

# Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

2004 Election specials by e-mail

Issue 11

Tuesday 30 November 2004

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Deputy editor: Adriano Nuvunga

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## IN THIS ISSUE

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## CAMPAIGN ENDS WITH CALM

-- AND PARTIES

The election campaign closed on Sunday after a calm week throughout the country, according to reports from 49 Bulletin correspondents. Some cities saw large rallies and a party atmosphere; others saw a quiet weekend.

Intimidation which had been reported earlier in the campaign was largely absent in the latter part. When parades by different parties met early in the campaign, there were sometimes angry exchanges, stone throwing and fist-fights, but even this largely disappeared; when parades met in the final days, nearly all exchanges were verbal rather than physical.

Only three parties campaigned extensively and have any chance of gaining seats in parliament: Frelimo, Renamo and PDD (the party of Raul Domingos). The difference between Frelimo and Renamo campaigns was increasingly striking. Frelimo had much more money and its campaign stressed its wealth and power; its parades had large number of cars, and several of our correspondents report that in the final days of the campaign Frelimo was offering free fuel to cars and minibuses (chapas) to join its processions. Frelimo also made extensive (and illegal) use of state cars. By contrast, Renamo made a point of its modesty, with Afonso Dhlakama arriving for some rallies with just a few cars.

In Beira, Dhlakama's rally on Sunday drew what was described as the largest crowd since Samora Machel passed through the city on his way to Maputo in 1975. Indeed, after four hours Dhlakama and his four-car motorcade found itself trapped by the crowd. Our correspondent reports that Renamo actually asked for police help, and the police used tear gas to clear a path for Dhlakama to leave. There were no Renamo protests over the police action. By contrast, a Frelimo rally in Beira led by Alberto Chipande had more cars but drew relatively few people.

In Quelimane, Frelimo and Renamo rallies took place simultaneously. Again, the Frelimo rally involved many more cars but fewer people, many of whom had been brought in by lorry from surrounding towns. The Frelimo rally was led by President Joaquim Chissano and when it finished at 1700, supporters went home. The Renamo rally was much larger, mainly of people who had arrived by foot. When the Frelimo rally ended, Renamo supporters moved in to the centre of the city where the Frelimo rally had been and partied until 2300.

In Tete, our correspondent reports that the Frelimo closing rally was much larger than the Renamo one. In Nampula, the Renamo rally was larger. In the capital, the Frelimo "showmicio" filled about three-quarters of Machava Stadium, less than in previous election closes.

Although Renamo continued to complain about intimidation in Tete and Gaza provinces, and said that its people were afraid to campaign, our correspondents found less evidence of this later in the campaign. In Tete, PDD held a closing rally in Changara, and opposition parties were reported campaigning without problems in Cahora Bassa and Chifunde.

The only intimidation reported in the last days was in Chibuto, Gaza, where PDD came under particular pressure. Our correspondent Samuel Marcos reports that a group of Frelimo women, allegedly led by a senior party official, sacked the PDD offices at the weekend.

#### DELAYED OPENING POSSIBLE IN SOME PLACES

At a press conference on Tuesday morning, CNE President Rev Arao Litsure admitted that there are logistic problems in distributing voting materials in some remote areas and that opening of some polling stations could be delayed. But he stressed that the number is small.

There is the normal lack of sufficient transport, partly caused by the failure of state bodies to provide vehicles as promised. Radio Mozambique reports that STAE in Zambezia says some polling stations may open late. There are similar reports from Sofala and Nampula.

#### NO MORE CONCESSIONS ON TRANSPARENCY

At the press conference, Litsure said that discussions on increased transparency were still under way. But he confirmed that the final steps of the tabulation process, in which many errors are corrected and which can involve significant changes to the result, and which many fear is subject to manipulation, will still remain secret. But he also confirmed the promise to publish details of those corrections.

Litsure also claimed that international observers had never asked to be present during this final critical tabulation process. They had only asked to see the re-qualification of invalid votes (nulos), and this had been permitted. This may be true, because observer teams such as the EU used politicians rather than technicians to do their main negotiations over access, and since they did not know the process in detail they did not know what to ask for. Re-qualification of nulos has been open in the past and has always been well done.

