE NOT READY FOR DEMOCRACY SAYS SIBINDY

"The people are not ready for democracy. They need to be educated. It will take 10-20 years until the people are ready to vote," presidential candidate Jacob Sibindy told the Bulletin.

He argued that the Mozambican people are ignorant. They cannot read and write. So when Frelimo tells them in election campaign meetings that there can be no government except Frelimo, they believe that and do not vote. "They do what they are told".

Since the people do not vote for the opposition, they do not understand democracy, he concludes. "When the people do not accept democracy, we should suspend democracy, and have a government of national unity."

MAPUTO CIDADE

Presidential election - 708 of 782 editais processed

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	202,078 (85.47%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	29,975 (12.68%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	3,221 (1.36%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	740 (0.31%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	429 (0.18%)

Blank 0.67% Nulo 1.85%

CABO DELGADO province

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	213,768 (77.69%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	49,291 (17.91%)
Raul Domingos (PDD)	6,992 (2.53%)
Yaqub Sibindy (PIMO)	3,058 (1.11%)
Carlos Reis (MBG)	2,092 (0.76%)

Blank 6.06% Nulo 4.31%

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	196,669 (75.46%)
Renamo	45,408 (17.42%)
PDD	3,652 (1.40%)

all other parties gained less than 1%.

Blank 8.8% Nulo 4.56%

Each province uses a different format for their edital and gives different information. Cabo Delgado does not list the number of editais considered.

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Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

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Friday 17 December 2004

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Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga

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IN THIS ISSUE

- + Polling stations presidents did invalidate some Renamo votes
- + Nulos same as 1999, blank votes many fewer
- + More than 100 stuffed ballot boxes
- + Confirm voters had to walk to far in Zambezia

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POLLING STATION PRESIDENTS
DID INVALIDATE DHLAKAMA VOTES
-- BUT PROBABLY NOT MANY

"This is sabotage", one of the Maputo CPE members helping to re-qualify nulos, said out loud yesterday morning. She then showed a series of ballot papers from Cabo Delgado to the observer standing behind her, and pointed out that each one had a

similar ink finger print on it, disqualifying votes for Afonso Dhlakama. It seemed clear to both the CPE member and the observer that there had been an intentional invalidation of ballot papers.

Renamo has complained of polling station staff putting ink marks on ballot papers next to other candidates in order to make votes for Dhlakama and Renamo invalid. This is done, they say, during the late night count, when lighting fails or when Renamo delegates are not there, for example if they have to go to the toilet. And, they admit privately, when some of the poorly trained Renamo delegates are not looking or fall asleep.

In its complaint to the European Union, discussed in the Bulletin on Sunday, Renamo cites a specific polling station in Lichinga district (00A127/99) where Renamo delegate Jaime Nipepe made a formal complaint against the president of the polling station saying he was putting ink on papers during the count. An observer reports that the results sheets (editais) from that polling station show 62% nulos in the presidential race and 40% nulos in the parliamentary race.

In other parts of Niassa which voted largely for Renamo in 1999, there are polling stations with half of the total vote considered invalid.

Something similar seems to be happening in Tete, where there are also some high percentages of nulos. In Macanga district, AIM looked at two nearby polling stations. In 04E815-99, of 1000 people registered, 302 voted - 199 of them for Guebuza, and only one for Dhlakama with 100 invalid votes. At 04E817-99 there was a similar turnout, with 305 voting out of 1,050 registered, but there were only five invalid votes; 249 votes were cast for Guebuza and 44 for Dhlakama.

In the limited time we are allowed in the room where the re-qualification of nulos is taking place, we have found some evidence that this is occurring in a number of places. But the total number of votes invalidated seems to be a relatively small portion of the nulos.