#### RENAMO HARASSED IN ZIMBABWE

Charles Cardoso, Renamo candidate for the parliamentary seat for the rest of Africa, said Renamo was able to campaign in four countries without problems, but that there was harassment in Zimbabwe. Our correspondent in Harare reports that Cardoso last week received a letter from the police refusing permission to hold a rally and a letter from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs saying foreigners could not campaign in Zimbabwe. But he and others say Frelimo has been campaigning, and even using Zanu-PF facilities.

Intimidation was claimed by two Renamo supporters, who said they were threatened by Zanu-PF that, if they vote for Renamo, they and their families would be deported, even though they have lived in Zimbabwe for decades. They say they were told that voting for Renamo meant they supported the opposition MDC in Zimbabwe.

#### RENAMO FALSELY ACCUSED BY CNE

In Bulletin 9 Last Friday we reported that Filipe Mandlate, spokesman for the CNE, had told a press conference on Thursday that "a party" had issued instructions to functionaries in the election system to block the process of computerising the editais. This seems to have been wrong.

Under pressure from journalists, the CNE press office released a copy of the document. It was simply a four page circular from the Renamo election office, which accurately, and with citations from the electoral law, set out the process for carrying out the count at various levels. It made no comments about computers and had no instructions or recommendations to anyone.

COMMENT:  
DON'T PAY TOO MUCH ATTENTION  
TO ROARS FROM RENAMO  
by Joseph Hanlon

Renamo head and presidential candidate Afonso Dhlakama has made statements to two Portuguese agencies, LUSA and RTP, which have caused some disquiet internationally because they seem to suggest violence if Dhlakama loses, including the physical occupation of cities where Dhlakama has gained a majority.

Dhlakama continues to repeat his view that he lost the 1994 and 1999 elections by fraud. Those elections were highly praised by international observers. When asked yesterday by the BBC if he would accept the views of international observers, Dhlakama pointedly refused to commit himself, simply saying he would not allow the election to be stolen from him as it had been in 1994.

These comments are very similar to ones made by Dhlakama in 1999 before the election, but with a very important difference -- he is not making them to a Mozambican audience. These are aggressive comments made to the Portuguese press, which seem more designed to satisfy his Portuguese backers than for domestic consumption. Renamo's political rhetoric inside Mozambique has not been violent, and the reports from our correspondents have all been of calm.

Of course, this looks to be a close election similar to the one in 1999, and whichever side wins will need some negotiation with the loser. If Renamo loses, it will not want to make the mistakes of 2000, where there was some post-election violence and it failed to have a negotiating strategy. Indeed, Renamo was offered the chance to

name three governors, and Dhlakama actually turned down the opportunity, which in retrospect seems very foolish.

But the roars and other loud noises seem largely for international consumption. Dhlakama seems to have been careful, so far, not to encourage violence inside Mozambique.

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## Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

**2004 Election specials by e-mail**

**Issue 12**

Wednesday 1 December 2004, 4 pm

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

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### KEY POINTS

- + Most polling stations opened normally at 7 am or soon after.
- + Turnout is highly variable but seems a bit lower than in previous national elections.
- + Rain has delayed the opening of polling stations in many places.
- + Illiterate voters are having trouble voting because there is no ink pad.
- + There are still problems with register books.

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### POLLING STARTS NORMALLY IN MOST PLACES, BUT SOME DELAYS DUE TO RAIN

Polling in the 1-2 December national elections opened normally in most places according to 37 correspondents who could be contacted by mid-day. Turnout seems very variable, with queues in some places and not others. In Beira and Quelimane there was a high turnout in the suburbs and a low turnout in the centre, whereas TVM showed the opposite in Nampula. In many polling centres there were queues at some polling stations and not at adjoining ones. In general, people who registered this year or last year seem much more likely to vote than those who registered in 1999.

In most parts of Mozambique the day has been bright and sunny; in Maputo the heat at mid-day meant few people going to vote then. But elsewhere heavy rains in the past few days, which continued in some areas today, have caused serious problems. In Pebane in Zambezia, no polling station had opened by mid-day; indeed, someone phoned the Bulletin from Pebane to ask if the election had been postponed, since there was no information there.

In parts of Memba and Erati in Nampula and Ile and Morrumbala in Zambezia, some polling stations had not opened by early afternoon.