What are we looking for? In general, nulos are taken out of their plastic bags and added to piles, so the nulos from a polling station are often (but not always) kept together. So we look for a series of ballot papers which all have a very similar mark which disqualifies them, and which appears to have been added to a pile of valid votes, or at least applied in the same way. We have seen this occur. In all the ones we have seen, it is an ink finger print. We do not see large groups of these, usually 10 to 20 ballots. Because we cannot be present for the entire process, we cannot be sure how common it is. It has definitely occurred a number of times, but still seems a relatively small portion of the nulos. This seems to be confirmed by the statistics discussed below.

We exclude one issue raised by some observers, which is ballot papers which have both a pencil cross and a finger print. Many semi-literate people seem to have done both. We saw one case where a polling station president had not accepted such votes and a large stack of them were re-qualified and accepted. So we tend to think that ballots with a cross in one place and a finger print in another are genuinely invalid and not the result of fraud.

Almost entirely, it is votes from Renamo and Dhlakama which were invalidated. But we found hints in Mocuba of the opposite -- votes for Geubuza and Frelimo being invalidated.

NULOS SIMILAR TO 1999; BLANK VOTES MUCH LOWER

Analysis of blank and invalid (nulo) votes in five provinces shows that the number of blank votes is sharply lower than in 1999, but the number of nulos is almost identical. In 1999 blank votes were very high, especially in the parliamentary election, running up to 14% in Cabo Delgado. This suggests that in many places people voted for president (there were only two candidates in 1999) and did not know what to do with the longer ballot paper so simply left it blank.

There have been reports from observers what they thought were unusually high numbers of blank votes, but in general the trend appears that the opposite -- far fewer blank votes than in the past.

There is growing evidence of attempts by polling station staff in a few places to make valid votes invalid by adding a mark. But the data suggests this cannot have been extensive, since the percentage of nulos is very close to the percentages in 1999.

Here is our comparison. We suggest using an equal space font such as Courier to make the columns line up. We also include Tete and Gaza, which are subject to allegations of ballot box stuffing which would affect the percentages.

NULOS Province	PRESIDENT		PARLIAMENT	
	1999	2004	1999	2004
Cabo Delgado	3.3%	4.3%	4.4%	4.3%
Nampula	4.8%	4.8%	6.1%	6.0%
Zambezia	4.4%	4.5%	5.7%	6.8%
Maputo prov	2.8%	2.9%		
Maputo city	2.1%	1.9%		
Tete	4.5%	4.8%	6.2%	5.6%
Gaza	3.2%	2.6%	4.6%	2.9%

BLANK Province	PRESIDENT		PARLIAMENT	
	1999	2004	1999	2004
Cabo Delgado	9.0%	6.1%	13.0%	8.8%
Nampula	8.9%	3.8%	12.1%	6.0%
Zmabezia	8.1%	4.5%	10.8%	7.3%
Maputo prov	2.6%	1.5%		
Maputo city	2.1%	0.7%		
Tete	6.1%	2.0%	10.8%	3.2%
Gaza	4.6%	1.9%	7.8%	3.4%

MORE THAN 100 STUFFED BALLOT BOXES

As more data is input into computers in Maputo and more information comes from observers, it is clear that in more than 100 polling stations results have been inflated. In general, this is not physical ballot box stuffing, but simply producing polling station results sheets which have no relation to the ballots cast.

All but one are polling stations from 1999 registers which have impossibly high turnouts (hardly anyone has died or moved away in the past five years or was ill or away on polling day) and where virtually everyone voted for Armando Guebuza. I

In Niassa there are at least 20 such polling stations, including one in Metarica where Renamo complaint to the European Union says they made a formal protest saying they were expelled from the polling station and ballot box stuffing followed. This is polling station 00A430-99 where there was a 101% turnout and all voted for Frelimo (but which voted overwhelmingly for Renamo in 1999 on a low turnout). Renamo says the same thing occurred at polling station 05R010/03, where the vote was 92% for Frelimo. Many were in Marrupa district, where Renamo says it was refused credentials.