In southern Niassa, STAE trucks were still leaving Cuamba to carry materials to polling stations at 10am this morning, reports our correspondent Jose Cardoso, meaning many polling stations will not open until afternoon at the earliest.

In Cabo Delgado, rivers flooded by heavy rain had cut roads to Lusaka locality near Montepuez and Namoquelia locality near Chiure, meaning STAE vehicles had been unable to delivery materials to polling stations -- and the rain is continuing.

In Inhambane, in Homoine polling stations at two schools could not open due to the rain, and where polling stations did open few people braved the rain in order to vote. The opposite happened in Massinga, which was sunny this morning but few people voted; our correspondent suggests that after two days of good rain, many people decided to use today to plant seed and will vote tomorrow.

### INK PROBLEMS AND ILLITERATE VOTERS

There are widespread reports of problems with everything to do with ink. Most serious is that the kits of voting materials did not contain the two stamp pads (almofadas) which are put in the two voting booths and are used by illiterate voters to mark ballot papers with a fingerprint instead of a cross made with a pencil. The Bulletin noted that in Maputo, at least, the two stamp pads were not even on the official list of materials included in the polling station kit. In many polling stations, officials took the stamp pad intended for the official stamp on all reports, and put that in one of the voting booths. Some polling station presidents attempted to direct apparently illiterate voters to the booth with the single stamp pad, but others did not. Many illiterate people are afraid to admit that they cannot write and so will not ask for help, so it seems some illiterate voters will lose their chance to vote.

There has also been confusion in some places about the indelible ink into which people dip their index finger after voting, which is red, and the ink for the stamp pads, which is blue.

Finally, there are a number of reports of polling stations opening late because their kit did not contain the indelible ink.

Problems with indelible ink seem to have been corrected by district STAEs by mid morning. But the missing stamp pads have not yet been resolved.

### REGISTRATION BOOKS

The big clean up of registration books seems to have been largely effective, with fewer problems reported. But there have been reports of registration books in the wrong places in Chimoio and Quelimane. In Beira and Gorongosa, register books were missing from kits and polling stations did not open. In Maputo at one polling station, at least one quarter of people who wanted to vote were not on the list, even though they had a card; as set out in the regulations, all were allowed to vote and a record kept of their names and card numbers.

In general, polling stations do seem to have been near to where people registered, but there were still many people who went to the wrong polling centre.

### PREVENTING CAMPAIGNING

Election officials seem to be doing a good job to ensure that there is no campaign material within 300 metres of a polling station. In Buzi, Sofala province, youths chanting "viva Renamo" were chased away by the police. In Natikir, 12 km from Nampula city, youths painted "Vota Renamo" on the wall of the 3rd of February school, where polling was to take place, on 29 November. STAE removed the slogan, but that night the wall was again spray-painted with Vota Dhlakama. Last night STAE was again removing the painted slogans, and asking the police to guard the school, reports Estevao Malunga.

#### PARTY DELEGATES

In Chimoio, Renamo party delegates were prevented from entering Amilcar Cabral and Samora Machel secondary schools, reports Rachide Selemane, because the number on their credential did not correspond to the number on their identity card. After pressure from the head of the Renamo electoral list, at 10.30 the district election commission told its polling station officials at the schools that the delegates should be allowed in, and they were.

#### CAMPAIGN INCIDENTS

Several previously reported incidents have come to light. Most serious is the destruction by fire of the Renamo office in Matola, near Maputo, according to AIM, early Monday morning. The director of the Renamo Maputo provincial election office, Samuel Mandlate, said that during the night arsonists broke down one of the doors to the offices, poured kerosene on all materials, documents, and furniture, and set the place on fire.

And there were punch-ups Sunday night between drunken Frelimo and Renamo youth in Angoche and on the beach in Maputo, in each case leading more than 20 people injured.

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## Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

**2004 Election specials by e-mail**

**Issue 13**

Thursday 2 December 2004, 4 pm

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

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

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#### KEY POINTS

- + Turnout much less than 1999
- + Voting largely smooth and trouble free

- + Some polling station openings delayed
- + Some register book problems

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## LOW TURNOUT ACROSS THE COUNTRY

Admitting that turnout has been low, National Election Commission president Arao Litsure went on TV and radio this morning to appeal to Mozambicans to vote today. Reports from across the country by all media, including our correspondents, confirms a turnout much lower than in 1999. In some areas there were queues when the polls opened yesterday, especially of people who had registered this year or last year. But the queues disappeared by mid-morning, and only a trickle of people went to vote yesterday afternoon or this morning. Some polling stations had no voters at all this morning.

In 1994, 5.4 million voted, and in 1999, 4.9 million people voted. Unless there is a last minute surge of voters, the turnout this year will be as low as 3.5 million -- around half of eligible voters and 40 per cent of voting age adults.

Despite problems in a few polling stations, noted below and yesterday, voting has been largely smooth and trouble free.

## POLLING STATIONS DID NOT OPEN

In all parts of the country, there were a few polling stations which did not open yesterday, and it seems clear that a handful will not open today at all.

In Zambezia, STAE reports that 10 polling stations in Pebane and 8 in Maganja da Costa did not open yesterday. Our correspondent disputes this, saying that in Pebane voting materials only arrived this morning. Polling stations in the town opened this morning and materials were only being distributed to the rest of the district at midday.

Also in Zambezia, in Ile and Morrumbala, polling stations were able to open late yesterday afternoon. In Sofala, some polling stations did not open in Caia and Morrromeu districts yesterday. In Cabo Delgado, a river flooded by heavy rain is still cutting the road to Lusaka locality near Montepuez, and polling stations may not open. But cut off polling stations near Chiure have opened. In Tete, in Zumbo, Marravia, and Chifunde districts, voting only stated today because materials only arrived today.

There are TV and radio reports of some polling stations not opening in Memba, Muecate, and Erati in Nampula province and Largo in Niassa.

## MISSING REGISTER BOOKS PREVENT POLLING

There are reports from all over the country of missing register books or register books sent to the wrong polling station, which meant that polling stations could not open. In most places the problem had been resolved by the end of the day.

But in Chigubo in Gaza, our correspondent Samuel Marcos drove to the nearest telephone to report that many registers were missing. This a an area of a former Renamo base, and one of the few in Gaza to normally vote Renamo, so Renamo

alleges that the missing registration books are intentional and that Frelimo supporters are being transported by the district administration to other district to vote. TVM also reported missing 1999 registration books elsewhere in Gaza, particularly in Xai-Xai.

In another dominantly Renamo area, in Cheringoma in Sofala, three registers from 1999 were missing and the district administrator was unable to vote. In Gorongosa district, two registers were still missing this morning. In Tete, 1999 books were also missing in Domue, Angonia.

There were continued reports throughout the country of some people having trouble finding their polling stations, claiming they were not at the place where the person registered. It is difficult to estimate how widespread the problem has been, but there was one report of 100 people moving as a group from one polling centre to another in search of their polling station.

### VOTERS NOT EXCLUDED

Technical secretariat (STAE) director Antonio Carrasco made a statement yesterday confirming that the law allows people to vote if they have a valid voters card for a particular polling station, even if by error their name does not appear on the register. This is relatively common because data input for register computerisation was done so badly. The polling station is expected to keep a record of the person and allow them to vote. In general, this seems to have been happening correctly. But in Maputo some Renamo party delegates have objected, while in Nampula some polling station staff refused to let such people vote, saying they had received no instruction to allow anyone to vote whose name was not on the register.

In addition, persons who have lost their voters card but have a valid identity card can vote if their name can be found on the register. In large schools, this means searching meticulously, page by page, through more than a dozen registers; nevertheless, polling station staff were doing this and we saw people being correctly allowed to vote based on their identity card, once their name had been located on the register.

### RENAMO EXCLUDED & ACCUSED OF CAMPAIGNING

In Changara district in Tete, where Frelimo supporters forced Renamo people out of the district, there were no Renamo delegates in the polling stations, our correspondent reports. The same thing happened in the 1999 national elections, and there were indications that Frelimo used the lack of Renamo delegates to stuff the ballot boxes with extra Frelimo votes in the district.

Meanwhile, Renamo has been accused by Frelimo of campaigning to voters in queues yesterday morning and this morning in Matola and Macia. In Chimoio, prominent Renamo personality Dionesio Quelhas was detained for three hours.

### FRELIMO SPENT \$10 MILLION

Armando Guebuza, Frelimo presidential candidate, gave figures to observers on Monday which show that Frelimo spent \$10 million on its electoral campaign.