In Gaza there are more than 30, in Chicualacuala, Chigubu, Massangena and Massingir districts, where Renamo had few party delegates. We reported in Bulletin 5 (14 November) that in Chicualacuala Renamo members of the district election commission were forced to flee after they were attacked and their homes burned. Renamo representatives in Chicualacuala and Massangena districts were beaten severely enough to require hospitalisation. So Renamo had few delegates in polling stations there. And in Chigubu Renamo says it was unable to obtain credentials for delegates.

AIM has been looking closely at Tete because of the widely reported problems there and has found more than 50 such polling stations. In a few, there is a striking difference with neighbouring polling station. For example in Charre locality, Mutarara district, where two polling stations in the same primary school gave wildly different results. In 04E907-99 there was a turnout of 103 per cent. There were 205 names in the register but 211 votes in the ballot box - 170 of them for Guebuza and 33 for Dhlakama (three for other candidates, two blank and three invalid). But in the neighbouring station, 04E908-99, there was a 31 per cent turnout, and Dhlakama won. There were 709 people registered, 221 of whom voted. Guebuza won 90 votes and Dhlakama 104 (with 13 votes for other candidates, one blank and 13 invalid). This suggests that there was a Renamo delegate in the second polling station, or the staff was more honest.

Similarly, in Chifunde district, Chifunde district, there are several stations with turnouts of 90 to 100 per cent. At polling station 04E775-99, 913 people out of 1,000 names voted, 875 of them supposedly for Guebuza. But at nearby station 04E778-99 where there was a Renamo delegate or honest staff, only 392 out of 845 people voted, 309 of them for Guebuza, and 55 for Dhlakama.

WALKING LONG DISTANCES IN ZAMBEZIA CONFIRMED.

Renamo has repeatedly claimed that its voters in parts of Zambezia are forced to walk excessively long distances, and this has now been confirmed. Renamo gave observers a list of 41 registration books from 1999 from Alto Molocue, Mocuba and Gile which it said had been compiled by mobile brigades. Each village in which the brigade stops to register voters should have a polling station; where a register of 1000 voters has been made up by a mobile brigade making several stops, each polling station has a copy of the book. This has been in most of the country. But Renamo says that with these 41 books, there is only a single polling station, meaning some voters have to walk 20 km or more.

Observers raised this with the Provincial Election Commission who confirmed that Renamo had raised the problem. They said their interpretation of the rules was that polling stations had to have as near to 1000 voters as possible, so that they could only have one polling station for a mobile brigade, despite the long distances between villages in some parts of Zambezia, and they accepted that this meant that

distances were so long that many people could not vote. They said they had asked the National Election Commission for advice, but received no response

SOFALA RESULTS

Sofala late yesterday became the last province to declare its results. It, too, had computer problems and has sent 432 editais to Maputo, bringing to total to more than 3000.

823 of 1039 editais processed; 216 sent to Maputo for each

Presidential election

Armando Guebuza	75,540 (26.98%)
Afonso Dhlakama	201,210 (69.20%)
Raul Domingos	9,631 (3.41%)

Parliamentary election

Frelimo	79,884 (27.89%)
Renamo	182,372 (63.68%)

MORE MAPUTO RESULTS

Somehow national STAE is succeeding in processing editais which Maputo city STAE could not.

The result for the national "provisional" count for the Presidential election says it has processed 736 editais out of 762 to give:

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	211,155 (85.19 per cent)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	32,068 (12.94 per cent)

Yet the official, final provincial count for the Presidential election is for 708 of 782 editais processed (with the rest remitted to the CNE) and gives

Armando Guebuza (Frelimo)	202,078 (85.47%)
Afonso Dhlakama (Renamo)	29,975 (12.68%)

CORRECTION: The correct name of the speaker at the ISPU meeting Tuesday is Juarez da Maia.

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MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL PROCESS BULLETIN

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

Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga
with reports from 50 correspondents

Material may be freely reprinted and circulated.
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European Parliamentarians for Africa

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