### BORN TO VOTE

In Macossa a voter gave birth while waiting in the queue to vote, our correspondent reports.

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# Mozambique Political Process Bulletin

**2004 Election specials by e-mail**

**Issue 14**

Friday 3 December 2004, 1 pm

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

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## KEY POINTS

- + Guebuza ahead in early returns
  - + Jimmy Carter questions 1999 results and says will not OK this year without more access
  - + Only 37 polling stations did not opening
  - + Turnout probably 40-45% -- how to calculate it
- 

## GUEBUZA AHEAD IN EARLY RETURNS

Early counts indicated the Armando Guebuza has at least 60% of the presidential vote, with Raul Domingos and his PDD doing much worse than expected. Radio Mozambique throughout the night and morning has been doing reports by their correspondents from polling centres throughout the country. These are necessarily places which are easier to reach which means the results will have some bias toward Frelimo.

AIM reports the following totals taken from Radio Mozambique by 7.30 am, from 430 polling stations

80,431 Gubuza  
40,706 Dhalkama  
3,257 Domingos

55,608 Frelimo  
30,544 Renamo  
1,886 PDD

## CARTER SAYS NO OK FOR ELECTION WITHOUT MORE TRANSPARENCY -- AND QUESTIONS 1999 RESULTS

Speaking to the press this morning, Jimmy Carter made an unexpectedly strong attack on the CNE and went on to question the 1999 election results. He said CNE

claims that the law barred more access are "not true". He said the access offered so far is "inadequate" and that "there is no way we can subscribe to something we cannot observe". He said this is the 53rd election the Carter Center has observed and in other elections "we have rarely been excluded from any significant part of the process."

He went on to cite the 1999 elections, in which 1277 polling station results sheets (editais) were excluded, which means that 600,000 votes were never counted (in presidential and parliamentary elections combined). He said it was "extraordinary" that those results were excluded. "It is simply hard to believe that so many results sheets could not be used." He went on to note that the decision to exclude those results was taken in secret and the Carter Center was never allowed to see the excluded editais. "Not being give access subsequently cast doubt on the entire process."

Carter also noted that the "amount of modifications made in 1999 exceeded anything in any similar election I have witnessed". The former US president stressed that exactly the same steps were being carried out in secret again this year and that under present procedures, observers were again being excluded.

Up to this point, he said, the elections are as good as any they have seen anywhere, with staff being meticulous in following the rules. It would be sad if their observation could not continue, and he said it was not too late for the CNE to increase its transparency. Carter stressed that international and national observers were in agreement that without more transparency they will be unable to give their approval to the election.

Carter Center observers visited 585 polling stations and reported serious problems in only two of them.

#### ONLY 37 POLLING STATIONS DID NOT OPEN

CNE spokesperson Filipe Mandlate reported last night the only 37 of 12,744 polling stations failed to open yesterday. This included 18 in Milange (Zambezia), 8 in Gaza including 5 in Chigubo as reported here yesterday, 8 in Niassa and 3 in Cabo Delgado. Most seem to have been due to the heavy, but some were due to lack of register books.

Probably several hundred polling stations did not open on the first day but nreally all opened on the second day. The law makes clear that although polling stations are normally to close at 1800, everyone in the queue must be allowed to vote. That means even if a polling started very late yesterday, the polling station could remain open all night if necessary to serve all the voters.

Because of that, and because there is no provision in the law, the CNE decided there should be no extension of voting. But debate continues about the 37 polling stations which did not open.

#### TURNOUT 40-45% -- HOW TO CALCULATE

There have been widespread comments on the very low turnout. The Carter Center said none of the polling stations visited had more than a 30% turnout. That actually gives a slightly false picture. Why is that?

The actual electoral register has 10 million names because it includes the first registration of everyone who registered a second time, either because they moved or lost their voters card, and it includes all those who registered in 1999 and died since. Thus the real number of potential voters is estimated at 7.6 million.

Thus, if 30% or 35% of the people listed in the register actually vote, that is 3 million or 3.5 million people, which is 40% to 45% of the real potential voters.

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#### MOZAMBIQUE POLITICAL PROCESS BULLETIN

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European Parliamentarians for Africa

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